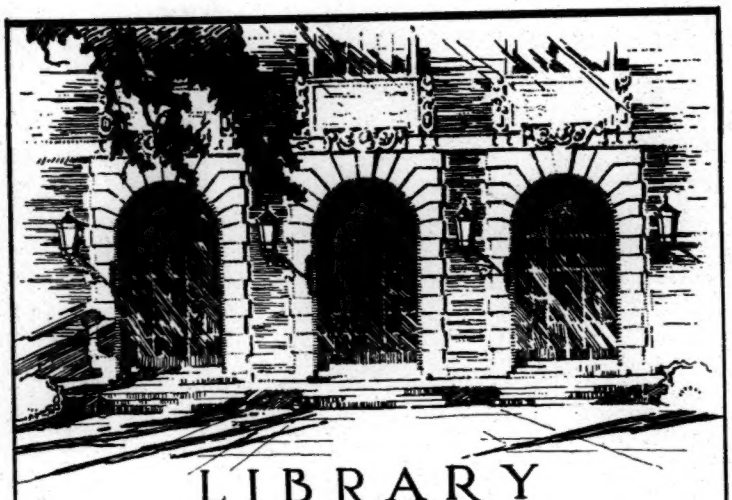
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POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



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FROM VERNET.



SCRIBNER'S
POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
SIDNEY HOWARD GAY
NOAH BROOKS

WITH MORE THAN SIXTEEN HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

VOLUME I

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1896

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PUBLISHERS' INTRODUCTION.

THE plan of the Popular History of the United States, now finally completed, was laid before Mr. William Cullen Bryant in 1874, and actual work was begun in the following year. It was Mr. Bryant's ambition and the purpose of the publishers to produce not only the best but the most comprehensive history of the country that had been or could be written in a popular form.

Under the supervision and leadership of Mr. Bryant, Mr. Sydney Howard Gay, long Mr. Bryant's chief assistant in the editorial management of the "Evening Post," was selected as the best equipped of all known to him to undertake the actual writing of such a work. Mr. Bryant's editorial supervision was to be constant and active throughout the entire preparation of the history, and the clear and vigorous Preface which he wrote (still retained in the completed work) laid down the lines of what he had in mind. In fact, however, he was able to read the proofs only of the first and second volumes before his death. Mr. Gay carried on the work to the completion of the original scheme. He had several assistants in the collection and preparation of material, and one important contributor in the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, who wrote the chapters in the second volume upon the Spanish Colonization in the Southwest.

Because of the very nearness of the Civil War and its consequences to the time at which the history was begun, much less space was accorded to the latter half of this century than its importance now calls for. Since the rise of the great literature concerning the Civil War, it has been possible to give to that passage of the great narrative a scale equal to that of the rest, and to take advantage of the invaluable material ungathered or uncodified at the time when Mr. Gay ended his work. Finally, as it has become evident that the

quarter-century following the war is also to rank as one of the most momentous, — perhaps materially the most momentous of our history, — it has been felt that no book can now fulfil what this originally aimed to do without bringing the narrative to a very much later time than was at first thought of.

It was therefore decided a year or two ago by the publishers to remake the History beyond the chapters in the fourth volume which treat of the beginning of the war, and to confide the work of completing the book from that time to the present, and upon a greatly enlarged scale, to Mr. Noah Brooks, whose qualifications for such an undertaking need no attestation. The plan adopted, besides the rewriting of a portion of the fourth volume, has involved the addition of a fifth, and the narrative is now continued down to within a year or two of the actual present with a fulness not attempted, it is believed, in any other history of the same comprehensive scope.

A feature of the history to which from the beginning great care and expenditure have been devoted is its illustration, with which the greatest pains have been taken, not only as to historical accuracy but as to the quality of its art. The illustrators of the original history were the best men of the day, and the same standard is followed in the new portion, with the additional advantage of the improved processes for reproduction and perfected printing. The complete work contains over 1600 illustrations, which represent practically every illustrator who has been favorably known for the last twenty years.

PREFACE.

THERE are several excellent histories of the United States of North America in print, and it will naturally be asked what occasion there is for another.

The title of this work is in part an answer to the question. It is intended to be a popular history — a work for that large class who have not leisure for reading those narratives which aim at setting forth, with the greatest breadth and variety of circumstance, the annals of our nation's life. At the same time it is the design of the present work to treat the subject more at large than is done in those compends, some of them able in their way, which are used as text-books in the schools. Unlike these latter, it is not a compilation from histories already written, but in its narrative of events and its representation of the state of our country at different epochs, has derived its materials through independent research from original sources. It is also within the plan of this work to rely in part for its attraction on the designs with which it is illustrated — likenesses of men conspicuous in our annals, views of places and buildings memorable in our history, and representations of usages and manners which have had their day and have passed away.

But in saying this, we state but a small part of our plan. It is our purpose to present within a moderate compass a view of changes, political and social, occurring within our Republic, which have an interest for every nation in the civilized world, and the history of which could not be fully written until now. In the two centuries and a half of our existence as an off-shoot of the great European stock, a mighty drama has been put upon the stage of our continent, which, after a

series of fierce contentions and subtle intrigues, closed in a bloody catastrophe with a result favorable to liberty and human rights and to the fair fame of the Republic. Within that time the institution of slavery, springing up from small and almost unnoticed beginnings, grew to be a gigantic power claiming and exercising dominion over the confederacy, and at last, when it failed in causing itself to be recognized as a national institution and saw the signs of a decline in its political supremacy, declaring the Union of the States dissolved, encountering the free States in a sanguinary five years' war, and bringing upon itself overthrow and utter destruction.

We stand, therefore, at a point in our annals where the whole duration of slavery in our country, from the beginning to the end, lies before us as on a chart; and certainly no history of our Republic can now be regarded as complete which should fail to carry the reader through the various stages of its existence, from its silent and stealthy origin to the stormy period in which the world saw its death-struggle, and recognized in its fall the sentence of eternal justice. It is instructive to observe how in its earlier years slavery was admitted, by the most eminent men of those parts of the country where it had taken the deepest root, to be a great wrong; and how afterward, when the power and influence of the slave-holding class were at their height, it was boldly defended as a beneficent and just institution, the basis of the most perfect social state known to the world, — so powerfully and surely do personal interests pervert the moral judgments of mankind. The controversy assumed a deeper interest as the years went on. On the side of slavery stood forth men singularly fitted to be its champions; able, plausible, trained to public life, men of large personal influence and a fierce determination of will nourished by the despotism exercised on their plantations over their bondmen. On the other side was a class equally able and no less determined, enthusiasts for liberty as courageous as their adversaries were imperious, restlessly aggressive, ready to become martyrs, and from time to time attesting their sincerity by yielding up their lives. So fierce was the quarrel, and so general was the inclination

even in the free States to take part with the slave-owners, that the name of Abolitionist was used as a term of reproach and scorn; and to point out a man as worthy of wearing it, was in some places the same thing as to recommend him to the attentions of the mob. Yet even while this was a name of opprobrium, the hostility to slavery was gathering strength under a new form. The friends of slavery demanded that the authority of the master over his bondman should be recognized in all the territory belonging to the Union not yet formed into States, — in short, that the jurisdiction of the Republic, wherever established, should carry with it the law of slavery. A party was immediately formed to resist the application of this doctrine, and after a long and vehement contest elected its candidate President of the United States. Meantime the rapid settlement of our Pacific coast by a purely free population, in consequence of the opening of the gold mines, showed the friends of slavery that they were to be hereafter in a minority, the power of which would diminish with every successive year. They instantly took the resolution to revolt against the Union, declared it thenceforth dissolved, and rushed into a war, in which their defeat carried with it the fall of slavery. It fell, dragging down with it thousands of private fortunes, and leaving some of the fairest portions of the region whence it issued its decrees ravaged and desolate, and others, for a time, given over to a confusion little short of anarchy.

Writers who record the fortunes of nations have most generally and wisely stopped at a modest distance from the time in which they wrote, for this reason among others, that the narrative could not be given with the necessary degree of impartiality, on account of controversies not yet ended, and prejudices which have not had time to subside. But in the case of American slavery the difficulty of speaking impartially both of the events which form its history and of the characters of its champions and adversaries, is far less now than it ever was before. Slavery has become a thing of the past; the dispute as to its rights under our Constitution is closed forever. The class of active and vigilant politicians

who, a few years since, were ever on the watch for some opportunity of promoting its interests by legislation, is now as if it had never been; slavery is no longer either denounced or defended from the pulpits; the division of political journals into friends and enemies of slavery exists no longer, and when a candidate for office is presented for the suffrages of his fellow citizens, it is no longer asked, "What does he think of the slavery question?" So far, indeed, does this fierce contest seem already removed into the domain of the past, and separated from the questions and interests of the present moment, that when a person is pointed out as having been a distinguished Abolitionist he is looked at with somewhat of the same historical interest as if it had been said, "There goes one who fought so bravely at Lundy's Lane;" or, "There is one who commanded a company of riflemen at the battle of New Orleans." The champions of slavery on one side — able men and skilled in the expedients of party warfare, and in many instances uncorrupt and pure in personal character, — and the champions of the slave on the other, fearless and ready for the martyrdom which they sometimes suffered, their faculties exalted by a sense of danger, — can now, as they and their acts pass in review before the historian, be judged with a degree of calmness belonging to a new era of our political existence.

But the great conclusion is still to be drawn that the existence of slavery in our Republic was at utter variance with the free institutions which we made our boast; and that it could not be preserved in the vast growth which it had attained without altering in a great degree their nature, and communicating to them its own despotic character. Where half the population is in bondage to the other half there is a constant danger that the subject race will rise against their masters, who naturally look to repression and terror as their means of defence. The later history of slavery in our country is full of examples to show this — severe laws against sedition in the slave States, an enforced silence on the subject of human liberty, an expurgated popular literature, and visitors to the slave States chased back by mobs across the fron-

tier which they had imprudently crossed. It is remarkable that, not very long before the civil war, certain of the southern journals began to maintain in elaborate leading articles that the time had arrived for considering whether the entire laboring class of whatever color should not be made the serfs of the land-owners and others of the more opulent members of society.

A history like this would have been incomplete and fragmentary had it failed to record the final fate as well as the rise and growth of an institution wielding so vast an influence both in society and politics, with champions so able and resolute, organized with such skill, occupying so wide and fertile a domain, and rooted there with such firmness as to be regarded by the friends of human liberty with a feeling scarcely short of despair. To have broken off the narrative before reaching the catastrophe, would have been like rising from the spectacle of a drama at the end of the fourth act. Few episodes in the world's history have been so complete in themselves as this of American slavery. Few have brought into activity such mighty agencies, or occupied so vast a theatre, or been closed, although amid fearful carnage, yet in a manner so satisfactory to the sense of natural justice.

Here is the place to speak of another important conclusion to be drawn from the result of our late civil war. It has proved the strength of our political system. When the slave States first revolted it is wonderful with what unanimity the people of the Old World, even those who wished well to the Northern States, adopted the conclusion that the Union could endure no longer, and that the bond once broken could never be reunited. Those powers which had regarded the United States as a somewhat uncomfortable neighbor, rapidly becoming too strong to be reasonable in its dealings with the monarchies of Europe, fully believed that thereafter there would exist, on the North American continent, two rival commonwealths of the same origin, yet so diverse from each other in their institutions as to be involved in frequent disagreements, and thus to prove effectual checks upon each other, relieving the European powers from the danger of aggression in this

quarter. It was sometimes said by Englishmen who thought that they were speaking in the interest of humanity: "All the interest we feel in your quarrel is this, that you should go to pieces as quickly and with as little bloodshed as possible." The steps taken by Great Britain and France were in accord with the expectation of which I have spoken; Britain instantly declaring the slave States a belligerent power, — a virtual acknowledgment of their independence, — and France posting a dependent Prince in Mexico, with the view of intervening in that quarter as soon as it might appear politic to do so. Till the close of our civil war the armed cohorts of France hung like a thunder-cloud over our southwestern border, but the hour never came when the signal might be given for the grim mass to move northward.

The period of time at which the nation inhabiting the domain of our Republic came into being is so recent, that we may trace its growth with as much distinctness as if we were the contemporaries of its birth. The records of its early existence have been preserved as those of no other nation have been which has risen to any importance in the annals of the world. To the guidance of these the historian may trust himself securely, with no danger of losing his way among the uncertain shadows of tradition. It is with a feeling of wonder that he sees colonies, planted in different parts of the North American continent so remote from each other, under such different circumstances, and so entirely without concert on the part of the adventurers who led them thither, united at last in a political fabric of such strength and solidity. The columns of the great edifice were separately laid in the wilderness amid savage tribes, by men who apparently had no thought of their future relation to each other; but as they rose from the earth it seemed as if a guiding intelligence had planned them in such a manner that in due time they might be adjusted to each other in a single structure. Those who at the outbreak of our civil war administered the governments of Europe had, it is certain, little confidence in the stability and duration of a political fabric so framed. It was loosely and fortuitously put together, they thought, of ele-

ments discordant in themselves, whose imperfect cohesion a shock like that of the southern revolt would destroy forever.

It survived that shock, however, and, in part at least, for the very reason of its peculiar structure. It survived it because every man in the free States felt that he was a part of the government; because in our system of decentralized power a part of it was lodged in his person. He felt that he was challenged when the Federal Government was defied, and that he was robbed when the rebels took possession of the forts of the Federal Government and its munitions of war. The quarrel became his personal concern, and the entire people of the North rose as one man to breast and beat back this bold attack upon a system of polity which every man of them was moved to defend by the feeling which would move him to defend his fireside. Perhaps out of this fortuitous planting of our continent in scattered and independent settlements has arisen the strongest form of government, so far as respects cohesion and self-maintenance, that the world has seen. Certainly the experience of the last few years, beginning with the civil war, gives plausibility to this idea.

All the consequences of that war have not been equally fortunate with this. It may be admitted that, in some instances, the influence of a military life on the young men who thronged to our camps was salutary, in bringing out the better qualities of their character and moulding it to a more manly pattern, by overcoming the love of ease and accustoming the soldier to endure suffering and brave danger for the common cause. Yet it is certain that in other men it encouraged brutal instincts which had been held in check by the restraints of a peaceful order of things; that it made them careless of inflicting pain, and indifferent to the taking of life. Accordingly, after the close of the war, crimes of violence became fearfully numerous, men more often carried about deadly weapons, quarrels more often led to homicide, robberies accompanied by assassination were much more frequent, and acts of housebreaking were perpetrated with greater audacity. It would seem invidious to say that these crimes were most frequent in the region which had been the

seat of the war; but it is certain that there the peace was often deplorably disturbed by quarrels between the white race and the colored which led to bloodshed. Thus the state of society left by the war may be fairly put to the account of the great error committed in allowing slavery to have a place among our institutions.

But while men were watching with alarm these offences against the public peace, it was discovered, with no little surprise, that crimes of fraud had become as numerous, and were equally traceable to the war as their cause. So many opportunities had presented themselves of making easy bargains with the agents of the government, and so many chances of cheating the government offered themselves in the haste and confusion with which most transactions of this kind were accomplished, that hundreds of persons of whom little was known save that they had become suddenly rich, flaunted in all the splendor of exorbitant wealth, and exercised the influence which wealth commands. The encouragement which their success and the mystery with which it was accompanied gave to dishonest dealings was felt throughout the community, and the evil became fearfully contagious. The city of New York was a principal seat of these enormities. In that busy metropolis men are so earnestly occupied with their private affairs, so absorbed in the competitions of business, that it is not easy to fix the attention of the greater proportion, even of the most intelligent, upon matters of public and general interest as long as the chances of individual success are left open. But the boundless waste of those who had possession of the public funds, the sudden increase of the city debt, and the enormous taxation to which the citizens were subjected, at length alarmed the entire community; the tax-payers consulted together; they called in the aid of the most sagacious and resolute men, who with great pains tracked the offenders through all their doublings and laid their practices bare to the public eye. The infamy of those who were concerned in these enormities followed their exposure.

I have already spoken of the contagious nature of these examples of corruption. The determination to effect a reform

and drag the offenders to justice, when once awakened, spread with equal rapidity. It is remarkable how, immediately after the exposure of the enormous knaveries committed in New York, the daily journals were filled with accounts of lesser villainies in less considerable places. It seemed for a while as if peculation had been taken up by a large class as a profession, so numerous were the instances of detection. The public vigilance was directed against every person in a pecuniary trust; some who had never before been suspected found themselves suddenly in the custody of the law, and others, fearing that their turn might soon come, prudently ran away. There never has been a time when it was so dangerous for a public man to make a slip in his accounts. Investigation became the order of the day, and a considerable part of the contents of every daily paper consisted of the proceedings of committees formed for examining into the accounts of men who held pecuniary trusts. At first sight it seemed as if the world had suddenly grown worse; on a second reflection it was clear that it was growing better. A process of purgation was going on; dishonest men were stripped of the power of doing further mischief and branded with disgrace, and men of whom better hopes were entertained put in their place. The narrative of these iniquities could not properly stop short of the punishment which overtook the offenders, and which, while it makes the lesson of their otherwise worthless lives instructive, vindicates to some extent the character of the nation at large.

In reviewing the history of the last hundred years there is one question which stands out in special prominence: the policy of encouraging domestic manufactures by high duties on goods imported from other countries. It was recommended in the early years of our Republic by Hamilton, whose authority had great weight with a large class of his fellow-citizens; and afterwards, under the name of the American System, was made the battle-cry of a great party under a no less popular leader, Henry Clay. But after a struggle of many years, during part of which the protective system seemed to have become thoroughly incorporated into our revenue laws,

a tendency to freedom of trade began to assert itself. The tariff of duties on imported commodities became from time to time weeded of the provisions which favored particular manufactures, and, although still wanting in simplicity of proceeding and far more expensive in its execution than it should have been, was in the main liberal and not unsatisfactory to all parties. The manufacturers had ceased from the struggle for special duties, and seemed content with those which were laid merely for the sake of revenue. The question of protection was no longer a matter of controversy.

But the war revived the old quarrel, and left it a legacy to the years which are yet to come. When the southern members at the beginning of the war withdrew from Congress, there were found, among those whom they left in their seats, a majority who had been educated in the Henry Clay school of politics, and were therefore attached to the protective system. In laying taxes to supply the necessities of the Treasury, they enacted a tariff of duties more rigidly restrictive and of more general application than the country had ever before known. This opened again the whole controversy. The struggle of forty years, which had ended as we have already related, is revived under circumstances which strongly imply that we have the same ground to go over again. The manufacturers are not likely to give up without a struggle what they believe so essential to their prosperity; and the friends of free trade, proverbially tenacious of their purposes, are not likely to be satisfied while there is left in the texture of our revenue laws a single thread of protection which their ingenuity can detect or their skill can draw out.

The history of our Republic shows that a nation does not always profit by its own experience, even though it be of an impressive nature. Our government began the first century of its existence with a resort to paper money and closed it with repeating the expedient. In the first of these instances slips of paper with a peculiar stamp were made to pass as money by the authority of Congress, and were known by the name of Continental money, which soon became a term of opprobrium. The history of this currency is a sad one: a his-

tory of creditors defrauded, families reduced from competence to poverty, and ragged and hunger-bitten soldiers who were paid their wages in bits of paper scarcely worth more than the coarse material on which their nominal value was stamped. The more of this Continental money was issued the lower it sank in value. The whole land was filled with discontent, and the leaders of the Revolution were in the utmost perplexity. The injustice inflicted and the distress occasioned by this policy are not merely recorded in our annals, there are many persons yet living who have heard of them in their youth at the firesides of their fathers.

Eighty years afterwards, in the midst of our late civil war, when the necessity of raising money for the daily expenses of maintaining and moving our large armies from place to place upon the vast theatre of our war, began to press somewhat severely upon our government, the question was again raised whether the government notes should not be made a legal tender in the payment of debts, and the Treasury relieved from the necessity of providing for their redemption in coin. The Secretary of the Treasury applied to some of the most eminent bankers and men of business, English and American, for their opinions. Certain of the wisest of these vehemently dissuaded him from a resort to paper money. They pointed to the disasters which experience had shown to have invariably attended the measure, and urged him to trust to the loyalty of the country, of which he had seen such gratifying proofs already given, for obtaining the necessary supplies of money for the war. This could be done by issuing debentures payable at a somewhat distant date, and for such moderate sums as persons of moderate means could conveniently take. At all events they urged that the expedient of resorting to paper money should be postponed till every other was tried and the necessity for it became imminent and unavoidable. These wise counsels were not followed. Others had given their opinion that a resort to paper money was unavoidable, and after some hesitation it was resolved to take the step immediately. The moment that the project was brought before Congress, it found eager champions, both on the floor of the two chambers and in the lobbies;

for whenever a measure is proposed which involves a change of nominal values, there spring up in unexpected quarters hundreds of patriotic persons to assist in hurrying it through Congress. The government was relieved of the obligation of paying its notes; but a solemn pledge was given that they should be paid at the earliest practicable moment. While the war lasted, we went on making issue after issue of these notes, with no provision for their payment. Meantime the prices of every commodity rose, and with them the expenses of the war, — and speculation flourished.

For eight years after the war no approach had been made towards the fulfilment of the solemn pledge of which I have spoken, although in that time many millions of the national debt had been paid off in our depreciated currency. So vast was the mass of promises to pay, and so small the accumulations of gold within the reach of the government, that not one of those who within that period administered the Treasury Department ventured to propose any plan for returning to specie payments, but, averting his eyes from the difficulty, allowed our finances to drift toward an uncertain future. Then came the panic of 1873, which swept so many large banking and commercial houses to their ruin. Immediately a loud call was heard for a new issue of paper money, from those who fancied that they saw in the measure a remedy for their own pecuniary embarrassments. The question was hotly debated in Congress; a majority of both houses was found to be in its favor; the pledge which bound the country to return to specie payments was scouted, as given in ignorance of the true interests of the country; and a bill was passed, adding, as President Grant observed in his message, a hundred millions to our depreciated currency. Fortunately for the country he sent back the bill with his objections, and it failed to become a law; else the mischiefs and disasters of the days of Continental money might have returned upon us, with a violence proportioned to the growth which our commercial interests had in the meantime attained.

It is not likely that this question will again be raised in our day, and the bitter experience which we have had of the

mischiefs of paper money in these two instances will remain as a warning to the coming times; — though who shall say with any confidence that the warning will be duly heeded? But there is another controversy bequeathed to us by the late civil war, which will probably lead to acrimonious and protracted disputes, and perhaps be made to some extent the basis of party divisions. Of that I would now speak.

Before the war the boundaries of the powers assigned to the National Government, and those which remained with the several States, were pretty sharply defined by usage, and attempts were but rarely made to go beyond them. The leaders of opinion in the Southern States deemed it necessary to the security and permanence of slavery, that any encroachment of the National Government on the rights reserved to the States should be resisted to the utmost; and it must be admitted that, although many of them pushed the claim of State sovereignty to an absurd extent, they did good service in keeping the eyes of the people fixed upon that limit beyond which, under our Constitution, the National Government has neither function nor power. When the civil war broke out it was apparent that the majority of those who remained in Congress had not been trained to be scrupulous on this point. One of their early measures, — the creation of a system of national banks, — would, twenty years before, have been regarded by a majority of the people of the United States as a direct violation of the Constitution. Other measures were adopted in the course of the war for which it was impossible to find any authority in the Constitution, and of which the sole justification was military necessity. As compared with the state of opinion which prevailed before the war, it is manifest that a certain indifference to the distinction between the Federal power and that of the States has been creeping into our politics. Schemes for accumulating power in the government at Washington, by making it the owner of our railways, for administering telegraphic communication by Federal agency, for cutting canals between river and river, and for an extensive system of national education with a central bureau at Washington, show this tendency. These and kin-

dred projects will most certainly give ample occasion for protracted disputes on the floor of Congress and in the daily press. On one hand will be urged, and plausibly, the public convenience; and on the other the danger lest our government of nicely balanced powers should degenerate into a mere form, and the proper functions of the States be absorbed into the central authority, — a fate like that predicted by some astronomers for our solar system, when the orbs that revolve about the sun, describing narrower and narrower circles, shall fall into the central luminary to be incorporated with it forever.

In looking over this vast array of important questions settled, and of new ones just arising on the field of vision, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the historian of our Republic would perform his office but in part who should stop short of the cycle of a hundred years from the birth of our nation. In that period great interests have been disposed of and laid aside forever; with the next hundred years, we have a new era with new responsibilities, which we are to meet with what wisdom we may. It is matter of rejoicing that among the latest events of this first century, and following close upon our great civil war, we are able to record a great triumph of the cause of peace and civilization in the settlement of our collateral quarrel with Great Britain, a quarrel which in other times might easily have been nursed into a war. Let us hope that this example will be followed by all the nations of the earth in their future controversies.

To what has been said of the plan of the present history in the first paragraph of this Introduction, I have yet something to add. The works of the Mound Builders, which lie scattered by thousands over our territory, from the Gulf of Mexico to Oregon, and which within the last thirty years have been even more carefully examined than ever before, prove clearly, what was previously doubted by many, the existence of a semi-civilized race dwelling within our borders, who preceded the savage tribes found here by the discoverers from the Old World, and who disappeared at some unknown era, leaving behind them no tradition, nor any record save

these remarkable monuments. With what we have learned of this race, since any history of this country has been published, and what has been discovered by modern science of the pre-historic existence of man, pertaining to our continent as well as to those of the other hemisphere, the present history naturally begins, and it has been thought important to record, briefly but clearly and comprehensively, the present state of our knowledge of the Mound Builders, as well as of the savage tribes by whom they were succeeded, as preliminary to the discovery and settlement of the country by another race.

The history of the early voyagers and colonists of our continent, both before and after Columbus, is made up of incidents which have often been wrought into connected narratives, but not in such a manner as to deprive other historians of the power of giving them, by a due selection of circumstances, something of a new interest. The adventures of those whose explorations preceded the permanent settlement of our territory during three generations of mankind were of a nature to call into exercise qualities which command our admiration, — courage, perseverance, patient endurance of hardship, and ready resources in times of great emergency. The recital of these adventures brings us down to the period when our country began to be peopled from the Old World, by colonists establishing themselves at different points along our coast, — companies of men and women seeking a home in the New World for different purposes, but all of them courageous and adventurous, unapt to quail before discouragement, and prepared to encounter disaster. It was perhaps owing in part to a conformity of character in these respects, that, as they grew in population, these settlements coalesced so readily into one nation, and presented so united a front in resistance to the tyrannical pretensions of the mother country. In giving the history of these colonies, in tracing their origin and growth, and delineating their character, it will be seen that here, like the future oak wrapped up in the acorn, lay the peculiar form of government which distinguishes our republic among the nations, and that from what may be called the

accidental formation of these communities, small at first, distant from one another, and organized independently of each other, grew the composite structure of our national polity, which we regard as so important to our liberties. The events of this period of adolescence and immaturity in our political institutions, lasting for a century and a half, must, of course, be given in a condensed form; but this has been done, it is hoped, with sufficient fulness to enable the reader to see how naturally, from the beginnings of which we have spoken, arose the confederated Republic now so great and powerful.

The attention of the reader, neither in this part of the work nor elsewhere, will be occupied with the growth of our population and our political progress to such an extent as to neglect the advancement made in the arts of peace and the refinements of life. The customs and usages of past generations, their modes of living and ways of thinking, their occupations and amusements, their condition in respect of public and private morals, will be found described in these pages, and a portraiture given, so far as its true outlines, its lights and shades, can now be discerned, of society in the past. The changes which these at different periods have undergone will be carefully noted.

The history of the United States naturally divides itself into three periods, upon the third of which we lately, at the close of our civil war, entered as a people, with congruous institutions in every part of our vast territory. The first was the colonial period; the second includes the years which elapsed from the Declaration of Independence to the struggle which closed with the extinction of slavery. The colonial period was a time of tutelage, of struggle and dependence, the childhood of the future nation. But our real growth, as a distinct member of the community of nations, belongs to the second period, and began when we were strong enough to assert and maintain our independence. To this second period a large space has been allotted in the present work. Not that the mere military annals of our Revolutionary War would seem to require a large proportion of this space, but the various attendant circumstances, the previous controversies with

the mother country, in which all the colonies were more or less interested, and which grew into a common cause; the consultations which followed; the defiance of the mother country, in which they all joined; the service in an army which made all the colonists fellow-soldiers; the common danger, the common privations, sufferings, and expedients, the common sorrow at reverses and rejoicing at victories, require to be fully set forth, that it may be seen by how natural a transition these widely scattered communities became united in a federal Republic, which has since rapidly risen to take its place among the foremost nations of the world, with a population which has increased tenfold, and a sisterhood of States enlarged from thirteen to thirty-seven.

So crowded with events and controversies is this second part of our history, and the few years which have elapsed of the third; so rapid has been the accumulation of wealth and the growth of trade; so great have been the achievements of inventive art and the applied sciences; with such celerity has our population spread itself over new regions, and so vehement have been the struggles maintained against abuses, moral and political, that it has not been easy to give due attention to all of them, without exceeding the limits prescribed for this work. But we have aimed to preserve a due proportion in the recital of events and the analysis of causes, — treating the most important with a certain fulness of recital, and passing rapidly over the rest, and in the meantime not permitting ourselves in any part of the work to indulge a boastful vein, nor to overlook the faults and mistakes, the national sins and wrongs of which we may have been guilty. We have endeavored to divest ourselves, while engaged in this task, of all local prejudices, and every influence which might affect the impartiality of the narrative.

In writing the history of the only great nation on the globe, the beginnings of which are fully recorded in contemporary writings, and for which we are not compelled, as in other cases, to grope in the darkness of tradition, the authors of this work have ascended to the proper sources, the ancient records themselves. The narrative has been drawn imme-

diately from these writings, and by them has every statement and date of our early history been verified. For the later periods, the materials are of course voluminous and circumstantial, even to embarrassment. We are not without the hope that those who read what we have written will see in the past, with all its vicissitudes, and with all our own shortcomings, the promise of a prosperous and honorable future, of concord at home and peace and respect abroad, and that the same cheerful piety which leads the good man to put his personal trust in a kind Providence, will prompt the good citizen to cherish an equal confidence in regard to the destiny reserved for our beloved country.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

New York, 1876.

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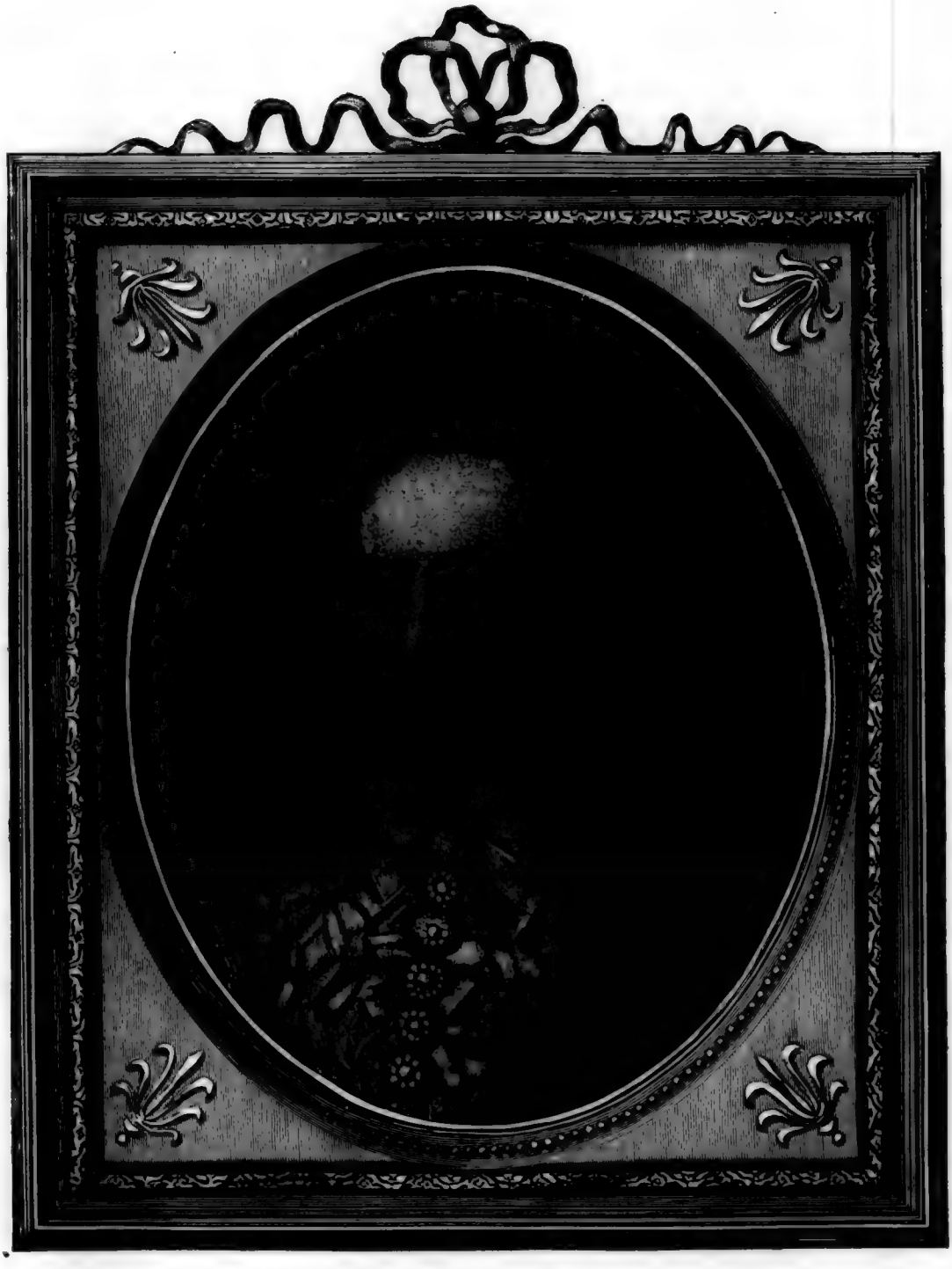
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WALTER RALEIGH.

(From the portrait attributed to Federigo Zuccero.)



Primeval America.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRE-HISTORIC MAN.

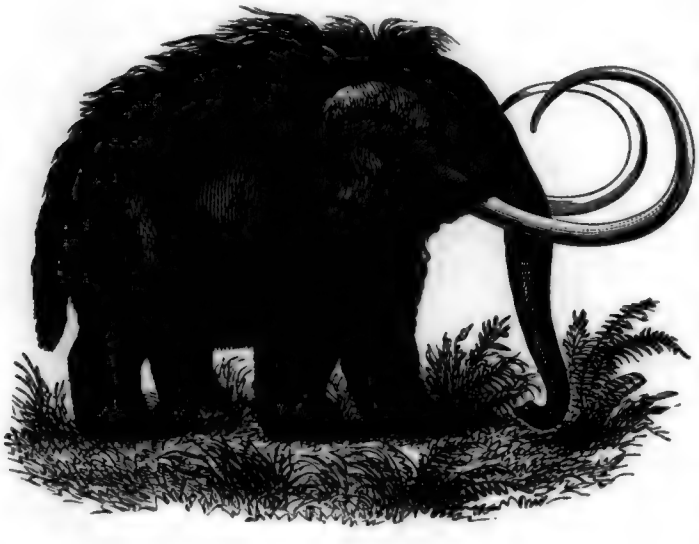
MAN COEVAL WITH EXTINCT ANIMALS. — THE CAVE-PEOPLE. — SCANDINAVIAN SHELL-HEAPS. — LAKE-DWELLINGS OF SWITZERLAND. — HABITS OF THE PRIMITIVE MAN. — TWO STONE AGES. — RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN STONE RELICS OF TWO HEMISPHERES. — AMERICA THE OLDEST CONTINENT. — A ZONE OF PYRAMIDS. — TRADITIONS OF A LOST CONTINENT. — SHELL-HEAPS IN UNITED STATES. — A PRE-HISTORIC HUNT IN MISSOURI. — HUMAN REMAINS IN GOLD-DRIFT OF CALIFORNIA. — SUPERIOR ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN AMERICA.

THE period and the conditions of the early existence of man have, within the last half century, been the subject of fresh and interesting investigation. The recognition of human relics in certain geological relations has established the fact that there once prevailed in Europe a barbarism essentially like that belonging to the lower type of savages of our own time. This primeval state of man in that portion of the world existed too long ago to be included within the historic period; and, so far as careful observation has been made, similar evidence of the antiquity of the race is found in the

Antiquity of man in Europe.

imperishable signs of human habitation and the rude arts of savage life in all other parts of the globe.

Northern Europe at one period was buried in an Arctic winter for many centuries. On the summits of lofty mountain ranges, great glaciers of ice and snow were piled, which advanced by slow degrees, and covered land and sea. When at length this long and dreary period drew toward its close, the glaciers receded, and the earth became habitable, then, although a period of intense cold was long continued, there appeared many great and strange animals, now known only by their fossil remains. Among them, wandering in herds over the region which afterwards was shaped into the present continent of Europe, feeding upon the vegetation of a virgin world, were the elephant, with long hair and mane, a rhinoceros clad in fur, a gigantic elk ten feet in height, with antlers measuring eleven feet from tip to tip, the cave-bear, the cave-lion, and other ferocious beasts after their kind, hiding themselves and their prey in dens and caverns. In caves and gravel drifts in France, in Belgium, and in England, man has left the indubitable witnesses of his life, in association with the bones of these extinct animals, of which whole races perished while he survived through periods of successive submersions and upheavals of land, of floods from slowly receding glaciers, of alterations in climate due, perhaps, to the changing relative positions of the earth to the sun, perhaps to the relative areas of land and sea in different portions of the globe at different periods.



Long-haired Elephant.

The cave-men.

These people who first appeared, or the first, at least, who are known to have appeared, in Europe, were mere naked savages with an instinct to kill and to eat, to creep under a rock as a shelter from the cold and the rain; who in the course of time learned that fire would burn and cook, that there was warmth in the skin of a beast, that a sharpened stone would kill and would scrape much better than a blunt one. From generation to generation they lived and died in the caves where they have left the evidences of their

existence; and it is a curious and interesting mark of their progress that some of these troglodytes in the south of France made tolerable carvings in bone and drawings of various animals upon horns and tusks of ivory. Pictures of the long-haired elephant and of groups of reindeer show the possession of that artist-sense which seems as peculiar to and inherent in man as the power to laugh and the faculty of articulate speech; and they prove also that these artists were familiar with the animals they sketched, of which one is known to the modern world only by its fossil remains, and another, though still extant, is able to live only in latitudes of extreme cold.



Carving on Bone. (Long-haired Elephant.)

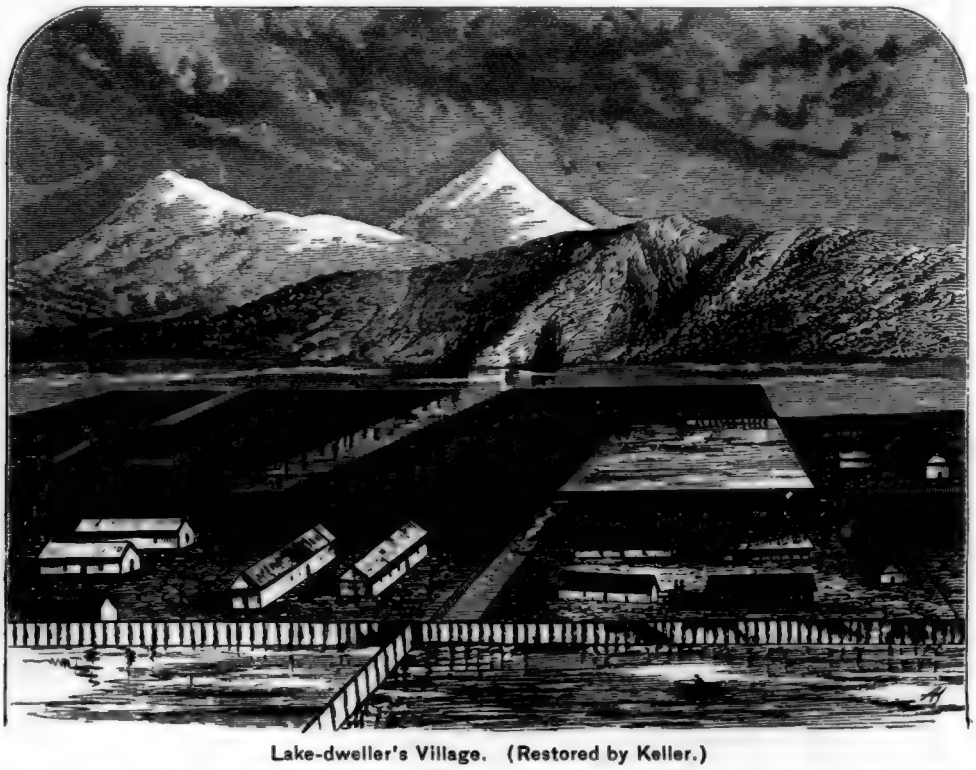
On the coast of Denmark there are immense shell-heaps called Kjökken-Möddings — kitchen middings or kitchen-refuse-heaps — differing little, if at all, from similar heaps on other coasts, all over the world, except that they have been dug into, turned up, sifted, studied, inch by inch, atom by atom, with that sagacity, patience, and minuteness which distinguish modern science. In these are found, mingled with stone implements, bones of various beasts and birds and shells of different fish, the bones of a certain species of grouse, — a bird known to have fed upon the buds of the pine tree. But the pine tree does not grow, and has not grown within the historic period, in Denmark. It is found, however, in the peat-bogs, thirty feet beneath the present surface of the soil. Above these buried pines are the trunks of the oak and white birch that followed the pine forests, flourished for centuries, and then in their turn died out. On the upper surface of the bogs grows the beech, the common forest tree of Denmark now, as it has been so far back as either history or tradition goes. Thus forest after forest of different species, to which the climate and the soil were adapted, has come and gone since the people of the Kjökken-Möddings fed upon this bird, the capercailzie, which lived upon the buds of those buried pines.

Remains in shell-heaps.



Carving on Bone. (Group of Reindeer.)

Nor are these men of the caves and of the Kjökken-Möddings the only representatives of the ancient race or races who left their relics in their actual habitations. In the years 1853–54, two successive dry seasons reduced the waters of the lakes of Switzerland to a lower point than was ever known before. It was discovered, first by accident and afterward by careful search, that dwellings built upon piles had once



Lake-dweller's Village. (Restored by Keller.)

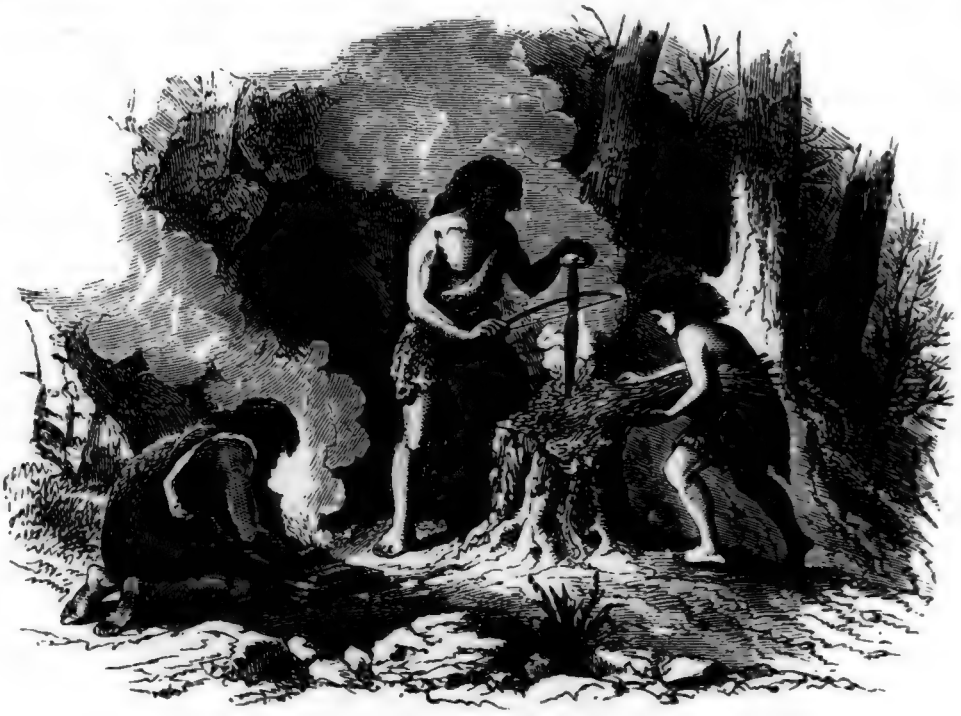
stood in these lakes near their shores. Continued systematic and patient examination of the sites of these habitations proves that some of them belonged to an ancient people, and that, as their relics show, they lived in them, from century to century, from the earliest appearance of man down, probably, to the historic period.

With these last discoveries the case seems complete. In the dark caves of various regions, for whose possession these early men doubtless contended with the cave-lion, the cave-bear, and the cave-hyena; by the sea-shore in the Kjökken-Möddings of Denmark; in the huts of the Lake region where they put water between themselves and all danger from wild beasts or other enemies, their history is read in the simple implements of the infancy and childhood of the race.

Implements of the primitive man.

When the human creature learned that he could avail himself of his hands in a way and with an intelligent purpose to which no other animal had attained, and of which mere paws and claws seemed incapable, his first use, probably, of that discovery was to hurl a stick or a stone at an enemy or a wild beast in

defence or attack. Observation and experience would soon lead him to some contrivance better than a mere missile, and to combine the stick and the stone into an artificial weapon. So, also, from bruising or crushing with a pebble, the transition is equally natural to a rude

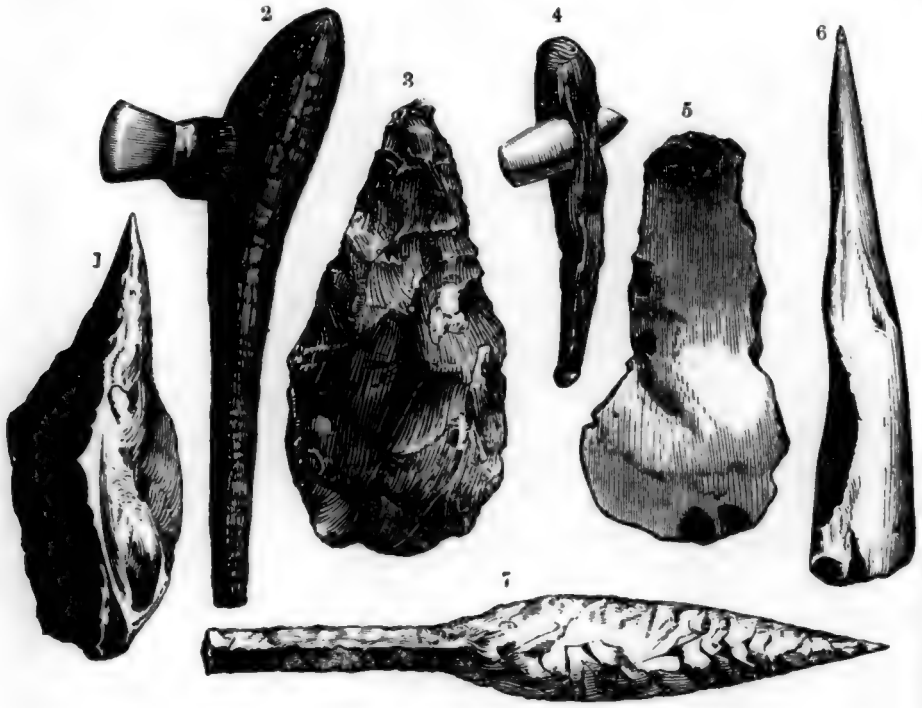


Savage of the Stone Age.

hammer or hatchet, — the stone prepared, in some way, to receive a handle, or sharpened at one end to an edge, so that a blow could be struck to break or cut with careful limitations. In the first period of this early age, therefore, when man is supposed to have begun to learn that he had the faculty of invention which might make him superior to all other animals, are found the first rude weapons and implements, arrow-heads and spear-heads, knives, hatchets, hammers, and tools sharpened to edges of different shapes and for various purposes, all made of stone or bone, but all only roughly chipped, unground, and unpolished.

It must have taken generations, it may have taken centuries, before even this much of culture was secured by the man, whose wants were few, whose intellect was as feeble as the intellect of a modern child, but whose mere brute force of muscular strength and whose power of endurance were probably so great as alone to suffice, for the most part, to satisfy all his wants. Certainly, as the relics he has left behind him show, a long time elapsed before he much improved his condition. Slowly and gradually he added to the number of his tools, and improved upon their shape and capability. Among the most common

of these improved implements is what the antiquary calls a celt—*celtis*, a chisel—and which may have been used either as a chisel, a hatchet, or an adze; he contrived a scraper, with which he cleaned



Stone Implements.

Fig. 1, flint awl. 2, Swiss stone axe. 3, spear-head. 4, stone celt. 5, stone scraper. 6, bone awl. 7, stone dagger.

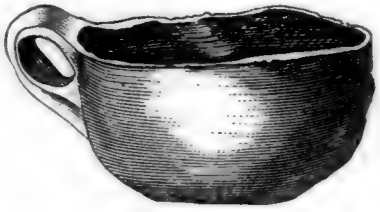
the adhering flesh from the skins of the beasts he killed; he invented bodkins and needles of bone, to pass through them the sinews that served for thread when he made clothing of these skins; and he fashioned harpoons for fishing. To his offensive weapons he added daggers; his axe he improved in size and shape; and he cut jagged teeth in long flakes of flint for saws. Such of these implements as were for use once or twice only in war or in the chase, or for rough and infrequent purposes, he left still rudely chipped.



Earliest Pottery.

But with the exercise of the inventive power came the sense of beauty, the consciousness of increased effectiveness in the perfection of a tool, and perhaps the development of a new satisfaction in the permanent possession of personal property of his own creation. Then he was no longer content with the rough pebble that he picked up on the beach, but sought for better material; he studied the grain and the cleavage of different flints and obsidians; bestowed time

and much labor upon the perfecting of his implements; contrived new and more convenient handles; gave grace and outline to their shapes; ground their edges to keen sharpness, and polished them with studious care. So in the lapse of centuries he attained at length to the age of Polished Stone. With it come the first evidences of the manufacture of a rude pottery, learned, perhaps, by some observant savage from the accidental baking of clay, who conceived therefrom a better drinking-cup, or vessel to hold his food, than a clam-shell or the hollow of his hand.[1]



Drinking-cup.

His mode of life.

From all the varied relics of the man of the early, and so far as is yet known the earliest epoch, the ethnologist has deduced that he was of small brains, retreating forehead, projecting jaws, low in intellect, but of great strength of bone and muscle, which enabled him to encounter and overcome the formidable dangers of his time. He lived near the sea-shore or on the banks of lakes and rivers, from which he drew, in part, his subsistence. A hunter and fisherman, compelled to a constant struggle for bare subsistence, he did not at first cultivate the earth, and it is doubted if even he bestowed much labor upon gathering the fruits and vegetables which nature unassisted might have afforded him. His food was flesh; the incisors of the jaws that have been found are, like those of the Esquimaux of the present day, worn smooth, and it is surmised that, like that people, he preferred to eat raw — perhaps because he was slow in learning how to cook — the flesh of the animals he killed. His front teeth did not overlap as ours do, but met one another like those of the Greenlanders, and he could therefore the more easily tear and gnaw the flesh from the bones.[2] Sometimes on the bones of children, as well as of adults, the marks of such human teeth have been observed, and it is supposed that failing other food, he fed, not only upon his enemies whom he killed in battle, but upon those whom he could only be led to eat by the extremity of hunger or the mere fondness for human flesh. But he was not always a cannibal, or at least the testimony to this propensity is not always present among the other evidences of his way of life. The skins of the beasts he killed in the chase or trapped, perhaps served for tents, and no doubt for clothing; their flesh and the marrow of their bones, for which he seems to have had a special fondness, were his food. These skins he dressed with his unpolished stone scraper, shaped them with his stone knife, sewed them with

[1] See Tylor, Lubbock, Lyell, Vogt, Dawkins, Gustaldi, Busk, Keller, Figuier, *et al.*

[2] *Pre-historic Times.* By Sir John Lubbock.

threads of sinews in needles of bone. A flatness or compression of the shin-bone, differing from the shape of the tibia of civilized man, is sometimes found, which permitted, it is suggested, of a disposition of the muscles peculiarly adapted to men living by hunting in a rough and mountainous country.[1] He found a shelter at first in natural caves, and in huts of the simplest construction, partly because the convulsions of nature, however gradual they may have been, were still too frequent and too tremendous to admit of any pretermission of the struggle with the elements by which alone he could maintain existence; or to leave any leisure for the development of the architectural faculty.

Unground and Ground Stone Ages.

To the beginning of that remote and long continued epoch has been given the name of the Stone Age, because then men had only learned to fashion from the pebbles they picked up at their feet, a rude weapon for warfare or a ruder implement for domestic use. And this era of the childhood of the race is divided into two periods, the Unground Stone Age (Palæolithic), and the Ground Stone (Neolithic) Age. But the dividing line between

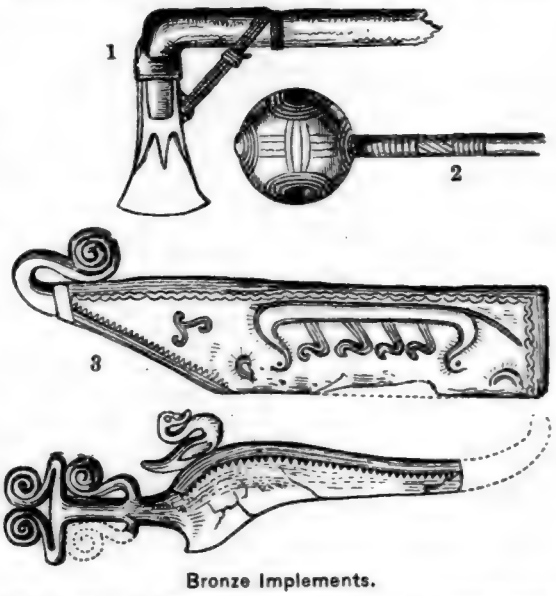


The Age of Ice.

[1] See Broca upon the *Ossemens des Azies;* Busk on Human Remains, etc., in the Caves of Gibraltar. Report of the International Congress of Pre-historic Archæology, 1868; Dawkins' *Cave Hunting,* London, 1874.

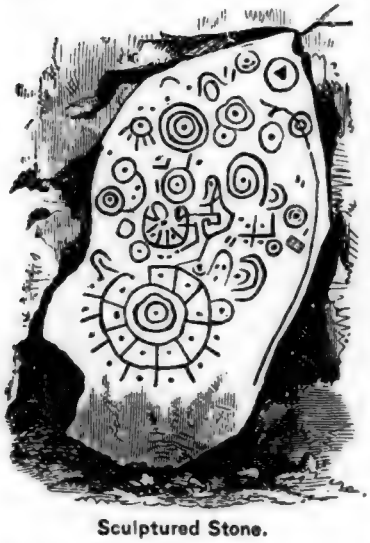
these two periods is so vague and uncertain that it is thought by some impossible to define it in any other way than by the recurrence of a second glacial era when all Europe was wrapped in an Arctic winter, and buried in Arctic ice, probably for hundreds of years.[1]

At any rate a long period passed away before these rude men learned to grind and polish the stones which at first they only chipped, and it is doubted if their stone axes were pierced to receive a handle till working in metals in later times had taught them a method for the process. For the Stone Age overlapped the Bronze, and even when they had come to know how to smelt copper and had learned that nine parts of that metal to one of tin would make a combination hard enough for a useful tool, or sword, or spear, they long held to their old implements of stone, no doubt, because of the cost of material and slow growth of skill. But when man began to smelt ores he began to make history; and there is a visible connection between the Bronze Age and our own, in traditions, oral and written, in inscriptions upon sculptured stones, in picture-writing in temples and on ancient monuments.



Bronze Implements.

Fig. 1, celt. 2, bronze hair-pin (Swiss). 3, bronze razor knife-blade (Dennak). 4, bronze knife-blade (Danish.)



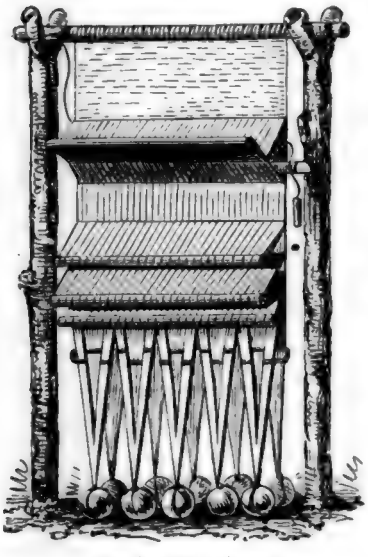
Sculptured Stone.

The Lake-dwellers, however, though some of them were in the condition of the earliest Stone Age, were generally of that more recent period when the continent had settled into its present form; their population was numerous enough to gather into communities sufficient for the felling of trees with their stone axes; these trees, sharpened with the aid of fire, they drove into the muddy bottoms of the lakes as piles for the support of the platforms of their houses. With their relics, in beds three feet in thickness, the accumulation of centuries, are found the first evidences of agriculture and horticulture. Among the charred remains

[1] *The Great Ice Age; and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man.* By James Geikie. 1874.

of their villages, which seem to have often been destroyed by fire, are wheat, barley, and linseed, apples and pears cut in halves as if for winter use, the seeds of strawberries, raspberries, elderberries, blackberries, loaves of bread, fragments of woven cloth.[1] But the earlier men of the caves, and probably of the Kjökken-Möddings, had reached to no such point of culture. Nor was it till he had attained to the Age of Polished Stone that man domesticated animals. With the implements of that time are found also the bones of the dog, the hog, the horse, the ox, the sheep, the goat, animals made useful for labor as well as for food.[2]

Relics of Lake-dwellers.



Lake-dweller's Loom.

The earliest of these peoples inhabited Europe at that remote period, when, as geologists believe, the lands now called Italy and Spain were joined to Africa, and in the place of the Mediterranean Sea were only a few land-locked basins; when the British Islands, as far north as the Shetlands, were a part of the continent; when the present bottom of the North Sea was a low, wide plain covered, probably, by magnificent forests, through which the Rhine, with the Elbe and the Thames as its tributaries, wound its way to discharge its waters at length into the ocean north of Scandinavia; and when the western boundary of Europe was far out in the Atlantic beyond the present coasts of Ireland and France, extending in an unbroken line from the Arctic Ocean to Africa.

Geologic changes in Europe.

Was this primeval savage, as his story is thus read in the relics he has left behind him in imperishable stone, a man of a dark or a white skin? In what tongue did he speak? Was he the ancestor of any of the cultivated European races of to-day? To these questions there is no satisfactory, perhaps no possible, answer. We only know that his condition was evidently not unlike that of the dark-skinned barbarians of our own time, and that there is no record in history of a white race at so low a point of culture. There is, apparently, no trace of his lineage in any living European race, unless it be in the small, black-eyed, dark-haired, swarthy people of the Basque provinces of France, of Ireland west of the Shannon, and of the mountains of Wales, who, it is supposed, may have

Traces of the pre-historic man among modern nations

[1] Keller's *Lake Dwellings.* Desor's *Lacustrine Constructions.*

[2] *Cave Hunting, Researches on the Evidences of Caves, etc.* By W. Boyd Dawkins.

descended from Neolithic ancestors.[1] Otherwise he either perished in the course of nature, like many species of plants and animals of former eras, or was exterminated by a stronger and wiser people, migrating from the East, who came with weapons of bronze in their hands, bringing with them that germ from which has grown the civilization of Europe and America.

It is a curious and interesting inquiry what bearing this new-found evidence of the antiquity of man has upon the question of the origin of the first inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere and of the time of their first appearance. There is a remarkable resemblance in the relics of all pre-historic races, as there is a similarity in the rude works of art of barbarous people in all parts of the world, and in all ages. So great is this resemblance, that, it is said, a skilful observer of stone implements could not, from an unticketed heap, tell within thousands



Arrow-heads from different Countries.

Fig. 1, Ireland. 2, France. 3, N. America. 4, Terra del Fuego. 5, Japan

of years or thousands of miles when and where they were made.[2] It is only by their positions and the relations in which they are found, that it is possible to assign to them any value as to their age, or as to the condition of the people to whom they once belonged. But as they are, in certain positions and relations, accepted as proving the antiquity of man, it is difficult to believe that in one half the world, where they may be as plentiful as in the other half, they are without any such significance. However puzzling it may be to distinguish between the stone-hatchet or arrow-head of the modern Indian and that dropped by some earlier savage before the Indian possessed the land, it is possible that such a distinction may yet be clearly established.

"First-born among the continents," says Agassiz, "though so much later in culture and civilization than some of more recent birth, America, so far as her physical history is concerned, has been falsely denominated the *New World*. Hers was the first dry land lifted out of the waters, hers the first shore washed

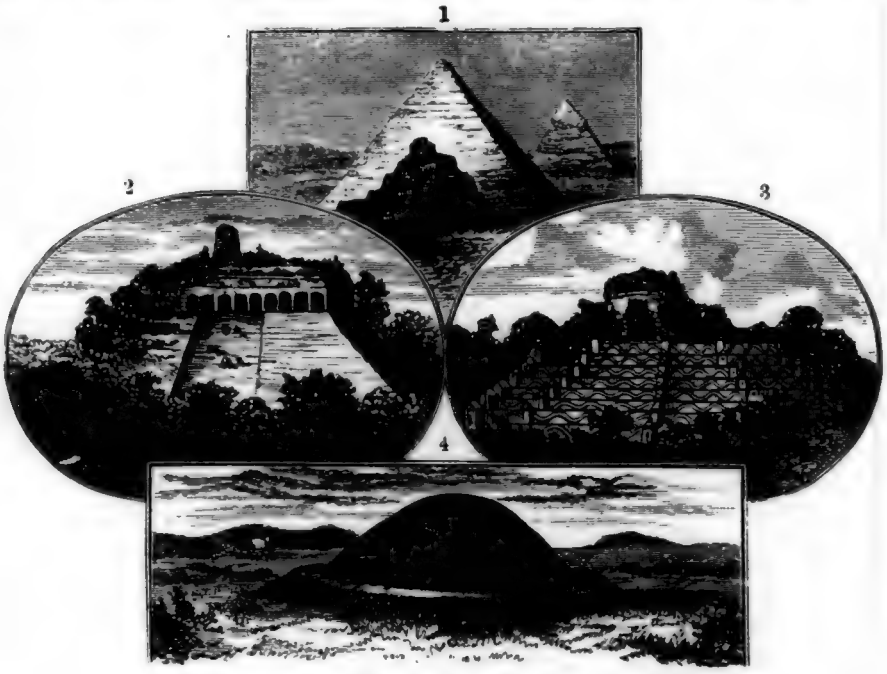
Antiquity of American Continent.

[1] See W. Boyd Dawkins, in *Cave Hunting*, and in *Fortnightly Review*, September, 1874, who, on this point, follows Dr. Thurnam and Professor Huxley.

[2] Tylor's *Early History, etc.*, p. 206.

by the ocean that enveloped all the earth beside; and while Europe was represented only by islands rising here and there above the sea, America already stretched an unbroken line of land from Nova Scotia to the Far West."[1]

If then an antiquity of the human race, till recently supposed to be incredible, be accepted as true, a door is thrown wide open for speculation the farther we go back in time. The hypothesis of a Mongolian migration is no longer indispensable to account for the earliest appearance of man on that half the globe which the most



A Zone of Pyramids.
Fig. 1, Egypt. 2, Central America. 3, India. 4, North America.

eminent geologist of this country held to be the older half. Communication between the two hemispheres, it is conjectured, may have been, long ages ago, quite as possible in other ways as in our era across the sea of Kamtschatka. To account for the resemblance in the works of art, the temples, the pyramids, the hieroglyphics of Central America and Mexico, to those of Asia, it has been suggested that the Eastern and Western Continents once approached each other where the ocean now rolls between, and that a zone or circle of the earth was at that period occupied by a pyramid-building people. And to strengthen the supposition, it is alleged that there are many points of resemblance between the Guanches, the aboriginal but now extinct people of the Canary Isles, and the ancient Egyptians on this parallel zone.[2] In the form of the skull the Guanches are said to have been allied to the

[1] *Geological Sketches*, by L. Agassiz, p. 1.
[2] *The Races of Men.* By Robert Knox. London, 1862.

Caribs of the Antilles, and both to the tribes of the whole eastern coast of America from its extreme northern limit to Paraguay and Uruguay in the south.[1] Humboldt suggests[2] that the summits of the Madeira and of the Canary Islands may have once been the western extremity of the chain of the Atlas mountains. Others go farther and assume that these islands and those of the West Indies are the summits of mountain chains that once crowned an Atlantic continent which was afterward submerged and disintegrated by some great cataclysm. The similarity of the flora on the islands of the coast of Africa and Western Europe, and those of Central Europe and Eastern America can only be accounted for, according to some geologists, by the supposition of such a continent before the human period.[3] The bolder theorists are disposed to accept the fact without the limitation, as the time of the destruction of such a continent, if it ever existed, and the first appearance of man are alike uncertain.

Tradition of an Atlantic Continent.

In curious coincidence with these mingled facts and conjectures the story is recalled which Plato says was related to Solon by an Egyptian priest of the island called Atlantis, "larger than Asia [Minor] and Libya combined," lying beyond the Pillars of Hercules, inhabited by a powerful and warlike people, and which was destroyed by earthquakes and floods nine thousand years before his time. In later times the "Island of Antilia," the "Island of the Seven Cities," the "Island of the Holy Bishop Brandon," placed midway in the "Sea of Darkness," as the Atlantic was then called, found its place in the earliest maps of the world, sometimes under one name, sometimes another, when the geography of one half the globe was merely guessed at.

These speculations, traditions, and supposed fables are not history; but it is not impossible that in them may yet be found some aid in putting together the unwritten story of the early human race on this continent. It is not indeed yet established upon unquestioned evidence that man is as old here as anywhere else; but that such evidence is forthcoming is hardly a subject of doubt now even among those slowest to believe.

The natives of North America, when first visited by Europeans a few centuries ago, belonged as distinctly to the Stone Age as the earliest inhabitants of Europe did at an epoch too remote to be accurately measured in years. It is not easy, therefore, to distinguish in this country between the possible relics of a primeval race and those of the modern Indians, where, whatever the difference of time be-

[1] Professor Retzius of Stockholm. Smithsonian Report, 1859.

[2] *Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America.* By Alexander von Humboldt.

[3] See Lecture by Edward Suess, in Vienna, translated for Smithsonian Report, 1872. Opinions of Professors Unger and Heer, quoted by Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, p. 492.

tween them, there was none of culture. Thus Lyell repeatedly refers, in different works,[1] to the shell-heaps along the American coast from Massachusetts to Georgia as identical with the Kjökken-Möddings, the kitchen refuse-heaps, of Denmark. As witnesses to the existence of a people in an early stage of barbarism, these refuse heaps of shells on the coasts of different countries are undoubtedly identical, but it may be questioned whether those upon our own are the work of the modern Indian, or of a race that long preceded them, and coeval, perhaps, with those primitive savages who fed in Denmark upon shell-fish which can no longer live in the waters of the Baltic, and upon the birds whose food was the buds of trees buried now in the bogs beneath successive forests. Such heaps are found from Nova Scotia to Florida, upon all the Sea Islands of the Southern States, along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and upon the banks of fresh-water streams. Their number and their size suggest the former presence of a large population and its long continuance. One upon Stalling's Island, in the Savannah River, two hundred miles above its mouth, is three hundred feet in length by one hundred and twenty in width, and with an average elevation of more than fifteen feet.[2] Did the scattered tribes of Indian hunters accumulate these huge relics of their summer fishing? Perhaps when longer studied, and with a definite purpose, they may shed new light here, as the shell-heaps of Denmark, the caves of Germany, France, and England, the remains of human habitation beneath the lakes of Switzerland, have done in Europe, upon the antiquity of the early inhabitants.[3]

Shell-heaps on coast of U. S.

But where the fact to be observed depends upon geological evidence, the question is simply one of verification of that evidence. This involves, ordinarily, scientific knowledge and accurate observation. Such observation and knowledge will, in the long run, be brought to bear upon the subject and to dispel all doubts, if that is possible, either one way or the other. Meanwhile the progress of the accumulation of such evidence, whether more or less conclusive, is neither valueless nor without interest.

[1] *Visit to the United States. Antiquity of Man.*

[2] *Antiquities of the Southern Indians.* C. C. Jones, Jr.

[3] The late Professor Jeffries Wyman, of Cambridge, who had examined the structure and contents of these refuse-heaps with the careful habit and rigid method of scientific research, asserts, in a private letter, that no glass beads or tools of metal have hitherto been found in them, though such articles were largely distributed among the Indians by the earliest European visitors; that some of the older mounds are wanting in any traces of pottery; that no pipes or fragments of pipes have been found in them by him and other accurate explorers, though smoking was the universal custom of the Indians when first known; that trees have been observed upon them, which showed by their annular growth an age antedating from one to three centuries the landing of Columbus; and that there is no record, with a single exception, in the narratives of the early voyagers of these heaps marking the dwelling-places of the Indians.

Thus, near Natchez, Mississippi, there was found about thirty years ago, a fragment of a human bone, the pelvis, in association with the bones of the mastodon, the megalonyx, and other extinct animals. Were the man and the beasts to whom these bones belonged living at the same time? That time was about a hundred thousand years ago,[1] when the mastodon and megalonyx, whose remains must have been buried beneath the present valley and delta of the Mississippi, were certainly alive. The fissure at the bottom of which the bones were found was made during the earthquakes of 1811–12, which extended through a portion of the Mississippi Valley, heaving the earth up into long hillocks, and tearing it open into deep ravines. Sir Charles Lyell, on his visit to this country in 1846, carefully examined the locality and these fossils, with a stronger bias, he has since said, against the probability "of the contemporaneous entombment of man and the mastodon than any geologist would now be justified in entertaining."[2] He suggested that the human bone may have fallen from the surface of the soil, while those of the fossil beasts came from strata underneath. Other scientific men afterward adopted this suggestion, though he has since candidly acknowledged that "had the pelvic bone belonged to any recent mammifer other than man, such a theory would never have been resorted to."[3]

Fossil remains in U. S.

So in New Orleans, in 1852, a human skeleton was dug from an excavation, made for the foundation of gas-works, at a depth of sixteen feet, and beneath four successive buried forests of cypress. Dr. Dowler, into whose possession this skeleton came, believed, from its position, that it had lain there not less than fifty thousand years, but whether this be correct or not, depends upon intricate calculations as to the yearly deposits of the river, about which there is great difference of opinion among geologists. There is on Petit Anse Island, in Louisiana, a bed of almost pure rock salt, found in every part of it at a depth of from fifteen to twenty feet. On this spot have been disinterred the fossil bones of the mastodon and the elephant, and underneath them lay fragments of matting and bits of broken pottery in great profusion. The people to whom this refuse once belonged had resorted to the island for salt, before, it is assumed, the superimposed mud of fifteen or twenty feet in depth, and in which the mastodons and elephants were buried, was deposited; on the other hand, it is doubted whether the whole mass of soil and all it contained may not have been washed down from the surrounding hills, mingling together indiscriminately the remains of various ages.

[1] Sir Charles Lyell, *Second Visit to the United States*, vol. ii. p. 151.
[2] Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, p. 236.
[3] Ibid., p. 239.

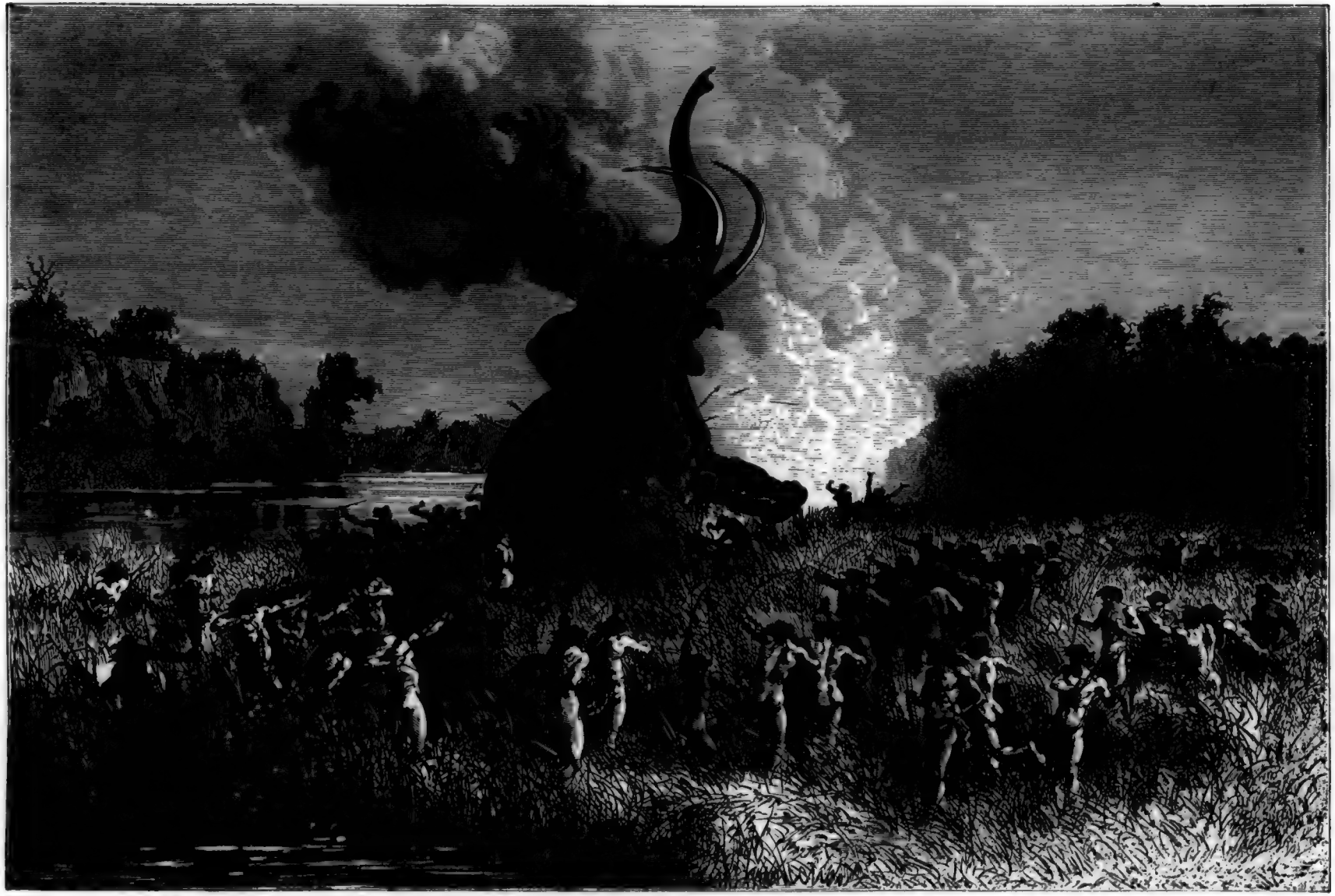
Evidence still more interesting and conclusive that man and the extinct animals were contemporaneous is alleged to have been found in Missouri nearly forty years ago. A Dr. Koch, of St. Louis, an enthusiastic, though not a scientific, collector and exhibitor of fossil remains, affirmed that in 1839 he dug up, in the bottom lands of the Bourbeuse River, in Missouri, from a depth of eight or nine feet, the bones of a mastodon, in such juxtaposition with human relics as to show that man and this beast, whose race is no longer in existence, met upon that spot in deadly hostility. He asserted that, when the exhumation was made, the great bones of the legs of the animal stood erect as if the creature had become immovably mired in the deep and tenacious clay. Around it had been kindled a fire by human hands, and in the ashes that lay about the skeleton to the depth of from two to six inches were scattered bits of charred wood and half-burnt bones, stone arrow-heads, stone axes, and rough stones, — these last brought evidently from the beach of the river at some distance, where in a stratum of the bank, and there only in the neighborhood, are similar stones still found. All these missiles unquestionably had been hurled at the creature, whose gigantic strength, stimulated by pain and rage and fear, the torments of the flames, the shouts of the pursuers, the sharp wounds from their stone weapons, was not enough to extricate him from the slough into which his great weight had sunk him.

Discovery of mastodon in Missouri.

There are in this case two considerations to be borne in mind. If man and the mastodon did not live at the same time, a discovery of their remains in the alleged relations is necessarily impossible. But there is no inherent improbability in the story if they were contemporaneous; so huge a beast might easily become mired in a swamp, and then be surrounded and put to death by the savages by such means as were at their command.[1] The only remarkable thing about the incident would be that subsequent deposits of earth should have so completely covered these fossil remains, without disturbing them, that they could be exhumed in their original condition so long afterward.[2]

[1] Savages are alike in all ages and countries. "The people," — in the Lake region of Eastern Africa, — says the great traveller, Livingstone, "employ these continuous or *set-in* rains for hunting the elephant, which gets bogged and sinks in from fifteen to eighteen inches in soft mud; then even he, the strong one, feels it difficult to escape." — *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa*, p. 143.

[2] See Article XXXV., *Silliman's Journal*, May, 1875, by James D. Dana; which is devoted to a discussion of this case. Professor Dana considers Koch's statement "very doubtful," but his doubt is evidently as to Koch's truthfulness and character, and not as to any inherent improbability in such a discovery, as he says, "it is to be hoped that the geologists of the Missouri Geological Survey now in progress will succeed in settling the question positively." And on the essential point which alone gives the story any importance, he adds: "The contemporaneity claimed will probably be shown to be true for North America by future discoveries, if not already established; for Man existed in Europe long before the extinction of the American mastodon."



A PRE-HISTORIC MAMMOTH HUNT.

At this exhumation, Dr. Koch always affirmed that twenty persons of the vicinity were present; others have vouched for his integrity and general truthfulness; [1] and though he had little knowledge of scientific facts and methods, and made grave mistakes in the classification of fossil bones, his experience and success in recovering them was greater than that of any other explorers.[2] If such a scene, then, the evidences of which he claims to have uncovered, ever occurred — a scene in itself by no means improbable if man and the mastodon lived at the same time in the same region of country — a picture is presented of a hunt by pre-historic men on this continent vivid enough to appeal to the dullest imagination, and more remarkable than any similar incident yet found anywhere else.

A year later than this asserted discovery on the Bourbeuse River, the same diligent collector claimed to have made another which must be considered on the same grounds. In the bottomlands of the Pomme de Terre River, in Benton County, Missouri, he dug up, he asserts, an almost entire skeleton of another mastodon, beneath which were two stone arrow-heads in such a position that they must have been there when the animal fell. They lay in a bed of vegetable mould, covered by twenty feet of alternate strata of sand, clay, and gravel, hitherto undisturbed, and on the surface of the ground grew a forest of old trees.



Dr. Koch's Arrow-head.

Later discoveries of other fossils are not less significant, in the controversies to which they have given rise, of growing interest in the importance of the subject. In 1857, the fragment of a human skull was taken, it is asserted, from the gold drift of California, one hundred and eighty feet below the surface of Table Mountain, in association with the fossil bones of extinct animals. More recently, in 1867 or 1868, another human cranium was found in a mining shaft in Calaveras County, which Professor Whitney, of the State Geological Survey, believes to have been an authentic "find." To all the alleged circumstances in regard to it he gave a careful examination, and his testimony is accepted as conclusive by many eminent scientific men.[3] The shaft in which the bone was buried is one hundred and fifty feet deep, and was sunk through five beds of lava and volcanic tufa, and four beds of gold-bearing

Fossil human skull in California.

[1] *Pre-historic Races of the United States*, by J. W. Foster, p. 62. Charles Rau, in *Smithsonian Report for* 1872.

[2] The *Mastodon giganteus* mounted in the British Museum was found in Missouri by Dr. Koch, and a representation of it, copied from Owen, is given in Dana's *Manual of Geology*, 1875, p. 566.

[3] Among others, by the late Professor Jeffries Wyman.

quartz. In this superincumbent mass no crack or crevice was apparent through which the bone could have fallen to so great a depth, and the inference therefore is that it was deposited in the place where it lay when that was on the surface of the earth's crust, and that over it in subsequent ages were piled up the successive beds of gravel and volcanic cinders. If this be true of these skulls, then the men whom they represent lived before the human race appeared in Europe, so far as is yet ascertained; and before the stupendous peaks of the Sierra Nevada Mountains of California were lifted from the sea.

Though the number of alleged facts bearing upon the antiquity of the human family on this continent are still few and need unquestioned confirmation, the inclination of scientific belief is that the evidence exists and will yet be found.[1] When this shall be done beyond cavil a new foundation will be laid on which to base the inquiry as to the earliest people of the Western World. However strong may be the probability of the Asiatic origin of the North American Indians, behind them appears another race which must have been displaced by that Mongolian migration. If here as elsewhere there were races more ancient than has hitherto been supposed, we can no longer look upon the Western Hemisphere as solitary and unpeopled, unknown and useless to man till he, grown old in the East, was numerous enough and far enough advanced in intelligence and wants to wander abroad upon the face of the earth in search of a new home.

[1] See *ante*, p. 16. Note from Silliman's Journal.

CHAPTER II.

THE MOUND BUILDERS.

PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN. — PRE-HISTORIC RACE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE. — EARTHWORKS IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. BIG ELEPHANT MOUND. — GARDEN-BEDS. — MILITARY WORKS. — TEMPLE AND ALTAR MOUNDS. — RELICS FOUND IN THESE TUMULI. — ANCIENT COPPER-MINING AT LAKE SUPERIOR. — CONNECTION BETWEEN THIS AND LATER CIVILIZATIONS. — REMAINS IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA. — SKULLS FOUND IN THE MOUNDS.

THE North American Indians are, as a race, in no higher plane of culture now than they were three hundred years ago. If they have any inherent capability for progress — if they could, had they remained isolated and unmolested, have ever raised themselves above the conditions of the second age of stone implements, that progress was arrested when they came into subjection to another and a higher race. It has been easy enough to intensify the weaknesses which distinguished them as savages, by adding to these the most sensual and degrading vices acquired from the whites; and in that process of degradation has been lost whatever of stern and manly virtue is supposed to be the compensation in the simple child of nature for the minor morals of civilized life.

The North American Indian.

It seems irrational to assume that such a people, whose contact for two centuries and a half with the culture of another race has been unproductive of any good, can have once fallen from a semi-civilization possessed by their ancestors, but of which they have neither distinct inheritance nor even dim tradition. There is no influence visible or conceivable to account for a change so remarkable. They had evidently never lost their physical vigor; no enemy had ever before come to dispossess them of the soil which they claimed as their own, or to trample out by conquest and servitude the feeble sparks of nascent development; and no higher civilization had invaded and overwhelmed the feeble efforts of the childhood of a race. It is to set aside all the facts of history, as well as all rational conjecture, to suppose that a race now apparently so hopelessly incapable of improvement had, without cause, at some former period, fallen from the condition of a partially cultivated people, to that of savage hunters in a country

which had become a wilderness through their own voluntary degradation.

Race in America anterior to Indians.

But behind these Indians, who were in possession of the country when it was discovered by Europeans, is dimly seen the shadowy form of another people who have left many remarkable evidences of their habits and customs and of a singular degree of civilization, but who many centuries ago disappeared, either exterminated by pestilence or by some powerful and pitiless enemy, or driven from the country to seek new homes south and west of the Gulf of Mexico.

The evidences of the presence of this ancient people are found almost everywhere upon the North American Continent, except, perhaps, upon the Atlantic coast. They consist of mounds sometimes of imposing size, and other earthworks, so numerous that in Ohio



Earthworks in Ohio.

alone there are, or were till quite recently, estimated to be not less than ten thousand of the Mounds, and fifteen hundred enclosures of earth and stone all evidently the work of the same people. In other parts of the country they were found in such numbers that no attempt has ever been made to count them all.

There are no data by which the exact age of these singular relics of a once numerous and industrious people, living a long-sustained, agricultural life, can be fixed. But it is evident from certain established facts that this must date from a very remote period. The chief seat of their power and population seems to have been in the Missis-

sippi Valley. The signs of their occupation are many along the banks of its rivers, but they are rarely found upon the last formed terraces of those streams, — those which have been longest in formation, and which were the beds of the rivers when most of the earthworks were built. It is very seldom that the human bones found in them, except those of later and evidently intrusive burial, are in a condition to admit of their removal, as they crumble into dust on exposure to the air; while bones in British tumuli, known to belong to the Roman period and to ages older than the Christian era, are frequently taken entire from situations, as regards soil and moisture, much less conducive to their preservation, than those of the mounds.[1] They are often, also, covered by the primeval forests, which are known to have grown undisturbed since the country was first occupied by the whites, and the annular growth of these trees has been ascertained to be sometimes from five to eight centuries.

Mounds in Mississippi Valley.

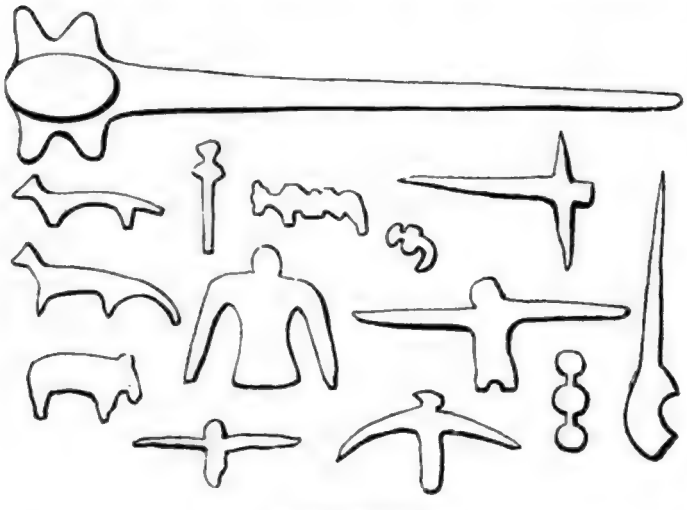
But this, so far from fixing the date of the occupation of these works, does not even indicate the time when they were abandoned; for a considerable period must have elapsed before the ground was occupied by trees of any kind, and before the forest, in its gradual and slow encroachment, obtained complete possession of the ground; and then forest after forest may have grown, and fallen, and mingled with the soil through the progress of many centuries, before the seed of the latest growth was sown, five hundred or a thousand years ago. The late President Harrison, who was considered an authority on questions of arboriculture, and who has been quoted by almost every writer on this subject, maintained, in an address before the Ohio Historical Society, that a long period elapsed before the growth which came in upon abandoned cleared land became assimilated in kind to the trees of the surrounding forest. For that reason alone he believed the works of the Mound Builders to be of "immense age."

Even the purpose for which they were erected is often doubtful; and one class of them baffles all rational conjecture. In the State of Wisconsin, occupying the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River, are many earthworks of a peculiar character, which find few parallels in other parts of the country, while in the same region is remarked the absence of the circumvallations and immense mounds so numerous elsewhere. The significance of these works in the northwest seems to be in their configuration alone, though what that significance could have been is altogether inexplicable.

Generally, these figures are in groups, though sometimes they stand alone; they represent animals, usually in relief, though frequently the

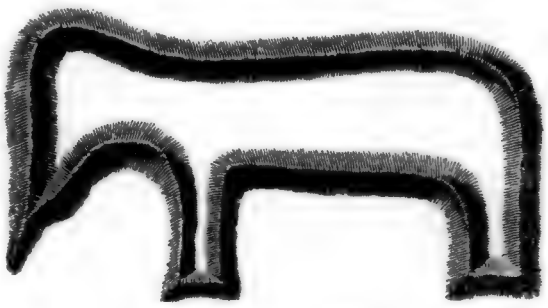
[1] Squier and Davis: *Monuments of the Mississippi Valley. Pre-historic Man*, etc., Dr. Daniel Wilson, p. 228.

reverse, and the figures are varied enough and distinct enough, to show that they were meant to be the effigies of perhaps every quadruped then known in the country, of birds with outstretched wings, of fishes with fins extended, of reptiles, of man; and of inanimate things, the war-club, the bow and arrow, the pipe, the cross, the crescent, the circle, and other mathematical forms. They rise above the surface two, four, sometimes six feet in height; the animal figures vary from ninety to one hundred and twenty feet in length. But there are rectangular embankments, only a few feet in height and width, that stretch out to a length of several hundred feet. Among all these representations of animals there is no one more remarkable than that recently described, called the Big Elephant Mound, found in Wisconsin a few miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin River. Its name indicates its form; its length is one hundred and thirty-five feet, and its other proportions are in accordance with that measurement.[1] It does not seem probable that the people who piled up these mysterious earthworks could represent a mastodon or elephant if it were not a living creature with which they were familiar.



Animal Mounds.

Shapes of the mounds.



Big Elephant Mound.

In other parts of the country walls of stone and earth were raised for defence; mounds of great or small dimensions were heaped up to cover the dead, or erected to their memory, or set up as monuments where some mysterious rites of incremation, or sacrifice, or worship had been celebrated; or they marked the former site of temples or of habitation. The precise object of the builders, or how they attained it, can often be only guessed at; but that there was a purpose connected, in some way, with the civil or

Objects of the builders.

[1] Smithsonian Report, 1872.

religious life, or the hostile or the social relations of a very numerous people, is evident. But of these works in Wisconsin there is no such explanation. It does not seem possible that they could have been the foundations either of dwellings or of temples for worship; they certainly could not have been for defence; they were rarely places of sepulture, and no probable conjecture has as yet been advanced that assigns to them any conceivable human intent. Yet they exist in great numbers, scattered over a broad extent of country. They must have cost a vast deal of labor, and they indicate the presence, when they were made, of a large population.

In a portion of Wisconsin, as well as in some other places, are found earthworks of another kind, but quite as remarkable, which, from their supposed use, have been called "garden-beds." These are ridges, or beds, about six inches in height and four feet in width, methodically arranged in parallel rows, sometimes rectangular in shape, sometimes of various but regular and symmetrical curves, and occupying fields of from ten to a hundred acres. It has been suggested that these were beds for the cultivation of maize by a people subsequent to those who made the animal mounds, and who had no knowledge either of their origin or purpose. But they may have been the results of the labor of the same people and parts of some general design; or, if they were really "garden-beds," the fact that they were carried across the effigies would show that no sacred character attached to those works.

Elsewhere works of a similar character, though in some respects still a subject of conjecture, are better understood. Long walls of earth and rough stone, often carried in connecting lines for many miles, mark, if not sites of towns or cities, at least the presence of a dense population. The selection of these sites was plainly guided by convenience of access to navigable streams and the possession of lands best suited for cultivation; and it has been observed that the places where the remains of this ancient people are most abundant, are those which the pioneers of modern civilization selected as the natural centres of settlement and trade. They understood the advantages of situations like those of Cincinnati and St. Louis, and they crowded the pleasant valleys of the Scioto, the Miami, the Wabash, the Kentucky, the Cumberland, and others through which run the tributaries to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, where the bottom-lands are broadest, the soil most fertile, and means of communication by water-carriage the most available.

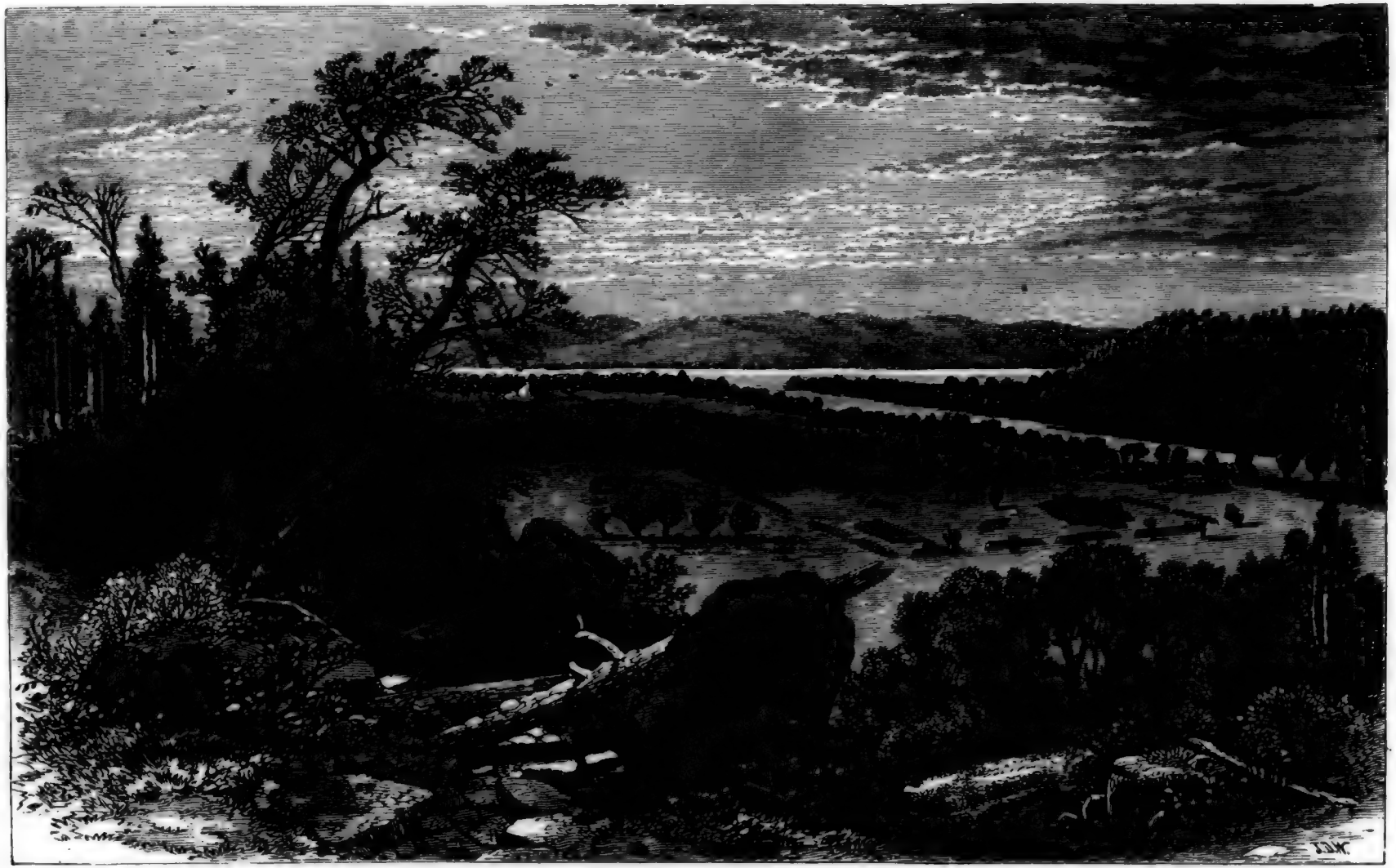
The ruins of the works which mark this occupation are generally in groups; the walls, however, are not continuous like those of a walled town, even where most extensive, but mark different enclosures devoted to various purposes. Thus at the mouth

Fortifications.

of the Scioto there are embankments which measure in the aggregate about twenty miles, though the area actually enclosed in its avenues, squares, and circles, is only about two hundred acres. But the points most capable of defence, where defence was evidently intended, were selected with military skill. The summits of hills were made inaccessible to attack by lines of circumvallation; peninsulas, surrounded on three sides by a deep stream or precipitous bluffs, and only to be approached on one side, were there made difficult, if not impossible of access; and in these citadels, doubtless, the outlying populations, in case of danger, warned by the smoke or flame rising from mounds placed on the loftiest hills, in sight of each other for many miles, found safe refuge. Nor were these walls made in haste, or for a temporary purpose. In height, they vary from five to five and twenty feet; at their base they are often twenty feet and more in width; and frequently outside the wall is a moat measuring twenty-five or fifty, or eighty feet in width, according to the importance of the position or the difficulty of defending it. Military works like these, built not far apart, and with so much care and labor, enclosing areas from five to about a hundred and fifty acres, in a country no doubt thickly settled, indicate that this was a people skilful in military affairs, subject, probably, to frequent attack from a powerful and much dreaded enemy, but quite capable of making a long and sturdy defence.

So far, seems plain enough. Defensive earthworks are not uncommon with other savage or semi-civilized peoples, though their completeness is a measure, in some degree, of the density of the population, the supply of labor, and of skill in its use. But with these Mound Builders the skill of the soldier and the engineer was used for the protection of a people who had apparently developed a degree of civil, and perhaps religious culture, altogether above anything that the red man has ever been known to possess, or that belongs to any merely barbarous race. Their works of circumvallation, other than those meant merely for defence, were singular in design and, in some respects, remarkable in construction. They are usually upon the table-lands, and often in groups extending for several miles, but connected with each other directly, or showing a relation by propinquity, — the groups made up of squares, circles, and other mathematical figures, ranging from two hundred and fifty to three hundred feet in diameter to a mile in circuit.

Near these enclosures, or within them, are mounds, some large, some small, some pyramids, others parallelograms, generally truncated, sometimes terraced, or their summits approached by inclined planes. Avenues of imposing width, between embankments several feet in height, often connect these enclosed areas, extending, in one instance, in obvi-



MOUNDS NEAR MARIETTA, OHIO

ous connection from both banks of the Ohio River for a total length of sixteen miles. Other graded roads lead from terrace to terrace, apparently to secure access to the streams; while others still, so far as can now be discerned, lead from nothing to nowhere, the significance of the avenue being apparently in its existence, and not in its direction. The squares in these works are perfect squares; the circles, perfect circles; and as some of these are a mile in circuit, there must have been brought to their construction much engineering skill and knowledge, and the use of instruments. They bear, moreover, such relations to each other as to show unmistakably some fixed and general design; and similarity of proportions in places sixty or seventy miles apart seem to indicate the application of some common geometrical rule to their construction. Thus in Ohio is often found a combined work of a square with two circles, and they usually agree in this, that each of the sides of the squares measures exactly 1,080 feet, and the adjacent circles 1,700 and 800 feet respectively. This identity of measurement in similar works in different parts of the country can hardly have been accidental. Within these walls, instead of outside of them, are occasionally moats or ditches, and this is accepted as conclusive proof that such works were not defensive. They may have surrounded the houses and estates of chiefs and other men of power and consideration; they may have been public parks and places of public games; or they may have been, as is generally concluded by explorers, the metes and bounds within which was enclosed the ground held sacred to the superstitions and the religious rites of a people who found room elsewhere for the duties, the avocations, and the exigencies of their every-day life.

Mathematical correctness.

These witnesses to the occupation of the land by a numerous and busy population long ago, can only be considered as the ruins which mark the site of that ancient habitation. The solid earth has withstood the inroads of time; whatever was perishable and once bore the impress of such degree of culture as the people may have acquired, has perished. In the mounds, however, we gain some farther insight into their character, though they are themselves as remarkable, and almost as inexplicable, as the extensive system of circumvallations, embankments, and excavations of which they make a part. These mounds are of all dimensions, from that of Cahokia, Illinois, one of a group of sixty which covered six acres of ground, and that of Seltzertown, Mississippi, of about equal extent, and others of like imposing dimensions, to those of the region extending from the Gulf of Mexico to the Valley of the Arkansas, and westward into Texas, which are described as "from one foot to five feet in height, with a diameter from thirty feet to one hundred and forty feet, and as numbered by

millions,"[1] and innumerable smaller mounds found in Missouri. If these were the foundations of human dwelling-places, the country must have been one vast town; and if it is difficult to believe this, it is no less difficult to conceive of their being raised in such immense numbers and in such close proximity, for any other purpose.

Of the character of other mounds, many of which have been carefully explored, there is less doubt. They are divided by Squier and Davis, and their classification is usually followed by other observers, into Altar or Sacrificial Mounds, Mounds of Sepulture, Temple Mounds, and Mounds of Observation, though there are many, such as the "Animal Mounds" of Wisconsin and a few of a similar character found in Ohio, and those of the Arkansas Valley, that defy all conjecture as to their use.

Mounds for various purposes

The Temple Mounds are so called either because there are similar elevations in Mexico on which temples were erected, or because, having level summits which may be reached by terraces, by inclined planes, or by spiral pathways, they may be supposed to have been convenient sites for such edifices, or to have been used for religious purposes without buildings. There was certainly ample room for either mode of worship on such a mound as that at Cahokia, whose truncated top measured two hundred by four hundred and fifty feet, and on many others in the Southern States of equal dimensions; and that they were the sites of buildings, of some sort, seems probable also from the fact that there are many platforms of earth, acres in extent, though only a few feet high, — similar in every respect to the larger elevations, except in height, — which could hardly have been used for any other purpose.



Temple Mound in Mexico.

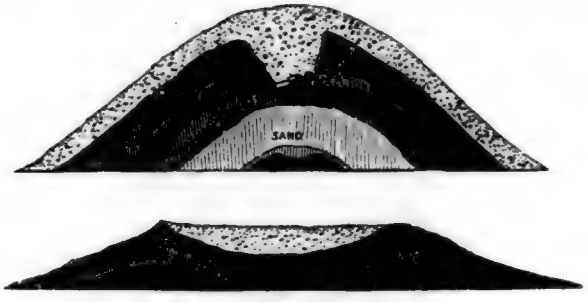
But as these mounds have none of the peculiarities of those containing the singular structures called Altars, and as they evidently were not places of sepulture, their use must have been different from either. As they are usually found, however, with the Altar Mounds within the enclosures, it has been conjectured that all the extensive

[1] Statement of Professor Forshey in Foster's *Pre-historic Races of the United States.*

works of circumvallation, except those evidently erected for defence, with the many and various elevations enclosed within them, whatever their character or shape, had some intimate relation to the religious faith and ceremonies of those who constructed them. If the grounds of such a supposition may be considered rational and sufficient, — and in the absence of any other theory it seems the most obvious, — it is only the more remarkable that at a period so remote that much, if not the whole of Europe was still in the darkness of primeval barbarism, so large a part of North America should be inhabited by a numerous population so advanced in a civilization developed by themselves, that they could expend upon a single phase of life so much evident reflection and accurate knowledge, and devote to it an amount of manual labor so immense and so continuous.

These so-called Temple Mounds, whether temples really crowned their summits, or whether religious ceremonies were performed upon them under no other roof than the over-arching sky, are in themselves sufficiently remarkable, if only for their great size. The cubic contents of that of Cahokia are estimated as equal to one fourth of the great pyramid of Ghizeh, and of that at Grave Creek, Virginia, as nearly equal to the third pyramid of Mycerinus.[1]

But the Altar Mounds are still more interesting. They are always symmetrical, but not always uniform in shape, and in height they do not generally exceed eight feet. Unlike all other mounds, whether used for burial or as places of worship, they are laid up in different strata of earths, not in horizontal lines, but in conformity with the curve of the surface of the mound.



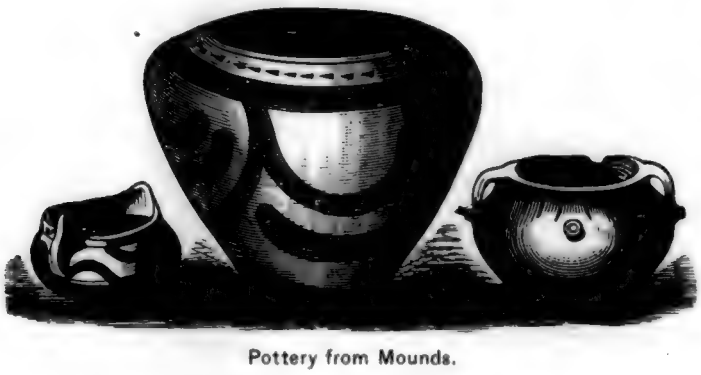
Altar Mounds.

Of these strata, from one to four, though usually two or three only, are invariably of fine white sand, and beneath the whole, upon a level with the surrounding plain, is found a hard-baked hearth or basin, which explorers call an altar. In shape these altars differ; but that form, whatever it may be, is always symmetrical and carefully constructed. They bear always the marks of the fires that had been kindled upon them, and the cremation may have been of dead or living subjects or of burnt-offerings of animals or material things. But whether such fires were for sacrifices or were only a method of disposing of the dead, the places where they were made were important enough and sacred enough to require that they

[1] Foster's *Pre-historic Races*, p. 346.

should be, not the careless heaping up of earth, but the construction of a rude work of art. The character is invariable; wherever a mound is found thus made with successive strata of carefully imposed earth and sand, conforming to its outward shape, an altar is beneath; and wherever the altar or hearth is found, if covered at all, the alternate beds of earth and sand are carefully laid over it; all others are unstratified.

Beneath these mounds are found chiefly the specimens of pottery, of implements of war and the chase, and of domestic life, which always indicate, in some degree, the condition and progress of the people who used them; but this curious fact is dwelt upon by Squier, that, though the number of such articles in any one deposit may be large, the variety is limited; a collection of pipes may be found upon one altar, a heap of pottery, or of arrow-heads, or of pearls, or of copper tools, upon others; but a single kind predominates in each, with little mingling of other implements. The most plausible explanation of these structures is, that they were places of sacrifice, with a religious meaning, for the altars were, in some cases, evidently used repeatedly before they were finally covered with so much care. They may have been places of human sacrifice; but probably were not for the burning of those who died from natural causes, as the disposition of their bodies is otherwise accounted for. Thousands of other mounds are raised over the remains of one or two persons in each, while the common multitude received only that ordinary burial which the immense accumulation of human bones in some places indicates.



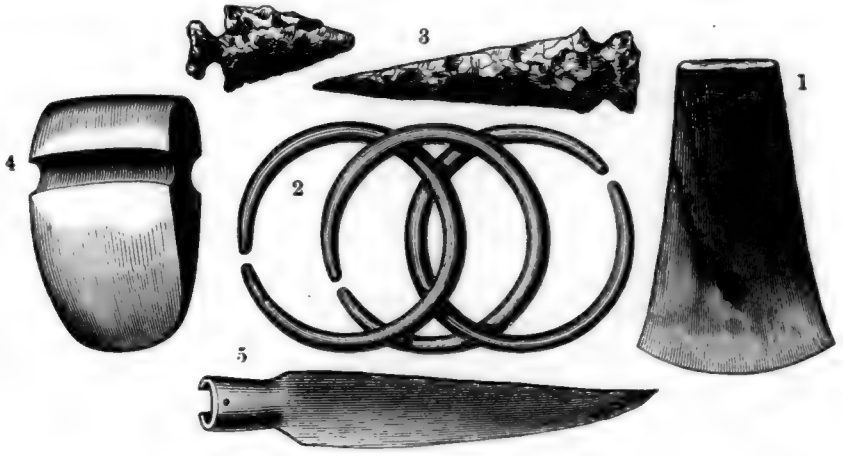
Pottery from Mounds.

Relics found in them.

It is unfortunate for the archæologist that the depositories of articles of personal use among these people were exposed to an intense heat. Only stone or clay could resist it, for it melted copper and lead and destroyed almost entirely whatever was perishable. But for this something more might be learned than we are ever likely to know of their habits and customs, and of the advance they had made in arts of which there are found some indications. But there is certainly enough to show that they had developed a civilization of a vigorous and original growth, though as yet in its earlier stages, and enough to justify a belief that there must have been much else in their

culture to answer to those evidences of combined labor and abstract thought exhibited in their public works of defence, and their apparent devotion to some ceremonial system. "The art of pottery" among them, says Squier, who is peculiarly qualified to give an opinion upon the subject, had "attained to a considerable degree of perfection. Various, though not abundant specimens of their skill have been recovered, which, in elegance of model, delicacy, and finish, as also in fineness of material, come fully up to the best Peruvian specimens, to which they bear, in many respects, a close resemblance. They far exceed anything of which the existing Indian tribes are known to have been capable."

If their arrow-heads and hammers, and other articles of bone, of



Stone and Copper Relics from Mounds.

Fig. 1, axe. 2, bracelets. 3, stone arrow-points. 4, stone axe. 5, bronze knife.

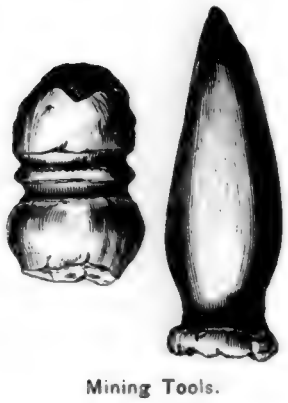
polished porphyry, granite, jasper, quartz, obsidian — this they could only have got from Mexico — and other minerals, show that they were still in the Stone Age, their implements of copper prove that they were gradually approaching to the age of metals. The late Professor Foster believed that many of their implements clearly show the marks of being cast;[1] but if that point needs to be confirmed by farther investigation, it is at least plain that they had advanced beyond the age when tools and weapons of stone are made only by chipping, to that of pounding a malleable metal into shape with a hammer. They could hardly have failed to observe the effect which the fire of their altars had upon this material which was superseding stone, and a people so intelligent would not have delayed long in availing themselves of that knowledge, had their progress not been arrested by some sudden and violent interruption.

The copper was already in common use, and extensive and systematic mining was established on the southern shores of Lake Superior.

[1] *Pre-historic Races of the United States*, p. 259.

The miners of our time find excavations and trenches in that region from eighteen to thirty feet deep, where these primitive workmen had preceded them, and half-finished work and their scattered tools of stone, and wood, and copper, buried beneath the accumulations of many centuries of vegetable and forest growth, attest at once to their active and intelligent labor and to its apparently abrupt abandonment. So numerous are their stone hammers — some of such weight that they must have been wielded, by the help of handles of withe, by two men — that they have been removed by the cart-load, and in one spot they were so plentiful as to be sufficient for the walls of a well.[1] In a deserted trench in the Minnesota mine was found, eighteen feet beneath the surface of the ground, a mass of copper of about six tons, raised upon a frame of wood five feet in height, preparatory to removal. From these ancient mines, of whose workings the Indians had no tradition, was supplied the metal used by the Mound Builders, a thousand miles distant in the Valley of the Mississippi. From that agricultural region, probably, the miners came with their supplies for their summer's support; and the method of conveyance which took them and their provisions to the mines sufficed, no doubt, for carrying back the ore to market across the lakes and the long land journey. They must have had boats of more capacity than canoes for such cargoes, and better fitted for the navigation of waters not much less perilous than the open sea; but how they provided, without animals, for the carriage of such heavy burdens over hundreds of miles of land travel it is not so easy to understand, unless they depended upon a servile population whose presence seems otherwise indicated by the immense amount of manual labor which all their works required. Of this copper-mining the Indians had even no tradition, and among them, at the time of European discovery, copper was only used, and that rarely, for purposes of rude ornament.

Mining on Lake Superior.

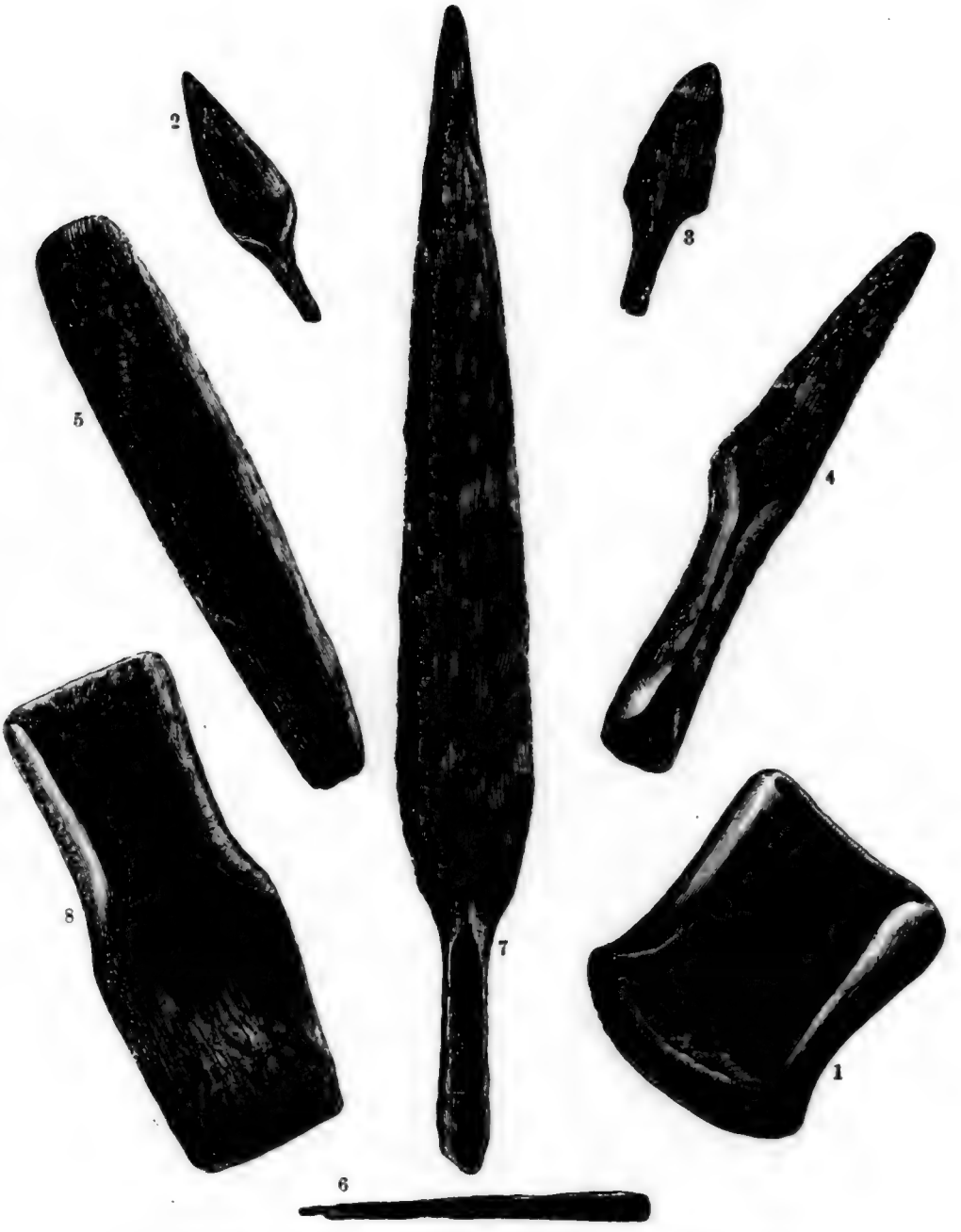


Mining Tools.

This dead and buried culture of the ancient people of North America, to whose memory they themselves erected such curious monuments, is specially noteworthy in that it differs from all other extinct civilizations. Allied, on the one hand, to the rude conditions of the Stone Age, in which the understanding of man does not aim at much beyond some appliance that shall aid his naked hands in procuring a supply of daily food, it is yet far in advance of

Culture of this mound-building people.

[1] Wilson's *Pre-historic Man*, p. 161.



COPPER IMPLEMENTS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN WISCONSIN.

[From the Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society.]

No. 1. — An Adze, with "wings" for fitting.

No. 2. — An Arrow-head, with "wings" for fitting to arrow.

No. 3. — An Arrow-head, with "wings" for fitting to arrow.

No. 4. — A Knife, with socket for handle.

No. 5. — A Chisel, apparently cast, the roughness showing sand-mould and white spots of melted silver.

No. 6. — An Awl.

No. 7. — A Spear-head, 11 inches in length, with socket for handle.

No. 8. — An Adze.



POTTERY AND SUPPOSED IDOLS
RECENTLY FOUND WITH HUMAN REMAINS IN BURIAL MOUNDS
IN SOUTHEAST MISSOURI.

that rough childhood of the race; and while it touches the Age of Metal, it is almost as far behind, and suggests the semi-civilization of other pre-historic races who left in India, in Egypt, and the centre of the Western Continent, magnificent architectural ruins and relics of the sculptor's art, which, though barbaric, were nevertheless full of power peculiar to those parallel regions of the globe.

It is hardly conceivable that these imposing earthworks were meant for mere out-door occupation. A people capable of erecting fortifications which could not be much improved upon by modern military science, as to position, and, considering the material used, the method of construction; and who could combine for religious observances enclosures in groups of elaborate design, extending for more than twenty miles, would probably crown such works with structures in harmony with their importance and the skill and toil bestowed upon their erection. Such wooden edifices, for wood they must have been, would long ago have crumbled into dust; but it is not a fanciful suggestion that probably something more imposing than a rude hut once stood upon tumuli evidently meant for occupation, and sometimes approaching the Pyramids of Egypt in size and grandeur. These circumvallations of mathematical figures, bearing to each other certain well-defined relations, and made, though many miles apart, in accordance with some exact law of measurement, no doubt surrounded something better than an Indian's wigwam. That which is left is the assurance of that which has perished; it is the scarred and broken torso bearing witness to the perfect work of art as it came from the hands of the sculptor.

Nor is this the only conclusion which is forced upon us. These people must have been very numerous, as otherwise they could not have done what we see they did. They were an industrious, agricultural people; not, like the sparsely scattered Indians, nomadic tribes of hunters; for the multitude employed upon the vast system of earthworks, and who were non-producers, must have been supported by the products of the labor of another multitude who tilled the soil. Their moral and intellectual natures were so far developed that they devoted much time and thought to occupations and subjects which could have nothing to do with their material welfare — a mental condition far in advance of the savage state. And the degree of civilization which they had reached, trifling in some respects, in others full of promise, was peculiarly their own, of which no trace can be discerned in subsequent times, unless it be among other and later races south and west of the Gulf of Mexico.

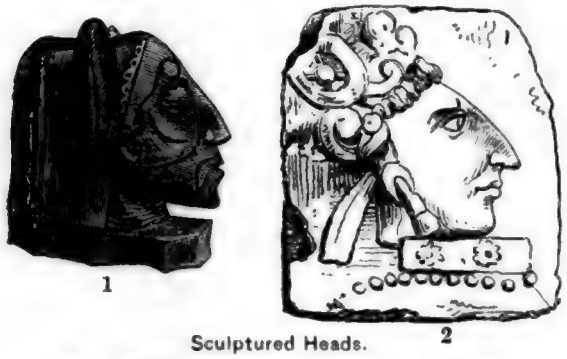
Doing and being so much, the wonder is that they should not have attained to still higher things. But the wonder ceases if we look for the farther development of their civilization in Mexico and Central

America. If they did not die out, destroyed by pestilence or famine; if they were not exterminated by the Indians, but were, at last, driven away by a savage foe against whose furious onslaughts they could contend no longer even behind their earthen ramparts, their refuge was probably, if not necessarily, farther south or southwest. In New Mexico they may have made their last defence in the massive stone fortresses, which the bitter experience of the past had taught them to substitute for the earthworks they had been compelled to abandon. Thence extending southward they may, in successive ages, have found leisure, in the perpetual summer of the tropics where nature yielded a subsistence almost unsolicited, for the creation of that architecture whose ruins are as remarkable as those of any of the pre-historic races of other continents. The sculpture in the stone of those beautiful temples may be only the outgrowth of that germ of art shown in the carvings on the pipes which the Mound Builders left on their buried altars. In these pipes a striking fidelity to nature is shown in the delineation of animals. It is reasonable to suppose that they were equally faithful in portraying their own features in their representations of the human head and face; and the similarity between these and the sculptures upon the ancient temples of Central America and Mexico is seen at a glance.



Carved Pipes.

Their sculpture.

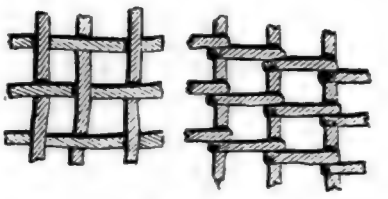


Sculptured Heads. 1 2

Fig. 1, Mound Builders. 2, Central America.

There also it may be that they discovered how to fuse and combine the metals, making a harder and better bronze than the Europeans had ever seen; learned to execute work in gold and silver which the most skilled European did not

pretend to excel; to manufacture woven stuffs of fine texture, the rude beginnings whereof are found in the fragments of coarse cloth; in objects of use and ornament wrought in metals, left among the other relics in the earlier northern homes of their race. In the art of that southern people there was nothing imitative; the works of the Mound Builders stand as distinctly original and independent of any foreign influence. Any similarity in either that can be traced to anything else is in the apparent growth of the first rude culture of the northern race into the higher civilization of that of the south. It certainly is not a violent supposition, that the people who disappeared at one period from one part of the continent, leaving behind them certain unmistakable marks of progress, had reappeared again at another time, in another place where the same marks were found in larger development.



Cloth from Mounds.

There can hardly be a doubt that there is yet something to be learned of the character of this singular people. Some recent explorers believe that they find new traces of their mode of worship and of their religious faith, and others that new facts are coming to light from a study of their skulls. Hitherto but little has been learned from this last source, so great is the difficulty of recovering any complete crania from deposits where the decay of all perishable things is so thorough. Till quite recently the number of authentic skulls, that is, of those free from all suspicion of being of later and intrusive burial in the mounds, was less than half a dozen. Their shape and capacity show no uncommon type. But those lately recovered from different places in Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa indicate, like the Neanderthall skull found in a cave in Prussia, and the Dorreby skull of the Stone Age of Denmark, a very low order of intellect.[1] General H. G. Thomas, U. S. A., has exhumed from some mounds in Dakota Territory a number of skulls of the lowest type, "unlike," he says, "that of any human being to-day alive on this continent," but "like those of the great Gibbon monkey."[2] It is easier to believe that the mounds are the burial-places of more than one extinct race than that their builders were not far from idiots.

Skulls exhumed from mounds.

Future explorations may shed more light upon this inquiry. Man is older on other continents than was till quite recently supposed. If

[1] See Foster's *Pre-historic Races of the United States*, chap. vii., for collation of the evidence on these crania.

[2] *Sixth Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey*, by F. B. Hayden, p. 656.

older elsewhere he may, by parity of reasoning, be older here. We are permitted to go behind the Indians in looking for the earliest inhabitants of North America, wherever they may have come from or whenever they may have lived. In such an inquiry, relieved of some of the limitations which have hitherto obstructed it, we may find in the relics of an early and rude culture much to dispel the obscurity and mystery which till within four centuries have shrouded the New World in darkness.



Discovery of Greenland.

CHAPTER III.

THE NORTHMEN IN AMERICA.

EARLY VOYAGES. — DISCOVERY OF ICELAND. — GREENLAND COLONIZED BY ERIC THE RED. — BJARNI HERJULFSON DISCOVERS AMERICA. — SONS OF ERIC THE RED. — LEIF'S VOYAGE TO VINLAND THE GOOD. — EXPEDITION OF THORVALD. — HIS DEATH. — COLONY OF THORFINN KARLSEFNE. — FIGHT WITH SKRÆLLINGS. — SUPPOSED IRISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA. — COLONY OF FREYDIS — THE MASSACRE. — GLOOMY WINTER AT VINLAND. — ROUND TOWER AT NEWPORT. — DIGHTON ROCK. — THE ICELANDIC SAGAS.

WERE these great Western continents, stretching almost from pole to pole, unknown till 1492 to the nations who had made the world's history? The pride of human knowledge has for nearly four centuries resented such an imputation. If facts were wanting, ingenious suppositions of more or less probability were made to take the place of facts. Even before Flavio Gioia introduced the use of the magnetic needle into maritime Europe some unlucky vessel may have been driven across the Atlantic and stranded upon strange shores; or some Phœnician navigator who understood "night-sailing" may have boldly turned his ship's head to the West, after passing the Pillars of Hercules, in search of new fields of adventure and of traffic; or some of the fearless navigators who steered into the Sea of Darkness in search of Antilia, or the Island of the Seven Bishops, may have landed for a night upon coasts which some supernatural power was supposed to guard from the intrusion of man. Or

Pre-Columbian Navigation.

it may be that the lost Tribes of Israel wandered through Asia to the Northwest coast and were the progenitors of the North American Indians and the ancient Mexicans; that the Malays crossed the Polynesian Archipelago and invaded the Western Hemisphere on the South; that a vast army of Mongols came with their elephants, whose bones are left as a witness of their invasion from Brazil to Rhode Island; that the Apostle St. Thomas preached Christianity in Peru; or that St. Patrick sent Irish missionaries to the Isles of America. All these theories have had their advocates.

The Northmen.

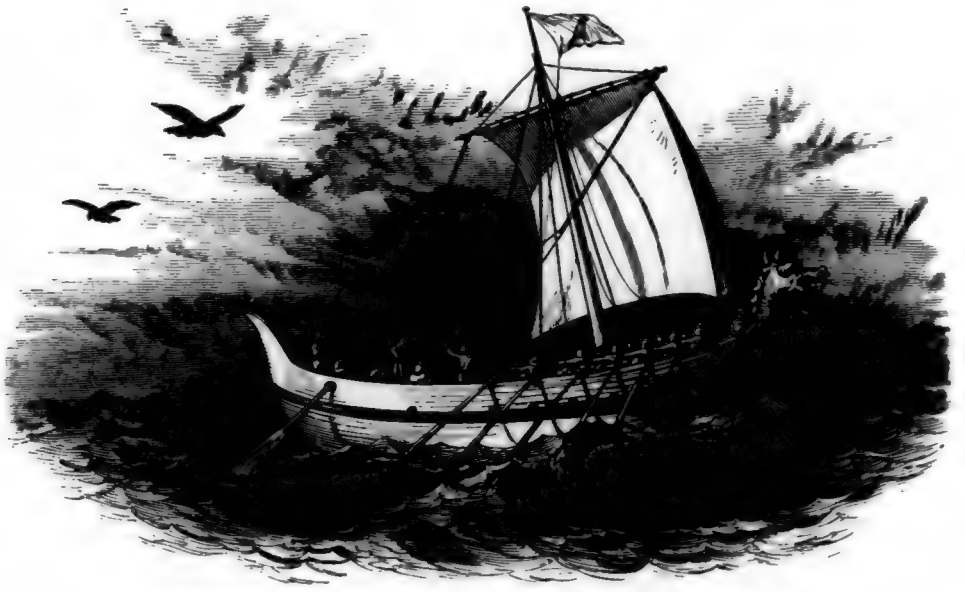
But there was one ancient people whose warriors were the dread of all Europe, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, and whose long experience as pirates made them fearless and successful sailors, who, there seems no good reason for doubting, did cross the Atlantic from coast to coast, almost five hundred years before Columbus stept upon and knelt down to kiss the sands of the beach of San Salvador. The Northmen had a genius for discovering new countries by accident, and having approached and settled within a few hundred miles of the coast of the Western Continent, it would have been strange rather than otherwise if such bold rovers had not found their way thither. They made, indeed, no permanent settlement, and if it may be held as an argument against the probability of their having made the discovery at all that it is hard to find a continent, it may, with quite as much force, be urged that it is still harder to lose one, when found. But here again the Northmen are not without a parallel in their own experience, for it is certain that they discovered and held Greenland for more than four hundred years, and lost it again for more than two centuries.

They discover Iceland.

It was by accident the Northmen discovered Iceland; Naddod, an illustrious sea-rover, having been driven, about the year 860, upon its coasts by a storm. He called it Snœland — Snowland. Four years later, one Gardar Svafarson was also carried thither by tempest, and finding it by circumnavigation an island, gave it the name of Gardar-hólm — Gardar's Isle. His account of it was so pleasant that soon after Floki, or Flokko, another famous viking, went out to plant a colony.[1] Not trusting to the chances which had befallen and befriended his predecessors, he took with him three ravens, which he was careful before starting to have consecrated to the gods, and to

[1] There is some little discrepancy as to those first discoverers. The editor of *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, Bohn's edition, puts Naddod first and Gardar second; De Costa — *Pre-Columbian Discovery in America* — gives the precedence to Gardar; while Crantz — *History of Greenland* — who cites as his authority "the learned Icelander, Arngrim Jonas," says Naddok (Naddod) was first driven on the coast by a storm, and that he was followed "by a certain pyrate whose name was Flokko," and omits any mention whatever of Gardar.

these he trusted to guide him to the land he sought. The first he let loose returned toward the islands of Faroe, which Flokko concluded, therefore, must still be the nearest land; the second, sent out some days later, returned to the vessel, which was accepted as a proof that there was no land within a raven's flight; but the third, when let loose, circling into the air, turned its course at length steadily westward, and him Flokko followed, till he reached the island. For one winter he and his colony lived there; but his cattle all perished with cold. In the spring, when he would have sown seed, thick ice still



Flokko sending out Ravens.

covered the coasts and rivers; so when the summer came he sailed back to Norway, declaring that the land, which he called Island, — Iceland — was unfit for the habitation of either man or beast. Ten years later, however, another colony was taken out from Norway by the Earl Ingolf, who sought in Iceland a refuge from the tyranny of King Harold Haarfager, who no doubt was a despot, but whose offence in this case seems to have been some intolerant notions he held about a manslaughter that Ingolf had committed. The attempt at colonization was this time successful, and a state was founded which for several centuries was the most remarkable community of that age for the simplicity and freedom of its political institutions, for the license, not to say the licentiousness, of its social life, and for the intelligence and cultivation of its people.

Greenland was discovered by another, almost inevitable accident, for, from mid-channel between it and Iceland, both are at the same time visible.[1] Gunnbiorn, or Gunbiœrn, one of the early settlers of

[1] Crantz's *Greenland*, book iv. p. 245.

Iceland, was driven westward by a storm, when he saw land which was held in remembrance for the next century as Gunnbiorn's Rocks. Eric the Red, a man disposed to acts of violence which he was too weak to sustain when resented, was compelled to find safety in exile. Gunnbiorn's Rocks seemed to him a good place to go to, and thither he went.

Eric the Red settles Greenland.

In three years he was back in Iceland, full of glowing descriptions of this country, which he called Greenland, "because, quoth he, people will be attracted hither if the land has a good name." He returned to Greenland with large additions to his colony. It was the sons of this Eric the Red who were the first Europeans, so far as is positively known, to set foot upon this continent.

Bjarni sails for Greenland.

But this came about by still another accident. Among those who followed Eric to Greenland was Herjulf, who had a son, "a promising young man," of the name of Bjarni, or Biarne. They were both in the habit of making trading voyages to Norway in the summer, and passing the winter together at home in Iceland. On returning from Norway in the year 985, Bjarni, who was a dutiful son as well as a promising youth, found that his father had followed Eric. He instantly proposed, without unloading his ship, to go after him, though, as he said to his crew, "Our voyage will be thought foolish, as none of us have been on the Greenland sea before." But this did not daunt them; they set sail, and in three days lost sight of land.

Then thick fogs beset them, and "for many days" they were driven by a north wind they knew not whither. When the weather cleared, they made all sail for another day and night, and then welcomed the sight of land again. It was, they said, a country covered with woods, without mountains, and with small hills inland. This they were sure could not be Greenland; so they turned seaward once more, and — for these Northmen knew how to sail on a wind — "left the land on their larboard side, and let the stern turn from the land." After sailing two days and two nights they again approached the coast, which, they saw as they neared it, was low and wooded. Bjarni refused to go on shore, at which his crew grumbled; for this, he said, can no more be Greenland than the land we saw before, "because in Greenland are said to be very high ice-hills."

Then for three nights and days they went on their way as before, with a southwest wind, when for the third time they made land ahead, and it was "high and mountainous, with snowy mountains." Once more said Bjarni, "In my opinion this land is not what we want;" and again he refused to leave his ship, but sailed along the coast and found it was an island. Standing out to sea again, still with the

southwest wind, after three days and nights they once more sighted land. "This," said Bjarni, "is most like what has been told me of Greenland; and here we shall take to the land." He had made what sailors would call a good landfall, for the cape before him was called Herjulfness, where his father, Herjulf, had built him a house. Here Bjarni went on shore and made it his home for the rest of his days.[1]

Voyage of Bjarni discussed in Greenland.

Bjarni was blamed both in Norway and at home, that he made no exploration of the country that he had thus discovered. But the voyage was the subject, no doubt, of many a tale, and of much discussion in the long winter evenings of Greenland, among a race of bold and hardy sailors, themselves hardly yet settled in a region which, till within a few years, was only known by the name of one who had looked at it from the deck of his ship. Bjarni seems to have preferred an annual visit to Norway, and the pleasures of the court of Earl Eric, to any more voyages in unknown seas; but in the house of Eric the Red in Greenland, whose sons were growing up, the story was, no doubt, often told of that dreary drift in the fog for many days before the northerly wind; of the low wooded shores and the pleasant green hills stretching inland, that greeted the longing eyes and brought hope again to the desponding hearts of the lost mariners; of the runs of two and three days each from coast to coast, and that wonderful landfall at last, when they dropped their anchor right under the cape where the father, whom the son was in search of, had built his house. Thorvald, the grandfather of these boys, was among the early Norwegian pioneers in Iceland; Eric, his son, had led the first colony to Greenland; so the sons of Eric longed to throw their seat-posts[2] overboard in their turn on some unknown coast.

It was long debated, doubtless, in family councils, and finally determined that this new adventure should be undertaken. In the year 1000, Leif, the eldest son, went to Herjulfness and bought his ship of Bjarni, manned her with a crew of thirty-five men, Bjarni among them, perhaps as pilot. When he was ready to sail, Leif prayed his father to go with them as the most fitting commander for such an expedition, and the old viking, objecting that he was too old, consented. On the way to the ship, however, his horse stumbled and threw him, and looking upon the mishap as a warning, he said, "It is not ordained that I should discover any more countries than that which we now inhabit,

[1] This, and the following narratives of the voyages to Vinland, we condense from the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, by Professor C. C. Rafn, and published by the Antiquarian Society of Copenhagen, 1837; collated with the translations in Beamish's *Discovery of America by the Northmen*, and De Costa's *Pre-Columbian Discovery*.

[2] The seat-posts were the columns of a chieftain's seat, which, when he went to sea, he took with him and threw overboard when he approached a coast; where they landed, directed by the gods, he followed, it was assumed, in safety.

and we should make no further attempt in company." He returned to his home at Brattahlid, and the expedition sailed with Leif as its leader.

Voyage of Leif the Lucky, son of Eric the Red.

Leif reversed the order of Bjarni's voyage, and sought first for the land which the other saw last — Newfoundland. When they reached it they went ashore and found it a country without grass; snow and ice covered it, and from the sea to the mountains it was a plain of flat stones. Said Leif, "We have not done like Bjarni about this land, that we have not been upon it; now will I give the land a name, and call it Helluland."[1] Again they put to sea, and sought the next land that Bjarni had seen — Nova Scotia. Here also they went on shore, and found a country covered with woods, with low and flat beaches of white sand. "This land," said Leif, "shall be named after its qualities, and called Markland;" that is, woodland. They set sail again with a northeast wind, and in two days once more made the land, as Bjarni had done, sailing in the opposite direction with a southwest wind; and the land now before them was that which Bjarni had first seen when driven in from the sea. There can be little doubt they were now on the coast of New England, but precisely where is a disputed question, for there are certain incongruities in the original narratives which it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile.

New England coast explored.

Their first landing-place was an island north of the main. The weather was pleasant; the dew was upon the grass, and this they tasted, and it was very sweet.[2] When they embarked again, it was to sail through a sound between the island and a cape that ran out northward from the main, past which they went westward. To find where and what this island was, is the chief source of difficulty. Professor Rafn, who says that by northward the Northmen meant eastward, according to their compass,[3] believes that it was the island of Nantucket, and that they sailed thence across the entrance to Buzzard's Bay, to Seaconet Passage, and then up the Pocasset River to Mount Hope Bay. But this is unsatisfactory to other interpreters of the Saga, and an island and a cape on the outside of Cape Cod, between Orleans and Chatham, which long ago disappeared, are substituted for Nantucket.[4] If it be said that Nantucket can be called neither east or north of any main land in sight; that the waters between it and the neighboring coast can hardly be called a sound; so it may be objected to the other theory that it

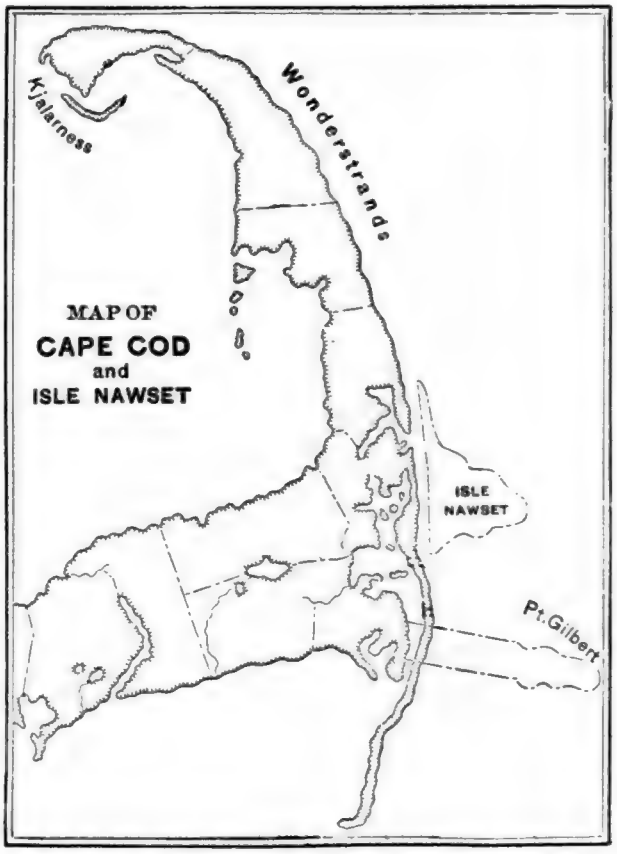
[1] From Hella, a flat stone.

[2] Honey-dew, it is said, is still found on the grass at Nantucket.

[3] *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 428.

[4] *Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen*, B. F De Costa. p. 29.

is impossible to reconcile the incidents of the narrative to so long a distance between the first landing-place and the place of final settlement; and that if an island must be brought up from the bottom of the sea to meet the exigency, it would be quite as easy to place it where it would answer to all the difficulties of the case. Yet there is no doubt that marked changes have taken place within the last few centuries along the outer coast of Cape Cod; that an island called Nawset, and a cape called Point Gilbert, once existed at the points indicated, and were known to Capt. John Smith and Bartholomew Gosnold early in the seventeenth century.[1] Making due allowance, then, for possible inaccuracies in a narrative written long after the event, it is by no means improbable that some discrepancies may be accounted for by changes along the coast line of Massachusetts within the last eight hundred years.



Map of Cape Cod and Nawset Isle.

It is now, however, generally conceded that this was a veritable discovery of the coast of Rhode Island by the Northmen, and that they landed at some point either in Mount Hope Bay or in Narragansett Bay. They went up a river that came through a lake, says the narrative, and this is in accordance with the appearance of those waters. Here they cast anchor, went ashore, and built a house in which to pass the winter. According to the latest explanation of the Scandinavian calendar, their description of the shortest day gave the sun as rising at 7.30 A. M., and setting at 4.30 P. M., thus fixing the latitude at 41° 24′ 10″, which is about that of Mount Hope Bay. "There came," they said, "no frost in winter, and little did the grass wither there;" and "the nature of the coun-

Rhode Island in 10th Century

[1] See an article by Amos Otis, of Yarmouth, Mass., on *The Discovery of an Ancient Ship* on Nawset Beach, Orleans, Cape Cod, in May, 1863. *New England Genealogical Register* vol. 18, p. 37, *et seq.*

try was, as they thought, so good, that cattle would not require house-feeding." Such a season would be exceptional now, even for the neighborhood of Newport; but any ordinary New England winter would seem mild to these hardy Greenlanders.

Leif divided his company into two parties, one of which was alternately to explore the country. On one of these expeditions a man named Tyrker, a German, and who was Leif's foster-father, was missing. A party had just started to search for him, with Leif at its head, when the German reappeared in a state of great excitement. He gesticulated wildly, spoke for a long time in his native tongue, and "Leif saw that his foster-father was not in his right senses." But Leif was mistaken; the poor German, who had lived long in the ice-fields of the frozen North, had only been carried back for the moment to the Vaterland, for he said at length in Norsk, "'I have not been much farther off, but still I have something new to tell of; I found vines and grapes!' 'But is that true, my fosterer?' quoth Leif. 'Surely it is true,' replied he, 'for I was bred up in a land where there is no want of either vines or grapes.'"

Then, no doubt, he led them to the woods, that they might see with their own eyes the climbing vines and the clustering fruit, and it may well have seemed to them that in a country where these grew wild there could be no real winter. So precious were they to Leif that thenceforward one duty of his men was to gather grapes, and he filled his long-boat with them to take back to Greenland. What better evidence could he bring of the value of the land to a people whose greatest delight, next to fighting, was drinking? They had not yet forgotten, notwithstanding their new religion, that the chief of their old Pagan gods, Odin, had no need of food only because wine was to him both meat and drink; that all the heroes of Valhalla drank daily of the wonderful flow of milk from the she-goat Heidrun, and that the milk was mead. So heaping up on deck the grapes of this beautiful land where in winter was no frost, and which he named Vinland (Vineland), and filling the hold of his vessel with timber, about which, at least, there could be no questionable value in treeless Greenland, Leif returned home in the spring. It was on this return voyage, or one of the year before from Norway, that he saved a shipwrecked crew; but whenever it was, for that and the discovery of Vinland he was thereafter known as Leif the Lucky.

Vinland the Good.

The voyage, as we can readily believe, made "much talk" in Greenland, and another of the sons of Eric thought the country had not been sufficiently explored. "Thou canst go with my ship, brother, if thou wilt, to Vinland," said Leif; for Eric the Red having died that winter, he was now (1002) the head

Thorvald goes to New England.

of the house, and not disposed just then for maritime adventures. Thorvald accepted the offer, and with a crew of thirty men sailed for the new country.

The booths which his brother had put up were still standing, and he went into winter quarters, his men fishing for their support; the waters, as Leif had found two years before, abounding with salmon and other fish. In the spring, Thorvald sent some of his men in the ship's long-boat to explore to the westward. They spent the summer in this pleasant excursion, coasting along the shores of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Long Island, the whole length of the Sound, penetrating, probably, to New York, and finding there another lake through which a river flowed to the sea. They landed on many islands; they



Norse Ships entering Boston Harbor.

beached their boat many times on the broad, wide, shallow sands, down to the edge of which grew the green grass and the great trees which made this pleasant land seem a very garden to these wanderers from a country all rocks, and ice-mountains, and fields of snow. But once only did they see any sign of human habitation, and that was a corn-shed built of wood.

The next spring (1004), Thorvald started for a more extended trip, as he went in his ship. Standing first eastward, he then sailed northward along the sea-coast of Cape Cod, where a heavy storm caught him off a ness (cape), and drove his ship ashore, perhaps at Race Point. Here they remained a long time to repair damages, putting in a new keel; the old one they set up in the sand, and the place they called Kjalarness (Keel-ness or Keelcape), in commemoration of the disaster. Then they cruised along the opposite shore of what is now

Plymouth County, Massachusetts, and sailed into its bays till they came to "a point of land which stretched out and was covered with wood."[1] "Here," said Thorvald, "is beautiful, and here I would like to raise my dwelling." Before the day was out he looked upon his words as prophetic.

Fight with the Skrælllings.

For the first time the Northmen here met with the natives — met them as Europeans so often did in subsequent centuries. Looking about them at this beautiful spot, they saw in a secluded nook three skin-boats set up as tents, beneath which were nine Skrællings,[2] on whom they stole unawares and captured eight of them. The ninth escaped; the eight they immediately killed in cold blood. This cruel deed done, they lay down to sleep upon the grass under the trees; but it was not to pleasant dreams. "There came a shout over them so that they all awoke. Thus said the shout: 'Wake thou! Thorvald! and all thy companions, if thou wilt preserve life, and return thou to thy ship, with all thy men, and leave the land without delay.'" It was the savage war-whoop of the enraged Skrællings, come to avenge the murder of their fellows. The Northmen fled to their ship to defend themselves behind their battle-skreen.[3] "Fight little against them," was Thorvald's order, mindful now of the mercy he should have shown before. When the fight was over, and the Skrællings had retired, the answer to Thorvald's inquiry as

[1] It is conjectured that this point is Nantasket Beach, at the end of which is Point Alderton, a noble promontory opposite the narrow entrance to Boston Harbor. But this can hardly be, for Nantasket Beach is not "a point," but a peninsula between three and four miles long, not "stretching out" into the sea, but making a continuation of the coast line from Cohasset Rocks to the channel connecting Boston Harbor with the sea, and inclosing on one side the inner bay into which various rivers empty south of Boston. This peninsula is, most of it, a long, narrow beach of white sea sand, and can never have been covered with wood. Point Alderton, moreover, is a hill several hundred feet in height, and is one of a group of similar hills within a mile or two. The description in the Saga does not in the least conform to the natural features of this locality, and the "remarkable grove of trees" referred to in *Antiquitates Americanæ* as mentioned in Laurie and Whittie's Sailing Directions, and the Duke of Saxe Weimar's Travels, is a singular grove of small wild crab trees covering an acre or two of ground, but not visible from Point Alderton or Nantasket Beach. There is at Cohasset, about ten miles south of Point Alderton, a point of land, a bold, rocky promontory, jutting out from beautiful wooded hills, which might well have impressed Thorvald with its beauty, and have been a favorite place of resort, in its sheltered nooks and for its neighborhood to good fishing-grounds, to the Skrællings.

[2] The Northmen were used to calling the Esquimaux Skrællings, a term of contempt, meaning, says Crantz, "chips, parings, *i. e.*, dwarfs." The assumption is that these people of the Vinland vicinity were Esquimaux. If that be true, and the term was not used merely for want of any other to apply to copper-colored natives, then we are to conclude that the Indians were later comers in that part of the country. Did they first displace the Mound-building people, and then, in the course of time, move upon and displace the Esquimaux of the Atlantic coast? Was it this race who were not smokers, and who made the shell-heaps where no pipes are found?

[3] A shield made of large planks of wood.

to who was wounded was, None. Then said he, "I have gotten a wound under the arm, for an arrow fled between the edge of the ship and the shield, in under my arm, and here is the arrow, and it will prove a mortal wound to me. Now counsel I ye, that ye get ready instantly to depart, but ye shall bear me to that cape where I thought it best to dwell; it may be that a true word fell from my mouth, that I should dwell there for a time; there shall ye bury me, and set up crosses at my head and feet, and call the place Krossaness forever, in all time to come." And it was as he said; he died, and they buried him on the pleasant cape that looked out upon the shores and waters of Massachusetts Bay; at his head and feet they planted crosses, and then sailed back to Vinland to their companions with the heavy tidings of the death of their young commander. In the spring the colony, with another load of grapes and timber, returned to Greenland.

Thorvald killed.



Burial-place of Thorvald.

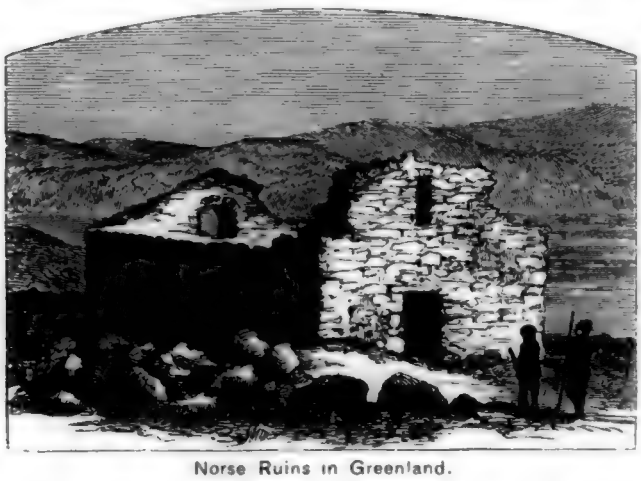
There was still another son of Eric, Thorstein of Ericsfiord. He had married Gudrid, the widow of Thorer, captain of that crew of shipwrecked mariners whom Leif had rescued. Thorstein, taking his wife with him, sailed in the spring or summer of 1005 for Vinland, chiefly, however, to find Krossaness and bring home the body of his unfortunate brother Thorvald. But Vinland he did not find, nor Krossaness; and after cruising about for months without once seeing land, they returned early in the winter and landed in the western settlement, at some distance from Ericsfiord. It was not long before sickness broke out here among the crew; many died, and among them Thorstein. Wonderful marvels attended this season of death; the dead sat up in their beds and talked; they shook the house, as they lay down again, till all its timbers creaked; and they made themselves preternaturally heavy when taken out for burial. Thorstein was one of these ghostly performers. He prophesied to the weeping Gudrid, telling her, first, for her comfort, that he had "come to a good resting-place." She would be married again, he said, and from her and her husband would descend "a numerous posterity, powerful, distinguished, and excellent, sweet, and well-favoured." Many

Eric's son Thorstein.

other pleasant things he told her, all of which came to pass in due season.[1]

Thorfinn Karlsefne's Expedition.

The next and most important expedition of all those to Vinland, next to Leif's first voyage, was made by Thorfinn, surnamed Karlsefne, that is, the promising, or the man destined to become great. He was a merchant of Iceland, wealthy, and of distinguished lineage. A trading voyage had brought him to Greenland in 1006, and he remained for the winter at Brattahlid, the family seat and old home of Eric, which Leif had inherited. It was a winter of festivities. "They set up the game of chess" to beguile the long winter evenings, and "sought amusement in the reciting of history, and in many other things, and were able to pass life joyfully." The Yule feast was of more than usual profusion and richness, and that was speedily followed by a marriage, which was celebrated with great rejoicings. Gudrid, who had returned home in the spring with the body of her late husband, Thorstein, had found favor in the eyes of Karlsefne, for she was "a grave and dignified woman, and therewith sensible, and knew well how to carry herself among strangers." Thus, before the first year of her widowhood was over, was brought to pass the first item in her late husband's prophecy, by her marriage to an Icelander.



Norse Ruins in Greenland.

Vinland the Good was not forgotten; the conversation often turned upon it, and "it was said that a voyage thither would be particularly profitable by reason of the fertility of the land." With Karlsefne from Iceland had come three other merchants, Snorri Thorbrandson, in the ship with Karlsefne, and Bjarni (or Biarne) Grimolfson and Thorhall Gamlason, in a ship of their own. The talk of the new land had its due effect on these strangers, and an expedition was planned to consist of these two Iceland vessels, and a third commanded by a Greenlander, Thorvard. This man had married Freydis, a natural

[1] Sir Walter Scott, in his Abstract of the *Eyrbyggia Saga*, alluding to stories of this sort among the Icelanders, many of which are curiously like the alleged phenomena of modern "Spiritualism," says, "Such incidents make an invariable part of the history of a rude age, and the chronicles which do not afford these marks of human credulity may be grievously suspected as being deficient in authenticity." Beamish (*Discovery of the Northmen*) cites this remark as peculiarly applicable to the narratives relating to Vinland.

daughter of Eric the Red, who had a conspicuous part to play in the subsequent attempts at colonization. Thus in one winter, at a Greenland fireside, was organized a voluntary expedition, to consist of three ships and one hundred and forty men and women,[1] about equalling in size that for which, four centuries later, Columbus waited seven years, with prayers and in poverty, upon the Spanish sovereigns.

The adventurers sailed in the spring of 1007. Gudrid and Freydis embarked with their husbands; and there were on board many other women, married and unmarried; which was not, as it turned out, fortunate, for among their subsequent troubles, and when they divided into parties, "the women," says one of the narratives, "were the cause of it, for those who were unmarried would injure those who were married, and hence arose great disturbance." But the object evidently was to make a permanent settlement, and that, of course, was out of the question without women. They took with them also cattle of all kinds.

The enterprise was plainly full of promise at its beginning; but it met with various misfortunes, and, at the end of three years, was abandoned. It does not seem certain at what precise spot the colony was planted. The first landfall of the fleet after leaving Markland — for they touched there as well as at Helluland — was Kjalarness, which they recognized by the keel set up there by the unfortunate Thorvald three years before. They ran past Cape Cod, and because "it was long to sail by," they called it Furdustrands, or Wonderstrands. Somewhere along this coast they put in at a cove, and Karlsefne sent out as scouts two Scotch slaves, who were very swift of foot, and who had been given, years before, to Leif the Lucky by the King of Norway, as one of the inducements to persuade him to become a Christian. The historians are careful to describe the apparel of these Scots, — a man and a woman, — which must have been good for running, as it consisted of only one garment, and was a happy combination of a hat and a breech-cloth, covering the head, buttoning between the legs, but open everywhere else, and without sleeves. These scouts were gone three days, and came back with encouraging reports of the pleasantness and fruitfulness of the country, one carrying a bunch of grapes, the other an ear of corn. Nantucket, or Martha's Vineyard, which the fleet next reached, and where eider-ducks[2] were

[1] The Northmen counted by the long and the short hundred. If the number of Karlsefne's expedition were reckoned by the long hundred, they counted one hundred and sixty persons.

[2] Though the eider-duck is no longer known on those shores, the Northmen are not likely to have made any mistake as to the birds they saw in such numbers. That particular duck was as familiar to them, no doubt, as to the modern Greenlanders and Icelanders, to whom the down has long been held as so precious an article of traffic that the bird is under uni-

so plentiful that it was difficult to walk without treading on their eggs, they called Stream Island, and the bay beyond — Buzzard's Bay — Stream Frith, because of the rapid currents around their shores. On the shores of this bay they spent the first winter.

Malcontents in the colony.

And with this winter their troubles began. They had improvidently neglected to lay in a sufficient stock of provisions, and when, the next summer, the fishing was poor there came absolute scarcity. Now in Thorvard's ship was one Thorhall, who had been the huntsman in summer, and in winter the steward of Eric the Red. He was, it is said, "a large man, and strong, black, and like a giant, silent, and foul-mouthed in his speech, and always egged



Scots Returning to the Ship.

on (*eggjadi*) Eric to the worst; he was a bad Christian." Perhaps it was only hunger that first drove him to desert; but he pretended, after three days' absence in the wilderness, and the others believed him, that while they were praying to God for food without an answer, his invocations to Thor had caused a whale to be cast upon the beach during this season of scarcity, of which they all eat, and were all made sick. But he was insubordinate as well as morose and impious, for when soon after it was proposed to seek a new and better habitation, and Karlsefne thought it best that they should go southward, Thorhall refused, and would go northward. It was made plain presently

versal protection. See *Letters on Iceland*, during the Banks' Expedition in 1772. London, 1780, p. 144, *et seq.* Crantz's *Greenland*, book ii. chap. 1. *Description of Greenland*, by Hans Egede, chap. v.

that he meant to abandon the expedition and return to Greenland, and he persuaded nine others of the company to follow him. As the manner was with these old vikings, in times of unusual excitement, he took to verse, and jeered at and satirized Vinland the Good. As he carried water to his ship, of which they seem to have allowed him to take possession, he sang, —

"People told me when I came
Hither, all would be so fine;
The good Vinland, known to fame,
Rich in fruits and choicest wine;
Now the water-pail they send;
To the fountain I must bend;
Nor from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine."

And once more, as he hoisted his sails to desert his comrades in distress, he sang another song, mocking at their disaster and reminding them how, by the help of the "red-bearded" Thor, he had poisoned them with boiled whale, thus: —

"Let our trusty band
Haste to Fatherland;
Let our vessel brave
Plough the angry wave,
While those few who love
Vinland here may rove,
Or, with idle toil,
Fetid whales may boil,
Here on Furdustrand
Far from Fatherland." [1]

But disaster attended these deserters. After doubling Cape Cod a gale from the west struck their vessel, and merchants from Ireland afterward reported that she was driven before the wind to the coast of that country, where Thorhall and his companions were seized by the natives and reduced to slavery.

Karlsefne explores coast of Rhode Island.

After the departure of the malcontents, the two other ships, commanded by Karlsefne and Bjarni (Biarne) Grimolfson, set sail from the settlement at Buzzard's Bay upon an exploring expedition southward along the coast. According to two of the three narratives, and these the best and most circumstantial, they sailed "a long time" before they came "to a river that ran out from the land through a lake to the sea." The other account is, that they went directly on their arrival to Leif's booths, and Leif, it will be remembered, went also up a river that flowed through a lake. The supposition is that Karlsefne and his companions anchored

[1] Beamish's Translations.

in Mount Hope Bay, where, it is supposed, Leif had passed the winter, partly because of this river and lake, the sandy shoals and the ebb of the tide, which answer to the character of that bay; and partly because they called the place where they landed Hop, and a hill near Bristol, Rhode Island, the seat of the Indian chief, King Philip, was known to the first English settlers as Mount Hope.[1] The Indians, it is assumed, had preserved the name, and thus the settlement of the Northmen is fixed, — a fanciful and rather violent supposition, which will hardly bear close examination. As they "sailed long to the south," and as their course from Buzzard's Bay to Mount Hope Bay would be first southwest, and then northward, it seems quite as likely that they finally reached some other point on the coast; where, is and always must be a matter of conjecture.

First winter in Vinland.

But wherever it was, they set themselves down on the upper side of the lake or bay, some putting up houses directly on the shore and others going farther inland. For one winter, at least, it proved a pleasant abiding place. The streams were full of fish; on the meadows they found fields of "self-sown wheat," — that is, of maize or Indian corn, sown probably by the natives; on the uplands, the trees were festooned with grape-vines, so precious in their eyes; and the woods were full of game. All the winter long there was no snow upon the ground, and the cattle sustained themselves upon the still green and juicy grasses of the fields.[2] There seemed to

[1] "How, when, or by whom this noted point received the name of Mount Hope, does not appear. Dr. Stiles notes, in his edition of Church's *History*, that 'its name is *Monthaup*, a mountain in Bristol.' The editor of *Yamoden* says, 'The Indians called it *Montaup* or *Mont-haup*;' and Alden, *Epitaphs*, iv. 77, that, 'according to authentic tradition, however, *Mon Top* was the genuine Aboriginal name of this celebrated eminence.' But these are most likely all corruptions of *Mount Hope*." Drake's edition of Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, Roxbury, 1865, vol. i. p. 46; note by the editor.

[2] As the mildness of the winter and absence of snow are dwelt upon in the narratives of the different voyages, it is probable that the climate of North America was, nine centuries ago, more moderate than now, as it is positively known that of Greenland and Iceland was. And this would be entirely in accordance with the astronomical theory of that gradual change whereby, through the precession of the equinoxes, the order of the seasons is completely reversed in every period of 10,500 years. If we are now in that cycle which is slowly bringing longer winters and more intense cold to the northern hemisphere, — as some astronomers suppose, — one tenth of that period would make quite change enough to account for these statements of the Northmen. Even six hundred years later, Edward Winslow, who was exceedingly careful and conscientious in all his statements, wrote in 1624 (*Narrative of the Plantations*: Purchas, vol. iv.), "Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years' experience I can scarce distinguish New England from Old England in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, wind, etc.; . . . . if it (the heat) do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England than Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one, which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. . . . . I cannot conceive of any (climate) to agree better with the constitutions of the English, not being oppressed with the extremity of heat, nor

be none in this pleasant land to molest them or make them afraid, for when, soon after their arrival, a great number of the natives came upon them suddenly, they came with signs of peace. They landed from their canoes, and loitered about the settlement, gazing in wonder upon the strangers and all that belonged to them, but they had apparently no hostile intent, and neither meddled nor were they meddled with. When they left, they disappeared beyond the cape, and nothing more was seen of them till the following spring. They are described as "black and ill-favored (or fierce), and with coarse hair on the head; they had large eyes and broad cheeks."

But in the spring (1009) they came back again in much augmented numbers, "so many," it is related, "as if the sea was sowen with coal." But still they came in amity, and a brisk trade at once sprung up between them and the colonists. Red cloth was exchanged, as long as it lasted, for skins, sables, and other furs; when that was all gone the women made milk porridge, which satisfied the savages quite as well and brought quite as much as the bits of red cloth, though, as the Saga says, they only carried away in their bellies the results of a barter of which the Northmen gained the more substantial benefit. But this pleasing state of things was interrupted by an unfortunate incident. A bull belonging to Karlsefne rushed out of the woods with a hideous bellow, and so frightened the Skrællings that they fled to their boats and paddled away with all the strength that a new terror could give them. It was a ludicrous interruption to the profitable traffic of porridge for peltries; but the natives evidently looked upon it as a hostile demonstration, having the same dread of this huge, unknown beast, that the Indians of Hispaniola had some centuries later of the horses of the Spaniards.

Trade with the natives



Esquimaux Skin-boat.

For weeks, perhaps for months, for the accounts differ, nothing more was seen of the Skrællings; but when they returned again, they came "like a rushing torrent," with the poles of their boats now turned away from the sun, whereas in their previous visit they had been turned toward it. The Northmen looked upon this as a sign of hostility, and accepted the challenge, holding up to them the red shield of war instead of the white shield of peace.

nipped by biting cold." No truthful and accurate observer could write thus now of the bitter climate of Massachusetts, with its extremes of temperature in summer and winter.

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Then began a furious battle. The Northmen had the advantage of weapons, for they fought with swords. But they were overpowered by numbers, and soon fled. Something like a panic, moreover, seized upon them, even more senseless than the fright which overcame the Skrællings the spring before at the bellowings of the bull. It is said that a huge ball at the end of a pole was flourished over them, and thrown to the ground with a horrid noise. The noise and the novelty of this method of warfare, with the accompaniment of shouts and yells, seem to have been the only frightful thing about it, for it did the Northmen no harm, though they fled before it like affrighted children. But there was one among them who was not frightened; this was Freydis, the natural daughter of Eric the Red, and wife of Thorvard. Rushing out among the combatants, she shrieked, "Why do ye run, stout men as ye are, before these miserable wretches, whom I thought ye would knock down like cattle? And if I had weapons, methinks I could fight better than any of ye." But they gave no heed to the dauntless woman, still seeking safety in flight to the shelter of the woods. Freydis, who was heavy with child, followed closely behind, pursued by the Skrællings. Coming presently to the dead body of a countryman, — dead with a stone arrow in his brain, — she seized his sword and was ready to defend herself.

Battle with Skrællings.

She did more than this, for she completely turned the tide of battle, and that in a way which has no parallel in any other record of Amazonian exploits. She turned and faced the advancing savages; but instead of attacking them, she tore open her dress, and exposing her naked breasts, beat them with the sword with the aspect and the cries of a fury. The Skrællings, terrified at this strange action, turned and ran with all speed to the canoes, and seizing the paddles, flew, like a flock of startled wild duck just skimming the surface of the water in their swift flight, down the bay. Perhaps they thought the woman some powerful priestess whose incantations and imprecations would bring upon them swift destruction; or it may be that her frantic gestures and cries, her courageous defiance, and the exposure of her bare bosom to their attacks, daunted them because it was something they could not understand; but this picture of the fierce Norse warriors flying before a sheep's paunch tied to the end of a pole, and owing their safety to the fury of a woman beside herself with rage, is in ludicrous contrast with the tradition of their reckless and invincible courage.

Bravery of Freydis.

This was virtually the end of Karlsefne's attempt at colonization, though it was not absolutely abandoned till the following spring, of 1010. He and his companions were not again mo-

The colony abandoned.

lested by the Skrællings, but they thought it not worth while to remain in a country, however otherwise desirable, where they were liable to such attacks. This decision was probably confirmed by meeting, on one of their excursions, with a Uniped, who, after killing one of their number, fled out to sea. Such marvels were believed in even in a much later and more enlightened age.[1] Other natives were sometimes met and generally killed, no doubt without much compunction. Two boys they took as prisoners were carried back to Greenland, taught Norse, and baptized. From them it was learned that there were two kings over the Skrællings, one named Avalidania, the other, Valldidia ; their people had no houses, but lived in dens and caves. In another part of the country, however, there was, they said, another people, who "wore white clothes, and shouted loud, and carried poles with flags." And this was supposed to be the White Man's Land, a mythical colony of Irish somewhere south of Vinland.[2]

[1] Charlevoix (*History of New France*, vol. i. pp. 124, 128, Shea's edition) repeats the stories told five centuries later, of voyagers who saw or heard of Unipeds, — men with only one leg and foot, and with two hands on the same arm, — of pygmies, of giants, of men who never eat, of headless men, and of other monsters, of which, he says, "it is easy to believe that there is some exaggeration, but it is easier to deny extraordinary facts than to explain them."

[2] The Northmen called the country somewhere south of Vinland the White Man's Land, or Great Ireland, and believed that it was occupied by the Irish. Professor Rafn supposes it to have extended from Chesapeake Bay to East Florida. One of their narratives relates that in the year 928, one Ari Marson, an Icelander, was driven there by an easterly storm, and was not permitted to go away again. The story came from a Limerick merchant and from the Earl of the Orkneys, and it is therefore presumed that occasional intercourse was kept up between the people of this Hvitramanna-land and Europe. A romantic story is also told of one Bjarni Asbrandson, a famous viking, who was always fighting, or singing songs, or making love. The marital bond sat loosely upon the women of Iceland, and it was nothing unusual that Bjarni should overstep the limits of morality and propriety in his attentions to another man's wife, and that her husband and his friends should therefore attempt to kill him. The husband of this woman Thurid, Bjarni seems to have held in great contempt ; but for her brother, Snorri, the high-priest, he entertained a very different feeling. After an encounter with him, in which they both showed a good deal of magnanimity, Snorri trying to kill Bjarni and failing, but frankly acknowledging his intention, and Bjarni having it in his power to kill Snorri but choosing not to do so, it was agreed between them that Bjarni should go abroad and not see Thurid for a year. He went, and the vessel he sailed in was never heard of afterward. Thirty years later an Icelandic ship was driven westward by a storm upon an unknown coast, where all her people were made prisoners. They were surrounded by a great crowd, and "it rather seemed to them that they spoke Irish." The prisoners were bound and taken inland, where they met, surrounded by a large number of persons, a white-haired and martial-looking chieftain, with a banner borne before him, whom all treated with the greatest deference. He spoke to the strangers in the Northern tongue, and when he learned that they came from Iceland and the district of Bogafiord, he asked for all the principal men of those parts by name, and was especially minute in inquiries about Snorri the priest, Thurid his sister, and her son Kjartan. The prisoners were soon released by his orders, with injunctions to depart with all speed from that country and never to return again, or to permit others to come thither. As they were about to leave, he took from his finger a gold ring, and putting that, and also

First European child born on this continent.

Karlsefne and his ship reached Greenland in safety. On board of her was the first child, so far as is known, born of European parentage on this continent. This was Snorri, the son of Karlsefne and Gudrid, born in Vinland, A. D. 1007. He was their only child, and in him was fulfilled another of the prophecies of Gudrid's former husband, as he lay dead in his bed, for in Snorri began a long line of distinguished descendants.[1]

There remains to be briefly told the story of Freydis, with whom ends all positive history of these attempted settlements on the coast of the North American continent. Other voyages, it is supposed, were made at different times for the next two centuries, as allusions to such adventures, though there are no distinct narrations, are, according to Professor Rafn, scattered through Icelandic literature. It is even conjectured that the colony at Vinland may have been kept alive, notwithstanding the gloomy memory of the deeds of Freydis, which would, it might be supposed, have made the spot dreaded as one haunted by the victims of the savage fury of a cruel and unrelenting woman. If any efforts, however, were made to found future colonies, they must needs have been feeble and desultory, or they would have left some permanent signs behind them.

That Freydis was a fearless woman we have seen already in her encounter with the savages. It was with her, at least, no dread of them that induced her to return with her countrymen to Greenland. Greenland, with its savage rocks, its ice-bound waters, its mountains of perpetual snow, its gloomy fiords, its barren soil, its long winters where the sun just crept above the horizon, was to her a poor exchange for the fair, bright land where the winters were sunshiny and mild; where the pleasant waters of its sequestered bays washed, all the seasons through, the smooth beaches of clean, white sand; where the great oaks, and elms, and pines, and maples cast their grateful shadows

a good sword, into the hands of the Icelandic captain, he said, "If the fates permit you to come to your own country, then shall you take this sword to the yeoman, Kjartan of Froda, but the ring to Thurid his mother." When asked from whom it should be said these gifts came, he answered, "Say, he sends them who loved the lady of Froda better than her brother, the priest of Helgafell; but if any man therefore thinks that he knows who has owned these gifts, then say these my words, that I forbid any one to come to me, for it is the most dangerous expedition, unless it happens as fortunately with others at the landing-place as with you; but here is the land great, and bad as to harbours, and in all part may strangers expect hostility, when it does not turn out as has been with you." So saying, he turned away with his banner waving over him. Gudlief, the Icelandic captain, on his return, faithfully delivered the ring to Thurid, the lady of Froda, and the sword to Kjartan her son, who was now supposed to be the son of Bjarni also. For it was plain that the stately, white-haired chieftain of Hvitramanna-land was Bjarni Asbrandson, who, thirty years before, had disappeared from Iceland.

[1] Thorvaldsen, the eminent Danish sculptor, and Finn Magnusson, the distinguished Danish scholar, are among the later descendants of Snorri.

over the rich verdure of the meadows, and in the deep woods the long vines, climbing to the tops of the lofty trees, festooned them with clusters of rich fruit.

The restless woman had hardly reached home before she set her active brain at work to plan a return to that land of promise, to reap a fresh harvest in the trade for furs with the natives, in shiploads of timber, in boat-loads of dried grapes. Such persuasions, however, were futile with her own people, either because they knew as much about Vinland as she did and cared less, or because they knew her; but they succeeded with two strangers. There came that summer (1010) to Greenland from Norway two brothers, Helgi and Finnbogi, Icelanders, in a ship of their own, laden with merchandise.

Colony of Freydis.



Leif's Booths.

Freydis was at home at Garde when she heard of their arrival, but she sought them out at once, and laid a proposition before them. An expedition was agreed upon on joint and equal account. The brothers were to have thirty fighting men on board their ship, and Freydis the same number, among whom she permitted her husband, Thorvard, to count one. Of Leif, her brother, she asked the gift of the houses or booths in Vinland, built by him ten years before, — a gift he declined to make, though he was quite willing to lend them to this expedition as he had to others. It was a question fraught with future trouble, for Freydis meant that these shelters should belong exclusively to her and not to the enterprise.

They set sail in the spring of 1011. On board of Freydis's ship went five more fighting men than the stipulated number, stowed

away out of sight. Helgi and Finnbogi were the first to reach Vinland, and before the other ship arrived they had landed goods and stored them in Leif's booths, assuming that joint occupation was a part of the agreement. But when Freydis came and found the buildings thus partially occupied, she resented it as an unauthorized intrusion, and high words followed between her and the brothers.

Leif's Booths.

"Leif lent the houses to me, not to you," the woman asserted.

"We thought it was to both," said the brothers.

They had discovered by this time that she had cheated them as to the number of fighting men which each party was to take, and they added that she was more than a match for them with her sharp practices. So they left the booths to which Freydis claimed that she had the exclusive right, built a house for themselves, and into it moved their company and their goods.

The brothers were clearly of a sociable and cheerful disposition, desiring nothing so much as harmony and peace. It was they who yielded always, and Freydis who encroached. Winter amusement is no less a duty than a pleasure with those who live in high latitudes, when without it men would sink into apathy and despair in the long dark night of months, as all Arctic voyagers know. The good Icelandic custom of "passing life joyfully" in the winter time Helgi and Finnbogi maintained in Vinland, more, of course, to keep their people occupied than because of any exigency of climate. They contrived games and sports within doors and without, inviting the Freydis people to these diversions, doing all they could to keep up a pleasant intercourse between the two houses. But discord crept in; evil reports were circulated; jealousies and enmities were aroused on the right hand and on the left; perhaps more even than in Karlsefne's time, two years before, women were implicated in these troubles; one at least was at the bottom of them all, and she was unsparing of the rest. The games first languished, then dropped; visits, friendly greetings, intercourse of any kind between the two companies became less and less frequent, and finally ceased altogether. The evil influence was at last triumphant. The colony of perhaps seventy-five people divided into two hostile camps, hating each other, ready to fly at each other's throats. Such was the miserable state of feeling nearly all winter, growing worse the longer it lasted; none the less bitter and implacable that it was without any visible and sufficient cause.

Discord in the colony.

When the alienation was complete, and the mutual exasperation at its height, Finnbogi was surprised, one day, to see, in the dim twilight of the early morning, Freydis standing, silent and alone, in the door-

way of his house. He was shocked, perhaps, as well as surprised, at a visit at such an unseemly hour; but raising himself in his bed, he said, —

"What wilt thou here, Freydis?"

She answered, "I wish that thou wouldst get up, and go out with me, for I would speak with thee."

Finnbogi rose and followed her to the trunk of a tree, not far from the house, but out of hearing of any one within, where they sat down.

"How art thou satisfied here?" asked Freydis.

The answer which Finnbogi gave was unfortunate — even fatal; for the question was a leading one, and Freydis hoped to hear him say that he was not satisfied at all, and longed to be gone. But he said, —

"Well think I of the land's fruitfulness, but ill do I think of the discord that has sprung up betwixt us, for it appears to me that no cause has been given."

She artfully agreed to this, for her purpose evidently was to show that so great was that discord, either one party or the other must go away. Finnbogi's assertion gave little hope that his would be that party. For she said, —

"Thou sayest as it is, and so think I; but my business here with thee is, that I wish to change ships with thy brother, for ye have a larger ship than I, and it is my wish to go from hence."

"That must I agree to, if such is thy wish," was the reply. Then the conference broke up.

This acquiescence in her departure and readiness to expedite it, on the part of Finnbogi, and his avowed satisfaction with the country, which had no drawback except this discord which would be removed by that departure, were not what she meant to get by that early visit. She must find some other way, however desperate, of gaining her end. Returning to her house and bed, this misplaced woman, so clearly fitted to be a queen, determined to move her husband to a desperate deed. She had gone barefooted through the dew to Finnbogi's house. The Saga is careful to relate that when she got up "she dressed herself, but took no shoes or stockings, and the weather was such that much dew had fallen;" but it was also such that "she took her husband's cloak." So now on her return, exasperated at the failure of her errand, she got into bed cold and wet, and the sleeping Thorvard, awakened in this unpleasant way, demanded resentfully why she was in this condition. She retorted angrily, —

"I was gone to the brothers, to make a bargain with them about their ship, for I wished to buy the large ship; but they took it so ill, that they beat me and used me shamefully; but thou! miserable

man! wilt surely neither avenge my disgrace or thine own, and it is easy to see that I am no longer in Greenland, and I will separate from thee if thou avengest not this."

Such approaches and reproaches could not be withstood by the placable and obedient Thorvard. With all speed he called his men to arms, and went at once to the house of the brothers. It was yet early, for Freydis had lost no time, and Helgi and Finnbogi, and all their people, were still asleep. By a sudden and stealthy attack Thorvard and his men overwhelmed and bound them; one by one they were led from the building, and one by one they were dispatched as they came out. Not a man was left.

Murder of Helgi, Finnbogi, and their people

But among them were five women, and on these no man would lay his hands.

"Give me an axe!" shrieked Freydis.

The axe was given her; she fell upon the five women, and no man stayed her hand; and "she did not stop till they were all dead."

This cruel and cowardly work finished, they returned to their own dwelling; and Freydis, says the faithful chronicle, "did not appear otherwise than as if she had done well." But, nevertheless, it was a deed to be concealed, and she was not the woman to forget that necessity even at such a moment. Turning, therefore, to her people, she gave them this assurance of her future conduct:—

"If it be permitted us," she said, "to come again to Greenland, I will take the life of that man who tells of this business! Now should we say this -- that they remained behind when we went away."

She was now in sole command and in sole possession, for Thorvard, the husband, can hardly be supposed to possess any will or authority of his own in such a vigorous presence. None ventured to disobey the imperious and desperate woman. Under her stern rule the rest of the winter was spent in cutting timber and gathering together such other commodities as the country afforded; and so successful were they in this work, that when the spring came and they were ready for departure, the larger ship of the two brothers, which Freydis had so coveted and had obtained at such bloody cost, was loaded with all that she could carry.

It was, it is to be hoped, a gloomy winter, though thus crowded with work. The silent and empty house of Helgi and Finnbogi, where, for many weeks, "life had passed joyfully" with games, and sports, and tale, and song, after the manner of their country, was always before them; in the murmurs of the lonely sea, in the sighs and sobs of the winds in the deep solitude of the melancholy woods, they heard the voices of those late comrades; the graves of almost as many dead as they could count of their living company

Gloom which followed the massacre.

reminded them continually of that cowardly and cruel slaughter of defenceless men; and visions would come to sleepless eyes, in the long winter nights, of the relentless woman in her naked, bloody feet, with her bare arms red with blood, as she cut down the helpless creatures whom none else would kill, and they were not men enough to save.

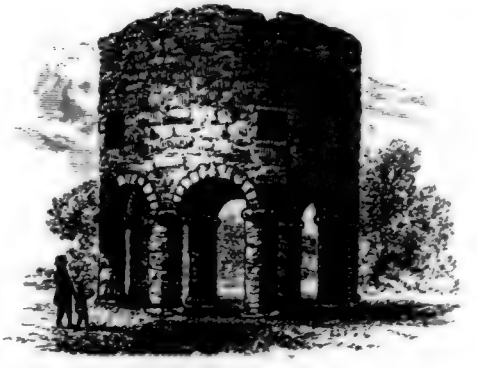
But their consciences were stronger than the threats or the blandishments of Freydis; for though she lavished many gifts upon them on their return to Greenland, though she had assured them she "would take the life of that man who told of this business," whispers, nevertheless, were soon abroad of frightful deeds done in Vinland, and circulating swiftly from mouth to mouth. These soon reached the ears of Leif, who, seizing two of his sister's followers, put them to the torture and extorted a confession of all the atrocities which, under the leadership of Freydis, had been done in the colony. Then said Leif, "I like not to do that to Freydis, my sister, which she has deserved, but this will I predict, that their posterity will never thrive." It certainly was not a severe punishment for the murder of thirty-two men and five women, that no one from that time forth thought otherwise than ill of Freydis and her accomplices. But she disappears from history with this mark of execration, and with her ends also essentially the history of the Northmen in Vinland the Good.

Relics of Northmen sought in New England.

Enthusiastic antiquaries have sought to find in the region supposed to be Vinland some visible relics of its several colonies. If there were any it would be much more remarkable than that there are none, after the lapse of nine hundred years. Leif's booths, though they were probably solid structures of hewn timber, would hardly abide the onslaughts of the elements for so many centuries; and there is no intimation in any of the narratives that the Northmen erected more lasting monuments, to become, in

"Unswept stone, besmeared with sluttish time,"

the witnesses of their former presence.



Newport Tower.

There is at Newport, R. I., a round stone tower, which Professor Rafn and others believed was built by the Northmen; but Palfrey, in his "History of New England," shows quite conclusively that this is only an old stone mill, erected by Governor Arnold late in the seventeeth century, who in his will referred to it as "my stone-built wind-mill." "Without doubt," says Dr. Palfrey, with peculiar force, "it is extraordinary that no record exists of the

erection of so singular an edifice by early English inhabitants of Rhode Island. But it would be much more strange that the first English settlers should not have mentioned the fact, if, on their arrival, they had found a vestige of a former civilization, so different from everything else within their view." Beside, the harbor of Newport was undoubtedly visited by more than one voyager before any permanent settlement was made, and it is incredible, if the tower was in existence, that it should never have been alluded to by anybody in log-book or journal, till Governor Arnold speaks of it as his windmill. Dr. Palfrey says, moreover, that the Arnold family is supposed to have come from Warwickshire, England. Governor Arnold had a farm which he called "Lemmington Farm;" and in Warwickshire there is a Leamington, three miles from which, at Chesterton, is a round stone mill, the counterpart of that at Newport. The tradition in regard to this mill is that it was from a design by Inigo Jones. If so, it was probably built when Arnold was a boy, or not long before, and would be, as the work of an eminent architect, the admiration of the country round about. What more natural than that Governor Arnold, when advanced in life, should reproduce, as nearly as he could, an edifice supposed to be a masterpiece of architecture of its kind, and endeared to him by all the memories and associations of his early home?[1]

Stone tower at Newport proved Gov. Arnold's windmill.



Chesterton Mill.

The Danish antiquaries adduce also the Dighton Rock, as it is called, as an evidence of the visits of the Northmen to New England. This rock is on the bank of the Taunton River, in the town of Berkeley, Mass., opposite Dighton. Upon it are carved rude hieroglyphics, which have been an object of curious interest for nearly two centuries. Various copies, differing much from each other, have been taken at different times during all that period, and some of them have been sent to Europe for the consideration of learned societies. The characters have been assumed to be Phœnician, Scythian, Roman, and even Hebrew, until the Danish antiquaries pronounced them to

Dighton Rock.

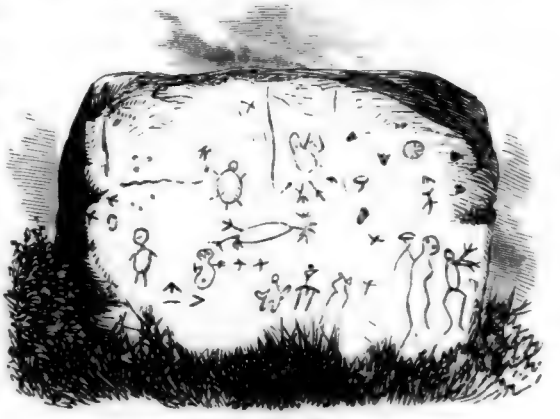
[1] See Palfrey's *History of New England*, p. 56, *et seq.*

be Runic. They profess to find the name of Thorfinn in the middle of the inscription, in certain rude characters, some of which are clearly Roman letters; other marks above are interpreted as signifying the Roman numerals, CXXXI., the number of Thorfinn Karlsefne's company after the desertion of Thorhall and his companions; below is the figure of an animal of some sort, — perhaps, if we may make a suggestion, the bull that frightened the Skrællings, — and a ship, which one must be an antiquary to find; on the right are Gudrid and her son Snorri, born in Vinland; on the left Karlsefne himself, with a companion. These and other fanciful interpretations are held to be a complete record of the expedition of Karlsefne and its leading incidents.



Dighton Rock.

On the other hand, the rude pictures have been declared by more than one Indian chief to be the record only of a successful Indian hunt; and General Washington, when taken to the rock, said the figures resembled those he had often seen upon the buffalo robes of the Western Indians. The letters and numerals were probably added by another and later artist. Such picture-writings upon rocks, to commemorate successful hunts or successful fights, were not uncommon among the Indians, and they have been found in various parts of the country. There is an instance of it on the Virginia shore of the Ohio River, near Steubenville, Ohio,[1] bearing



Steubenville Rock.

[1] *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley.* By Squier and Davis.

a marked resemblance to that of the Dighton Rock. In 1850, Mr. J. G. Bruff found, in the Sierra Nevada Mountains, a defile fifteen or twenty miles in length, where the face of the precipices was covered with picture-writing, some of it on the under surface of rocks, where it could have been done only by the aid of platforms. These sculptured hieroglyphics are so numerous that it is estimated to have painted them with a brush would have required the labor of many workmen for several months.[1]

Icelandic Sagas. Their evidence.

But the claim for the discovery of America by the Northmen requires no support from such questionable evidence, and is rather injured than otherwise by a resort to it. Its real strength lies in the narratives themselves, which, if what is claimed for them be true, decide the question beyond controversy. The Icelanders, like all the Scandinavians, were excessively fond of listening to the poems of their Skalds and the stories of their Sagamen. In Iceland and Greenland, especially, condemned by the rigor of the climate to live an in-door life for the larger part of the year, it was necessary, not merely "to make life pass joyfully," but to render it tolerable, to have some other resource than merely eating and drinking. They resorted to "recitals of history" and of songs or poems, often of inordinate length; sometimes mythological, sometimes imaginative, more generally tales of the deeds of dead and living heroes; often, no doubt, exaggerated and adorned, when the deeds related were of heroes listening to the praises of their own achievements; but nevertheless these were faithful relations, in the main, of actual occurrences. This habit of the people, degenerating on the one hand into a mere love of gossip, feeding an insatiable appetite for details of the affairs of their neighbors, on the other hand preserved every event of interest or importance to be handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. When with Christianity the Roman alphabet was introduced, these Sagas were reduced to writing by diligent and studious men; inestimable treasures laid up for the use of future historians.

Such records in regard to the settlement of the Northmen on the American coast were known to have been made, and the fact was frequently referred to by early writers. Thus Adam of Bremen, who wrote an ecclesiastical history about the middle of the eleventh century, has a passage relating to the subject which, if it be not a subsequent interpolation, of which there is no evidence, is an incontestible proof of the discovery of Vinland. He made a visit to Denmark, and was informed, he says, by the king, "that a region called Vinland had been found by many in that ocean, because there vines grew spon-

[1] *Smithsonian Report*, 1873, p. 409.

taneously, making the best wine; for that fruits grow there which were not planted, we know, not by mere rumor, but by the positive report of the Danes." But, though several historians of different countries, who have written within the last two hundred years, have recognized that this discovery was actually made, the details of so interesting a fact were not fully known until the different narratives were gathered together by the Northern Antiquarian Society of Denmark, and published in a single volume.[1]

The fullest and most important of these relations exist in manuscript, in a collection known as the "Codex Flatöiensis," written between the years 1387 and 1395. These, now preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, were found in a monastery on the Island of Flato — on the west coast of Iceland, — where they had lain forgotten and unnoticed for centuries. There is no serious question now of the authenticity of these Sagas, as whatever doubt may, at one time, have been entertained has been effectually put to rest. Like other chronicles, relating to the early history of Greenland and Iceland, of Sweden and Norway, they were long preserved by oral tradition, from century to century, and at length committed to writing, long after the time to which they referred. The main facts related in them are unquestionably true; the incongruities, discrepancies, and even absurdities which can be pointed out, are such as would inevitably occur in verbal repetitions, for nearly three centuries, of the circumstantial details of distant voyages and adventures; and such errors, moreover, are incontestible evidence that the narratives were not constructed for a purpose long after the date of a pretended event, but are veritable relations of actual occurrences told by those who took part in them, and unconsciously changed by those who repeated them, from time to time, on points which seemed to them of little interest or importance. Not less conclusive is the simplicity, sometimes even childishness, of the narratives, — the preservation of unimportant particulars, remarkable only for their singularity, so characteristic of all uncultivated people, who, like children, delight in marvels and are captured by novelty.

[1] *Antiquitates Americanæ, sive Scriptores Septentrionales Rerum Columbianarum in America. Samling af de i Nordens Old-skrifter*, etc., etc. Edidit Societas Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium. Copenhagen: Hafniæ, 1837.



The Sea of Darkness.

CHAPTER IV.

PRE-COLUMBIAN VOYAGES WESTWARD.

ARABIAN SAILORS ON THE SEA OF DARKNESS. — WELSH TRADITION OF AMERICAN DISCOVERY. — VOYAGE OF MADOC, PRINCE OF WALES. — EVIDENCE ADDUCED. — SUPPOSED TRACES OF WELSH AMONG DOEGS, MANDANS, AND MOUND BUILDERS. — NARRATIVE OF THE BROTHERS ZENI. — SHIPWRECK OF NICOLO ZENO AT FRISLAND. — HIS ACCOUNT OF ENGRONELAND. — ADVENTURES OF A FRISLAND FISHERMAN. — THE WESTERN VOYAGE OF PRINCE ZICHMNI. — CHINESE DISCOVERY OF FUSANG. — STATE OF NAUTICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL KNOWLEDGE BEFORE COLUMBUS.

IN the town of Bristol, England, there is a suburb called Cathay, so preserving the memory of that prosperous time when Bristol, next to London, was the richest and most important city of the kingdom, — of that proud period when her merchants carried on a thriving trade with the Indies, before Columbus sailed to find a Western passage to the far East. So in Lisbon, as late as the beginning of the thirteenth century, there was a street called Almagrurin, — which means in English "Those that go astray," — so named in commemoration of a bold adventure of some Arab sailors, who had ventured

further toward the Sea of Darkness than any others were known to have sailed before.[1]

The Arab geographers relate the incident, the memory of which the street preserves, and some historians have found in it a suggestion of possible American discovery, as early as the twelfth century, and far south of the colony at Vinland. Lisbon was then still in possession of the Arabs, who, above all other people of that period, were students of geometry and astronomy, applied those sciences to geography and navigation, and were the boldest sailors of the age. Eight of these hardy and well-instructed men, bound together by ties of relationship, determined to explore that mighty and mysterious ocean which stretched from the coast of Portugal to the setting sun, on whose western horizon no sail ever crept up against the sky, or disappeared from sight beneath its waters.

Expedition of eight Arab sailors.

Building themselves a vessel, they put on board provisions for several months, showing thereby a determination that their explorations should not be cut short for want of time. Taking an east wind they steered fearlessly westward, and after eleven days their ship ploughed into a sea thick with grass, concealing, as they thought, many reefs of sunken rocks, and giving forth a fetid smell. They imagined that the light of the sun was failing them as they approached the confines of that dreary sea, whose mysterious waters, they did not doubt, in accordance with the belief of the time, were concealed in perpetual night, haunted by demons, and filled with strange creatures of monstrous shapes. Alarmed at these portents, they turned their vessel's head southward, and in twelve days more reached an island which they named El Ghanam, meaning "small cattle," because they found upon it numerous flocks of sheep. Here they landed, but saw no people. Some of the sheep they killed, but the flesh was so bitter as to be unfit for food, and they found nothing else worth taking except figs and fresh water.

Then they sailed away again southward; at the end of twelve days, on approaching an island the people came out to meet them in boats and made them all prisoners. When taken on shore they were carried before the king of the country, who, on hearing through an interpreter, who spoke Arabic, the object of their voyage, laughed at them heartily for their folly. His father, he told them, had once sent slaves into that Western Ocean, who, after cruising about for a month, lost sight of the sun, and thus were compelled to return without the voyage profiting them anything. From this interview the Arabs were dismissed to prison; but as soon as the wind

Course and incidents of their voyage.

[1] *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliotheque du Roi*, cited in *The History of The New World* by Don Juan Baptista Munoz, p. 119

veered to the west they were put, blindfolded and pinioned, into a boat, carried out to sea, and abandoned to the mercy of the winds and waves. They drifted, within three days, upon the mainland of Africa, where they were kindly treated by the natives — Berbers — and whence they returned to Lisbon. Thereafter they were known among their countrymen as "the strayed ones."[1]

From the direction in which these Arabs had sailed, and from the length of their voyage, the most reasonable supposition is that they first reached the Madeira group, where the flesh of the wild goat is bitter, as the animals browse on a plant called *la coquerel*,[2] and that the next land they saw was the Cape Verde Islands. But the natives of that country they described as of a red color, with straight black hair, and for this reason, and because some of the accounts have given the voyage as being thirty or five and thirty days, instead of twelve, before land was reached, it has been supposed that these wanderers had touched the shores of America or some of the islands upon its coast. If, however, the narrative of Edrisi, the Arabian geographer, be accepted as authentic, according to the translation which we have followed, the course pursued by these Arabs from Lisbon could hardly have taken them to the westward of the Azores. One claim, therefore, to the discovery of the western world, whether by accident or design, before the voyages of the navigators of the fifteenth century, may be held to be disposed of.

Discovery of America by Madoc.

The tradition that America was discovered about the year 1170 by a Welsh prince named Madog, or Madoc, is still more circumstantial, and attempts to support it by later evidence have been made from time to time for the last two hundred years. Even so cautious and judicial a critic as Humboldt says in allusion to it: "I do not share the scorn with which national traditions are too often treated, and am of the opinion that with more research the discovery of facts, entirely unknown, would throw much light on many historical problems."

Certainly we are not to forget the distinction between a tradition and an invention; it is impossible to establish the one, and, as a lie can never be made the truth, it is not worth repeating; but the other is an honest relation, accepted as such by those who first repeated it, and which may yet be sustained by evidence. This tradition relating to Madoc had, no doubt, some actual basis of truth, however much it may have been misapprehended; the evidence adduced from time to time in support of it has been believed by many, and is curious

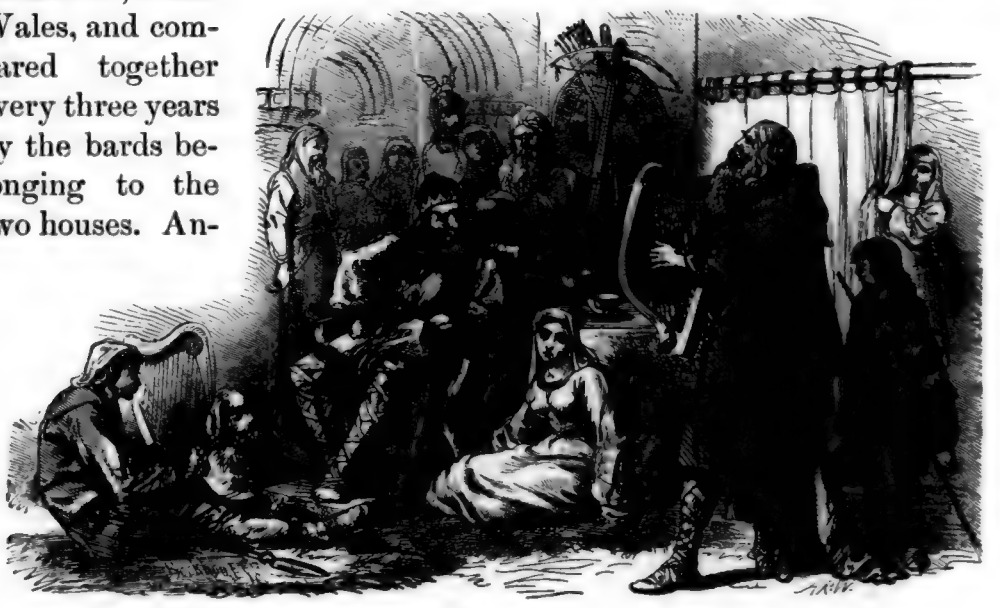
[1] Edrisi, the Arabian geographer's account of *The Voyage of the Arabs*, in Major's *Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*, p. 147 *et seq.* Humboldt's *Examen Critique*, p. 137, T. 2.

[2] Berthelot's *Natural History of the Canaries*, quoted from M. d'Avezac by Major.

and entertaining; the tradition itself in its original baldness has found a place in historical narrative for three hundred years; for each and all of these reasons it demands brief consideration.

The story was first related in Caradoc's "History of Wales," published by Dr. David Powell in 1584. Caradoc's history, however, came down only to 1157, and Humphrey Llwyd (Lloyd), who translated it, added the later story of Madoc. Lloyd received it from Guttun Owen, a bard who, about the year 1480, copied the registers of current events which, as late as the year 1270, were kept in the Abbeys of Conway, North Wales, and Strat Flur, South Wales, and compared together every three years by the bards belonging to the two houses. Another bard, Cynfrig ab Gronow, referred to the tradition of western discovery by Madoc about the same time with Owen; and another allusion to it is claimed in the following lines — literally translated — written three years earlier by Sir Meredyth ab Rhy: —

Authorities for the Welsh story.



Welsh Bard.

"On a happy Hour, I, on the water,
Of Mannaers mild, the Huntsman will be,
Madog bold of pleasing Countenance,
Of the true Lineage of Owen Gwyned.
I coveted not Land, my Ambition was,
Not great Wealth, but the Seas."[1]

This may certainly be accepted as conclusive evidence, at least, that the mild-mannered and good-looking prince was fond of the sea; but it is difficult to find anything else in it that can be supposed to refer to the discovery of America. The only real authorities may properly

[1] Williams's *Enquiry*.

be considered as reduced to two — the bards Guttun Owen and Cynfrig ab Gronow.[1]

The story is briefly this: When Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, was gathered to his fathers, a strife arose among his sons as to who should reign in his stead. The eldest legitimate son, Edward, was put aside, or put himself aside, as unfit to govern, "because of the maime upon his face," — he was known as "Edward with the broken-nose," — and the government was seized by Howel who was illegitimate, "a base son begotten of an Irish woman." But the next brother, David, refused allegiance to this Howel, and civil war followed. At length the usurper was killed in battle, and the rightful heritage established, David holding the reins of government as regent till the son of Edward, the eldest brother, was of age. In this contention Madoc took no part, but endeavored to escape from it; which, inasmuch as it was a struggle for the lineal succession of his family, was not much to his credit. Leaving his



David, Prince of Wales.

[1] Compare Lyttleton's *History of Henry II.*, vol. vi. *An Enquiry Concerning the First Discovery of America*, by John Williams, LL. D. London, 1791. *Jones's Musical Relicks of Welsh Bards*, vol. i. From Dr. Powell's *History*, Hakluyt copied the story at length, — referring also to Guttun Owen, — asserting, however, in his first edition, of 1589, that the land which Madoc reached was, in his opinion, Mexico; in his second edition, of 1600, that it was some part of the West Indies. In this, as in most other accounts of early voyagers, later writers have followed Hakluyt. But here, Dr. Belknap interposes a word of caution. "The design," he says, "of his (Hakluyt) bringing forward the voyage of Madoc appears, from what he says of Columbus, to have been the asserting of a discovery prior to his, and consequently the right of the Crown of England to the sovereignty of America; a point at that time warmly contested between the two nations. The remarks which the same author makes on several other voyages, evidently tend to the establishment of that claim." [*American Biography*, etc., by Jeremy Belknap, p. 65.] While of Powell, from whom Hakluyt copies, Robertson says: "The memory of a transaction so remote must have been very imperfectly preserved, and would require to be confirmed by some author of greater credit, and nearer to the æra of Madoc's voyage than Powell." [*Robertson's History of America*, vol. ii., note 17.] Thus the story at the outset has to contend with a reflection upon the credibility of the author who first promulgated it, and upon the motive of him on whose authority it has generally been repeated. But, on the other hand, it is the registers of the Welsh abbeys of Conway and Strat Flur, copied by Guttun Owen, and the statement of Cynfrig ab Gronow, upon which Powell, or rather Humphrey Llwyd, the translator of Caradoc's *History*, relied as authority for the tradition. The writings of these bards are supposed to be lost; but if they really related the story, the trustworthiness of Powell, and the motives of Hakluyt, are of no importance whatever, as it was told by the earlier writers twelve years before Columbus made his first voyage. If Madoc's discovery — supposing there were any — was made upon knowledge, that knowledge could only have come from Iceland or Greenland.

brothers (about 1170) to fight it out among them, he got together a fleet and put to sea in search of adventures. He sailed westward, leaving Ireland to the north, which, it may be remarked, is nearly the only thing he could do in sailing from Wales, unless he laid his course northward through the Irish Sea. But at length he came to an unknown country, where the natives differed from any people he had ever seen before, and all things were strange and new. Seeing that this land was pleasant and fertile, he put on shore and left behind most of those in his ships and returned to Wales.

Historical account of Madoc's voyage.

Coming among his friends again, after so eventful a voyage, he told them of the fair and extensive region he had found; there, he assured them, all could live in peace and plenty, instead of cutting each other's



Madoc leaving Wales.

throats for the possession of a rugged district of rocks and mountains. The advantages he offered were so obvious, or his eloquence so persuasive, that enough determined to go with him to fill ten ships. There is no account of their ever having returned to Wales; but on the contrary, it is said, "they followed the manners of the land they came to, and used the language they found there," — a statement which, if true, shows, not only that they did not return, but that some intercourse was preserved with their native land. Their numbers, nevertheless, must have been sufficient to have formed a considerable colony, and if, as the narrative asserts, the new country "was void of inhabitants" — meaning, probably, that it was only sparsely peopled — it is difficult to believe that they could have become so entirely assimilated to the savages as to lose their own customs and their own tongue.

The Welsh Colony.

Moreover, if such were the fact it destroys all other evidence, which was supposed to be subsequently found, of the existence of such a colony. That supposed evidence is, that a tribe of Indians of light complexion and speaking the old British language, was found within the present limits of the United States in the seventeenth century, and that traces of such a people were still evident at a quite recent period.

Testimonies to its existence.

The earliest testimony on this point is a letter[1] to Dr. Thomas Lloyd, of Pennsylvania, and by him transmitted to his brother, Mr. C. H. S. Lloyd, in Wales. The letter purported to have been written by the Rev. Morgan Jones, and was dated New York, March 10th, 1685–6, more than half a century before its publication in the Magazine. The Rev. Mr. Jones declares that in the year 1660 — twenty-five years before the date of the letter — he was sent as chaplain of an expedition from Virginia to Port Royal, South Carolina, where he remained eight months. Suffering much from want of food, he and five others at the end of that time started to return to Virginia by land. On the way they were taken prisoners by an Indian tribe, the Tuscaroras, and condemned to die. On hearing this sentence, Mr. Jones "being very much dejected," exclaimed "in the British (*i. e.* Welsh) tongue," "Have I escaped so many dangers, and must I now be knocked on the Head like a Dog." Immediately he was seized around the waist by a War Captain, belonging to the Doegs, and assured in the same language that he should not die. He was immediately taken to the "Emperor of the Tuscaroras," and, with his five companions, ransomed. The providential Doeg took them to his own village, where they were kindly welcomed and hospitably entertained. For four months Mr. Jones remained among these Indians, often conversing with them, and preaching to them three times a week in the British language. The conclusion is that these Indians were descendants of the Welsh colonists under Madoc.

The Mr. Lloyd to whom this letter was sent, subsequently adduced some oral and hearsay testimony, to the same effect; as, for example, that a sailor declared he had met with some Indians on the coast, somewhere between Virginia and Florida, who informed him in good Welsh, that their people came from Gwynedd, North Wales. But such testimony is so vague that it may be set aside without hesitation, leaving the letter of Mr. Jones the sole evidence of this Welsh survival on this continent, within the first century of its settlement by the English. In the next century, however, there came forth fresh witnesses.

First. A missionary from New York, a Mr. Charles Beatty, travel-

[1] First published in *The* (London) *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. x., 1740.

ling in 1776, to the Southwest, four or five hundred miles, though he did not himself see any of these Welsh Indians, met with several others who had seen and talked with them. A Mr. Benjamin Sutton assured him that he had visited an Indian town on the west side of the Mississippi, whose people were not so tawny as other natives, and whose language was the Welsh. They had a book which they cherished with great care, though none among them could read it, which Mr. Sutton assumed to be a Welsh Bible, — manuscript, it must have been, as the art of printing was not invented when Madoc is supposed to have left Wales, in 1170. One Levi Hicks, who had been among Indians from his youth, also told Mr. Beatty that he had visited such a town west of the Mississippi, where the language spoken, he was informed, was Welsh; and Joseph, Mr. Beatty's interpreter, had seen natives whom he supposed to be of the same tribe, and who, he was sure, spoke Welsh, because he had some little knowledge of that tongue. Mr. Beatty, in repeating these statements, relates, in corroboration of them, the story of the Rev. Mr. Jones, adding to it, however, that that clergyman had also found a Welsh Bible in possession of the Doegs, which they could not read, but held him in all the more esteem because he could, — a circumstance which Mr. Jones does not mention in his letter, but would hardly have omitted had it been true.



Welshman.

Second. In 1785 was published a narration by a Capt. Isaac Stewart, to the effect that, having been taken prisoner by the Indians, with a Welshman named David, about the year 1767, they were carried seven hundred miles up the Red River, when they came to "a nation of Indians remarkably white, and whose hair was of a red color, — at least, mostly so." The Welshman found these people were of his own race. Their story was that their forefathers came from a foreign country and landed on a coast east of the Mississippi, which, from the description, must have been Florida. When afterward the Spaniards took possession of Mexico they fled west of the Mississippi, and up the Red River; and, as an evidence of the truth of this account, they showed to Captain Stewart some rolls of parchment, covered with writing in blue ink, which they kept wrapped up in skins with great care. Unfortunately neither Captain Stewart nor his Welsh companion could read these precious documents.

Third. Mr. Williams, the author of "An Enquiry Concerning the First Discovery of America by the Europeans," from whose book we condense these narratives, asserts on an authority for which he vouches as respectable and truthful, that a Welshman, living on the banks of the Ohio, declares, in a letter dated October 1, 1778, that he had been several times among Indians who spoke the old British, and that he knew of another person in Virginia who had visited a tribe of Welsh Indians living on the Missouri River. four hundred miles above its junction with the Mississippi.

Such, it has been assumed, is the conclusive evidence that the descendants of Madoc and his companions, who migrated from Wales in 1170, were seen about five hundred years later — in 1660 — somewhere between Jamestown, Virginia, and Port Royal, South Carolina, having carefully preserved their nationality and language. That about one hundred years afterward — in 1767 — the same tribe, or others of the same lineage, were living on the Red River, seven hundred miles from its mouth, still speaking the Welsh tongue; that ten years afterward a similar people, with the same language, were seen by two witnesses somewhere in the same region; that ten years later still, another person knew of a similar tribe on the Missouri; and that Indians had been met with by other persons at various times and in various places, who spoke Welsh. The discrepancies in the accounts, — save the one remarkable fact that some of the witnesses observe that these Indians were white, while others do not mention a peculiarity so striking that it could hardly fail, if it existed, to excite their wonder, — are not greater than are consistent with truth under the ordinary rules of evidence. But the one point on which they all agree — the speaking of ancient British — is the most formidable argument, and by the probability of its truth all these narratives can be most conclusively tested.

The thorough exploration of all the territory of the United States within the last half century has left little to be learned of any of the Indian tribes, and there are none among them known to speak a tongue which would be recognized as Welsh. Yet if there was such a tribe a hundred, or even two hundred years ago, who had for six hundred years preserved their language when surrounded by a savage, alien race, it is hardly possible that a century later, such a people could have become so utterly extinct, or so absorbed by savages whose influence they had so long resisted, as to leave no certain trace of their origin.

But all that is pretended by the later inquirers is, that a tribe of Indians, the Mandans, showed, if not traces of an intermixture with the blood of the whites, at least a marked difference between themselves

and other native tribes. Among them were in use certain words in which is a resemblance, or a fancied resemblance, to the old British language. In the manufacture of their pottery, and in the making of blue beads, they are said to have shown a superiority over the ordinary savage. Mr. Catlin believed them to be a cross between the Indians and the Welsh, and is inclined to accept a theory, favored also by some other writers, that the Mandans are the descendants of the Mound Builders, and that the builders of those numerous earth-works were the people originating in Madoc's Colony.[1] The boat they used, Catlin says, was more like the coracle of the Welsh than the canoe of other Indians; and he asserts that in complexion, in the color of their hair and eyes, they seemed rather

Mr. Catlin's theory and argument.

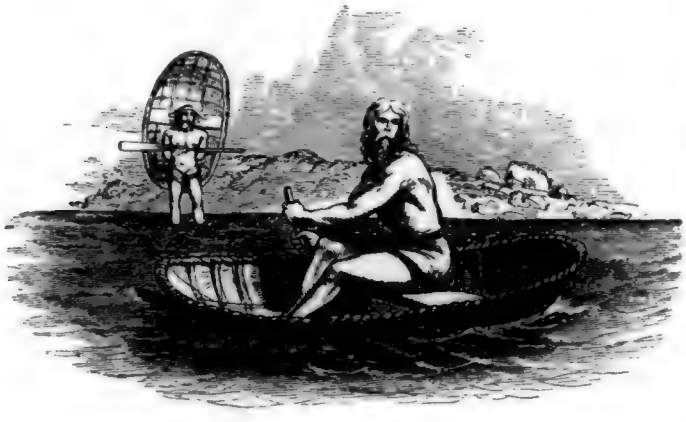


Mandan Boats.

to be allied to the white than the red race. Even the late Albert Gallatin, deservedly a high authority on any point relating to the North American Indians, acknowledges that a chief of this tribe whom

[1] Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, in their expedition across the continent, passed the winter of 1804–5, among the Mandans and other Indians on the Upper Missouri; but there is nothing in their journal to indicate that they observed those striking differences in complexion, in character, and customs, between the Mandans and other tribes, which Catlin describes at great length. The method of making the beads which Mr. Catlin considers so significant a fact, Lewis and Clarke say was known to the Ricarees as well as to the Mandans. As the material used was pounded glass, the process must have come into use since the introduction of glass by modern Europeans, and not have been handed down from the Welsh. To pound up glass, however, and make it into a new form, is an indication of extraordinary intelligence in a North American Indian. The Mandan tradition of their origin is, that the nation once lived under ground, near a lake. A grape-vine extending its root through the earth reached their village and let in the light of day. Some of the more daring climbed up this root, and, to their astonishment and delight, came out upon a country charming to look upon, rich in fruits of various kinds, and covered with great herds of buffaloes. The grapes which they carried back, and their report of the delights of that upper region, set the whole nation wild to ascend and take possession of a land so bountiful and so beautiful. Immediately, men, women, and children rushed to the root of the vine, and about half the people had climbed up in safety, when the weight of a woman of unusual corpulence broke the tough root from the stem, and the light of the sun was shut out forever from those who were left behind. Nevertheless, the Mandans believed that when they died the good among them would return across the lake to this subterranean village, and rejoin their kindred; but that the wicked would never reach that ancient home, for the heavy burdens of their sins would sink them beneath the waters of the lake. The tradition is essentially Indian in character.

he saw in Washington, was of a lighter shade of complexion than other red men, and that he was the only full-blooded Indian he had ever seen with blue eyes. But he nevertheless rejects the supposition that they are descendants from the Welsh, and speaking their tongue, "a fable" he considers set at rest by a knowledge of the Indian dialects. Certainly it is not pretended that any Indian tribe living within the memory of man has used the old British tongue, as was asserted to be the fact by the witnesses of a century and two centuries ago. The slight resemblances in certain Mandan words to Welsh, which Mr. Catlin found, but which had no weight with Mr. Gallatin, are not enough to have enabled the Rev. Mr. Jones to converse familiarly with the Doegs, or preach to them three times a week for four months in their own tongue and his.



Welsh Coracle.

Attempt to identify Welsh with the Mound Builders.

The supposition that the Mound Builders and the Welsh were identical, is equally untenable. Some of the works of the former are known, by the trees growing upon them, to have been erected before the date of Madoc's leaving Wales; and a colony of a few hundred persons could not have so increased and multiplied to the number of the millions who must have been engaged in the erection of the Mound Builders' works, and have utterly perished and disappeared again within a period of four hundred years.[1] The Welsh tradition of Madoc's adventure may nevertheless be true, notwithstanding a failure to sustain it by evidence of its subsequent existence within the present limits of the United States. Such a colony may have been founded, and have perished as other colonies have done since; or a mere remnant of it may have survived to be absorbed by some tribe of Indians, on which it stamped in language and in look some feeble impression of its own origin. But the story must rest upon whatever intrinsic probability of truth it pos-

[1] The Mandan tribe contained about two thousand persons. As a tribe it was completely extinguished by the small-pox, in 1838, the few whom the pestilence spared being made captives of by the Ricarees, who took possession of their village. This the Sioux soon after attacked, and, in the thick of the fight the unhappy Mandans rushed out beyond the pickets and called upon the Sioux to kill them, for "they were Ricaree dogs, their friends were all dead, and they did not wish to live." They fell upon the besiegers at the same time with such impetuosity, that they were to a man destroyed. —*Catlin's North American Indians*, vol. ii, Appendix A.

sesses, rather than upon any evidence that a people whose color inclined to white, and whose tongue was Old British, can be traced on this continent from the middle of the seventeenth century to our own time. Should the original sources of the narrative, the registers of the Welsh bards, be ever recovered, or should other manuscripts be found touching this subject, in the diligent search of later years for fresh knowledge on these old voyages of discovery, there may be some further light let in upon this of the Welsh prince. If his course was westward, leaving Ireland to the north, it may be that he and his people settled, not in Florida, but in one of the Azores or of the West India Islands.[1]



Mandan Indian.

It is a superficial objection to the truth of any narrative, that no mention is made of the event it relates by any contemporaneous writer. It is, nevertheless, true that an event which when it happened was not worth a newspaper paragraph, or, if there were no newspapers, wanted the vitality to get itself repeated, may, a century or two afterward, from its consequences or its relations, be of intense interest, and of the highest importance. That the ancient annalist, — who did not believe that the author of History should ever condescend to anything that was not an affair of state, — should have no ear for the adventures of a petty Welsh prince, of some gallant private gentleman, or of some rough master-mariner, can hardly excite surprise, however much it may be regretted that treaties and protocols, and the enactment of laws were not forgotten for a moment, and the details of incidents so interesting inquired into and recorded. There is to be considered always, not only the old historians' lofty notion of the dignity of history, but that the circumstances of time and place may not have been favorable to the

Relative values of historical facts.

[1] It is a curious fact that this story of the Welsh should have recently appeared in a new form still further west. Among the Zuni of New Mexico, there are said to be white Indians with fair complexions, blue eyes, and light hair. Among the New Mexicans is a tradition that long ago some Welsh miners wandered into that country with their wives and children, and that the Zuni killed the men and married the women. The Zuni deny the truth of the tradition ; but there is, nevertheless, a remarkable resemblance between some of the words of the Zuni language and the English. Thus, "Eat-a," is *to eat;* "Eat-on-o-way," is *eaten enough;* and the Zunians, to express admiration, exclaim, "Look ye!" or "Look ye here!" The surveyors of a route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific coast, in whose Report (vol. iii., part 1, p. 63), we find this statement, "did not see those white Indians at the time of their visit, as the small-pox was raging among the Zuni, nor did they give much heed to the tradition of the New Mexicans."

rapid transmission of intelligence, and that the intelligence itself may not have been supposed to be worthy of transmission. And especially where a question of American discovery is concerned, another important fact must have its due weight, — that it was not till long after the death of Columbus that any historian thought it worth while to inquire into the truth of any report of a pre-Columbian voyage, or even that there were any such reports to inquire into. If, then, we are in earnest search after the truth, we shall first seek to know if, in regard to any alleged voyage, there is any contemporaneous record or clear tradition of it; and failing these, if the report be above all suspicion of having been invented, exaggerated, or perverted, that it might aid in robbing one of the greatest and most unfortunate of men of the immortal fame which he hoped might at length rest upon his name, — a hope which was almost the sole compensation and consolation for a life of many sorrows.

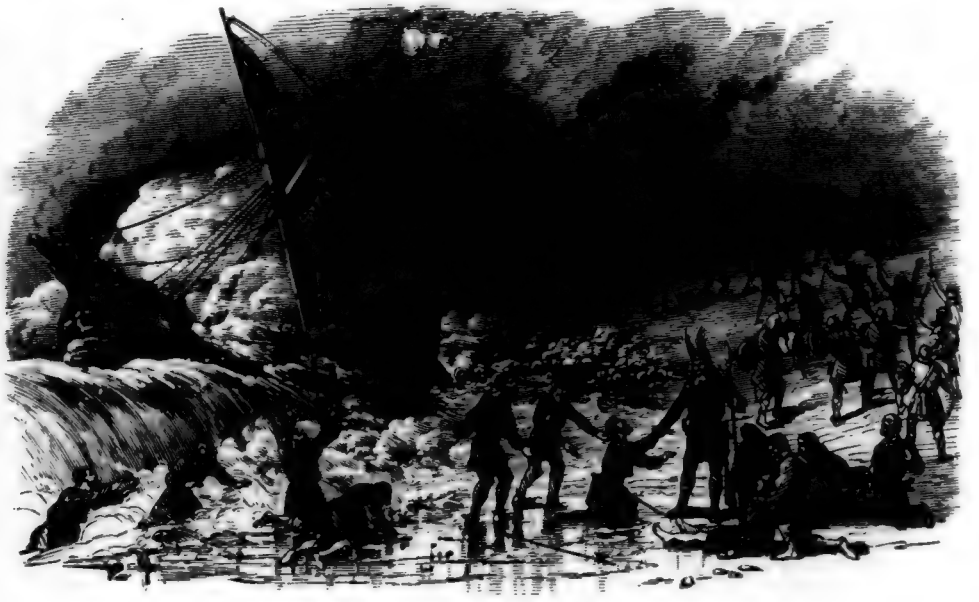
The story of the brothers Zeni, resting upon no tradition, and upon no contemporary testimony, is open to all these considerations. The Zeni were a noble and distinguished family of Venice; in her wars with her neighbors, these brothers, and others of their kindred, had won renown, and were thought worthy of a place in history for their deeds of valor and their services to the state. But no contemporaneous historian had seen fit to relate other achievements of theirs, which, apart from the special importance afterward attached to them, were full of romantic interest; no Skald, or Saga-man of the North, had even mentioned that island of their Northern seas, where these achievements were said to have been performed. One hundred and seventy-eight years later, in the middle of the sixteenth century, when nations were approaching that great power and opulence which their discoveries and possessions in the New World had given them; when national jealousies as well as national interests were aroused for the honor of having originated, or of sharing in the most marvellous accomplishment of human genius the world had ever seen, then it was that a claim was put forth, unheard of before, that these Venetian brothers, by more than a century, preceded Columbus, and that his laurels must be shared with them.

The Zeni family.

In 1558, Francisco Marcolini, of Venice, published a volume of letters, arranged and edited by Nicolo Zeno, purporting to be those of his ancestors, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, written between the years 1380 and 1404. The letters and a map had remained in the family archives, apparently unnoticed and unknown, till coming into the possession of this Nicolo the younger in his childhood, as playthings, he had torn them into fragments. When he came at an age to understand their value, he put together

Publication of the Zeni letters.

such of these torn and scattered fragments as he could recover, and gave them to the world. The little volume was afterward included in Ramusio's "History of Early Voyages," — but not till after Ramusio's death, — and was subsequently translated and transferred by Hakluyt to his own works. From that day to this it has been, and is still, a controverted question whether the story is true or false. By



Shipwreck of Nicolo Zeno.

some writers it is denounced as a fraud, easily compiled from information not difficult to be got from various sources in the middle of the sixteenth century; by others it is accepted on internal evidence, and especially on the testimony of the restored map, as worthy of belief.[1]

Their story.

In the year 1380, according to the Nicolo Zeno of 1558, his ancestor of the same name, who was wealthy, brave, eager to see the world, and who found at home no occupation suited to his active and daring disposition, fitted out a ship at his own charges, and sailed away northward for England and Flanders in search of adventures. Nor did he seek long, for a storm overtook him, drove his ship out of her course, casting her, at length, on an unknown and inhospitable coast. He and his crew escaped with their lives the perils of the shipwreck only to run a new risk, — as they were thrown helpless and exhausted on the shore, — in an attack from the natives. But from this they were saved by the appearance, at the critical moment, of the king of the neighboring island of Porland at the head of an army, who rescued the strangers from the hands of the people. Addressing them in Latin, and learning that they were Venetians, he not

[1] The latest essay on the subject, and in favor of the Zeni Narrative, is by R. H. Major, published by the Hakluyt Society of London. His argument, however, is, for the most part, an elaboration of that of Reinholdt Forster in his *Northern Voyages*.

only gave them a hearty welcome, but begged them to remain in his service. To this they consented, and served him so well by their courage and their skill in seamanship that Nicolo Zeno was made a knight and the captain of the king's navy. Then Nicolo sent to Venice for his brother Antonio, who soon joined him to share in his prosperity, leaving behind, at home, the third brother, Carlo, to whom all the subsequent letters were written. The name of the king whom the two Venetians followed, and who had saved their lives, was Zichmni, and the country was called the island of Frisland. This island he had, not long before Nicolo's shipwreck, wrested, or was about to wrest by conquest from the king of Norway.

It is a notable fact that this island of Frisland, which was said to be larger than Iceland, and which carried on a brisk trade in fish and other merchandise with "Britain, England, Scotland, Flanders, Norway, and Denmark," and between which and Venice there seems to have been not infrequent communication, should never have been mentioned anywhere but about the time of these letters of the brothers Zeni, and that it certainly has had no existence for some hundreds of years.[1] And not only Frisland; there were various other islands in those northern seas held by this Zichmni, "a prince," says Antonio Zeno, in one of his letters, "as worthy of immortal memory as any that ever lived for his great valiance and singular humanitie." By those who accept the account as true, some suppose that Frisland must have been one of the Faroe Islands, and that among the Hebrides, the Shetland, and the Orkney Islands may be found the rest of the dominion subdued by the prowess of this great prince; but others suppose that Frisland and the rest were long ago swallowed up by the sea in some mighty cataclysm, which is the reason why they have been so difficult to find.[2]

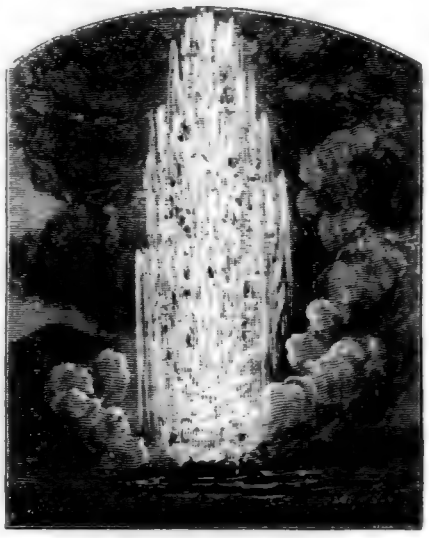
With Zichmni the Zeni remained, — Nicolo four years, till he died, and Antonio ten years longer. So long as Nicolo lived he did the king good service in aiding in the subjection of a number of the islands of an Icelandic archipelago. But he also sailed as far westward as Engroneland, which is supposed to mean Greenland. He gives a minute and interesting account of a monastery of friars of the order of the Preachers, and of a church dedicated to St. Thomas, which he found in that distant country. These friars lived in that severe climate with a remarkable degree of comfort, and even of luxury. Their monastery was built near a hill from which gushed forth a perennial fountain of hot water; this they

A monastery in Engroneland.

[1] The name was sometimes applied to Iceland; but the Zeni letters speak of it as an island distinct from Iceland.

[2] See *Frobisher's Voyages*, Hakluyt, vol. ii.; Forster's *Northern Voyages*; *Belknap's History*, vol. ii.; Captain C. C. Zahrtman in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. v.; and particularly the *Voyage of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolo and Antonio Zeno to the Northern Seas in the 14th Century*, translated and edited by R. H. Major, Hakluyt Society publications, 1873.

turned to many useful purposes by conveying it in pipes into the church and monastery, warming their cells, cooking their food, heating their covered winter gardens, cultivating the fruits and flowers of more temperate zones, putting it to all uses for which heat is requisite as a substitute for fire. Thus they so modified the rigor of that hyperborean region with little or no labor or trouble to themselves, that those jolly monks made their homes as cheerful as if they were beneath the sunny sky of Italy. Even for the buildings of the monastery this volcanic mountain furnished them with ample material; for on the stones which were cast out of its crater they had only to throw water when "burning hot" to reduce them to excellent lime, which on being used so hardened as to last forever.[1]



Greenland Geyser.

[1] A German writer, Dethmar Blefkins, a minister sent to Iceland from Hamburg in 1563, tells much the same story, which he learned from a monk who entered this monastery of St. Thomas in 1546. Blefkins, whose tract is in Purchas, vol. iii., says: "This Monke told us marvellous strange things, that there was in the Monastery of St. Thomas (where he lived) a Fountaine, which sent forth burning and flaming water, that this water was conveyed through Pipes of stone, to the several Cels of the Monks, and that it made them warme as stoves do with us, and all kinds of meats might be boyled in this Fountaine, and fiery water, and no otherwise than if it had bin on a fire indeed, he advertised moreover, that the walls of the Monastery were made with Pumice stones, out of a certain mountain not farre from the Monastery: like to Hecla in Iceland, for if you powre this water upon the Pumice stone, there will follow a slymie matter, which instead of lyme they use for mortar."

Crantz, in his *History of Greenland* (p. 265 *et seq.*), in treating of "lost" Greenland, refers to this statement of the monk as related by Blefkin, but says "it is confessed that the story is told a little incoherently, and its truth is much doubted." "But yet," he adds, "I find a sort of voucher for it in *Cæsar Longinus's Extracts of all Journies and Voyages.*" There, it is said that an English sailor, Jacob (or James) Hall, in the service of Denmark, made several voyages to Iceland and Greenland and wrote a description of the wild Greenlanders, the most particular, ample, and conformable to truth of all that had written: this man affirms that he also had spoken with the aforesaid monk in Iceland in the presence of the Governor, and had inquired of him about the state of Greenland. He told him, likewise, several things about St. Thomas's cloyster, particularly "that there was a fountain of hot water conveyed by pipes into all their apartments, so that not only their sitting-rooms, but also their sleeping-chambers were warmed by it, and that in this same water meat might be boiled as soon as in a pot over the fire. The walls of the cloyster were all made of pumace-stone, and if they poured this hot water upon the stones, they would become clammy and viscid, and so they used them instead of lime." The Danish Chronicle of Greenland [continues Crantz] also makes mention of this cloyster, and speaks besides of a garden through which a rivulet of this hot fountain flowed, and made the soil so fruitful that it produced the most beautiful flowers and fruits.

Thus this monk of the German author, Blefken, and the English sailor, Hall, told in 1546

But discoveries more interesting still were yet to be made. Nicolo died soon after his return from Engroneland, and Antonio proposed to return to Venice, but was not permitted to do so by Zichmni, who retained him for further service. There had arrived at Frisland an ancient fisherman, who had been absent many years in strange lands, and the tale he told was one which might well arouse so bold a navigator and adventurous a Viking as Zichmni. Six and twenty years before, he said, four fisher-boats from Frisland were driven by a mighty tempest a thousand miles to the westward, when one of them was wrecked upon an island called Estotiland — supposed to be Newfoundland — and taken prisoners by the inhabitants. They were led to "a faire and populous city" and brought before the king, who, learning who and what they were, through an interpreter — also a shipwrecked sailor — who spoke Latin, determined they should be retained in his service. Five years they lived there and found it to be a rich country, "with all the commodities of the world," with mines of all manner of metals, and especially abounding in gold. In the middle of it was a high mountain from which sprung four great rivers that went forth and watered all the land. The inhabitants they found to be a "witty people," having "all the arts and faculties" of civilized nations, speaking a language of their own, with letters and characters peculiar to themselves. Yet they had intercourse with other countries, for in the king's library there were Latin books which, however, none could read, and they imported merchandise of various kinds from Engroneland. Southward of this kingdom was another great and populous country, very rich in gold, where there were many cities and castles, and where the people raised corn and brewed ale. They were also a maritime people, though they did not understand the use of the compass; but seeing this wonderful instrument in the hands of the fishermen, and discerning its great utility at sea, they held these strangers in such esteem that they fitted out twelve barks and sent them southward, under their direction, to that other land called Drogeo.

Adventures of a fisherman.

Estotiland.

precisely the same story, in almost identical language, of the Monastery and Church of St. Thomas, in Greenland, and the ingenious hot-water works, supplied from a geyser, which was told by Nicolo Zeno nearly two hundred years before. The monk could not have borrowed from the Venetian book, for that was not published till twelve years after he is said to have entered the Monastery of St. Thomas, in Greenland, where he saw this remarkable oasis in the arctic wilderness, but which nobody but he and Nicolo Zeno had ever thought worthy of description. If, therefore, Blefken and Cæsar Longinus may be relied upon, and there really was such a monk, telling such a story, about the time of the publication of the Zeni letters, it shows, at least, that other sources of information in regard to Greenland, were open to Nicolo Zeno the younger, than the mutilated fragments of his ancestor's letters

It was an unhappy expedition; for though the fishermen escaped death at sea in their storm-tossed vessels, they met on land a fate more cruel. Helpless and exhausted, they were made prisoners as they were thrown upon the shore, and most of them were immediately eaten by the savage people "which feed upon man's flesh as the sweetest meat in their judgment, as is." But the man who had got back to Frisland, and some of his companions, were saved; for however excellent they might be for eating, they were held as better still for slaves. He taught these people the art of taking fish with nets, and so grew presently into great favor; so great, indeed, that powerful chiefs quarrelled for the possession of his person, and went to war about him, so that he was the royal fisher in turn to no less than twenty-five of these copper-colored lords. For thirteen years he lived among them and thus saw many parts of the country. It was, he said, a very great country, as it were a new world; "but the people were very rude, very fierce and cruel, and voide of all goodness;" so savage that they all went naked; so wanting in intelligence that they had not even the wit to cover themselves with the skins of the beasts they killed with their wooden spears and arrows, though they suffered from the cold. Yet they had laws peculiar to each tribe, and one custom that was universal, — that they should kill all they could in constant wars, and eat all they killed. It is not an attractive picture, but is thought by those who maintain the Zeni letters to be authentic, to answer accurately to the character of the Indians afterward found within the present limits of the United States.

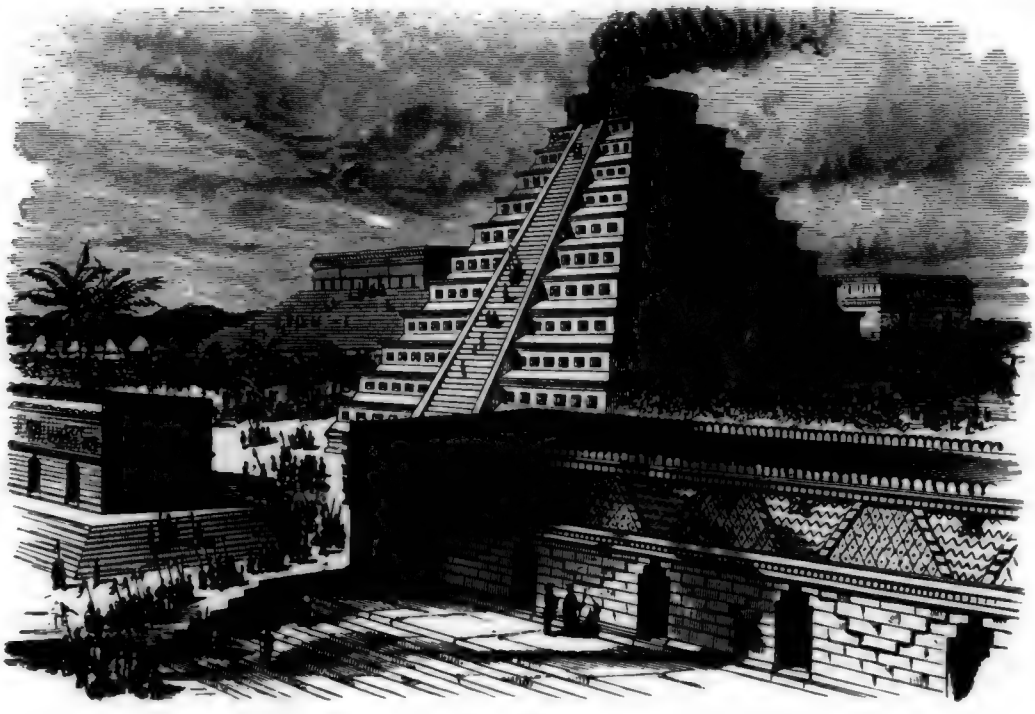
Drogeo.

But farther to the southwest the fisherman found a people of more "civility," as he found a more temperate climate, where they had cities and temples for their idols. To these idols they sacrificed men whom they afterward ate. They understood the use of gold and silver, whereas the more northern people knew nothing of metals. This, it is assumed, is a description of Mexico and her semi-civilization, thus giving to the fisherman a wide field of observation, who must have travelled, granting the truth of the narrative, down the Atlantic coast, along the whole of the northern, and part of the western coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The discovery, if discovery it was, was more extensive than that of Columbus himself, and of other navigators, in the next two centuries; and the marvel is, that there should be no record or tradition of an event so interesting as this finding "as it were of a new world," except in these forgotten letters to Carlo Zeno, of Venice, and that such letters should have been unknown for nearly two hundred years.

For the fisherman, after his twenty-six years absence and travel in these strange lands and among these barbarous people, returned to

Frisland, where his tale was generally believed and even confirmed by other mariners who also knew something of that far country. So intense was the interest excited that the prince Zichmni resolved at once to fit out an expedition, and so many came forward to join it, that Antonio believed that it would be

Expedition of Prince Zichmni.



Aztec City.

at no cost to the state. Zichmni commanded in person, setting forth with many barks and men. Two days before sailing, the fisherman, who was to have piloted the fleet, unfortunately died, and his place had to be supplied by other sailors who had returned with him from Estotiland. Soon after leaving the last island which owed Zichmni allegiance, he encountered a gale which lasted for eight days and wrecked most of his vessels. Nevertheless, pushing boldly westward, he reached, at length, an island where he found a safe and commodious harbor, but where "an infinite number of people came rushing furiously to the water-side" and forbade a landing. Zichmni made signs of peace, when ten men came off to him, speaking ten distinct languages, none of which could he understand except that of one from Iceland. From him the prince learned that the island was called Icaria, and the people Icari, after the first king of the place, who was the son of Dædalus, a king of Scotland. This Dædalus had formerly conquered the island, and left his son there to reign in his stead, while he, setting forth in search of new conquests, was overwhelmed by a tempest, and the sea, in memory of him who was drowned in

it, was thenceforth called the Icarian Sea. The laws and the land which he had given them they valued far more than life, and they would not tolerate the presence of strangers. One man only from the fleet would they permit to come among them, and he must speak Italian that they might add that to the ten other tongues of their ten interpreters.

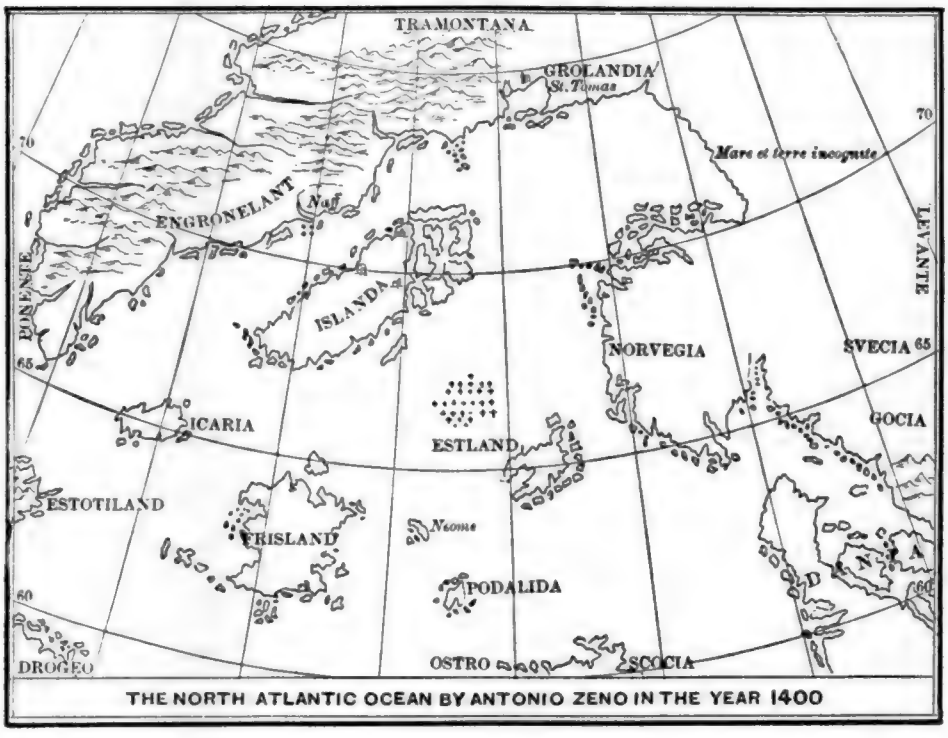
The prince, making a pretence of departing in compliance with the commands of the natives, circumnavigated Icaria, but a multitude of armed men watched the vessels from the hill-tops, kept pace along the beaches with its progress, and menaced it continually; and when a second attempt was made to go on shore, the Frislanders were repulsed, many killed, and more wounded. Against this fierce obstinacy Zichmni was convinced at last that it was useless to contend. Once more he set sail, still steering to the west.

He steered to the west for five days with a fair breeze; then the weather changed, and the wind came out from the southwest. With this "wind in the powpe" he sailed four days more — sailed, that is, before the wind for four days to the northeast, when once more land loomed up above the sea-line. On what part of the American coast this land may have been, it is not considered prudent even to conjecture; for, given a starting-point, Frisland, which never existed; a voyage thence westward of not less than ten days to another fabulous island, Icaria; thence still westward for five days more; thence for four days in a northeast direction, and the imagination need submit to no trammels of latitude and longitude. But wherever it was, it was so pleasant a country, its days of June were so delicious, its soil was so fruitful, its rivers so fair, its fish and its fowl in such abundance, that here Zichmni resolved to remain, to build a city, to found a state. The harbor where he anchored he called Trin, and the point which stretched out into the sea and embraced it, he called Capo di Trin. In the centre of the island was an active volcano, visible from the coast, and out of the base of it ran a certain matter like pitch, that flowed into the sea. The country was densely populated by a people small of stature, timid, half wild, and living in caves of the earth. Zichmni sent his ships back to Frisland, under the command of Antonio Zeno, retaining only his boats and a portion of his people; but whether he himself ever returned thence, or what was the subsequent fate of him and his colony, except that he built his town and explored much of the neighboring region, there is no account. The last letter of Zeno declares that he has written many interesting things in a book, which he should bring home with him, respecting the adventures of his brother and himself, of the prince Zichmni, the many islands he reigned over, and the new lands he dis-

Western lands discovered.

covered; but this the younger Zeno had destroyed in his youth, and here, therefore, the narrative ends.

The warmest defenders of this irreconcilable story do not venture to deny that much of it is fable, and of that which they accept as



The Zeni Map.

true, some of its essential facts of geography and navigation stand in need of the most ingenious explanation. It is difficult to believe that any actual navigator should have described so many islands that had no existence in the places where he put them, both in the narrative and on a map; and quite as hard to believe that they have all been since sunk in the sea, if they ever had an existence. If it is assumed that the requisite number, and the conquest and discovery of those referred to, may be found by looking for them among the Faroe Islands, the Orkneys, or the Hebrides, it is hard to reconcile such a supposition to the known facts of history — that Norway, at the end of the 14th century was governed not by a king, but by a queen, Margaret; that the Orkneys and Shetland isles were never wrested from that crown, but belonged to it till late in the 15th century; that Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, held possession of the islands of that name as a loyal subject of Norway at the very time that Zichmni is said to have conquered Frisland; that the Hebrides have been in continual possession of Scotland since the latter part of the 13th century. While it is exceedingly difficult to

Objections to this narrative.

adjust the main statements of the narrative to any reasonable theory consistent with their truth, the meagre information it gives in regard to the Western Continent was possibly accessible from various sources when the letters were published. The most rational conclusion, therefore, seems to be that if the story were not a clumsy attempt to patch up an account of a voyage, some record of which had been preserved in mutilated and unintelligible fragments of old letters, then it was a bold, but still clumsy, fabrication, whereby it was hoped that the glory of the great discovery might be snatched from Spain and Columbus. In nothing, in either case, is that clumsiness so apparent as in the adaptation of the Grecian names and fables of Dædalus and Icarus to persons and places in the frozen North.

Chinese claim to American Discovery.

There is a still older claim to the discovery of the western hemisphere than can be made either for Northmen, Arabs, Welsh, or Venetians. In the Chinese Year-Books, in which are recorded from year to year for many centuries, every event of interest that occurred in the empire, is the relation of a Buddhist priest named Hoei-Shin, who, in the last year of the fifth century, visited a country fifteen thousand *li* east of Tahan. Precisely the distance measured by twenty thousand *li* in the year 499, and whether by Tahan was meant Kamtschatka, Alaska, or Siberia, are questions about which there is a good deal of doubt, while on a clear understanding of them depends any application of the narrative to American discovery.

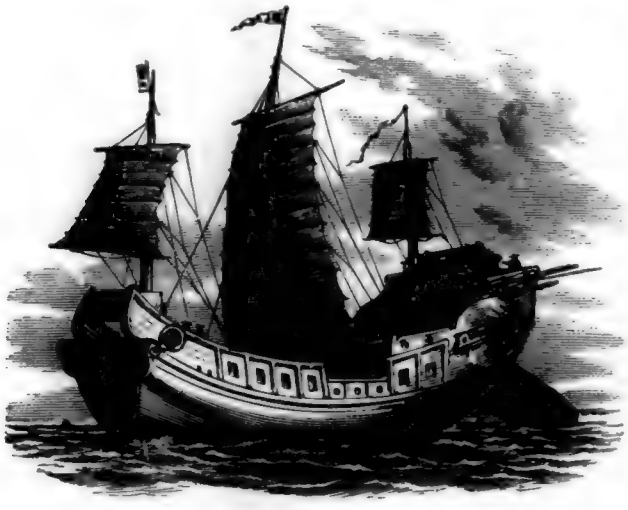
Description of Fusang.

The country which the priest reached, however, he called Fusang, from its most remarkable product, a tree possessed of many valuable qualities. Its sprouts were like those of the bamboo, and were used for food; it bore an excellent fruit, red in color, in shape like a pear, and which would keep the whole year round; its bark was fibrous, and from it the natives made a kind of linen for their clothing, and the paper on which they wrote; for they were so cultured a people that they used written characters. Another fruit they had was apples; from a kind of reed they made mats. As beasts of burden they used horses, oxen, and stags; these were harnessed to wagons. The hinds were kept also for their milk, from which cheese was made; and the oxen had horns so large that they would hold ten bushels, and were useful as receptacles of household goods. Iron they had not; but copper, gold, and silver were plentiful, though but little valued.

Fusang was governed by a king, who when he appeared in public was heralded by the music of horns and trumpets; he clothed himself apparently in accordance with some astronomical theory, as the color of his garments was changed every two years for a cycle of ten years,

when the same order was begun again. The title of this king was Ichi, and he was surrounded by a nobility divided into three ranks. The people were peaceful and had no weapons of war. Offences against the law were punished by imprisonment; when this was for life, the offenders were allowed to marry, but their children were sold as slaves.

A thousand *li* east of Fusang, the monk said, the people were white, were covered with hair, and were all women. When they wished to become mothers they had only to bathe in a certain river. Their children they nourished, not from the breast but from a tuft of hair upon the shoulder. Other wonderful things he related, but these the learned translator, the late Professor Neumann of the University of Munich, thought too absurd to repeat. The old Chinese poets found a potent stimulant to their imaginations in these stories of Hoei-Shin, and made of Fusang a delightful region of many marvels where the mulberry trees were thousands of feet in height, and the silk-worms more than six feet in length. In a land blessed with such capabilities for making silk, a Chinaman could conceive of nothing wanting.



Chinese Junk.

Not the least remarkable of the observations of Hoei-Shin is that the people of this distant land were all Buddhists. For he was not the first discoverer; twenty-nine years before his visit, he said, five beggar-monks from China had reached Fusang and introduced the religion of Buddha, with his holy books and images, instructed the people in the principles of monastic life, and thus wrought a great change in those few years in their belief and their manner of living.

This alleged discovery has been the subject of a good deal of controversy. There is nothing incredible in the supposition that the Chinese may have sailed across the Pacific long before Europeans ventured over the Atlantic Ocean; for they were early navigators; knew in the second century of our era the use of the mariner's compass; and their junks, which have changed little in form since they were first known to Europeans, have been found wrecked upon the west coast of America, at different periods, from the time of the first Spanish voyages in the Pacific.

While there is no intrinsic improbability, then, of such a discovery, those who see in Hoei-Shin's narrative a record of it, maintain that Fusang was either California or Mexico; that the Fusang-tree was the great American aloe, or "Maguey," as the Indians call it; that the oxen with enormous horns were bison; that the stags were reindeer, which may have once been used farther south than now; that the horses were of a race that afterward became extinct, and whose fossil remains have been found by geologists in the western territories of the United States; that the ancient Mexicans were accustomed to milk the bison-cows and hinds, and to manufacture cheese; that though Peru was not Mexico, from one the people may have gone to the other; and Ichi may have meant Inca, the title of the sovereign of Peru, which may have been brought from Mexico; that orders of nobility were known both in Mexico and Peru; that the Mexicans had some knowledge of astronomy, and the cycle of ten years, the observance of which determined the Ichi in the color of his garments, may have been a subdivision of the Mexican astronomical period of fifty-two years; and finally, that Tahan was Alaska, and according to the most reasonable computation of the length of a *li* of the fifth century, the coast of Mexico is about twenty thousand *li* from Alaska.

On the other hand, it is observed that the monk speaks of no long voyage to the country he calls Fusang; that in using the vague term 20,000 *li*, he meant to indicate a great distance rather than any definite measurement in miles; and that he may have referred to no region farther off than Kamtschatka, the island of Saghalien or than Japan; that by Tahan he may have meant Siberia; that as his narrative is acknowledged to be largely made up of fables, so that which is true is composed of facts and rumors in regard to various countries; as, for example, a tree similar in its characteristics to those ascribed to the Fusang is found in one of the Aleutian islands; the reindeer are common to Asia as well as America, and other peoples beside the Mexicans are known to have been ignorant of the use of iron and to have used copper instead.

If the story of Hoei-Shin was not meant to deceive — and some Oriental scholars do not hesitate to call him "a lying priest," — it is too indefinite, until supported by further evidence, to be accepted as an authentic narrative of a veritable discovery of the Western continent. Its meagre statement of the character and manners of the people of Fusang and of the productions of the country can hardly be made to apply to the ancient Mexicans by seeking for similarities from the Arctic regions to Peru.[1]

[1] See Humboldt's *Examen Critique*, tome 2, p. 62, *et seq.*, and *Fusang, or The Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century*, by Charles G. Leland.

We have devoted these earlier chapters to periods which, in previous histories of the United States and of America, have either had no place at all, or have been dismissed in a page or a paragraph. Should it ever be possible to penetrate the mystery and darkness which shrouded one half the world almost as completely as if it had been another planet, from the time of its creation to a thousand years after Jesus Christ, such an addition to human knowledge would be of inestimable value and intense interest. Modern science has only begun to read this story of races and of civilizations that long since disappeared, leaving no other record than those relics which till recently have been either overlooked or misunderstood.

Claim of these pre-historic periods on our interest.

What point in time, or what degree of knowledge, may be thus reached by future discoveries and deductions from them in a field as yet but little explored, it would be rash to hazard even a guess. But it is well to know what ground there is for presuming that it is possible to learn anything of that pre-historic period. And still more in actual history, even though its records be obscure and imperfect, or only traditions reduced to writing; even though the period of which we can gain only such imperfect information be, in some respects, legendary and romantic, we may, nevertheless, profitably and properly go further back than the ordinary starting-point by five hundred years.

Hitherto the legitimate commencement of American history has been held to be toward the end of the fifteenth century, and all beyond fabulous or inscrutable. But there were bold men and skilful sailors before Columbus. Ever since men sailed upon the sea, or possessed a literature, there have been glimpses, sometimes transient or illusory, at other times distinct, of a mysterious world in the Western Ocean, the subject of curious conjecture, of vague prophecy, and oftener, perhaps, than is supposed, of attempted discovery. Though there was no permanent occupation and no positive recognition of this as a new quarter of the globe till the Columbian era, the real or supposed approaches to its possession for the five hundred previous years appeal as much to human sympathy, and are as pertinent to human progress, as the mythical periods of the historical nations of the Old World.

From discoveries made without design and in ignorance of their real character, we are led, in the gradual progress of events and the slow advance of knowledge, to that later time when the ocean was traversed with a distinct and intelligent purpose and with unhesitating faith. The Northmen, the Welsh, the Venetians — assuming their narratives to be wholly or partially

Vague notions of early navigators.

true — while they were certain that they had sailed into unknown seas, and were cast upon new lands and among strange peoples beyond the accredited limits of the inhabited world, also believed, no doubt, that they had only reached the farther shores or the out-lying islands of the continent whence they came. The notions as to the shape and the extent of the earth were, at that period, so vague, even among the learned, and the art of navigation was so little developed, that there was not much speculation as to the possibility of penetrating beyond the known limits of the continents and out of the accustomed tracks of ships. All that mariners dared to do was to creep along the coast from headland to headland, with a fair wind, to go to places frequently visited.

Imperfection of nautical instruments and knowledge.

The boldest who first ventured out of sight of land, had only the sun by day and the stars by night to steer by ; when these were obscured for more than a day or two they lost all reckoning and were at the mercy of the winds and currents. They were without the mariner's compass of later times, for the magnetic needle was not in general use till early in the fourteenth century, either because a knowledge of its properties was confined to a few, or because there was a timid hesitation to spread the knowledge of an instrument which, it was supposed, would certainly be looked upon among the ignorant as belonging to the Black Art, and one with which no sensible seaman, who thought of his salvation, would trust himself at sea. It was impossible to ascertain the position of a ship out of sight of land, for it was the middle of the fifteenth century before there was any nautical instrument by which the altitude of the sun and stars could be taken with any approach to accuracy. Even sailing on a wind is supposed to have been unknown till the Northmen found it possible, with the wind on the quarter, to still keep the ship on her course if they ventured to haul their tacks aboard. Before that time the sailor was no wiser than the nautilus, which can only sail with a breeze from astern. What little knowledge there was of distant parts of the earth was gained by a few travellers over land in search of information ; by priests devoted to the propagation of the Christian faith among the heathen ; by travelling merchants of different countries, who, meeting each other at certain great marts for the exchange of merchandise, exchanged information also as to the regions whence they came, or others which they had visited in the pursuit of their calling.

Of the three continents, Europe, Asia, Africa, into which the world was then supposed to be divided, the boundaries were unknown, and the extreme parts, if not uninhabited, — at the north, because of the intensity of the cold ; in the torrid zone, because of the intensity of

the heat, — were believed to be either absolutely impenetrable by those born in more temperate climates, or to be entered only at the risk of life. It was death from cold to go too far northward; to venture too far southward might be worse than death, for if heat did not at once consume the flesh and bones of the unhappy traveller, it would singe his hair to a crispy wool, and tan his skin to the blackness of a coal.

But when, at length, vessels were driven by the fury of tempests, or drifted by irresistible currents westward upon unknown coasts, though the bewildered crews may have believed that they had only reached the farther confines of the continent of Europe, extending northward to the pole, thence southward and westward to some unapproachable boundary, such voyages were, nevertheless, the natural consequence of that boldness which, little by little, ventured farther out to sea, and led at length to such grand results. They were the pioneers of subsequent discovery, and the traditions, speculations, and prophecy scattered through ancient literature, of islands and continents in and beyond the Sea of Darkness, arose in part at least from vague reports of ships having sometimes sailed into those mysterious waters and touched upon distant shores.

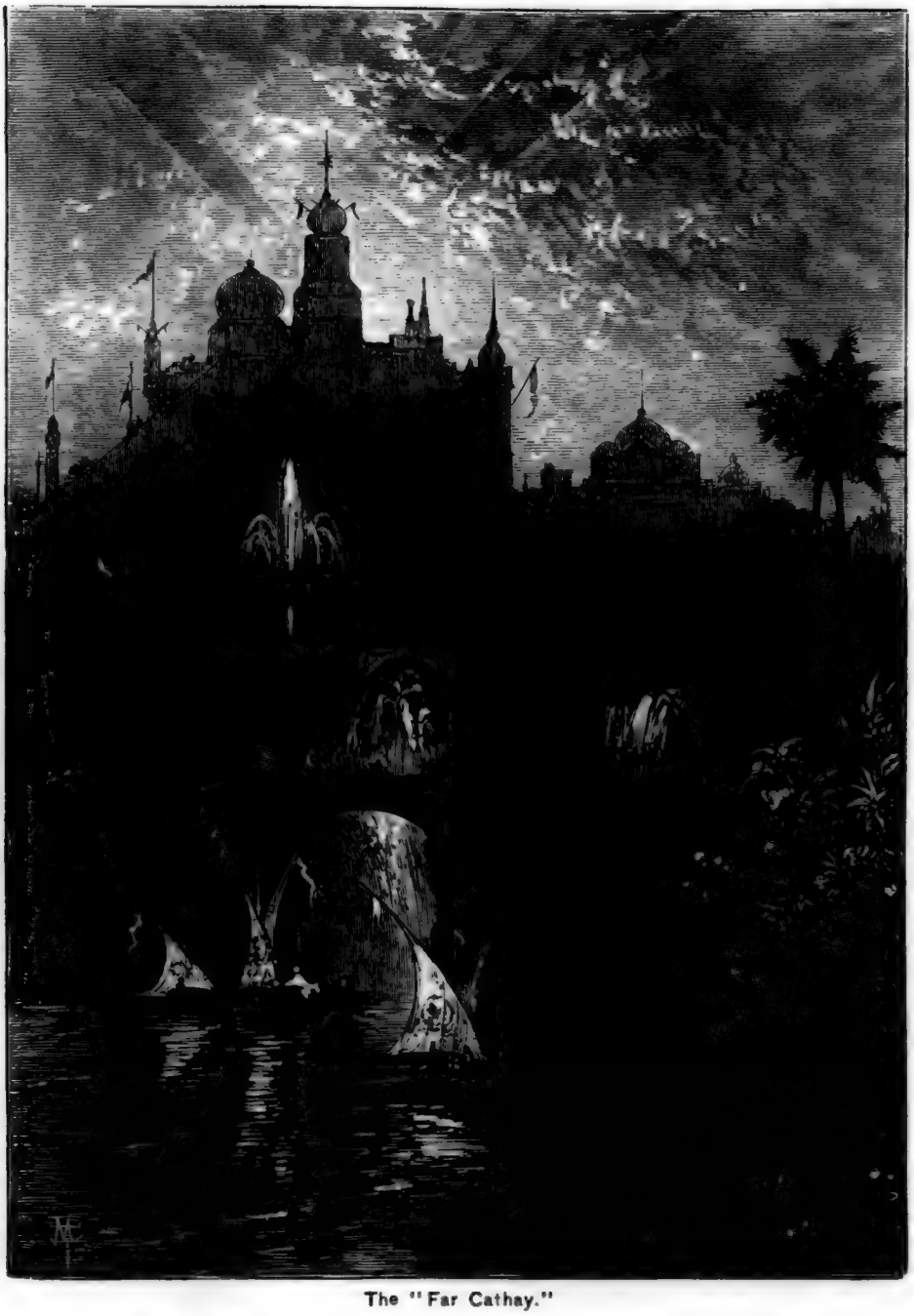
Then in the fifteenth century came the revival of learning in Europe. Enthusiasm was kindled in the study of science; especially was this true in regard to cosmography. All that the scholars of the earlier ages had taught was diligently learned; and the new theories which the student formed in his closet, the adventurous voyager sought to test by actual experiment. To the political jealousy of states was added a nobler rivalry in efforts to enlarge the boundaries of geographical knowledge and to augment the commerce of the world. Sailing upon the sea grew into an art; it became possible to ascertain with some precision the position of a ship out of sight of land; to tell almost with absolute certainty the direction in which she should be steered, though blackest clouds and darkest night obscured the sky. It is not easy now to conceive how immense an impulse this was to the activity and intelligence of that age; but it opened the whole world to those who could avail themselves of these means of knowledge, and was the dawn of a new era in civilization. New wants were created; luxury increased, as the products of different and distant countries became known; a demand arose which gave a new importance and power to commerce and to expeditions to find out new and shorter routes to those distant lands.[1]

Effect of revival of scientific learning.

And there was no discovery which offered so magnificent a return,

[1] See Robertson's *History of America*, book ii.

none which was sought for with so much intrepidity and eagerness, as a shorter way to that marvellous India, with its fabulous riches and strange peoples, which such travellers as Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville had visited and written of, but which, as yet, could only be reached by adventurous merchants through long and perilous journeys overland. The pursuit of this chimera, rendered possible by the fresh acquisitions of knowledge, and the wants of the age, was the crowning event which revealed a New World, whose existence had been held to be one of the curious fables of ancient philosophers.



The "Far Cathay."

CHAPTER V.

INDIA — THE EL DORADO OF COLUMBUS.

The Kingdom of Cathay. — Efforts in Europe to find a Sea-way to India. — Prince Henry the Navigator. — Birth and Early Life of Christopher Columbus. — His Design of a Western Voyage to India. — Faith in his Divine Mission. — The Theories of Contemporary Geographers. — His Life in Spain. — The Council at Salamanca. — His First Voyage. — His belief that he has discovered India. — The Delusion of his Life. — His brief Honor and Final Disgrace.

In the far East had reigned for centuries a line of mighty monarchs of the race of Kublai Khan. Among many provinces owing them

allegiance was that of Mangi, bordering on the sea. In this province alone, Marco Polo said, there were twelve thousand cities, all within a few days' travel of each other. Quinsai, whose circuit was a hundred miles, was only one of a hundred and forty cities standing in such contiguity that they seemed but one. A permanent garrison of thirty thousand soldiers guarded Quinsai alone; a police force of some hundreds of thousands of men was always on duty to preserve its domestic peace and order. Spanning its many streets were twelve thousand noble bridges, some of them so lofty that ships could sail beneath without interruption to the passage of the multitudes that were continually crossing them, to and fro. Its principal street, forty paces in width, bridged in many places by these works of beautiful architecture, extended from one side of the city to the other in a straight line. At intervals of every four miles on this magnificent avenue of thirty-three miles were market-places, each two miles in compass; behind them ran a canal, on the banks of which were great stone warehouses always filled with precious merchandise. In these spacious marts from forty to fifty thousand people met three days in the week to trade, thronging through the streets that radiated in every direction. These thoroughfares were all of great width and length, and paved with stone, as indeed were all the highways, in city and country, of the province of Mangi.

The province of Mangi in India.

The sewerage of Quinsai was more perfect than that of any modern city, for the waters of a river, that bounded it on one side, were led through the streets and washed completely away all filth and waste matter to a lake on the other side, whence they were carried out to sea. Besides this system of thorough drainage, for the preservation of the public health, there were free baths of hot and cold water, with attendants, male and female, for daily bathing was the habit of this luxurious people from earliest childhood; and for the sick and feeble the hospitals were "exceeding many," where all were taken care of who were not able to work. A trained fire-department was in constant readiness to protect the city from conflagrations, and at a fixed hour of the night the putting out of domestic lights and fires was enforced by severe penalties, as a safeguard against accident. All the inhabitants were required to be within their houses at a certain time, and from every guard-house and on every bridge each hour of the day and night was struck on great resounding basons or gongs.

City of Quinsai.

The marble palace of the king, with its arcades and corridors, its terraces and courts, its lakes and groves and gardens, filled a circuit of ten miles; its wide expanse of roof, profusely wrought in gold, rested upon hundreds of pillars of pure gold cunningly adorned in arabesque

of azure, to heighten the native richness of the yellow metal. Here on holydays, sacred to their gods, were feasts of ten and twelve days' continuance, with guests ten thousand at a time.

The annual revenue of the king from salt alone, from Quinsai and its associated cities, comprising only one ninth of Mangi, was six million, four hundred thousand ducats; from other products, sixteen million eight hundred thousand more. The population of this one of the one hundred and forty contiguous cities was one million and six hundred thousand families; they consumed daily nine thousand four hundred and sixty pounds of pepper, and "hence," says Polo, "may be guessed the quantity of victuals, flesh, wine, and spices were there spent." So wealthy and prosperous and luxurious were these people, that a part of every day was given up to pleasure in boats and barges fitted up for banquets on the lake; in driving about the long and beautiful streets in chariots lined with cushions and cloths of silk; in feasting in palaces gorgeously furnished and kept for public use; in loitering in public gardens, or resting in inviting bowers scattered through them at convenient distances. And this city, "for the excellency thereof," said Marco Polo, "hath the name of the city of Heaven; for in the world there is not the like, or a place in which are found so many pleasures, that a man would think he were in Paradise."

Of all the provinces of the East, Mangi was the richest, as it was also the most accessible from the sea. But all the kingdoms, both of Mangi and Cathay, teemed with people, abounded in precious commodities of nature and of art, and their cities, villages, fortresses, and palaces were tens upon tens of thousands. Armenia the Greater was, like Mangi and Cathay, tributary to the great Khan. There also were many opulent communities; out of its soil sprang wholesome hot waters for the curing of all diseases; on the top of one of its mountains Noah's Ark still rested. At the city of Cambalu, on the northeast of Cathay, where the Khan resided for three winter months, his palace was of marble with a roof of gold, so blazoned in many colors that nothing but gold and imagery met the eye. It stood in the centre of the city, which was a succession of courts from one to six miles in width, each surrounded with a wall, the outer wall of all extending eight miles on each side of a square. In one of these courts stood always a guard of ten thousand soldiers; in the imperial stables near by were five thousand elephants.

Magnificence of the Great Khan.

From Cambalu radiated roads to the most distant boundaries of the empire; at every twenty-five or thirty miles on these highways were post-houses, wherein were many chambers fit to lodge a king, and relays of horses were kept always in readi-

ness for the use of the royal messengers. Of these post-houses there were about ten thousand in the whole empire, and the number of horses kept in them exceeded two hundred thousand. Between these houses, at intervals of three or four miles, were other stations where runners swift of foot always stood ready to carry letters on the king's business, having at their girdles little bells, the ringing whereof gave notice of their coming, and as they met, the letters were handed from one to another and thus hurried forward without a moment's delay. The bridges on these roads, over the many rivers and canals which watered this wonderful country, were noble works of art, built sometimes of polished serpentine, sometimes of beautiful marbles, stately with many columns, ornamented with great stone lions and other sculptures, curiously and beautifully wrought.

In another city, Ciandu, the Khan made his residence for three of the summer months, and there also was "a marvellous palace of marble and other stones," in an enclosure of sixteen miles. So large was the banquet-hall of this royal residence, that the Khan's table in the centre was eighty yards high. Here the royal stud was a herd of white horses and mares to the number of ten thousand, which were in a manner sacred; for none dared to go before or to hinder these animals wherever they went, and none were allowed to drink of the milk of the mares except they were of the imperial blood.

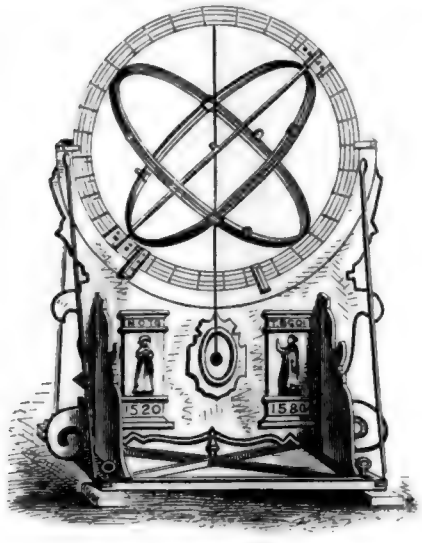
The Khan's army was almost like the sands of the sea for numbers, and so magnificent was the state of its many generals that they sat in chairs of solid silver. The royal fleet was fifteen thousand sail, and each vessel carried fifteen horses and twenty men, or two hundred and twenty-five thousand horses and three hundred thousand men for the fleet. But the merchant marine far exceeded this, for in a single port Polo saw five thousand ships engaged in trade, and there were many cities that numbered still more.

In one province a mountain of turquoises pierced the clouds; in a valley of another nestled a lake where pearls were so plentiful that had there been freedom to gather them, pearls would have been so common as to be of little worth. There were many mines of silver, many rivers whose beds were spangled with gold. The beasts and birds were various and wonderful: serpents with two little feet near their heads, with claws like lions, with eyes bigger than a loaf; hens that had no feathers, but were covered with hair; birds of gorgeous plumage; oxen as large as elephants, with manes as fine as silk; game of all kinds, which the Khan hunted with hawks and with leopards seated on the backs of horses, whence they sprang at the prey. Spices grew everywhere; and of fruit there were nuts as large as a child's head, filled with a delicious milk, pears that weighed ten

pounds, peaches two pounds each; canes fifteen paces long and four palms thick, somewhat, no doubt, like those washed up on the beach of the island of Porto Santo and seen by Columbus, grew everywhere in abundance. The people of this favored land clothed themselves in cloth of gold, in silks, in lawns and cambrics of the finest fabric, in furs of ermine and of sable, which they called "the Queen of Furs."

Fifteen hundred miles from the coast of Mangi was the island of Cipango, — Japan, — where gold was so plentiful that the palace of the king was covered with golden plates, as the churches of Europe were roofed with lead; the windows were gilded; the floors even were paved with gold. There also were many precious pearls. In the surrounding sea there were four hundred and forty other islands, most of them peopled, whereon grew not a tree that yielded not a good smell, while many bore spices, and where also gold abounded.

All the people of these numerous and opulent kingdoms were infidels and idolaters, and whoever should make of them and their rich possessions a prey would be doing a service to God and the true Church. Of the right to do so there was no question, for it was held to be as much the duty of the Christian as the privilege of the conqueror, to spoil the unbelievers. Even if they were not spoiled, a power and prosperity hitherto unknown would surely come to the nation that should open easy communication with a people whose riches seemed inexhaustible, whose commerce exceeded that of all the world beside, whose arts were far beyond anything known in Europe, whose luxury was of a refinement and magnificence hardly to be conceived of by the ordinary European mind.



Astrolabe.

The great problem of the age was to reach this "far Cathay" by sea. Navigation grew to a science, drawing all other sciences to its aid. Dominion over the sea increased with the common use of the magnetic needle in the new mariners' compass; with the improved methods of drawing sea-charts; with the additions made to the astrolabe — which the quadrant afterwards superseded — by Martin Behaim and Rodrigo and Joseph the Jew, the king's physicians, the three ablest astronomers and geographers of Portugal. But however much this increase of knowledge advanced the commerce and civilization of Europe, to push out beyond its confines and find the

Endeavors to reach India by sea.

way to that "East" of marvels and mysteries was the impelling motive of the most enlightened and most energetic minds of the fifteenth century. It was only in royal treasure-chests, however, that the means could often be found for the expenditure involved in long expeditions; still more the civil conditions, and moral and intellectual subservience of the age, suppressed all individual effort that wanted a regal sanction. But fortunately in the fifteenth century there came forward a princely adventurer, Henry of Portugal, surnamed The Navigator, who not only was willing to listen to and to aid all those who proposed voyages of discovery, but was himself diligent above all other men of his time in forwarding such enterprises. By his energy, generosity, and success, an impulse was given to cosmographical studies, and expeditions under his auspices or by his example were pushed to parts where hitherto it was supposed impossible to penetrate.[1] Rejecting the absurdities which some of the wisest of men then accepted as true, — that human life could hardly be sustained in the intense heat of the torrid zone, and that it was impossible the antipodal regions could be inhabited, because it was absurd to suppose that there could be a people that went about their ordinary business with their heads downward, — rejecting all such conjectures as unphilosophical, he devoted his princely revenues and all the energies of a richly endowed character, to enlarging the boundaries of geographical knowledge.

Henry of Portugal, called the Navigator



Prince Henry the Navigator.

The love of science was, perhaps, the primal motive which ruled Prince Henry; but to this was added a desire to enhance the glory of Portugal, and to extend the blessings of the Christian religion for the salvation of souls. A desire to do good — "*talent de bien faire*" — was his chosen motto, and such, undoubtedly, was the aim of his life. The particular good, however, that he never lost sight of, was — India. He gathered men learned in the sciences about him in his secluded home on the promontory of Sagres, where the unmeasured, restless sea was always before his eyes, and the melancholy murmur or the mighty roar of those mysterious waters never left his ears. Of his princely court he made a sort of geographical college; he proposed that his seamen should fearlessly cross the line and breathe the heated air which none, it was said, could breathe and live; he would

[1] See *Life of Prince Henry of Portugal, surnamed The Navigator; and its Results.* By Richard Henry Major. London, 1868.

pass Cape Nam or Non — so called because, according to the proverb, "Whoever passes Cape Not will return or *not;*" he would bring the benighted heathen of Africa, from its Mediterranean coast to its farthest southern limit, to a knowledge of Christ and the true Church; but the end of all was to double that southern extremity and open a new route to India.

India — always India. It was well to win souls to God; it was well to dispel the clouds of human ignorance, whether Christian or heathen; it was well to augment the glory of states and dynasties, and add to the sum of human happiness, by the discovery of strange countries. But commerce with the gorgeous East, so teeming with all precious things, would enrich kingdoms and make states and princes powerful. Courts and palaces, lords and ladies, the increasing wealth, refinement, and luxury of the age, demanded its rich stuffs, its precious stones, its aromatic spices, all its costly merchandise. Now they could be had only in some small degree by tedious, dangerous, and expensive travel, partly overland through wide deserts, through hostile countries, a devious and a doubtful way. Great, then, would be, not the glory only, but the profit also, of that man or that people who should shorten that way in distance, remove its difficulties and its perils, and pour the precious commodities of Asia in unstinted abundance into the lap of Europe.

The devotion of a long life and of his great revenues by Henry did not solve this problem while he lived; but the success and importance of the many expeditions undertaken by his orders, and the maritime policy he established, so extended the knowledge of the globe, so added to the power and wealth of Portugal, and led generally to results so brilliant, that thenceforward for nearly two hundred years, the spirit of adventure and the zeal for discovery animated every maritime state of Europe, and opened a new world to the races and the civilization of the old. Not, indeed, that the modern discoverers of the Western Hemisphere were in search of another continent; they were as far from being guided by any such definite purpose as their predecessors of earlier centuries were innocent of all knowledge that they had made such a discovery when accident threw them upon strange shores.

Columbus, like the navigators of Prince Henry, meant to find a new route to the East, only in a fresh direction; and he died in the belief, after four voyages to the New World, that the countries he had discovered were literally the Western Indies — the coasts of Asia reached by sailing west. The difference between him and those who by chance crossed the Atlantic before him was that he, impelled by a fervid religious faith and by conclusions drawn from scientific

study, had boldly sought to explore the unknown on which they had only been ignorantly driven.

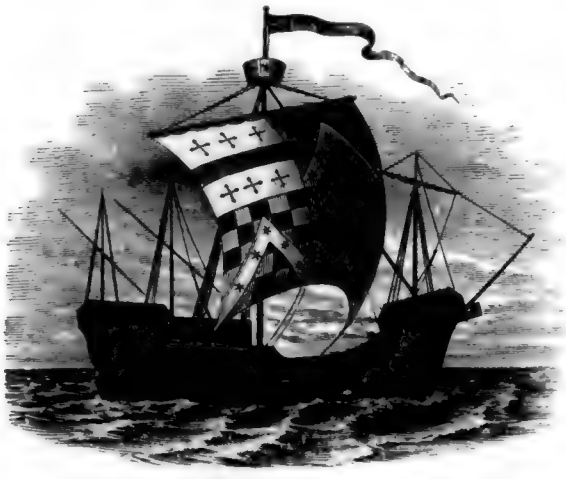
The father of Columbus had followed the humble calling of a carder of wool. But among his kindred were some who led a seafaring life, and with them from the age of fourteen a ship was the home of the son. One or two of these relatives were the servants of any state that would give them a roving commission to fight against its enemies; and if a commission were wanting, they sought and found a foe in any ship carrying a cargo worth the taking. They did not differ much from what in later times was called a pirate; but in their own age they had the reputation which a privateer has had in ours. It was with such sea rovers that the great captain learned the practice of navigation; learned how to carry himself in fight when, sword in hand, he sprang over the bulwarks of a hostile vessel; learned how to control the rough and lawless men with whom he sailed, now by the enforcement of an iron discipline, now by those arts of persuasion of which, with his winning speech and commanding presence, he was master. In one of these sea fights, off the coast of Portugal, which lasted from morning till night, the vessels, lashed together by iron grapplings, became enveloped in flames, and the only escape from the fire was to jump into the sea. Columbus went overboard with the rest, and, being an expert swimmer, swam, with the aid of an oar, eight leagues to land. He found himself not far from Lisbon, where there were many of his countrymen, — Genoese, — who received him kindly. The incident is related on the authority of his son Fernando, and if there is an anachronism, as there seems to be, as to the date of the particular naval battle referred to and the time of the residence of Columbus in Lisbon, the mistake, probably, is in confounding one engagement with another. In Lisbon, at any rate, he was living before he was thirty years of age, having abandoned his roving life, and supporting himself and his father's family at home in Genoa by drawing maps and sea-charts.

Christopher Columbus.

Here in Lisbon he became acquainted with, and soon married, the Doña Felipa Moniz Perestrello, a daughter of a late governor of Porto Santo, one of the Madeira Islands, and a renowned navigator under Prince Henry. The charts and journals of Perestrello thus came into possession of Columbus; and going afterward to Porto Santo, with his wife, he was brought into familiar intercourse with Pedro Correo, a navigator of some distinction, who had married another daughter of the late governor. This family connection was both an incentive and a help to his cosmographical studies, and it was at this period of his life that he became persuaded of the feasibility of a western passage to India. In the

Residence of Columbus at the Madeiras.

Madeiras he found people who believed they had seen ample evidence of the truth of the strange stories of the islands of St. Brandan and of The Seven Cities, which were supposed to be somewhere in the Western Ocean. He was told of pieces of curiously-carved wood, one of them found by Correo, his brother-in-law; joints of gigantic cane, such as Ptolemy said grew in India; branches of pine; covered canoes; the bodies of two strange men, differing in complexion from either Europeans or Africans; and all these had been picked up at sea, or were found upon the beach, and had evidently drifted from the west. There is also a story which seems to have been current in the life-time of Columbus, accepted by some historians, rejected by others as an attempt to detract from his fair fame, but passed over in silence by those who might, from their own knowledge, have either contradicted or confirmed it. It is that about the year 1484 a vessel commanded by one Alonzo Sanchez was driven across the ocean by storm, and that he and his crew landed and spent some time on the island of Hispaniola. On their return they again encountered tempestuous weather, and only five out of sixteen survived the hardships they were compelled to suffer. Sanchez found a refuge in the house of Columbus, who learned from him the particulars of his western voyage and the land he had discovered, receiving from him also, when he died, his charts and journal. If the story be true, the information Columbus thus gained could have only helped to confirm his theory, which certainly was not founded on a single fact or a single supposition.



Ship of Fifteenth Century.

He found from ancient authors that a belief in such western lands, sometimes under one name, sometimes under another, and a belief in the possibility of the navigation of the western seas, had long existed.

His theory of the size of the globe.

From his geographical and astronomical studies, in works ancient and modern, he had come to the conclusion that the earth was in shape a sphere, but that it was much smaller than it had been generally supposed to be. Two thirds of it at least, he was sure, was occupied by Europe and Asia, and the eastern coast of Asia must, in that case, come within the other third of the whole circumference and stretch toward the western coast of Europe. Other

men more learned than he had held this opinion, but he was the first who proposed to put it to a practical test. If he were right as to the size of the globe, — the one weak point of his argument, and the one which his opponents seem to have strangely overlooked, or, at least, did not answer, resorting rather to any dogmatic absurdity in reply to him, — if he were right in that, his reasoning was unanswerable. A shorter and a better way to India than that sought by Prince Henry's navigators, round the extremity of Africa, would be to sail directly west.

The Sea of Darkness and the monsters that guarded it were fables fit only to frighten children. Modern voyagers had exposed the fallacy of the supposed fatal heat of the tropics. In one of his roving voyages Columbus himself had sailed, as he says in a letter to his son Fernando, a hundred leagues beyond the island of Thule, to another island, — Iceland, — where "the English, especially those from Bristol, go with their merchandise." This voyage was made in 1467, long before his attention was turned to the question which so absorbed him ten years later. Some have conjectured that he then gained a knowledge of the discoveries of the Northmen and the colonization of Vinland more than four and a half centuries earlier. But this is very unlikely. It is possible that the ship in which he sailed, and which, no doubt, was on a privateering cruise, made a short stay in Iceland; but the young sailor of one-and-twenty, if ashore at all, would find something else to do than to ransack dusty monastic archives for forgotten manuscripts in ancient Norse, or to seek for old traditions among learned monks who would relate them in Latin. He recalled the fact, however, that he had sailed so far beyond the uttermost western boundary of Northern Europe, as one among the many other reasons he had for maintaining that navigation to the west was possible. The Indies, the kingdoms of the Great Khan, the dominions of that mysterious potentate, Prester John, the island of Cipango, or Japan, perhaps many another island along the Asiatic coast, could easily, he was sure, be reached by the mariner bold enough to defy all fancied terrors, and to sail for thirty or forty days and about a thousand leagues into those unknown seas.

This was the work to which Columbus consecrated his life, and it was for this, he believed, that God had singled him out and set him apart from his fellow-men. He was a most diligent student of the Bible. Its prophecies, he was persuaded, were to be fulfilled when rapid and easy communication was established between the uttermost parts of the earth, and all the human family were brought within the saving influence of the Holy Catholic Church. He looked upon himself as the destined "Christ-bearer" to far-distant and benighted

lands.[1] "God made me," he said, "the messenger of the new heaven and the new earth of which He spoke in the Apocalypse by St. John, after having spoken of it by the mouth of Isaiah; and He showed me the spot where to find it."[2] The power and the riches which, he was persuaded, he could win for himself and the sovereign whom he should serve, he would win to the glory of God in the bringing of souls to Christ in the East and in the West, and his share of the treasure gained he would devote to equipping armies to be led to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel. He was as genuine a fanatic as Peter the Hermit, or a modern "Adventist." "In the execution of my western enterprise to India," he said, "human reason, mathematics, and charts availed me nothing. The design was simply accomplished as the prophet Isaiah had predicted. Before the end of the world, all the prophecies must be fulfilled, the gospel be preached all over the earth, and the holy city restored to the Church. Our Lord wished to do a miracle by my voyage to India. It was necessary to hasten his purpose, because, according to my calculations, there only remain one hundred and fifty years to the end of the world."[3]



The Christ-bearer, from Map of Juan de la Cosa.

Fanaticism of Columbus.

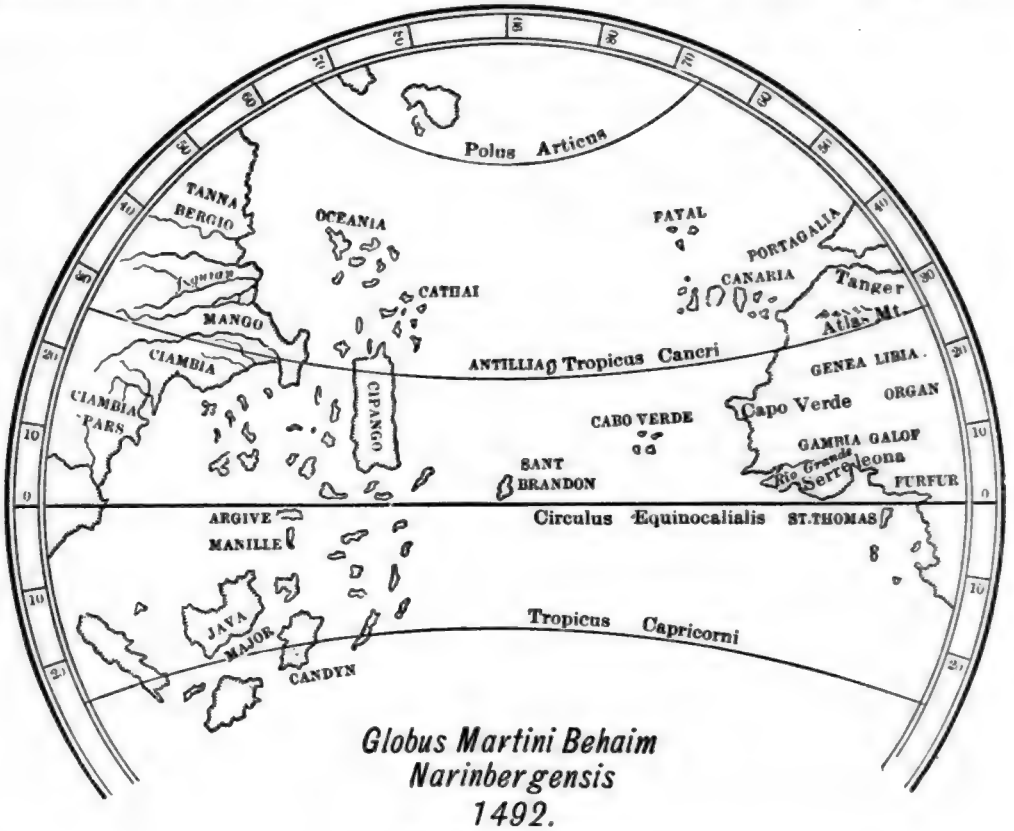
But this faith in his divine mission was, nevertheless, a corollary to

[1] His son Ferdinand says that as most of his father's affairs were guarded by a special providence, so there was "a mystery" about his name and surname. He was a true Columbus or Columba (a dove), inasmuch as he conveyed the knowledge of Christ to the people of the New World even as the Holy Ghost was revealed in the figure of a dove at St. John's baptism. And as St. Christopher was so called — Christopher, or Christ-bearer — because he had carried the Saviour, according to the legend, across the deep waters at his own imminent peril, so this Christopher "went over safe himself, and his company, that those Indian nations might become citizens and inhabitants of the Church triumphant in heaven." The representation of Columbus as the Christ-bearer on the old maps is copied from the pictures of the gigantic and popular saint, — St. Christopher, — which were common in the churches early in the sixteenth century.

[2] Letter of the Admiral to the (quondam) nurse of the Prince John, in the *Select Letters of Christopher Columbus*, translated by R. H. Major, for the Hakluyt Society, p. 148.

[3] Letter of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, in the *Profecias*. See Humboldt' *Examen Critique*, Tome I., p. 15.

the logic of the sphere. It was because the world was round, because one third of it yet remained to sail across, and because it was possible to sail across it, that God had given him that mission. On the everlasting truths of science must rest the possibility of human achievement. God would not appoint to him the task of bringing the ends of the earth together if it could not be done. The theory of the spherical form of the earth was not new, for that was taught five hundred years before the Christian era. But the ancient geographers supposed that the ocean of the western hemisphere was of such expanse as to be practically if not absolutely impassable. It was on this all-important



Globus Martini Behaim Narinbergensis 1492.

Globe of Martin Behaim.

point, the size of the globe, that the learned men of modern times assumed that they had received new light. The globe was much smaller than the ancients supposed; the ocean west of Europe covered only one third of it, and then came Asia. Columbus was not a man of wide learning, but he had diligently informed himself of all that had been advanced on these points by both ancient and modern writers, and he knew that the geographers of the highest reputation of his own time maintained the theory, on which he relied, not only of the shape but of the size of the earth.

From these he sought argument and encouragement. He can hardly

have failed to know Martin Behaim, in the service of the King of Portugal while Columbus was in vain attendance upon that court, and who showed upon his famous globe, completed in 1492, that he had no doubt of the proximity of Asia to the western coast of Europe. From Paul Toscanelli, of Florence, we know that he received encouraging assurances of sympathy. That learned physician and cosmographer confirmed his opinion as to the certainty and ease of a western passage to India, and of the fame that awaited him who should thus bring within easy reach those empires and kingdoms described by Marco Polo, whose account of their opulence and grandeur had so inflamed the imagination and fed the fanaticism of Columbus. Toscanelli sent him a chart whereon he had laid down the coast of Asia in accordance with the descriptions of the Venetian traveller, and in the intervening ocean between that continent and Europe he placed the islands of Antilla and Cipango, at convenient distances, as stopping-places for water and fresh provisions on the western voyage to the city of Quinsai, in the province of Cathay.

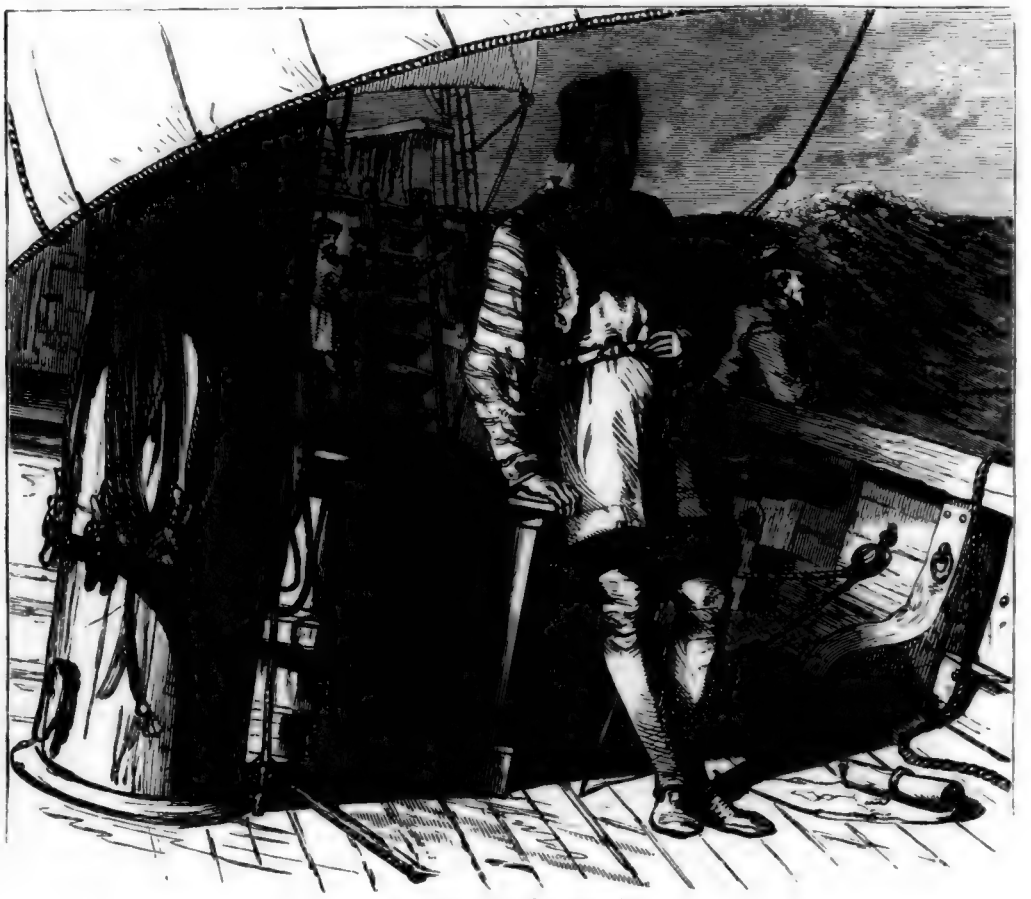
Behaim and Toscanelli.

It was this sublime faith, and a knowledge of these supposed newly-discovered facts of science, which sustained Columbus for eighteen years as a suppliant, struggling with poverty and obscurity in his own person, with stupidity, obstinacy, incredulity in others, begging from court to court for a royal sanction to his enterprise, and a few ships to undertake it. And when the eighteen years were passed and their labor seemed all for naught, he simply turned, sadly and wearily indeed, but with undiminished zeal and unmoved convictions, to seek in a new quarter the aid he must have, and which he was sure would come at last. Should he find himself once on board his fleet, and with its prows turned westward, nothing but the hand of death could have stayed his progress. To turn back would have been with him to fly in the face of Heaven, to disregard the plain counsels of God. The story, always doubted by the most trustworthy historians, that a day or two before he sighted Guanahani he promised his mutinous and despairing followers to return if land was not seen within three days, is best confuted by its own absurdity. It was a moral impossibility for him to turn back. His faith was of the kind that removes mountains, for he was chosen of God to bear the glad tidings of salvation to millions of his fellow-men before the heavens should be rolled together as a scroll, that near time when the first heaven and the first earth should have passed away, and when there should be no more sea.

Faith of Columbus in his mission.

The geographical theory which alone saved the proposition of a western passage to Cathay, or China, from being preposterous, and on which he based his faith in his divine mission and all his hopes of

worldly greatness, he never abandoned. Even after his last voyage, when he had four times crossed and recrossed the Atlantic, he said: "The world is but small; out of seven divisions of it the dry part occupies six, and the seventh is entirely covered with water." In all his voyages he was constantly finding some fancied resemblance in the names of persons and places among the Indians to cities or provinces or princes of the East mentioned by Marco Polo. The impression which the wonderful stories of that traveller had made upon a mind



Columbus on Shipboard.

always ruled by a poetic temperament and a vivid imagination, and the confidence he had in the importance and magnificence of the discovery he proposed to make, were deepened by still another conviction. The wealth of David and Solomon in gold and silver, of which he read in Scripture, he believed came from those parts of the world he expected to reach. Had he only hoped to find a new continent, inhabited by some nations of savages, though he might still have represented to the sovereigns of Portugal, of England, and of Spain the importance and the glory of such a discovery, he would have had little of that enthusiasm and perseverance with which his belief in the certainty of arriving, in little more than a month, on the

confines of the glorious East inspired him and enabled him to inspire others. The value and the character of a new continent could have been only conjectural; but of the fabulous wealth, the noble cities, the splendor of the palaces, the magnitude of the commerce, the millions of souls waiting for the coming of a knowledge of Christ in that continent to which he meant to open a new way, he was sure he knew. He asked for aid to enable him to take possession, not of some speculative advantage, some shadowy good, but of power and riches and dominion that had been seen of the eyes of men.

With a patience that nothing could wear out, and a perseverance that was absolutely unconquerable, Columbus waited and labored for eighteen years, appealing to minds that wanted light and to ears that wanted hearing. His ideas of the possibilities of navigation were before his time. It was one thing to creep along the coast of Africa, where the hold upon the land need never be lost; another, to steer out boldly into that wilderness of waters over which mystery and darkness brooded. Only the learned could understand that the world was a globe, and that it might be as safe to sail upon one part of its surface as another; only the enlightened could see that to penetrate the unknown might be to find that which was worth knowing. His knowledge was disbelieved in; his religious zeal and aspirations derided.

He first asked aid of Genoa; or rather he first offered without success the empire he proposed to acquire to that, his native, city. Then he assured John II. of Portugal that he would add India to his crown by an easy voyage of less than two months, instead of the dubious route around the distant and stormy cape of Africa. John II., who inherited much of the enthusiasm of his great uncle Prince Henry the Navigator, for maritime adventure, and who had sent one or two expeditions in search of that mysterious potentate, Prester John, who reigned, it was supposed, now in Central Africa, now in farthest India, listened with so much interest and attention to the proposition and the arguments of Columbus that he referred the question of the possibility of such a voyage to the most eminent men of learning in church and state in the kingdom. The decision was against the project as visionary and impracticable. This was so unsatisfactory to the king that, it seems probable, had Columbus yielded something of his demand of honor and profit to himself in case of success, the application to John, in spite of the advice of his council, might have been successful.

His proposals to Genoa and Portugal.

But at length, when Columbus had been kept for years in suspense and doubt, the Bishop of Ceuta, either to get rid of him, in any event, or to satisfy the king, suggested that a caravel be secretly dispatched

on such a voyage as Columbus had proposed. The advice was treacherous and base, but the king was weak enough to accept it. A caravel was sent out, under a false pretext, provided with the charts and other documents which Columbus had laid before the council to sustain his proposition. But those in command of her had little inclination for a venture which they could only look upon as mad, and certain, if persevered in, to end in their own destruction. They only went, therefore, as far as the Cape de Verde Islands, and reported, on their return, that the proposed westward voyage was absurd and impossible. When Columbus learned of the trickery and trifling of which he was made the subject, he shook the dust of Portugal from off his feet to go and offer, as he believed, to some other prince who should be wise enough to accept them, the richest kingdoms of all the earth.

He left Lisbon in 1483 or 1484, and first went, it is supposed, to Genoa, to urge in person upon the senate of his native city the proposal he had previously made in writing. But whether made in person or by letter only, the offer was rejected, and he is next heard of in Spain, seven or eight years before he sailed on his first voyage. During those years he was often in attendance upon Ferdinand and Isabella, then busily engaged in war for the recovery of Grenada, sometimes serving in the campaigns against the Moors, but always watchful for an opportunity to urge his suit upon the sovereigns, or to commend it to any great man of the court whom he could get to listen to him. He was thought, at length, so far worthy of respect that means were provided for his maintenance when his proposition was actually under consideration, but he supported himself, some part of the time at least, by making maps and charts, as he had done in Portugal.

His attendance on the sovereigns of Spain.

He gained some friends among the powerful and influential, but none were more useful and devoted than those of humbler rank whom he found without seeking. Stopping, foot-sore and weary, on his journey to the court of Spain, at the gate of the convent of Santa Maria de Rabida, near Palos, to ask for bread and water for his little son, his appearance and conversation so interested the prior, Juan Perez de Marchina, that he persuaded the travellers to remain for a longer rest than Columbus had intended. Rabida became thenceforth the permanent home of his son, and an occasional one for himself, for several years.

There lived at the neighboring port of Palos a family of seafaring men, the Pinzons, and a physician, Garcia Fernandez, learned in geography and mathematics. The prior, Juan Perez, was himself interested in all maritime subjects, and Columbus found in these men a

little circle of friends so well informed as to feel at once an enthusiastic interest in the magnitude and importance of his project. With them he discussed his plans, his geographical theories, his astronomical problems, his pious aims. From them he received encouragement and sympathy in the darkest hours of doubt and despondency. They took up the enterprise with as much zeal as if it had been their own; Juan Perez, who had once been confessor to the queen, used all his personal influence with her to forward the interests of Columbus, and to secure him friends at court; and when at last his negotiations with the king and queen were successful, it was among these good friends that he found the means to contribute his eighth part of the expenses of the expedition, and two of his three vessels were commanded by the Pinzons.

His eight years of probation were weary years of poverty, humiliation, and hope deferred. He was not only derided as an enthusiast, almost as a madman, but was in danger of being denounced as a heretic for devising theories in direct contradiction to the received doctrines of the fathers as to the shape and habitation of the globe. He was looked upon with cold suspicion as a foreigner, and sneered at as vainglorious for assuming to be wiser than many of the learned of his own time, and all those of the past. The Council of Salamanca, summoned by royal order to meet at the convent of St. Stephen, and listen to his plea, decided against him. The most reverent and powerful prelates, fired with holy zeal, and dogged in their hostility to new-fangled and presumptuous notions, ridiculed with great success a project involving such an absurdity as the existence of the antipodes, where men walked with their heels above their heads, where the trees grew downward, where the snow and rain fell upward from a nether heaven. To maintain that the earth was inhabited beyond the tropics savored of blasphemy. The Bible taught that all men are descended from Adam and Eve, whose primal home was on the banks of the Shat-el-Arab, north of the Persian Gulf; and as the torrid zone was impassable, to assume that there were human beings beyond that line was to assume that there were races of men who did not descend from Adam and Eve.

Decision of the Council of Salamanca.

Moreover, it was denied by these bigots that the earth was a globe, for the Scriptures and the fathers taught that it was a level, extended plain, whose extremity could only be reached, if it could be reached at all, by a voyage of several years. But if the world was a globe, then, they triumphantly asserted, such a voyage as this ignorant enthusiast proposed would be absolutely impossible; for either one way or the other, in going or returning, the sailing would be all up-hill. There were, indeed, men in that grave assembly too enlightened not to detect



COLUMBUS BEFORE THE COUNCIL AT SALAMANCA.

the fallacies and absurdities involved in such statements, and to wonder at the ignorance that could believe in them; others there were ready with facts of navigation and geography, few as they were in that age, to show that, whether Columbus were right or wrong, such objections to his theories were more baseless than his wildest dreams. And there were some, perhaps, who thought, if they did not say so, that the laws of the universe could not be limited to texts of Scripture, or assertions sanctified by nothing but priestly authority. It was a gain, nevertheless, to get the subject before so august a body as this Council of Salamanca, and the eloquence which Columbus brought to its discussion, the special scientific facts of which he showed himself the master, the skill with which he parried attack, and the sagacity with which he avoided the pitfalls and ambushes with which the wily monks beset his path, made him new friends and strengthened his old ones.



Isabella, Queen of Castile.

Doubtful of success in Spain, he at one time sent his brother Bartholomew to England to open negotiations, if possible, with Henry VII.; at another time he entered into correspondence with Louis XI. of France. From Ferdinand and his counsellors he could get only evasive answers, and wearied out at length with procrastination, and negotiations that came to nothing, he bade farewell to his friends and started for France and England. But among those who sincerely believed in him and his project was Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues of Aragon, who, on hearing that Columbus had actually started to leave the country, hastened to the queen and begged her to recall him. His entreaties and representations, seconded by those of Alonzo de Quintanilla, the Minister of Finance, who happened to be present, prevailed with Isabella. They convinced her that the loss and the shame to Spain would be great and irreparable if such an opportunity to add to her dominion and wealth, by the discovery of a short passage to India, should fall into the hands of any other power. A messenger was immediately dispatched to bring Columbus back, the queen declaring that the enterprise should now be her own, and that she would pawn the royal jewels to defray its expenses. This generous sacrifice on her part, however, was rendered unneces-

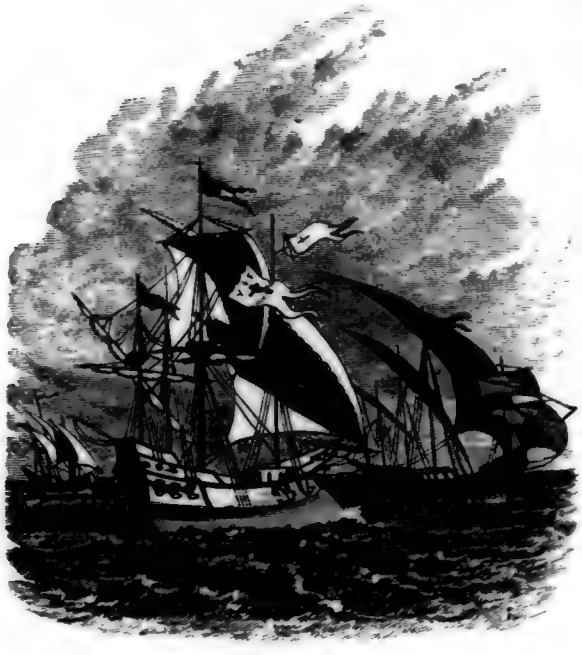
Application to England and France.

Queen Isabella decides on the enterprise.

sary by Santangel, who took it upon himself to advance the requisite sum. On the arrival of Columbus, negotiation was resumed, and an agreement was at length drawn up between Ferdinand and Isabella and himself by which he was made admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands he should discover; a tenth part of all the revenues to be derived from them was to be his; and he was to provide an eighth part of the expenses. Armed with such authority, he repaired to Palos to make arrangements for the voyage.

The departure from Palos.

The agreement was signed in April or May, 1492, and on the third of the following August he sailed from Palos in command of an expedition consisting of three vessels and one hundred and twenty men. The largest ship, the Santa Maria, on which flew the admiral's pennant, was probably not more than one hundred tons' burden; the other two, the Pinta and the Niña, commanded respectively by his friends Martin Alonzo Pinzon and Vincente Yanez Pinzon, of Palos, were still smaller vessels, called caravels, with no decks amidships, but built high out of the water at the stem and stern.



The Fleet of Columbus.

But not only were his vessels small; they were hardly seaworthy, and one of them, the Pinta, unshipped her rudder before they reached the Canaries. It is conjectured, indeed, that this was not accidental, but was contrived by the owners of the vessel before she left port, they not liking the adventure on which they were compelled to send her. The admiral, however, had great difficulty in getting any vessels at all, so intense was the feeling in Palos against the enterprise. The royal mandate; the promise of immunity from civil or criminal process against any person who would enlist in it; the example of the Pinzons, the most respectable and experienced mariners of the port; and the priestly influence of Juan Perez, the prior of Rabida, were means and influences all needed and all used to procure crews. When the expedition sailed, it was followed by prayers and tears and lamentations for men most of whom were constrained by authority or ne-

cessity to enter upon an adventure which seemed desperate to the last degree.

The sum advanced from the treasury of Aragon by Santangel was one million one hundred and forty thousand maravedis, "being the sum he lent," says the account-book, "for paying the caravels which their highnesses ordered to go as the armada to the Indies, and for paying Christopher Columbus, who goes in the said armada."[1] If to this be added the one eighth share of the expenses which it was stipulated Columbus himself should provide, the whole cost of the expedition was one million two hundred and eighty-two thousand and five hundred maravedis, a sum hardly equal in its purchasing power to fifty thousand dollars of the money of our time. It is evident, therefore, that the expense of the expedition must always have been a secondary consideration with the sovereigns from whom Columbus had sought assistance. The real difficulty was not money, but the serious doubts as to the soundness of his theory of the possibility of a western voyage to India. It was those doubts, intensified into absolute terror, that filled Palos with wailing and consternation when he succeeded, at last, in making good his departure.

Expense of the expedition.

Seven months later he entered the same port with the halo of the most brilliant success about him, and prepared to proceed to court surrounded with the barbaric pomp of painted savages decked out with ornaments of gold, and crowned with coronets of brilliant feathers, attendants carrying in their hands birds of the gayest plumage, the stuffed skins of strange beasts, and specimens of trees and plants supposed to bear the most precious spices. No wonder that then the revulsion of feeling was tremendous, and he was hailed as the greatest and most fortunate of men. It was a short-lived triumph, however, never to be repeated on his return from either of his three subsequent voyages, for his was a success that had not succeeded.

The glory of the discovery he actually made has to a remarkable degree obscured the fact that in the long discussion before kings and councils of the discovery he proposed to make, it was Columbus who was in the wrong, and his opponents who were in the right, on the main question — a short western route to India. The ignorance, the obstinacy, the stupidity, with which he so long contended, were indeed obstacles in the way of an event so important to all civilized races as the possession of half the globe; but that event was no more proposed or foreseen by Columbus than it was opposed by those who withstood him the most persistently, or ridiculed him the most unmercifully. The very splendor of his

The mistake of the great navigator.

[1] Helps' *Life of Columbus*, p. 80.

promises may have made men incredulous of their fulfilment who would, perhaps, have listened to an argument in favor merely of the possibility of sailing westward and of reaching unknown countries, within a moderate distance, which might be worth exploring and worth possessing. But Columbus had no such argument to offer. Neither in his mind nor in theirs was there any thought of a great continent lying between two great oceans, extending almost from pole to pole, and separating the western coast of Europe from the eastern coast of Asia by an area of land and sea that covered half the globe. It was that distant Asia itself that he declared he could reach in less than forty days; and that they rightly said was impossible.

But at last, as he believed, and as they were forced to confess, by an event which all misapprehended, he was justified. The enthusiasm, the strength of faith, the tenacity of purpose, which through so many years had never faltered, had at length triumphed — triumphed even in the final struggle with the superstition and desperation of men who would have gladly sacrificed him to their fears. They had crossed the ocean hitherto believed to be guarded by strange and horrid monsters and shrouded in frightful darkness; but as they approached the land of the Western Hemisphere a new terror seized them. They fancied themselves lured by the powers of magic to certain destruction, gliding over smooth waters, favored by gentle breezes, beguiled by birds of gay plumage whose song was of the woods; by fishes of flashing hues whose natural haunts were the dark and still crevices of rocky shores; by fantastic clouds that took the semblance of distant mountains or of low beaches, making a dim line upon the edge of sky and sea, but fading into nothingness as they were approached; by the exquisite perfume of tropical vegetation, enwrapping all the senses, while around them were to be seen only the desolate waters, above them only the cruel sky. But the presence of the man of faith was stronger than the dread of the supernatural. He never faltered for a single instant; not one passing mist of doubt ever clouded his mind. He knew that God had led him to the threshold of the dominions of Kublai Khan; and when at daybreak on the 12th of October the morning light revealed the beautiful earth, never so hailed since the top of Ararat pierced the waters of a drowned world, — at that supreme moment he in his sublime faith saw the realization of the visions of a life-time. Before him rose all the splendor and opulence of the thousands of cities and palaces, the fleets of unnumbered ships laden with richest merchandise, the mountains of precious stones, the lakes of pearls, the rivers of gold, of the kingdoms of Mangi and

Approach to the New Hemisphere.

Cathay; these for his temporal sovereigns, the King and Queen of Spain: and before him gathered millions of his fellow-creatures, to whose perishing souls he, the "Christ-bearer," came as the messenger of the glad tidings of salvation, to lead them to the feet of his spiritual lord, the Holy Father at Rome.

And from that moment to the day of his death hardly a doubt seems ever to have cast a shadow over his belief. When he asked of the natives of Guanahani — the island he first saw, and appropriately named Salvador, or the Saviour — for Cipango, or Japan, they, supposing him to mean those mountains of Haiti called Cibao, pointed southward; and no suspicion crossed the mind of Columbus that there could be any misunderstanding either on his part or on theirs. From the ears and noses of these savages were suspended rude ornaments of gold; on these he fancied he could distinguish engraved characters, and that they were the coin of India. As he continued his voyage among other islands, the answer to the constant inquiry for gold was always the same; the Indians pointed to the south, and the fervid imagination of the Admiral led him to interpret their gestures as meaning that southward were kingdoms populous, powerful, rich in all precious things — the marvellous country of Marco Polo's narrative. When he reached the coast of Cuba, the Indians, pointing to the interior, contrived to impart the information that at a distance of four days' journey only was Cubanacan, where gold abounded; he recognized in that word — Cubanacan — a corruption of the name of that magnificent monarch of whom he was in search, Kublai Khan; and supposing he had reached the island of Cipango, he dispatched two messengers overland, to deliver to him the letter of which he was the bearer as ambassador from Ferdinand and Isabella.

The new continent supposed to be Asia.

So of all his voyages. Wherever he went, whatever he saw or heard, it only served to deepen this delusion. When he sailed west from Jamaica, he thought he had accomplished so much of the compass of the earth that he must needs be near the Aurea Chersonesus of ancient India. Hispaniola he was sure was Ophir, and in deep pits in the mountains he saw evidences of the ancient mines whence Solomon derived his gold. The extremity of Cuba he assumed to be the extremity of Asia, by doubling which he could sail along the known coasts of India, and reach at length the Red Sea, where, if he pleased, he could leave his own ships, cross the continent to the Mediterranean, and return to Spain, having circumnavigated the world. But there was method in this madness, for yielding on that occasion to the representations of his companions, that the condition of his ships would not admit of so extended a voyage, he

The delusion confirmed.

required an affidavit from all persons on board his fleet that they believed the coast of Cuba, along which they had sailed, was the coast of Asia. His own belief needed no confirmation, but he was gratified to hear that a neighboring province was called Mangon, and that its people had tails; for he remembered that Sir John Mandeville had described a tribe of men of that kind in the East, and he was quite certain, therefore, that he was within a few days' travel of the kingdom of Mangi.

He changed his mind in regard to places as he visited different regions, but he never ceased to affirm his conviction that he was on the very eve of the fulfilment of all his hopes. Ten years of observation and reflection upon the character of his discoveries moved him not in the least to any correction of this singular credulity. Even on his fourth and last voyage he wrote to the king and queen that on the coast of Veragua he had reached Mangi, "contiguous to Cathay;" nineteen days of land travel, he is confident, would take him to the river Ganges; the mines of Aurea, whence, according to Josephus, he reminds them, came the vast wealth of David and of Solomon, spoken of in Chronicles and the Book of Kings, were, he was now sure, identical with the mines of Veragua; "in the name of God" he pledged himself in the same letter to conduct any one, who would undertake the mission, to the Emperor of Cathay, to instruct him in the faith of Christ, as the Abbé Joaquim said would be done by some one who came from Spain.[1] And finally from his death-bed he wrote to the new sovereigns, Philip and Juana, that he would yet do them services the like of which had never been seen; and in his last solemn will and testament he said, "In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, who inspired me with the idea, and afterwards made it perfectly clear to me that I could navigate and go to the Indies from Spain, by traversing the ocean westwardly. . . . And it pleased the Lord Almighty, that in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two I should discover the continent of the Indies and many islands, among them Hispaniola, which the Indians call Ayte, and the Monicongos, Cipango."

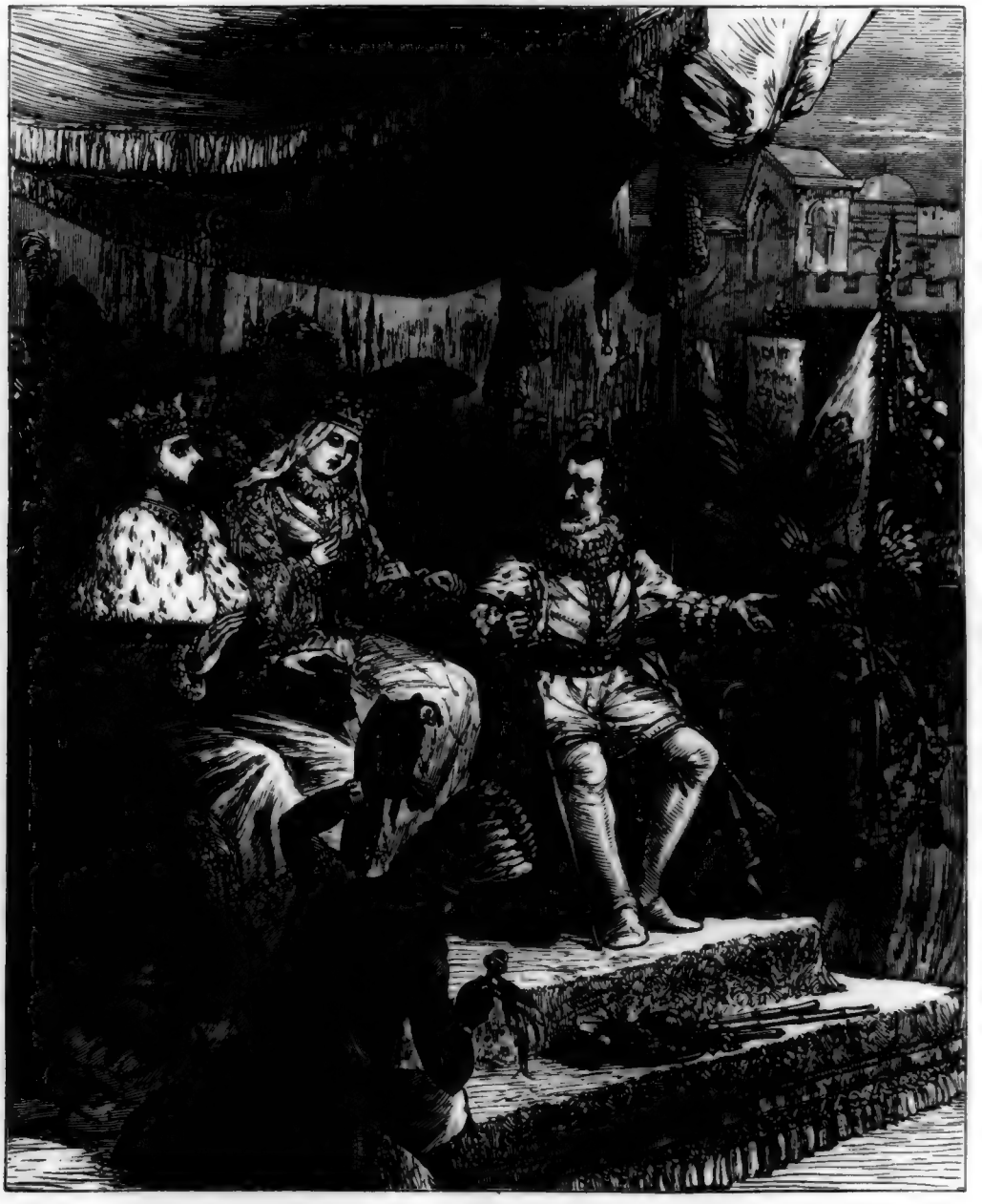
The last letter of Columbus.

When the successful discoverer returned to Spain from his first voyage, his reception was a triumph such as never waited upon any conqueror. The people from city and town, from village and country-side, crowded streets and highways as he travelled from Palos to Barcelona, to do homage to the man who had given India to Spain. At Barcelona the king and queen received him sitting on their thrones under a canopy in the open air, and hesitated

His triumphal return to Spain.

[1] Letter on the Fourth Voyage, in *Select Letters of Columbus*, edited by R. H. Major Hakluyt Soc. Pub.

when he approached to accept the customary mark of homage due from a subject to a sovereign. In Portugal, where before this arrival in Spain he was compelled by stress of weather to seek a haven, he was met with the most bitter exasperation that he should have suc-



Reception by Sovereigns.

ceeded in snatching from that kingdom the glory and power and riches her kings and princes had so long sought in the possession of that East which he by the boldness of his genius had found by a few days' westward sailing. Some of the advisers of John II. even counselled his assassination, in the hope that the way to his discovery would perish with him.

But the rage of the Portuguese and the admiration of the Spaniards were alike blind. Had it been known that the tidings he brought were of an unknown world, peopled, apparently, by naked savages only; that his theory as to the dimensions and divisions of the earth was proved to be a mistake; that the only feasible road to India was that which the Portuguese had so long sought, round the Cape of Good Hope; then he might indeed have aroused some languid curiosity for what he had done, but, still more, bitter ridicule and disappointment for his failure to fulfil the magnificent promise with which for nearly twenty years he had wearied almost every court in Europe that could command a ship. The Bahama Islands and The Great Antilles, whatever their discovery might lead to in the time to come, were a poor recompense for Mangi and Cathay. But he returned the herald, as it was supposed, of a splendor and prosperity to Spain unparalleled in history; of new power and dominion to the Holy See, and with offers of sudden riches to whomsoever would follow him to the empire of the "King of Kings." The half-crazy enthusiast had become a signal benefactor and hero; the utmost exaltation of his imagination had held out no promise that was not about to be fulfilled, and the nation fell at his feet.

Though Columbus himself never knew, or never acknowledged, that he had made a mistake; though never by a single word, so far as there is any record, did he anticipate the true cause of the undying fame that should wait upon his name, others saw when he returned from his second voyage only the dispelling of a gorgeous vision. The hidalgos who had thronged about him for that expedition, clamoring to be led to the possession of the East, found, not an empire filled with magnificent cities, their ports crowded with ships by thousands busy with the commerce of a third of the world; not temples roofed with gold, resting on golden pillars, cunningly wrought and colored; not a people clothed in silks and costly furs, decked with precious stones, leading lives of a magnificent luxury and ease, in cities of palaces such as Europe never knew; but only an unreclaimed wilderness peopled by naked savages, where he who would not work must starve, and where what gold they heard of was to be dug with weary toil out of the bowels of the earth. The "pauper pilot," as he was called in the days when he hung about the court a threadbare petitioner, had indeed discovered some islands in a distant ocean; but his promises were idle tales, his hopes the delusions of a morbid imagination, his India a figment; and he himself now proved to be a rank impostor, a foreign adventurer who had thrust himself into the ranks of the proudest nobility in Europe, and abused a nation with monstrous lies.

Such of these disappointed men as lived to return filled the kingdom with their clamors. Seating themselves in the very courts of the Alhambra, holding up the grapes of which they eat, and displaying the rags which hardly covered them, they would declare that they were reduced to this poor condition by their misfortunes. They had listened to fables and been deceived by lies. When the king came forth they surrounded him, reproaching him and the admiral as the cause of their wretched state, and cried out, "Pay! pay!" And if the sons of Columbus, who were pages to the queen, passed that way, "They shouted to the very heavens, saying, 'Look at the sons of the Admiral of Mosquitoland, of that man who has discovered the lands of deceit and disappointment, a place of sepulchre and wretchedness to Spanish hidalgos.'" [1]

His failure and disgrace.

This reaction in feeling and opinion made it possible to send him home in chains from his third expedition. The popular indifference to the injustice and cruelty which pursued him to the end of his days, and the bitter hostility of his many enemies, are explicable only by the disappointment of those magnificent hopes excited by his first discovery, and which he still held out in spite of the stern facts which had opened the eyes of everybody else. Small deference was paid to the authority of one who was looked upon, at best, as a half-crazed enthusiast, and the haughty Spaniards resented it as an insult that any power should still rest in the hands, or any confidence be placed in the word, of one whom they thought rather deserving of punishment as an impostor than of reward as a benefactor. He had promised power, dominion, riches; a short passage to Cathay; the conquest of the East: a savage island or two in the Western seas was as yet the only fulfilment of that promise. What else it was to be he never knew. Not till he was dead did the world begin to understand that he had found a New World.

[1] *The History of the Life and Actions of Admiral Christopher Colon*, etc. By his son, Don Ferdinand Colon.

CHAPTER VI.

COLUMBUS, VESPUCCI, AND THE CABOTS.

THIRD VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS. — HIS DISCOVERY OF THE MAIN LAND. — THE VOYAGE OF AMERIGO VESPUCCI. — FIRST PRINTED ACCOUNT OF THE NEW WORLD. — PUBLICATIONS OF ST. DIÉ COLLEGE. — THE PRINTER-MONKS, WALDSEEMÜLLER AND RINGMANN. — EXPEDITION OF THE CABOTS FROM ENGLAND. — NORTH AMERICA DISCOVERED. — MAP OF SEBASTIAN CABOT. — JOHN CABOT'S PATENTS FROM HENRY VII. — FIRST ENGLISH COLONY SENT TO THE NEW WORLD. — SEBASTIAN CABOT SAILS DOWN THE AMERICAN COAST.

ON the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed from the port of San Lucar, in Spain, on his third voyage. His special purpose this time was to search for a country which he believed lay south of those lands he had previously discovered. On the 31st of July following, when he was about to abandon his southerly course in despair and turn northward for the Carribee Islands, one of his sailors saw from the masthead a range of three mountains. Giving many thanks to God for his mercy, for the supply of water was failing, the provision of corn and wine and meat was well-nigh exhausted, and the crews of the three vessels were in sore distress from exposure to the heat of the tropics, the admiral made for the land, which proved to be an island. To this he gave the name it still bears of Trinidad, in honor of the Holy Trinity, and also, perhaps, because of the three mountains which were first seen.

Columbus first touches the main land at mouth of the Orinoco. 1498.

Running along the coast, he soon saw, as he supposed, another island, at the south, but which was the low land of the delta of the great River Orinoco. Entering the Gulf of Paria, he sailed along for days with Trinidad on the one hand and the coast of the continent on the other, delighted with the beauty and verdure of the country and with the blandness of the climate, and astonished at the freshness and volume of the water which, with an "awful roaring," met and struggled with the sea. The innermost part of the gulf, to which he penetrated, he called the Gulf of Pearls, and into this poured the rivers whose waters, he believed, came from the earthly Paradise.[1]

[1] *Letters of Columbus*, translated by R. H. Major, and published by the Hakluyt Society Third Voyage.

For, according to his theory of the globe, the two hemispheres were not round alike, but the Eastern was shaped like the breast of a woman, or the half of a round pear with a raised projection at its stalk; and on this prominence, the spot highest and nearest the sky and under the equinoctial line, was the garden wherein God had planted Adam. He did not suppose it possible that mortal man could ever reach that blessed region; but as he had sailed westward, after passing a meridian line a hundred miles west of the Azores, he had noted that the North Star rose gradually higher in the heavens, the needle shifted from northeast to northwest, the heat, hitherto so intolerable that he thought they "should have been

The earthly Paradise.



Columbus entering the Orinoco.

burnt," became more and more moderate, the air daily more refreshing and delightful, and he was persuaded that he was approaching the highest part of the globe. As he sailed westward his ships "had risen smoothly toward the sky," till he had come, at length, to this pleasant land "as fresh and green and beautiful as the gardens of Valencia in April," — to this mighty rush of sweet waters that filled the Gulf of Pearls and flowed far out to sea, coming as "on his soul" he believed from the Garden of Eden.[1]

[1] Irving (*Life of Columbus*, book x., chap. iii.) says that Columbus still supposed Paria to be an island, even after he had left the gulf and sailed westward along the outer coast. But Columbus himself, in his letter to the King and Queen, makes a distinction between the main land and Trinidad, in speaking of the one as an island and the other as the land of Gracia. Nor is it probable that he supposed the earthly paradise to be on an island, or that such a volume of water — of which he doubted if "there is any river in the world so large and so deep" — could have its course from the "nipple" of the globe except over a continent. Charlevoix (*History of New France*, Shea's translation, vol. i., p. 21) says:

It was hard no doubt, to turn away from this celestial land, even to go back to Spain and relate in person to his sovereigns the marvellous things he had discovered, and the approach he had made to the topmost pinnacle of the globe; harder still to thrust away from him considerations so sublime and so congenial to his profoundly religious nature, to attend to the vulgar affairs of a turbulent colony, where, as he afterward wrote, "there were few men who were not vagabonds, and there were none who had either wife or children." [1]

The colony at Hispaniola.

But in his absence rebellion and anarchy in Hispaniola had reached a point beyond his control, and when he appealed to his sovereigns for



Columbus in Chains.

a judge to decide between him and these turbulent Spaniards, who set all law, whether human or divine, at defiance, the court sent, not a judge, but an executioner. His enemies had at length so far prevailed against him that Bobadilla, who came professedly to look into these troubles, dared to usurp the government of the colony, to take up his residence in the house of Columbus, seizing all it contained, both of public and private property and public and private papers, and the moment the admiral came within his reach, to arrest and send him in chains on board ship for transportation to Spain as a felon. When Andreas Martin, the master of the caravel, moved to pity at the sight of so monstrous and cruel an in-

Brutal conduct of Bobadilla.

"On the 11th he had seen another land which also he, at first, took to be an island and styled Isla Santa, but he soon found it to be the continent."

[1] "Letter of Columbus to Doña Juana de la Torres," in *Select Letters*, edited by R. H. Major.

dignity, offered to strike these fetters from the limbs of his distinguished prisoner, Columbus refused, with the words, says his son Ferdinand, "that since their Catholic Majesties, by their letter directed him to perform whatsoever Bobadilla did in their name command him to do, in virtue of which authority and commission he had put him in irons, he would have none but their Highnesses themselves do their pleasure herein; and he was resolved to keep those fetters as relics, and a memorial of the reward of his many services."[1] Some atonement was attempted for this outrage in the reception given him by Ferdinand and Isabella. He nevertheless hung up the chains on the wall of his chamber, only to be taken down when, six years later, they were laid with him in his coffin.

Some months before his return to Spain he had sent home a report of the results of his voyage, the continent he had found, which he supposed to be the extremity of the Indies, its wonderful climate, its great rivers, and its strange and attractive people. The excitement which such news must have aroused in every port of Spain was, no doubt, intense, and landsmen, as well as sailors, burned to be off to this land where the natives hung breastplates of gold upon their naked bodies and wound great strings of pearls about their heads and necks. "Now there is not a man," says Columbus, in one of his letters, — reminding his sovereigns that he waited seven years at the royal court and was only treated with ridicule, — "Now there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer."

At Seville an intrepid and experienced navigator, Alonzo de Ojeda, who was with Columbus on his first voyage, and knew, therefore, the way to the Indies of the West, proposed at once a private expedition. Some merchants of Seville supplied the means, and his patron, the Bishop of Fonseca, superintendent of Indian affairs, and the most bitter and persistent enemy of Columbus, gave him license for the voyage, and treacherously procured for him the charts which the great navigator had sent home, notwithstanding the royal order that none should go without permission within fifty leagues of the lands he had last discovered.[2] Ojeda sailed from Port St. Mary on the 20th of May, 1499, and with him went Amerigo Vespucci, a native of Florence, but then residing in Seville as the agent of a commercial house. This Vespucci had assisted in the fitting out of other expeditions; he knew

Voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda. May 20, 1499.

Amerigo Vespucci

[1] *The Life of the Admiral*, by his son, Don Ferdinand Colon. *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. xii., p. 121.

[2] *History of the New World*. Girolamo Benzoni. Published by the Hakluyt Society, p. 37. Herrera, Decade I., book iv., chap. i.

Columbus and had doubtless talked with him of the Sphere and the Antipodes, of the New Indies and the Far Cathay, of the natives sometimes tractable as children, sometimes fierce as tigers; of the abundant gold and precious stones; of the odorous spices; of the gorgeous silks and other rich merchandises to be brought by this new route from that wonderful land. He was familiar with all the strange and stirring incidents of voyages which for the previous six years had been filling the ears of men with tales more alluring and more wonderful than were ever told by the boldest inventors of Eastern fable, and he longed to have a share in the profit and the glory of these great enterprises. In Ojeda's fleet he had command, if we may believe his own statement, of two caravels; the expedition, first touching the coast about two hundred leagues south of the Gulf of Paria, sailed thence leisurely along from point to point till it reached the Cape de la Veda, meeting, during the months of its progress, with various adventures, and the usual fortune which waited upon the first invaders, received sometimes by the simple and confiding natives as supernatural visitants, sometimes with desperate but generally futile resistance when their lust for slaves, for women, and for gold had come to be better understood.



Portrait of Vespucci.

This was, probably, the first voyage of Vespucci and his first sight of a continent which, partly by accident and partly through a reckless disregard of truth, came afterward to bear his name. If it was his first voyage, he was entitled to no special credit, for he was a subordinate in a fleet commanded by another, who guided the expedition by the charts which Columbus had drawn of the course to Trinidad and the coast of Paria eleven months before.

Vespucci's first sight of the continent. 1499.

In 1501, Vespucci left Spain at the invitation of the King of Portugal, and made another, his second, voyage to the West, sailing this time in the service of that king. He visited the coast of Brazil, of which, however, he was not the first discoverer, for in the course of the previous year — 1500 — three dif-

Second voyage of Vespucci. 1501

ferent expeditions under the guidance respectively of Vicente Yanez Pinzon, Diego de Lepe, and Rodrigo de Bastidas had sailed from Spain and made extensive explorations and important discoveries along that coast; and a Portuguese fleet, under Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, on its way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, stretched so far to the west to avoid the calms of the coast of Africa as to come by that chance in sight of the opposite land, where, believing it to be a part of a continent, De Cabral landed and took possession in the name of Portugal.



Vespucci at the Continent. [From De Bry.]

The expedition of Vespucci, nevertheless, was a bold one, and made important additions to astronomical science in his observations of the heavenly bodies of the Southern firmament, especially of the "Southern Cross," and to the knowledge of geography in his exploration of the Southern continent and sea of the Western Hemisphere. After leaving Cape Verde, he was sixty-seven days at sea before he made land again at 5° south, off Cape St. Roque, on the 17th of August. Thence he sailed down the coast, spending the whole winter in its exploration, till in the following April he was as far south as the

fifty-fourth parallel, farther than any navigator had been before. The nights were fifteen hours long; the weather tempestuous and foggy and very cold. The last land he saw is supposed to be the island of Georgia, where, finding no harbors, and seeing no people along its rugged shores, the little fleet turned to escape from these savage seas, where perpetual winter and almost perpetual darkness seemed to reign. They reached Lisbon again in 1502.

First printed narrative of discovery of the main land. 1504.

Vespucci wrote an account of this voyage in a letter to Lorenzo de Pier Francisco de Medici of Florence, which was published at Augsburg in 1504. No wonder that, as it was probably the first printed narrative of any discovery of the main land of the new continent, it should excite unusual attention. Several editions appeared, in the course of the next four years, in Latin and Italian, and among them one at Strasbourg in 1505 under the editorship of one Mathias Ringmann, a native of Schlestadt, a town in the lower department of the Rhine, twenty-five miles from Strasbourg. So earnest an admirer of Vespucci was this young student, that he appended to the narrative of the voyage a letter and some verses of his own in praise of the navigator, and he gave to the book the title of "*Americus Vesputius: De Ora Antarctica per Regem Portugalliæ pridem inventa*" (Americus Vespuccius: concerning a southern region recently discovered under the King of Portugal). Here was the suggestion of a new southern continent as distinct from the northern continent of Asia, to which the discoveries hitherto mainly north of the equator were supposed to belong.[1] And this supposition of such a new quarter of the globe gave rise, two years afterward, to a name, all growing naturally enough out of the enthusiasm of this Ringmann for Vespucci, and communicated by him to others.

College printing-press of St. Dié.

In the city of St. Dié, not far from Strasbourg, in the province of Lorraine, was a gymnasium or college established by Walter Lud, the secretary of the Duke of Lorraine. In this college was set up one of those newly-invented and marvellous machines, a printing-press; and Ringmann was appointed not merely the collegiate professor of Latin, but to the important post of proof-reader. In 1507, Lud, the Duke's secretary, and the head, apparently, of this little seminary of learning, published from the college printing-press a pamphlet of only four leaves relating to a narrative of *four* voyages to the New World by Amerigo Vespucci; this, it is

[1] The term "New World" was often used by the early writers, even by Columbus himself, in a vague way and not at all in the sense afterward attached to it of a new quarter of the globe; nor was there till long after the deaths of Columbus and Vespucci any definite determination that these newly found lands were not a part of Asia.

said by the writer, was sent to the Duke, and he — Lud — had caused it to be translated from the French, in which it was written, into Latin; and, as if in recognition of the influence which Ringmann had exercised upon the subject among his fellows of St. Dié, Lud immediately adds: "And the booksellers carry about a certain epigram of our Philesius (Ringmann) in a little book of Vespucci's translated from Italian into Latin by Giocondi of Verona, the architect from Venice." This refers to the Strasbourg edition of Vespucci's second voyage, edited by Ringmann two years before, and to which he attached his laudatory verses. This little book of Lud's, "Speculi



Printing of Vespucci's Book.

orbis Declaratio," etc., also contains some Latin verses, — *versiculi de incognita terra*, — the last lines of which are thus translated: —

> "But hold, enough! Of the American race,
> New found, the home, the manners here you trace
> By our small book set forth in little space." [1]

The narrative itself, of Vespucci's *four* voyages, thus referred to

[1] The original is: —

> "Sed ꝺ plura: ſitū, gentis moresꝙ reptę
> Amerſcī parua mole lībellus habet."

Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 100, gives and translates the lines. The

by Lud, was published the same year, 1507, in a book called "Cosmographiæ Introductio," of which it made about one half. This was the work of Martin Waldseemüller, and published under his Greco-latinized name of "Hylacomylus." He also belonged to the St. Dié college, where he was a teacher of geography, and his "Introductio" was printed on the college printing-press. Whether the letter was sent to St. Dié addressed to the Duke of Lorraine by Vespucci; or whether it was procured through the zeal of Ringmann and its address altered without the knowledge of Vespucci, are interesting questions. Interesting, because the letter falling by some means into the hands of Lud and Waldseemüller — Hylacomylus — the name of its author came to be imposed upon the whole Western Hemisphere.

The *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of Waldseemüller. 1507.

The same letter subsequently appeared in Italian, addressed to an eminent citizen of Venice, named Soderini, who is known to have been an early companion and school-fellow of Vespucci. That it was written originally to Soderini, is evident from certain allusions in it to youthful days and associations which could not refer to the Duke of Lorraine, but were proper enough when applied to the Venetian citizen. If Vespucci himself had the letter translated into French, altered its address, and then sent the copy to Ringmann, or Lud, or Waldseemüller, a suspicion is aroused that he was in collusion with them, either directly or suggestively, in the bestowal upon him of an honor that was not rightfully his. Such a suspicion may be altogether unjust; Vespucci may neither have sent the letter to the Duke nor have made any suggestion in regard to it; and perhaps no accusation would have ever been brought against him were there not serious doubts as to the number of voyages he assumes to have made, whether they were three or four; as to the year, 1497, in which he declares he went upon the first one; and by a certain confusion in the letter which might have been intended to mislead, and certainly did mislead, whether intentional or not.

The Soderini letter.

We do not propose to enter into any examination of a question which is one of circumstantial rather than positive evidence, and which probably will never be definitively settled. Giving to Vespucci the benefit of the doubt, there is much in the fortuitous circumstances of the case to explain this naming of a newly-discovered country by men who, perhaps, had never looked upon the sea, and who may have known little, except in a general way, of the different expeditions of the navigators of Spain and Portugal, and still less of the personal interest attached to their fortunes and their deeds. The Duke of Lorraine was a patron of learning; the young profes-

The men who gave America its name.

little four-leaved book, *Speculi orbis*, etc., from which they are taken, is in the British Museum. See also Major's *Henry the Navigator*, p. 383.

sors of the college under his protection were ambitious of literary fame and proud of their literary labors; it would bring, no doubt, great credit to St. Dié if, in a work from its printing-press, the world should be taught that these wonderful discoveries of the ten preceding years were not, as had been ignorantly supposed, the outlying islands and coasts of India, but of a new and unknown continent which separated Europe from Asia. The conclusion, very likely, was jumped at — a lucky guess of over-confident youth, rather than any superiority of judgment. Had these young book-makers lived in Cadiz or Lisbon, instead of the Vosges mountains, they might have hesitated to pronounce upon a question which had as yet hardly been raised, if it had been raised at all, among the older cosmographers and navigators. They rushed in where even Columbus had not thought to tread, and not only announced the discovery of a new continent but proposed to name it.

The narrative which Ringmann had edited two years before, "De Ora Antarctica," related only to the second expedition of Vespucci — the third, as he called it — of 1501. But, from the letter now before Lud and Waldseemüller, they learn much more of the achievements of the greatest of navigators, as they supposed him to be; for they are told that it was at a much earlier period he made the first discovery of these new countries; that he had subsequently explored them more extensively; and Waldseemüller concludes that they must be a fourth part of the world. "We departed," says Vespucci, "from the port of Cadiz, May 10th, 1497, taking our course on the great gulf of ocean, in which we employed eighteen months, discovering many lands and innumerable islands, chiefly inhabited, of which our ancestors make no mention."

Waldseemüller (Hylacomylus) assuming this date of 1497 to be correct — if it was so given in the letter Lud declared the Duke had received from Vespucci — says in his geographical work, the "Cosmographiæ Introductio": "And the fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus may well be called Amerige, which is as much as to say, the land of Americus or America." Again he says: "But now these parts are more extensively explored, and, as will be seen by the following letters, another fourth has been discovered by Americus Vespuccius, which I see no reason why any one should forbid to be named Amerige, which is as much as to say the land of Americus or America, from its discoverer, Americus, who is a man of shrewd intellect; for Europe and Asia have both of them a feminine form of name from the names of women."

Preface of Waldseemüller to Vespucci's voyages.

Now in 1497 Vespucci was still residing at Seville engaged as factor

or partner in a commercial house. In May of the following year, 1498, Columbus sailed on his third voyage, and for several months previous Vespucci was busily occupied in fitting out the ships for that expedition.[1] It is impossible, therefore, that he can have gone to sea in May, 1497, to be absent eighteen months. There is no pretence in his letters, nor anywhere else, that he made a voyage earlier than 1497; he was in Seville in 1498; and he certainly was a pilot in Ojeda's fleet when that navigator, in 1499, followed Columbus to the coast of Paria. That Vespucci was the first discoverer of the Western continent is, therefore, clearly untrue, although it is true that his account of such a continental land in the west was the one first published, and by his zealous friends at St. Dié, who attached his name to it. In the suit between Don Diego Columbus and the crown of Spain, lasting from 1508 to 1513, the plaintiff demanded certain revenues by right of prior discovery by his father, the defence of the crown being that Columbus had no such priority. In the voluminous testimony on that trial Vespucci was not named as one for whom precedence could be claimed,[2] while Ojeda, under whom Vespucci went on his first voyage, distinctly asserts that the main land was discovered by Columbus.[3]

Vespucci's claim to original discovery unfounded.

It is, nevertheless, probably true that Vespucci explored along the American coast in his several voyages further than any navigator of his time, as he sailed from about the fifty-fourth degree of south latitude to the peninsula of Florida, and possibly to Chesapeake Bay at the north. Whether the St. Dié editors really believed, or whether the dates of his voyages were, in some way, so changed as to make it appear, that he was also the first discoverer of a western continent, are questions which may never be answered. But the use they made of his name was adopted in various works within the next few years, and thus in the course of time America became the designation of the whole Western Hemisphere.[4]

[1] Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, Tome v., p. 180.

[2] *Vespucci and his Voyages*, Santarem; Irving's *Life of Columbus*, Appendix.

[3] Irving (*Life of Columbus*, vol. iii., Appendix No. X.) examines carefully all the evidence known at the time he wrote on this question, and Major (*Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*, chap. xix.) gives some later facts, particularly those relating to the conscious or unconscious fraud of the priests of St. Dié. The subject is discussed at great length by Humboldt (*Examen Critique*), who believes that the fault was not in the statements of Vespucci, but in the erroneous printing of dates. Vespucci, however, in more than one place speaks of his "fourth voyage" without reference to dates, and it is difficult to understand his relation of the voyage of 1497 as anything else than a repetition of the incidents related by Ojeda as attending his expedition of 1499, on which Vespucci went with him. Harrisse, in his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, gives a careful account of the books of Lud and Hylacomylus.

[4] Humboldt suggests (*Examen Critique*, Tome iv., p. 52) that Hylacomylus, a native of Germany, must have known that in inventing the word America to distinguish the new conti

But even if it were possible to reconcile beyond all cavil the rival claims of the two navigators, and give the honor where, as between them, it undoubtedly belongs, to Columbus, there is a third who takes precedence of both as the first great captain who pushed far enough into the unknown seas to touch the main land of the new continent. It is conceded that a voyage was made as early as 1497 by John Cabot, accompanied by his son Sebastian, from Bristol, England, to find the shorter path to India westward. In a little vessel called *The Matthew* he made his first land-fall on this side the Atlantic on the 24th of June of that year. Whether the land first seen — the *Terra primum visa* of the old maps — was Cape Breton, Newfoundland, or the coast of Labrador, is still an open question, though the latter is held to be the most probable by some of those who have given the subject most careful consideration.[1] But if the ship held its course of north by west from Bristol, it could hardly nave been anything else. At any rate, they sailed along the coast for three hundred leagues, and that could only have been the shore of the main land. These Cabots, then, were the first discoverers of the continent, about a year before Columbus entered the Gulf of Paria, and two years before Ojeda's fleet, in which Vespucci sailed, touched the coast of South America two hundred leagues farther south.

Voyage of the Cabots.

But which Cabot commanded this expedition? Here again a doubt is started, and the father and the son has each his advocates. John Cabot was probably a native of Genoa; but he had lived for many years in Venice, whence he removed to London with his family "to follow the trade of merchandise." It is not known when he was born, in what year he emigrated to England, or how soon he removed from London to Bristol. He was, it is asserted, learned in cosmography and an accomplished navigator, had

Which Cabot commanded the expedition?

nent, he was giving it a name of Germanic origin. He quotes his learned friend Von der Hagen to prove this, who says that the Italian name Amerigo is found in the Ancient high-German under the form of Amalrich or Amelrich, which in the Gothic is Amalricks. The incursions and conquests of the northern people, and those of the Goths and Lombards spread this name Amalrich, from which Amerigo comes, among the Romance-speaking peoples. It was borne by many illustrious men.

An attempt has recently been made (*Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1875) to show that the word America was derived from a chain of mountains in Veragua called Amerique, heard of by the sailors of Columbus on his fourth voyage, and reported by them in Spain. If there were any mountains so called, and the Spaniards ever heard of them, they are not mentioned by any of the early writers, and the theory, however ingenious, cannot stand a moment in the light of the evidence in regard to the derivation of the word from Amerigo by Lud and Hylacomylus.

[1] Humboldt, *Examen Critique;* Biddle, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot;* J. G. Kohl, *Coll. of Maine Hist. Soc.*, vol. i., Second Series. Stevens in his monograph, *The Cabots*, p. 17, thinks that their landfall was Cape Breton. Brevoort, *Journal of the Am. Geog. Soc.*, vol. iv., p. 214, agrees with Stevens.

travelled by land in the East, and had heard from men in the caravans of Arabia those strange and captivating tales of the boundless wealth and magnificence of "farthest Ind."[1] He disappears from history in 1498 as suddenly as he appeared two years before, and it is supposed that he died about that time. But whether it was as an old man whose work was happily finished, or as one cut off in the prime of his vigor and his days, there is no record.

Age of Sebastian Cabot.

The son, Sebastian, is said to have been only twenty years of age in 1497. He was undoubtedly a young man, but some suppose — a supposition necessary, indeed, to their theory in regard to him and his voyages — that he was not less than twenty-five years of age when he sailed on this voyage with his father. And his birth-place is as uncertain as the time of his birth. He may have been born in Venice; perhaps he was born in Bristol. In one account he is represented as saying: "When my father departed from *Venice* many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of merchandises, hee tooke mee with him to the citie of *London*, while I was yet very yong, yet having neverthelesse some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the sphere."[2] But his friend Eden's testimony is: "Sebastian Cabot tould me that he was borne in Brystowe, and that at iiij yeare ould he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned agayne to England with his father after certayne years, whereby he was thought to have been born in Venice."[3]

Both passages are relied upon as sufficient answer to the objection of Sebastian's youth for the command of so important an expedition; yet neither is conclusive, inasmuch as neither gives the date of the father's emigration to England, while the first proves altogether too much, as it goes on to say: "And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christopher Colonus Genoese had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of King Henry the Seventh, who then reigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than humane, to saile by the West into the East, where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing."

Discourse of Sebastian Cabot.

That John Cabot was not dead at the period referred to is just as certain as that either he or his son, or both, sailed in search of a north-

[1] Letter of M. d'Avezac to Dr. Woods, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series.

[2] Report of a conversation with Sebastian Cabot by Galeacius Butrigarius, the Pope's Legate in Spain, first published in Ramusio's *Collection of Voyages*, copied by Hakluyt and many succeeding authors.

[3] Richard Eden's *Decades of the New World.*

west passage. But this "discourse of Sebastian Cabot," as it is called, though interesting for the main facts to which it testifies, is entitled to no credit as strictly accurate evidence as to details, inasmuch as the narrative was not repeated by him — the Pope's Legate in Spain — who had it from Cabot, till years had passed away, and then some months elapsed before it was put in writing by the author — Ramusio — who first published it, and who cautioned his readers that he only presumed "to sketch out briefly, as it were, the heads of what I remember of it." No reliance, of course, can be put upon such a document on any disputed point.

Other old chroniclers, however, notably Fabian, Stow, and Gomara, speak of Sebastian Caboto as the navigator "very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and islands of the same as by a sea card," who demonstrated to King Henry VII. the feasibility of a northwest passage to the Indies, and who was sent to find it; and on these writers Hakluyt[1] relied for his account of the voyage. But Hakluyt substituted the name of John, the father, for that of Sebastian the son,[2] and subsequent authors have, for the most part, accepted his correction.

Hakluyt's account of the Cabot voyage.

Then the question of late is still further complicated by a MS. of Hakluyt's recently brought to light.[3] In this the great chronicler asserts not only that the first expedition was commanded by Sebastian Cabot, but that the voyage itself was made in 1496. His words are: "A great part of the continent, as well as of the islands, was first discovered for the King of England by Sebastian Gabote, an Englishman, born in Bristow, son of John Gabote, in 1496." And again: "Nay, more, Gabote discovered this large tract of firme land two years before Columbus ever saw any part of the continent. . . . . Columbus first saw the firme lande August 1, 1498, but Gabote made his great discovery in 1496."[4] There is certainly no trustworthy evidence, and little of any sort, of a voyage by either the father or the son in that year, and the main difficulty here is to reconcile Hakluyt to himself.

It is less easy to dispose of a map discovered about twenty years ago in Germany, and which is in conflict with all the statements upon this point hitherto relied upon. The map,[5] which is now in the imperial library at Paris, covers the whole world; in its delineations of

[1] *Voyages, Navigations, etc.*, by Richard Hackluyt, vol. iii., p. 89.

[2] *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, Biddle, chap. v.; *Life of Sebastian Cabot*, by J. F. Nichols, City Librarian, Bristol, England, p. 46.

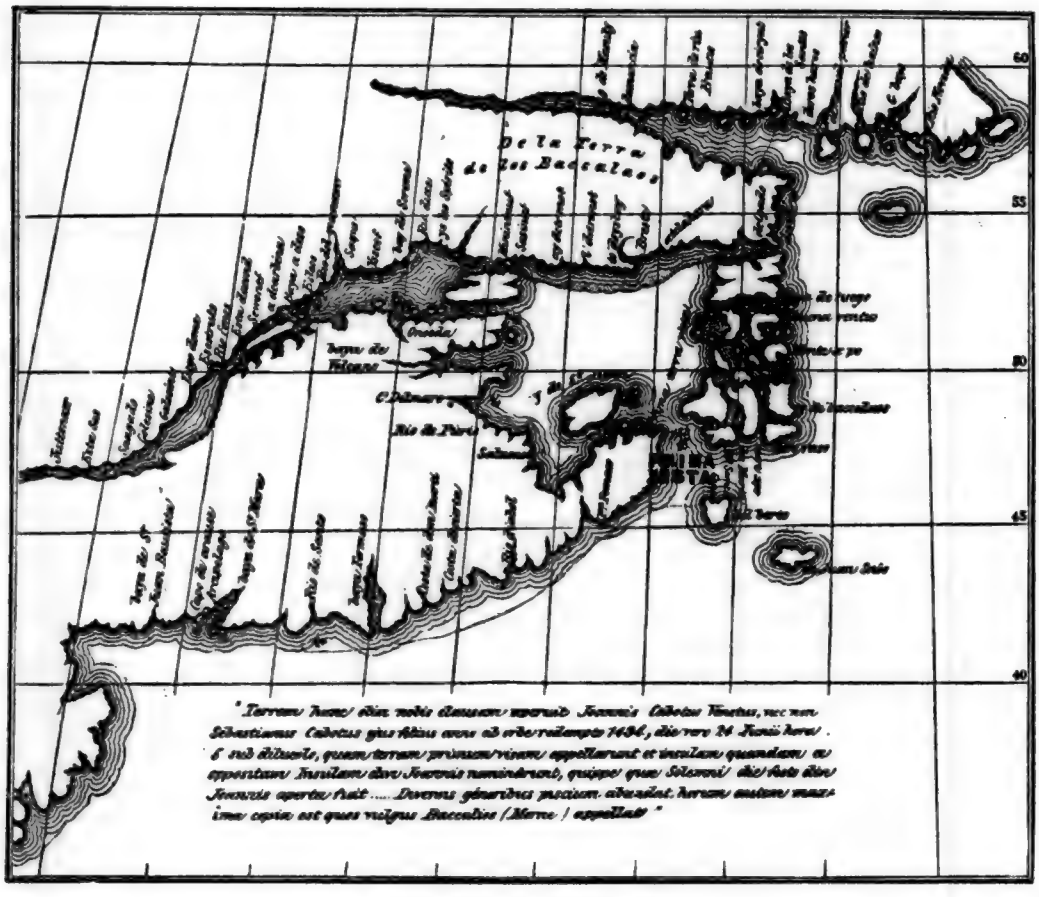
[3] Rev. Dr. Wood in vol. i., Second Series, *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*

[4] *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series.

[5] For detailed description and discussion see J. G. Kohl; also letter of M. d'Avezac to Rev. Dr. Woods. *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series.

some countries it is tolerably correct, in others it is full of errors and remarkable for inexplicable omissions; but it assumes, in one of its inscriptions, to have this authority: "Sebastian Cabot, Captain and Pilot-major of his Sacred Imperial Majesty the Emperor, Don Carlos, the fifth of his name, and king, our lord, made this figure extended in plane, in the year of the birth of our Savior Jesus Christ, MDXLIIII." (1544.) With reference to Newfoundland there is this descriptive legend in Latin and Italian: "This land was discovered by John Cabot, a Venetian, and Sebastian Cabot his son,

Testimony of the Map.



Sebastian Cabot's Map, 1544.

in the year of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, M.CCCC.XCIIII (1494), the twenty-fourth day of June (at 5 o'clock) in the morning; to which land has been given the name of The Land First Seen (*terram primum visam*); and to a great island, which is very near the said land, the name of St. John has been given, on account of its having been discovered the same day."

Date of the voyage disputed.

If this legend be correct, it overthrows all previous theories, and puts aside all previous assertions. If the first voyage of the Cabots was made in 1494, the mistake as to the age of Sebastian has been general, for it is not at all likely that

any share in the responsibility in an expedition so hazardous and uncertain would have been attributed to a lad of seventeen, and it conflicts with all we know of his character to suppose that he would snatch at honors that were not rightfully his. The question thus opened anew has given rise to much learned and labored discussion both in favor of this new supposition and against it, but the most obvious explanation, it seems to us, in view of what was previously known, and from documents which have more recently come to light, is that the date of M.CCCC.XCIIII on the map is either a misprint or a blunder.

There is no violent improbability in the supposition that the numerals VII were changed by the printer or the copyist into IIII, and it was much more likely to happen than that the inscription itself, while announcing a fact hitherto unheard of, should be in its terms almost a literal transcript otherwise of a record hitherto universally accepted as true, which agreed with all the contemporaneous authorities upon the subject, and which, if it was an error, would probably have been detected and exposed, as it was within half a century of the time when the alleged voyage was said to have been made. This record is the "extract taken out of the map of Sebastian Cabot, cut by Clement Adams," "hung up in the privy gallery at Whitehall," and the Latin text of which is thus translated by Hakluyt: "In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian, (with an English fleet set out from Bristol) discovered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24th of June, about five of the clocke, early in the morning. This land he called *Prima Vista*, that is to say, First Seene; because, as I suppose, it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That island which lieth out before the land, he called the island of *St. John*, upon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discovered upon the day of *John the Baptist*."[1] The essential identity, in everything but the date of the year, of the inscriptions upon the two maps, the same day of the month, the same hour of the day, the same naming of the land first seen, and the same name given to the neighboring island, all indicate that both referred to the same expedition, and that one was copied from the other. In the transfer, what more easy and probable that the VII should be changed to IIII, or that IIII should be changed to VII? That such a mistake — if this obvious explanation of the difficulty be accepted — was not made by Clement Adams, whose map was hung up in Whitehall, and was well known in the sixteenth century to Sebastian Cabot's contemporaries, but that it was made by whoever printed or delineated the map of

Inscription on the Map at Whitehall.

[1] Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii., p. 6.

1544, unheard of till twenty years ago, there seems to be ample evidence.

This evidence comes from recent researches made on behalf of the British government for historical information among Italian and Spanish archives. It is found that the Venetian ambassador in England wrote home on the 24th of August, 1497, thus: —

Extracts from Spanish and Italian archives.

"Also some months ago his majesty, Henry VII., sent out a Venetian, who is a very good mariner, and has good skill in discovering new islands, and he has returned safe, and has found two very large and fertile new islands; having likewise discovered the seven cities, four hundred leagues from England, on the western passage. The next spring his majesty means to send him with fifteen or twenty ships."[1] And in the archives of Venice is also a letter dated August 23, 1497, from one Lorenzo Pasqualigo, a Venetian living in London, to his brother, in which he writes: —

"The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that seven hundred leagues hence he discovered land, the territory of the Grand Cham; he coasted for three hundred leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought hither to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

"He was three months on the voyage, and on his return he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. . . . . The king has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then (the next spring), and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is also a Venetian, and with his sons. His name is Zuan Cabot, and he is styled the Great Admiral; vast honor is paid him; he dresses in silk, and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own."[2]

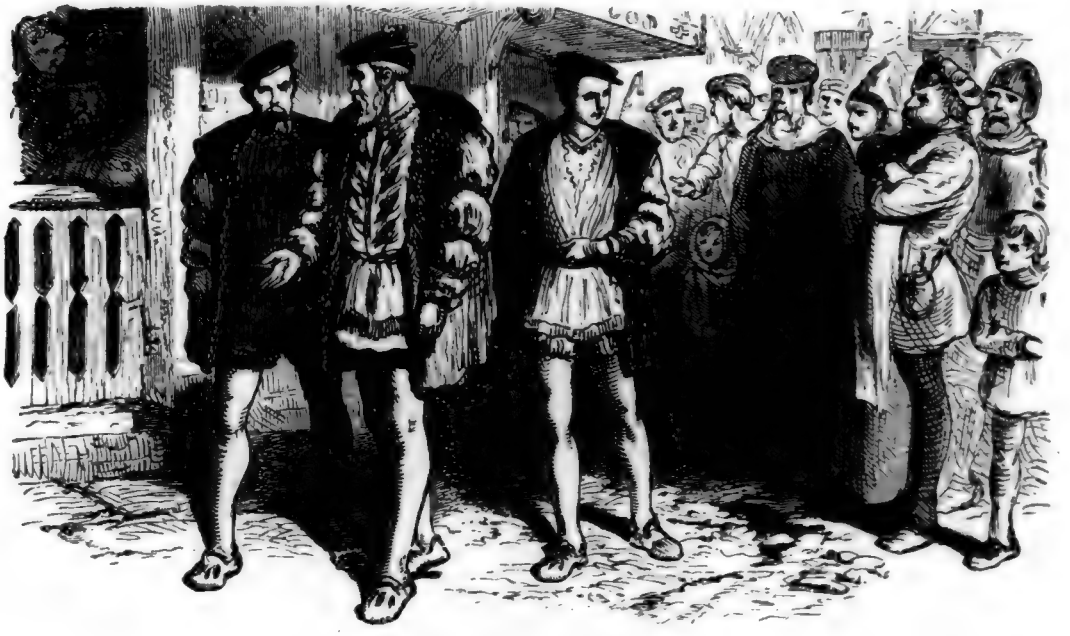
A similar letter, written about the same time from the Spanish ambassador in England, and dealing with the same incident — the return of this Genoese of Bristol from a voyage of discovery — is found in the Spanish archives at Seville. And unless other contemporary testimony, equally direct, respectable, and impartial, shall be found to offset these statements, they may be accepted as settling two points: First, that the first voyage of the Cabots, on which the western continent was discovered, was made in the summer of 1497; and second, that the leader of the enterprise was John (Zuan) Cabot.

[1] *Papers on English Affairs; extracted from the Venetian Calendar,* by Rawdon Brown, p. 260.

[2] Ibid., p. 262.

Of him this is the one fair glimpse that history gives us. When or where he was born, when or where he died and was buried, can only be guessed at with more or less of probability; and of all the events of a life that certainly was not a short one this incident alone stands out distinct and clear, as he walks through Whitehall and the Strand, from palace to counting-house, clothed in the costliest garments of the day, telling courtier and merchant and mariner how only a month's sail away he had found the Eastern Continent of which Columbus had hitherto discovered only some outlying islands. And it is no marvel that these English should have "run after him like mad," should have watched for his coming, and have given him

John Cabot in London.



John Cabot in London.

good hearty English cheers whenever he appeared, for his brave exploit was to the honor of the English name, as well as to his own.

If other proof were wanting that this was the first voyage, a curious bit of evidence comes in to corroborate the story of the return of the successful navigator and the reception that was given him. In the account of the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry is this entry: "10th August, 1497. To hym that found the New Isle, 10*l*."[1] That this refers to Cabot seems improbable; but it is quite likely that the king should have sent, or given with his own hand, such a reward to the sailor who from his faithful watch at the mast-head was the first to cry "Land ho!" on the coast of North America.

Reward for the discovery of North America.

[1] Nicolas, *Excerpta Historica*, quoted by Biddle and by Nicholls.

The voyage was made under a patent granted by the king on the 5th of March, 1496, authorizing John Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius, to "sail to all parts, countries, and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensigns, with five ships of what burthen or quantity soever they be, and so many mariners or men as they will have with them in the said ships, upon their own proper costs and charges, to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they be, and in what part of the world soever they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians." The patent was in entire disregard of the bull of Pope Alexander VI., of May, 1493, by which the heathen world was divided from pole to pole between Spain and Portugal; but the south was probably excluded from the sailing directions in deference to actual possession by either of those nations. The king was cautious; he did not mean to run any risk of involving himself in trouble with either of those powers; he carefully stipulated that one fifth of all the profits of the adventure should be his, and all the cost he threw upon the Cabots. Though a year passed away before the expedition set out, it is doubtful if it included more than the single ship of the admiral — *The Matthew* of Bristol. At all events that ship, *The Matthew*, Captain John Cabot, cleared out at the Bristol custom-house for the territories of the Grand Khan and a market in May, 1497, and returned again to port in about three months, having sailed meanwhile three hundred leagues along the coast of North America.

Patents of John Cabot.

In the Italian archives, from which we just now quoted, it is said that another expedition was to follow up this great discovery in the spring. "The king," writes Pasqualigo, "has promised that in the spring our countryman shall have ten ships, armed to his order, and at his request has conceded him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man his fleet." On the 3d of February, 1498, accordingly, a second patent, or rather license was issued by which John Kabotto was authorized to impress six English ships, "and them convey and lede to the Londe and Isles of late founde by the said John in oure name and by our commandemente." The expedition consisted, however, of only two ships; on board of them went three hundred passengers, whether volunteers or convicts from the jails, and its evident purpose was colonization. It sailed from Bristol in the spring — probably in May — under the command — so all the old narratives concur in saying — of the young Sebastian. John disappears with this grant to him to settle the lands he had discovered; is dead — at least to history.

Sebastian Cabot sails with a colony.

But the voyage was barren of any results of value, except that Sebastian noted that "in the seas thereabout were multitudes of big fishes that they call tunnies, which the inhabitants call Baccalaos, that they sometimes stopped his ship." And he therefore "named this land Baccalaos."[1] Probably he left his three hundred emigrants somewhere on this inhospitable coast to make such settlement as they could, while he explored still farther northward. He reached the latitude of 67½°, fighting his way through seas of ice, and looking anxiously for the gulf that should lead him to the Indies. "To his great displeasure" he found the coast, at length, trending eastward, probably on the peninsula of Cumberland; his crews, perhaps reduced in numbers by the hardships of such navigation, perhaps in despair and alarm at penetrating farther into a region where in July the cold was increasing and "the dayes very long in maner without any night," grew insubordinate and mutinous, and clamored to return. Turning southward, he picked up his three hundred colonists, or what was left of them, and sailed into pleasanter seas.

"Ever intent to find that passage to India," and baffled in the search for it at the north, he hoped to discover it by running down the coast. Into what bays and estuaries he may have penetrated; how anxiously he scanned the headlands; how diligently sounded for depth of water, and marked the set of currents that he might miss no indication of an opening to the west; or how long he was in making this first coast-survey of the Continent, there is no record.[2] But doubtless he did his work faithfully and well, keeping along the shore of Maine and Massachusetts, missing no landmarks, doubling Cape Cod, perhaps rounding Nantucket and running into Buzzard's Bay and Long Island Sound, and approaching the harbor of New York; for he sometimes landed, found "on most

First coast exploration of this continent.

[1] Peter Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*. But Dr. Kohl doubts this. The cod-fishery, he says, had long existed on the northern coasts of Europe, and the fish were called by the Germanic nations "Cabliauwe," or "Kabbeljouwe," or still farther transposed, "Backljau." The Portuguese changed it to Bacalhao. The root of the word is the Germanic "bolch," meaning fish. The name, therefore, could not have had an Indian origin. *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series. Brevoort, on the other hand (*Journal of the Am. Geog. Society*, p. 205), says it is simply "an old Mediterranean or Romance name, given to the preserved codfish, when it has been dried and kept open and extended by the help of a small stick. This was the stockfish of the North, and from the word *Baculum*, it became the *Bacalao* and *Baccalieu* of the South of Europe."

[2] Brevoort and Stevens doubt if Cabot ever sailed south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Peter Martyr — who says, "Cabot is my very friend whom I use familiarly and delight to have him sometimes keepe me company in mine own house" — asserts "that he was thereby brought so far into the South by reason of the land bending so much southwards, that it was there almost equal in latitude with the sea *Fretum Herculeum* (Straits of Gibraltar) having the north pole elevate in the same degree." Gomara says that Cabot sailed so far north that "the days were very long, as it were without night;" and that he followed the coast southward to the 38°, whence he returned home.

of the places, copper or brass among the aborigines," and captured some of the natives and brought them home to England. But when he had reached 38° north, that is, about Cape Hatteras, his provisions failing, he changed his course for Bristol.

Last years of Sebastian Cabot.

Whether Sebastian Cabot was satisfied that no passage to Cathay was to be found between 67½° and 38°, north latitude, there is nowhere any positive assurance. He lived, however, to be eighty years of age; in the course of that long life he held the honorable and influential position of Pilot-major both in Spain and England; he led, in the service of Spain, an eventful expedition to the Rio de la Plata; in the service of England he sent another to Russia, and established commercial intercourse between the two nations; but, unless he made a third voyage to North America in 1516, which was certainly projected, though its accomplishment is questioned, he abandoned, after his return in 1498, all farther attempts at discovery or settlement on the coast of North America. The honor of the discovery of the mainland of the continent was his; but seventy years passed away before the first permanent colony was planted north of the Gulf of Mexico.



Sebastian Cabot.



Fac-simile of Signature of Amerigo Vespucci.

CHAPTER VII.

SPANISH DISCOVERIES AND EXPLORATIONS.

DESIGNS FOR THE DISCOVERY OF A NORTHWEST PASSAGE TO INDIA. — THE CORTEREAL VOYAGES. — VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA REACHES THE PACIFIC OCEAN. — SEARCH FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH. — FLORIDA DISCOVERED. — GULF OF MEXICO SAILED OVER. — EXPLORATIONS ON THE ATLANTIC SEA-COAST. — ESTAVAN GOMEZ ON THE BORDERS OF THE UNITED STATES. — EXPEDITION OF PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ TO FLORIDA. — ADVENTURES OF CABEÇA DE VACA. — THE ENTERPRISE OF HERNANDO DE SOTO. — THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER. — DEATH AND DRAMATIC BURIAL OF DE SOTO. — RETURN OF THE TROOPS OF DE SOTO. — TRISTAN DE LUNA'S ATTEMPT TO FOUND A COLONY.

THAT the Cabots were the first modern discoverers of the Western Continent, or, indeed, that Columbus was the first European who, in the fifteenth century, visited the New World, is not undisputed. John Skolnus, or John of Kolno, a Pole, is said to have been on the coast of Labrador in 1477; it is claimed by some French writers that in 1488 one Cousin, a Frenchman of Dieppe, was driven across the Atlantic and made land on the other side at the mouth of a wide river; that with him was one of that family of Pinzons of Palos which gave, four years later, captains — one of them perhaps this very captain — to two of the three ships of Columbus. The evidence of such an expedition is so slight, that constructive arguments have only more or less weight as they are more or less ingenious.

When, however, the path to the new Indies was fairly opened, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, fresh voyages followed in rapid succession, and not navigators only, but sovereigns vied with each other to share with Spain the glory and the riches of the new discoveries. Henry VII. of England, when he gave a patent to the Cabots, no doubt reflected that Columbus might have been an English, rather than a Spanish admiral. The king of Portugal did not attempt to conceal his chagrin that the dominion and power which had fallen, or inevitably would fall, into the hands of Spain, he had rejected. But though Spain could not be interfered with at the south, it was still possible to find the yet undiscovered way to India by a northern passage; there might still be unknown islands, or even continents, full of gold and heathen men, in northern seas.

Jealousy of Spain among other European powers.

Gaspar Cortereal seeks a northwest passage.

In 1500, accordingly, two caravels were dispatched from Portugal under the command of Gaspar Cortereal, in search of a passage to India in northern latitudes. He made no settlement, but explored the coast, either on that or a second voyage made the next year, for six or seven hundred miles, as far north as the fiftieth parallel, where his further progress was stopped by the ice. The country he called Terra de Labrador — the land of laborers — though that name was afterwards transferred to a region farther north.



Cortereal at Labrador.

The people were like Gypsies in color, well made, intelligent, and modest; they lived in wooden houses, clothed themselves in skins and furs, used "swords made of a kind of stones, and pointed their arrows with the same material." The country abounded with timber, especially pine; the seas were full of fish of various kinds; and, with such natural advantages, added to its populousness, it was thought that its acquisition might prove valuable to Portugal. If Cortereal did not open a way to India, or find mines of gold to rival those of Hispaniola, at least he had discovered, as he hoped, a new Slave Coast, and he enticed or forced on board his caravels fifty-seven of the natives whom he meant to sell as slaves. These were pronounced as "admirably calculated for labor, and the best slaves ever seen."[1]

[1] The Cortereal voyages are not free from the confusion which surrounds so many of the early narratives. Several writers (see Barrow's *Chronological History of Voyages;* Lardner's *Cyclopædia; Edinburgh Cabinet Library*) following Cordeiro's *Historia Insularia*, assert that Newfoundland was first discovered by John Vaz Costa Cortereal in 1463 or 1464; but Biddle (*Memoir of Cabot*, book ii., chapter 11) shows that there is no good authority for any such voyage. A passage in the life of his father by Ferdinand Colon, however, seems to have been overlooked by all these writers. He says that Vincent Dear, a Portuguese,

Cortereal made two voyages, but from the second he never came back. It is uncertain what his fate was. He may have been lost at sea; or, as it has been conjectured, he may have been killed by the natives in an attempt to kidnap another cargo of slaves, or in revenge for the capture of those stolen on the previous voyage. But this, of course, involves the presumption that the kidnapping was on his first expedition, and that the retribution fell upon him on his return to the coast. But the latest and most reasonable suggestion is that it was on his second voyage that he committed this outrage upon the Indians, and that he and his fifty captives perished together at sea. And this is the more probable conjecture since we know that Miguel Cortereal, a younger brother, sailed from Lisbon, on the 10th of May, 1502, with two vessels, in search of Gaspar, eight months after the report of the arrival of one of Gaspar's caravels. The Indians may have punished him also for his brother's cruelty to their kindred, for he did not return. The next year the king sent out an expedition in quest of both, but that came back without tidings of

Fate of the Cortereals.

returning from Guinea to Terceira, saw, or thought he saw, an island, and told this to one Luke de Gazzana, a wealthy Genoese merchant. Gazzana sent out a vessel, and "the pilot went out three or four times to seek the said island, sailing from one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty leagues, but all in vain, for he found no land. Yet for all this, neither he (Gazzana) nor his partner gave over the enterprise till death, always hoping to find it." Ferdinand Colon adds that a brother of Gazzana also told him that he knew the sons of "the captain who discovered Terceira," Gaspar and Michael Cortereal, "who went several times to discover that land; and it is plain from the context that Ferdinand Colon means to refer to distinct expeditions to the West — those before his father's first voyage by Gazzana's direction, when John Vaz Costa Cortereal was governor of Terceira; and these by the younger Cortereals in 1500. It was natural enough that these expeditions should be confounded with each other, and this confusion was not cleared up even when Hakluyt published the first edition of his voyages in 1582, who says: "An excellent learned man of Portugal, of singular gravety, authortie, and experience, tolde me very lately that one Gonus Cortereal, captayne of the yle of Terceira, about the yeare 1574, which is not above eight years past, sent a ship to discover the North West Passage." Here is an obvious mistake of about a century.

In regard to the actual expedition of Gaspar Cortereal, the principal original source of information hitherto relied upon, is the letter of Pietro Pasqualigo, Venetian Ambassador to Portugal, to his brother, October 19, 1501. This was first published in a volume of voyages printed in Venice in 1507, under the title *Paesi Novamente retrovati et Novo Mondo.* But Dr. Kohl (*Collections of Maine Hist. Society*, 1869), relying upon some recent researches in the Portuguese archives by M. Kuntsmann (*Die Entdeckung America's*), assumes that Pasqualigo's letter refers to the second voyage of Cortereal, and that the caravel, on board which he was with fifty of the Indians, never arrived. The letter says: "On the 8th of the present month one of the two caravels which his most serene majesty dispatched last year on a voyage of discovery to the North, under the command of Gaspar Corterat, arrived here. . . . . They have brought hither of the inhabitants, seven in all, men, women, and children, and in the other caravel, which is looked for every hour, there are fifty more." If this was the first voyage, the other caravel subsequently arrived with the fifty Indians, as Cortereal certainly made a second expedition. The date alone of the letter (October, 1501) — if Cortereal sailed in 1500 — suggests that Pasqualigo confounded the two voyages, and that he refers to the second, from which Cortereal did not return.

either. Then the eldest brother, Vasqueanes Cortereal, the governor of Terceira, one of the Azores, begged permission to continue the search, but the king forbade it, and the Portuguese, discouraged by such a succession of disasters, abandoned all farther attempts at discovery in the northern seas.

These explorations in high northern latitudes the Spanish left for the most part to other nations. Not that they were less eager to find a passage to India, but they believed that they alone were seeking it in the right direction. The conviction was of slow growth that another continent, hitherto unknown, lay between Europe and Asia, and that this must be passed before the coveted spice islands of the East could be reached by sailing westward. Even Columbus himself must have had some misgivings, for while he professed to believe that on his third and fourth voyages he had reached the continent of Asia, he was none the less persistent in seeking from Venezuela to Honduras for a strait that should lead him to a South Sea and to India. It is not easy to reconcile his avowed theoretical convictions with his practical conduct; but it is remarkable that conjecture or reasoning should have led him to seek for such a channel where, if it existed at all anywhere between Terra del Fuego and the Arctic Sea, it was most likely to be found. In his fourth and last voyage, crowded with misfortunes more romantic than the boldest imagination would have ventured to put forth as fiction, he groped his way along the coast of Central America in search of an eastern passage. The problem of an easy and rapid communication by sea with the far East, has to-day no other solution than a possible artificial channel where the great navigator hoped to find one hollowed out by the waters of two meeting seas.

Search of Columbus for a western passage.

To the genius of Columbus this homage was paid by all his contemporaries — whither he led there they followed. As Ojeda and Vespucci, after his discovery of the Southern Continent, on his third voyage, went to Paria and explored the coast north and south of that gulf, so Solis and Pinzon, moved by his example, sailed into the Caribbean Sea and along its shores where Columbus, on his fourth voyage, had led the way. Within four or five years of his death, in 1506, the whole coast from Carthagena to Yucatan had been visited by many adventurers, dividing the country amongst them, fighting with each other as occasion offered, slaughtering, mutilating, or enslaving the Indians, as best served their purpose in the gathering of gold.

Other expeditions from Spain.

Among these freebooters was Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, an excellent specimen of that class of Spanish discoverers who overran the southern half of the New World, and of which Pizarro

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

and Cortez — who were fitted for their future careers at the same time and in the same school and region with Vasco Nuñez — were still more brilliant instances.

This Nuñez was eminent in that bravery which belonged to men who, clad in steel, armed with an arquebuse or cross-bow, and a sword, mounted, perhaps, on horseback, were ready to meet any number of naked savages with only bows and arrows; he was vigorous and capable of great endurance, as well as bold; and he was pitilessly cruel, unscrupulous, and dissolute, but at the same time zealous for the Church.



Vasco Nuñez on Shipboard.

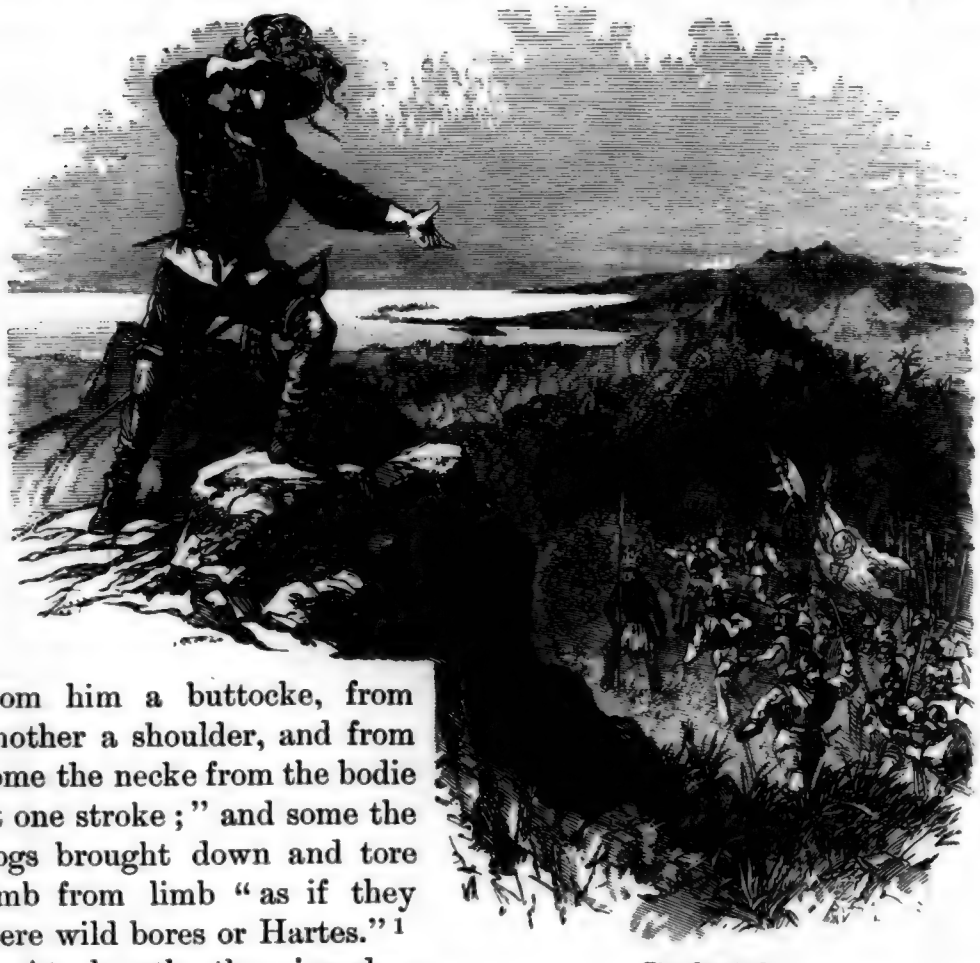
To escape from his creditors in Hispaniola he concealed himself in a cask, on board a vessel about to sail for the Caribbean Sea.[1] When far from land he crept from his hiding-place and prevailed by prayers and tears upon Enciso, the commander of the expedition, not to put him ashore and leave him, as he threatened, to starve on a barren island. Afterward, when the vessel was wrecked, Nuñez, who had been on the

[1] Herrera, Decade I., book viii., chap. 2.

coast before and remembered an Indian village on the river Darien, led the crew, harassed by the natives and reduced almost to starvation, to that place. By force of character and skilful management he soon became the head of a party, helped to depose Enciso, to whom he owed his life, got rid of others who had some title to the government of the province, and raised himself to supreme command.

Rumors of a Land of Gold.

From the son of an Indian chief he learned, on one of his marauding expeditions into the interior, that six days' journey further on was another sea, and beyond it a country so abounding in gold that the people ate and drank out of dishes made of it. In September, 1513, he started from Darien to find that sea. He fought his way through tribes of hostile Indians, whom he subdued by killing many, "hewing them in pieces as the Butchers doe fleshe in the shambles, from one an arme, from another a legge, from him a buttocke, from another a shoulder, and from some the necke from the bodie at one stroke;" and some the dogs brought down and tore limb from limb "as if they were wild bores or Hartes."[1]



The South Sea.

At length the invaders reached a high mountain from the top of which, said the Indian guides, the southern sea was in sight. Nuñez ordered his men to halt while he climbed up alone. Far beneath him, on the other side,

[1] Peter Martyr's *Third Decade*, trans. by Lok. Hakluyt, vol. v., edition of 1812

lay the blue ocean, sparkling and glorious in the sunlight, stretching as far as the eye could reach, North, South, West, to where sky and water seemed to meet. It was for this that all the great navigators of the world had been seeking for nearly twenty years, and when the sight of it broke upon Vasco Nuñez he fell prone upon the ground. Raising himself presently upon his knees, he gave thanks to God that it had "pleased his diuine maiestie to reserue vnto that day the victorie and prayse of so great a thing vnto him." An ecstacy of delight, of triumph and devotion possessed him. With one hand he beckoned his followers to come to him; with the other he pointed wildly seaward, "shewing them the great maine sea heretofore vnknowne to the inhabitants of Europe, Aphrike, and Asia.'

Discovery of the Pacific Ocean. Sept 1513.



First Embarkation on the South Sea.

Again he fell upon his knees, and to his prayers, "desiring Almighty God and the blessed Virgin to fauor his beginnings, and to give him good successe to subdue those landes, to the glory of his holy name, and increase of his holy religion." His companions joined him and "praysed God with loude voyces for ioy," for he "exhorted them to lyft up their hearts and beholde the lande euen now vnder their feete, and the sea before their eyes which shoulde bee vnto them a full and iust rewarde of their great laboures and trauayles now ouerpassed." He ordered heaps of stone to be piled up in token that he took possession of the country for his sovereign, and the name of Ferdinand

of Castile he carved upon many trees as he went down the Pacific slope.

The men, marshalled in battle array, were ordered by this pious captain to assail the natives and "to esteeme them no better than dogges meate, as they shoulde be shortly."[1] From that fate, however, gold could always save them. Twelve men, among whom was Pizarro, the future conqueror of Peru,[2] were sent in advance to find the safest and shortest path to the shore. At the spot where they approached it two canoes were stranded upon the beach. As the flood-tide floated them Alonso Martin stepped into one, and Blaze de Atienza followed in the other, and they called to their companions to witness that they were the first Spaniards — Martin first, and Atienza second — who embarked upon the South Sea. When, a few days later, Vasco Nuñez arrived with his whole company, he marched into the water up to his thighs, with his sword and target, and solemnly pronounced that ocean and all that pertained to it as the possession of the sovereigns of Castile and Leon, which he would defend against all comers.[3]

Thenceforward the exploration and occupation of the western coast, both north and south, went forward with little interruption. But the man whose energy and perseverance led the way, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, fell a victim, five years later, to the jealousy and fears of the Governor of Darien, Peter Anias, who ordered him, after the mockery of a trial, to be beheaded. Such atrocities were so common among the Spaniards that this one, though perpetrated against a man whose eminent services had been recognized by an appointment as Adelantado over the sea he had discovered, seems to have gone unpunished and almost unnoticed by the government at home.

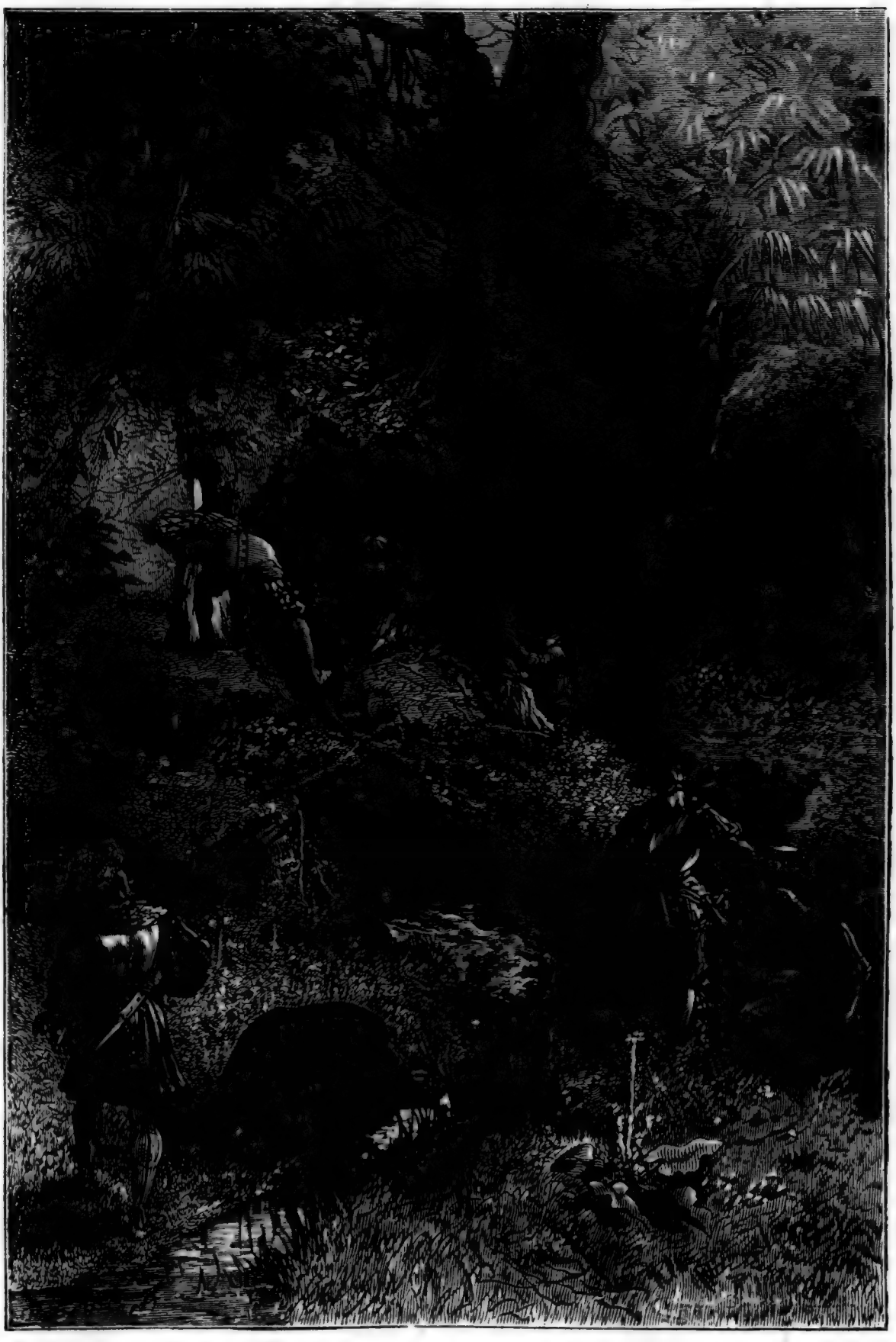
Fate of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

While the course of Spanish adventure was thus, in the earlier years of the sixteenth century, directed towards Central America, leading, in due season, to such events as the discovery of the Pacific, the conquests of Peru and Mexico, and the exploration of the western coast of the present United States, it was not forgotten that there might be other regions further north on the Atlantic coast worth possessing. Juan Ponce de Leon, who had enriched himself by the subjugation of Porto Rico, resolved, when deprived of the governorship of that island, to increase his fame and his riches by some new enterprise. He had heard that there were lands at the north, of which marvellous tales were told, not only of great wealth of gold and precious stones, but that hidden away somewhere in the deep recesses of

[1] Peter Martyr.

[2] *Life of Pizarro*, by Arthur Helps, p. 55.

[3] Herrera, Decade I., book x., chap. 1.



SEARCH FOR THE FOUNTAIN OF YOUTH.

its forests bubbled up a fountain of which whosoever drank should receive the priceless gift of perpetual youth. The rumor of gold was enough to tempt Spanish cupidity; but that was as nothing to Ponce de Leon, already rich but already old, to the promise of being young again.

Legend of the Fountain of Youth.

To find this new marvel of the New World, Juan Ponce de Leon started from Porto Rico with three ships, in March, 1512.[1] As was fitting in a quest for a fountain of immortality, the adventurers floated over that summer sea as men intent on pleasure, to whom time was long and burdened with no serious duties; they sailed from island to island, touching here and there as fancy led them, seeking the safest and pleasantest coves, where the shades were deepest in the noonday sun and the waters coolest, where the fruits were sweetest. the Indians most friendly and their women loveliest. After a month of such idle dalliance they crossed the Bahama Channel, and, on the 27th of March, which happened to be Easter Sunday and which the Spaniards call Pascua de Flores,[2] they saw and passed an island on the opposite coast. Two or three days later Ponce de Leon landed on the main, near the point now called Fernandina.[3] Taking possession of it in the name of Spain he named it Florida, because the land was first seen on the *Pascua de Flores*, and because it was fair to look upon, covered with pleasant groves and carpeted with flowers.



Juan Ponce de Leon.

Discovery of Florida. March 27, 1512.

For more than thirty days they sailed along the coast on both sides of the Peninsula, and among the Bahama Islands, sometimes trafficking, more often fighting with the Indians, who were bold and fierce, but seeking always for the wonderful fountain. Whether it was on the mainland, or, as some of the Indians said, on the Island of Bimini, of

[1] Dr. J. G. Kohl (*Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series, p. 240) says March 3, 1513 and that Peschel, in his *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, has proved that the year 1512, to which this voyage of De Leon is usually assigned, is incorrect. March 3, 1512, old style, would be 1513, new style, and Bancroft accordingly gives the date $15\frac{1}{13}$. Dr. Kohl leaves it doubtful whether he means $15\frac{1}{13}$, or $15\frac{1}{14}$.

[2] Herrera, Hildreth, Irving, and some other writers, erroneously state that Pascua de Flores is Palm Sunday. La Pascua de las Flores is La Pascua de la Resurrection, or Easter Sunday.

[3] Peter Martyr says (Decade V., chap. 1) "that parte of the lande which Johannes Pontius first touched, from the north side of the Fernandina."

the Bahama group,[1] the restoring waters were never found; though those who sought them drank of every spring and bathed in every stream their eager and hungry eyes could spy in the deep shadows of the woods.

Leon claimed, nevertheless, great merit with the king for finding a land so fair and promising, and he was made its Adelantado, on condition that he would colonize it. In 1521, this first governor of territory within the limits of the present United States, returned to the province assigned to him, but, in a fight with Indians who opposed his landing, he received from an arrow a wound from which no healing waters could wash the poison. He retired then to Cuba, thankful, perhaps, at last, that "eloquent, just, and mightie death" could release him from the burden of old age, doubly weighted now by the calamity of poverty, for the remnant of his riches was spent in his last expedition.[2] Other Spanish navigators followed this gay old cavalier, but the object of their search was gold, not youth. Don Diego Velasquez, one of the earlier adventurers in Hispaniola, who had conquered Cuba, and become its governor, ambitious, energetic, and intelligent, sent several expeditions into the Gulf of Mexico, wisely, for his purpose, directing them to its southern rather than to its northern coasts. It was the road to Mexico, which Cortez soon found; but that Florida was visited by two of the other captains of Velasquez was almost by accident rather than by design. Hernandez de Cordova touched there on his return from a cruise along the coast of Yucatan, in 1517, and John de Grijalva did the same thing the next year. In 1516, Diego Miruelo is said to have made a voyage on his own account to Florida, and to have brought back some gold. In 1518, also, Francis Garay, the governor of Jamaica, landed on that shore, was attacked by the natives, and lost most of his men.[3] But he returned the next year,

Death of Juan Ponce de Leon.

Voyages in the Gulf of Mexico.

[1] In Peter Martyr's Map of 1511, Florida is laid down as Isla de Beimeni.

[2] "Whether the old fable of the Fountain of youth was derived by the Indians from the Spaniards, or was of indigenous growth, it is impossible to decide. It was undoubtedly firmly believed in among the other marvels of the New World. "The Dene, Aiglianus the Senator, and Licentiatus Figuera, sent to Hispaniola to be President of the Senate, ... these three agree," says Peter Martyr, "that they had heard of the fountaine restoringe strength, and that they partly belieued the reportes; but they sawe it not, nor proued it by experience, because the inhabitants of that Terra Florida haue sharpe nayles, and are eager defenders of their rights." But the Dene related that an Indian, "grieuously oppressed with old age, moued with the fame of that fountaine, and allured through the loue longer of lyfe, went from his natiue ilande neere vnto the country of Florida to drinke of the desired fountaine, ... and hauinge well drunke and washed himselfe for many dayes with the appointed remedies, by them who kept the bath, hee is reported to haue brought home a manly strength, and to haue vsed all manly exercises, and that hee married againe, and begatt children." Aiglianus is De Ayllon, who visited Florida after De Leon.

[3] Peter Martyr, Decade V., chap. 1.

and was the first thorough explorer of the Gulf coast of the United States. He made its entire circuit, and drew a chart by which he showed that "it bendeth like a bow," and that a line stretched from the shore of Yucatan to the point at which Ponce de Leon first touched, would "make the string of the bow." Florida, he found, was not an island, as De Leon had supposed, "but by huge, crooked windings and turninges to bee joyned to this maine continent of Tenustitan" (Yucatan). He came, also, "vpon a riuer, flowing into the Ocan with a broade mouth; and from his ships discryed many villages couered with reedes;" and this was the first discovery of the Mississippi, the Rio del Espirito Santo, the River of the Holy Ghost.[1] But he thought the coast, which he spent about eight months in exploring, "to be very litle hospitable, because he sawe tokens and signes of small store of golde, and that not pure."[2]

Explorations up the Atlantic coast.

Fernandina was as yet the northernmost point touched by the Spaniards on the Atlantic coast. But northward from that place was a country known as Chicora, and somewhere within it was supposed to be the sacred river of Jordan, whose waters possessed a healing power akin to, if not the same, as those of the Fountain of Youth.[3] To this land of Chicora Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon either sent or led an expedition of two ships in 1520 from Hispaniola, and the river now known as the Combahee, in South Carolina,[4] he named the Jordan. It does not appear that he went anywhere else than to the mouth of this river, though he was sent in search of a passage that would lead to India. But the real purpose was slaves. The people of the Jordan, unlike those farther south, gave the strangers a kindly welcome. They crowded aboard the ships, the like of which they had never seen before, as eager, as curious, and as confiding as children. The very ease of kidnapping these simple and unsuspicious savages might have suggested it. The hoisting of the sails, the weighing of the anchors, gave them no alarm; imperceptibly to them the vessels stole away, on an even keel, without apparent motion, and not till they were so far from the shore that to return was impossible, did the poor creatures understand the cruel treachery of which they were the victims. They were to be sold as slaves for the gold mines and plantations of the Islands. But of the two vessels one foundered at sea, and all on board perished; on the other, but few lived to reach Hispaniola,

Kidnapping Indians for slaves.

[1] Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi*, p. viii.

[2] Peter Martyr.

[3] Compare, however, Herrera, Decade I., lib. ix., chap. 5; Narrative of Fontanedo in Ternaux-Compans, and note by the editor, and J. G. Kohl, in *Maine Hist. Socy. Coll.*, p. 248 Dr. Kohl says that the river was named Jordan for the captain of one of Ayllon's ships.

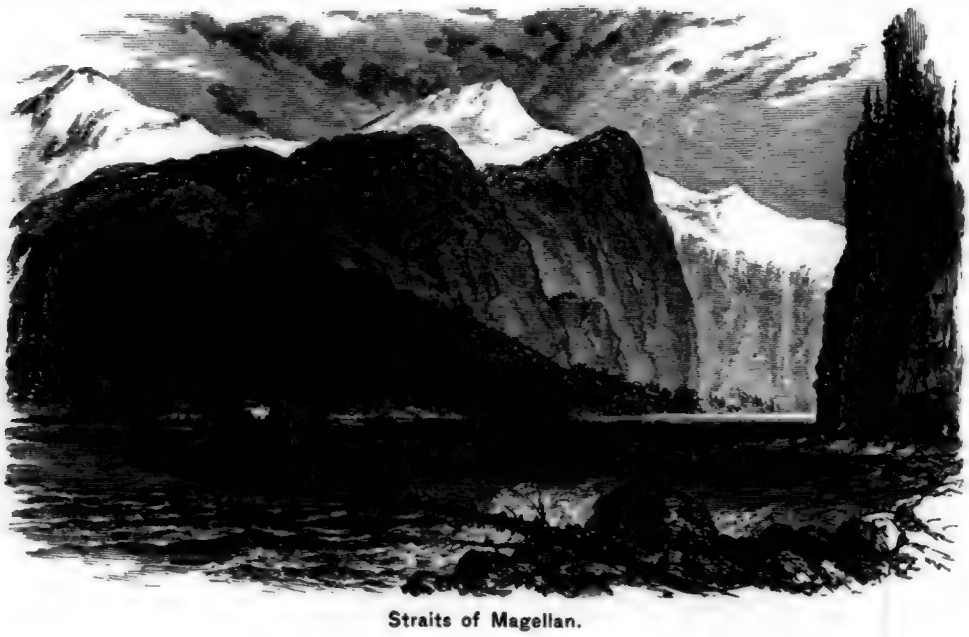
[4] Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, vol. 1.

for this virtue has always belonged to the North American Indian — he prefers death to slavery, and has often pined away and speedily died, like other wild creatures, when deprived of freedom.

Expedition of Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon.

Four or five years later, another expedition sailed from Hispaniola, which Ayllon certainly commanded in person, and from which he never returned. It consisted of several ships, carrying five hundred soldiers and sailors, and a few women.[1] Taking the Jordan as the starting point, the coast was explored as far north as Maryland, and some expeditions were made inland.[2] Many were killed by the Indians; many more died from sickness, and among them Ayllon himself, till only one hundred and fifty, out of the original company of six hundred, were left to return to Hispaniola.

But the most that any of these adventurers did was to penetrate the country a short distance, to traffic a little with natives when they hap-



Straits of Magellan.

pened to be in the mood, and more often to retire before them when they opposed the landing or the stay of the intruders. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Gulf, Cortez had penetrated into Mexico, and the spirit of adventure, the dreams of boundless wealth, the hopes of brilliant conquest, received a new and intense impulse by his success. "To the South, to the South," wrote Peter Martyr, "For the great and exceeding riches of the Æquinoctiall, they that seeke riches must not goe vnto the cold and frozen North."

Hernando Cortez in Mexico.

[1] The earlier authors differ as to whether there were three or six ships, and whether they sailed in 1524, 1525, or 1526.

[2] On the Portuguese Map of Ribero, 1529, the Land of Ayllon — "Tierra de Ayllon," — covers the present States of Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland.

And the hoped-for passage to the East was not forgotten. Rich as was the booty in Mexico and Central America, it was as nothing to the splendid acquisition of India, if only the short way by sea could be discovered. Magellan had passed by the Straits to which he gave his name into the Pacific Ocean, but nothing was gained thereby over the older route round the Cape of Good Hope. With that great navigator had sailed, as pilot of one of his ships, Stephen Gomez, a Portuguese by birth, but then serving in Spain. He had deserted Magellan soon after entering the Straits,[1] but does not seem, therefore, to have been held in any less estimation in Spain, as he was, with Cabot, the pilot-major, Ferdinand Columbus, and other eminent cosmographers, one of the Council of Badajos, appointed in 1524 to settle the conflicting claims of Spain and Portugal to the New World.

In February, 1525, Gomez sailed under a royal commission to find a passage to Cathay, which he believed was somewhere between Florida and the Bacallaos, or Newfoundland. As he was absent about ten months, he had ample time to explore the whole Atlantic coast of the present United States. He sailed from North to South to about the latitude of New York, but at what point he first touched the continent, into what bays and rivers he may have entered, there is no positive record.[2] He brought home a cargo of the natives to be sold as slaves, and an anecdote in relation to them, repeated from book to book for three hundred and fifty years, has chiefly preserved the memory of this expedition. So great was the anxiety to be assured that the passage to India had been discovered, that one inquirer, carried away by zeal and enthusiasm, when he learned that Gomez had returned with a cargo of slaves (*esclavos*), mistaking the word, hurried to the court with the glorious news that the ships were laden with cloves (*clavos*), and must therefore have found their way to the Spice Islands of the East. "But after the court vnderstoode," says the faithful chronicler, Peter Martyr, "that the tale was transformed from cloues to slaues (*clavos* to *esclavos*), they brake foorth into a great laughter, to the shame and blushinge of the fauorers who shouted for joy."

Estavan Gomez explores coast of U. S. 1525.

Anecdote of Gomez' voyage.

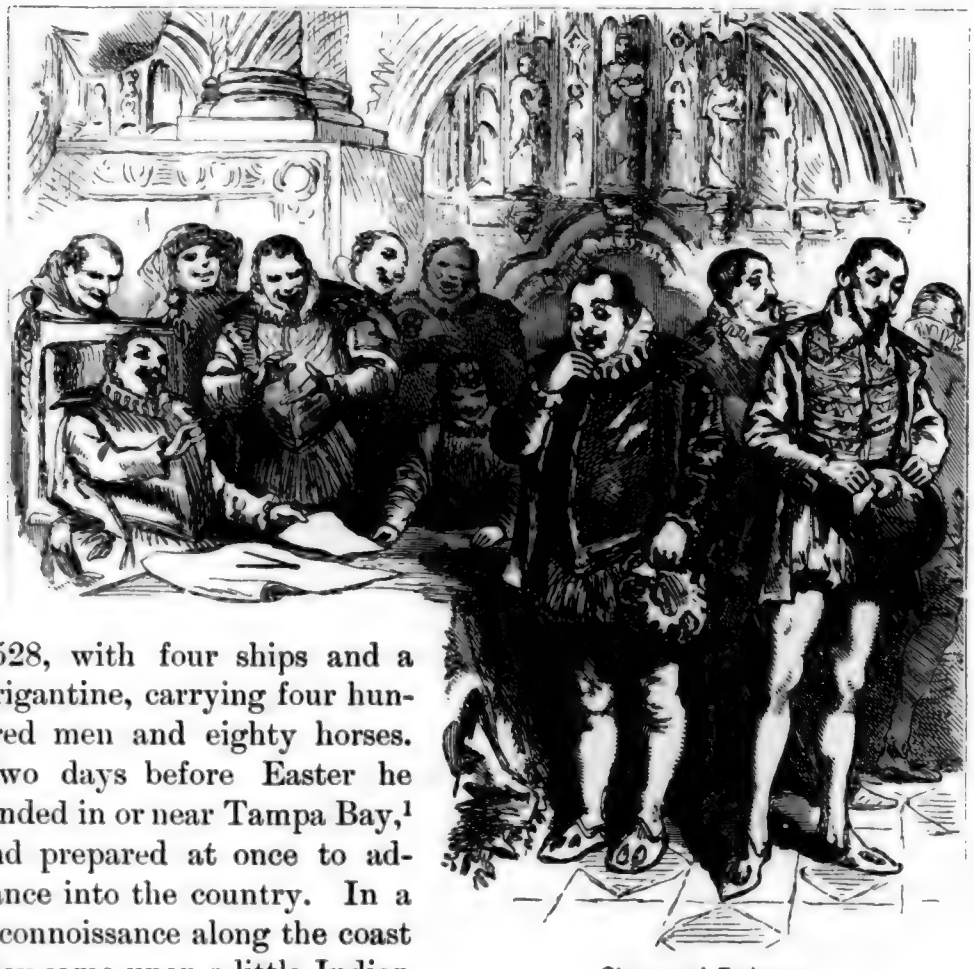
A more formidable and more disastrous attempt than any of these to take possession of the country was made in 1528 by Pamphilo de Narvaez. He sailed from Spain in 1527 under a commission from the Emperor, Charles V., with five ships

Pamphilo de Narvaez. 1528.

[1] That the Gomez who explored the coast of the United States in 1525, and the Gomez who deserted Magellan, are identical, is generally accepted as without question. But Pigafetta, in his relation of the Magellan voyage, calls the Gomez of that fleet, not Estevan but Emanuel. See Pigafetta, in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. xi.

[2] On the Ribero Map, the legend, "Tierra de Estevan Gomez," is written across that region now occupied by the Middle and Northern Atlantic States of the Union.

and about five hundred men; but delays occurring in the West Indies, where he passed the following winter, he made a second start in March,



Clavos and Esclavos.

1528, with four ships and a brigantine, carrying four hundred men and eighty horses. Two days before Easter he landed in or near Tampa Bay,[1] and prepared at once to advance into the country. In a reconnoissance along the coast they came upon a little Indian village, where they found some bodies in a sort of mummified condition, the sacred remains, no doubt, of the ancestors or the chiefs of the tribe. The officer in command chose to assume this preservation of the dead as a kind of idolatry, and ordered them to be burned, and the outrage was a sufficient warning to the natives of the treatment they might expect from such invaders.

Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, a Spaniard of noble birth, was the treasurer of the expedition and its voluntary historian.[2] He protested earnestly against the mad project of Narvaez to leave the coast, certain, he said, that were that done, he "would never more find the ships, nor the ships him." Nevertheless he determined to follow his captain rather than be left in command of the fleet, lest his courage

[1] Bancroft; compare Buckingham Smith in notes to *Letters of De Soto.*

[2] The *Relacion* of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, is a minute narrative of this expedition and his own strange personal adventures. An admirable translation of it was made by the late Buckingham Smith.

should be called in question. The marching force consisted of three hundred men, forty of whom were mounted. Each man carried two pounds of biscuit and half a pound of bacon, and with this slender store of provision they plunged into an unknown wilderness, where their first act had already been one sure to provoke hostilities from its savage people. Their rations, with such fruit of the palmetto as they could pick up by the way, supported them for the first fifteen days, and then the fear of starvation was added to the other difficulties which they began to understand. Toiling on through swamps and forests, wading the lagoons, crossing rivers by swimming and on temporary rafts, harassed continually by an enemy with whom suddenness and secrecy of attack were the first arts of war, their courage and their hopes were only sustained by some vague reports from prisoners of gold to be found in a distant district called Apalachen.[1]

March of Narvaez into Florida.

They had started on the 1st of May; on the 25th of June a miserable village was reached of forty houses, in the middle of a dense swamp, from which the Indians had fled leaving behind only the women and children. This was Apalachen, and they gave thanks to God, believing that "here would be an end to their great hardships." The village they took without resistance, and in it found maize to satisfy their hunger; the woods around abounded with game, had they had the skill to take it; and gold, they believed, was plentiful. But hardly had they laid off the heavy armor from their galled and weary backs, when the Indians attacked them and burnt the wigwams in which they had taken shelter, provocation being first given, as usual, by the Spaniards, who held a cacique as prisoner who had come to them as a friend.

Their great need of rest and the time required to examine the country round about for gold, detained them twenty-five days in Apalachen. But no gold was to be found, and but little maize; in all that district this miserable village of forty houses was the largest; the people were not numerous, were very savage, and very poor. Stealing out from their lurking-places in the neighboring swamps, they so harassed the Spaniards that one could not venture from the camp so short a distance as to lead a horse to water, that an arrow would not whiz through the bushes from an unseen foe. Thus sore beset with hunger, disease, and danger, all their hopes of sudden wealth destroyed, they resolved at length to make their way to the sea.

In a march of twelve or fifteen days they fought their way to the

[1] At the head-waters of the Apalacha River are the Apalachian Mountains of Georgia, to which probably the Indians referred, while the Spaniards understood them to mean the village near its mouth.

coast. Well nigh worn out they lay down upon the sands in sore perplexity and distress, behind them a country they could not live in, before them a sea over which there was but one way to escape.

Building the vessels.

They must build vessels; but they "knew not how to construct, nor were there tools, nor iron, nor forge, nor tow, nor resin, nor rigging; . . . . nor any man who had a knowledge of their manufacture; and, above all, there was nothing to eat while



Return to the Beach.

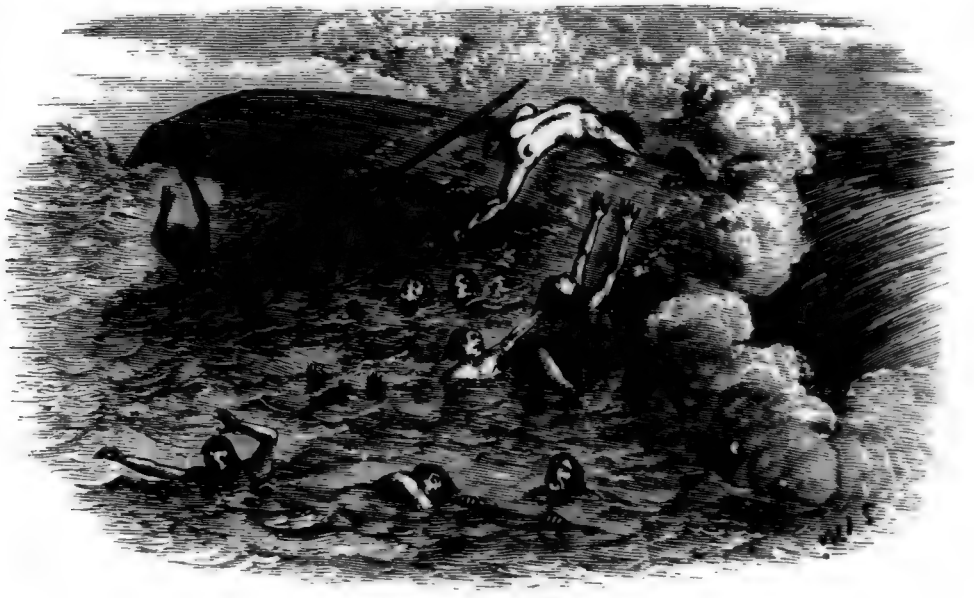
building, for those who should labor." But invention is sometimes born of despair. A soldier undertook to make a pair of bellows with pipes of hollow wood and deerskins, and his example was emulated by others. The cross-bows, the stirrups, the spurs, and whatever else they had of iron, were beaten into nails, into axes, saws, and other needful tools. With these they contrived to build five boats, each more than thirty feet in length, the seams of which they caulked with the fibre of the palmetto, and pitched with pine rosin; cordage was made of the tails and manes of the horses; the sails from the shirts of the men. Every three days a horse was killed for food, while the boats were building, the skin of the legs taken off whole to be used when tanned as water-bottles. Besides the horse-flesh they fed upon shell-fish and such maize as, through hard fighting, they could get from the Indians.

Suffering of the men.

At this place forty of the men died of disease and hunger, besides those who had been killed in their contests with the savages. All but one of the horses had been slaughtered and eaten, and for that reason they called the spot *Bahia de Caballos*, or the Bay

of the Horses.[1] On the 22d of September, almost five months from the time of their departure from the spot, nearly three hundred miles distant, where they first landed, the wretched fugitives embarked upon their frail boats, loading them down almost to the gunwales, and pushed out into the Gulf of Mexico.

They crept slowly along the coast for weeks, hoping to reach the Spanish colony of Panuco on the western shore of the gulf. Enduring always the extremity of suffering from cold, and wet, and hunger, they were buffetted when on the sea by storms, and repulsed by the Indians when they attempted a landing. At length the boats parted company. First the governor refused to throw a rope to the men of Cabeça de Vaca, of whom only one or two were able to lift an oar, saying the time had come when each man must take care of himself. Then a storm parted the others, and De Vaca's boat was driven upon the beach of an island.[2] To get off again the next day the men stripped to the skin, as it was necessary to wade into the water to dig the boat out of the sand and once more set her afloat. But when this was done and they had jumped aboard, the surf again upset her before they had time to resume their clothing. Some were drowned; those



Upset in the Surf.

who were not were left as absolutely naked and destitute as they came into the world, for not one thing in the boat was recovered. Fortunately the Indians were humane and pitiful, making fires to warm

[1] The *Bahia de Caballos* is probably the present harbor of St. Marks.

[2] Cabeça de Vaca called this island Mathado — misfortune. Its locality is uncertain, but it may have been the island of Galveston. Buckingham Smith is entirely at a loss to identify it. Fairbanks (*History of Florida*) thinks it was the island of Santa Rosa.

the half frozen and famished bodies of the strangers, giving them food from their own scanty stores. In a few days these were joined by companions from another boat, who had also been wrecked not far distant. The company now numbered eighty. Exposure, starvation, and sickness, soon decided the fate of most of them, though some prolonged their lives awhile by feeding on those who were the first to die. Before the winter was over, only fifteen of the eighty were left alive. The governor and all his boat-load had been driven out to sea, and perished soon after he had refused assistance to his followers in distress.

A few of the adventurers in the other boats had saved themselves in other places, but one after another they all, except four, had died miserably, some killed by the Indians, who had made them their slaves, some dying of starvation, some from exposure and disease.

Cabeça de Vaca and his companions.

The four survivors, by name Cabeça de Vaca, Dorantes, Castello, and Estevanico, the last a negro, wandered from tribe to tribe for six years, held sometimes in the cruelest slavery, and sometimes carrying on a petty traffic with the natives, in combs, in bows, arrows, and fishing-nets of their own making. Their food was chiefly the fruit of the prickly pear, roots, and nuts; what little venison they occasionally received from the Indians they ate raw, for only thus could their weakened stomachs digest it. They always went naked, and "twice a year," says Cabeça de Vaca, "we cast our skins like a serpent." In later years they gained influence and power among the Indians by acting as physicians, working, he declares, the most marvellous cures simply by reciting pater nosters and by making the sign of the cross, till they came to be held in great reverence and fear.

Thus slowly and painfully they made their way, wandering to and fro through forests and swamps, over prairies and deserts, exposed to the summer's heat and the winter's cold, across the present State of Texas, through the Mexican province of Sonora, to the sea coast of the other side of the continent on the Gulf of California.

There they found and were succored by their countrymen, who had already invaded that country in search of emeralds, of gold, and of slaves, and speedily returned to Spain, heroes of an adventure as remarkable and as romantic as any recorded in the Spanish annals of North America.

Hernando de Soto.

There arrived in Spain about the same time with Cabeça de Vaca one who had been engaged in quite a different sort of service. This was Hernando de Soto, who had followed Pizarro to Peru, and shared with him his dangers and his success. Leaving Spain like so many others "with nothing but blade and buckler," he had come back with wealth to further his ambition for the acquisition

of some new country where he should be the leader and not a subaltern merely. The disastrous result of every expedition to Florida thus far had not shaken the belief among the adventurous Spaniards in the value of the country, and that somewhere in the interior were riches such as had been gathered in marvellous abundance in other parts of the New World. De Soto appeared at court with a numerous band of followers in gorgeous apparel and other lavish display of the wealth he had acquired in Peru, and asked that authority to take possession of Florida, with a commission as Adelantado, be given him. The announcement of his intentions was received with the utmost enthusiasm. Gentlemen of birth and position flocked from all parts of Spain to his standard, eager to serve under so gallant and renowned a leader, and in an adventure which he thought so hopeful as to be willing to risk in it his fortune, his fame, and his life. Some came even from Portugal, and they seemed better to understand the character of the enterprise. For when De Soto mustered his men at San Lucar the Spaniards appeared "in doublets and cassocks of silk, pinckt and embroidered," as if about to start on a holiday excursion, while "the Portuguese were in the equipage of soldiers in neat armor."[1] But so strong was the desire to go with him that men parted with their estates to buy an interest and an outfit in this new expedition; and the excitement was not a little increased by the story of Cabeça de Vaca, who on his return had also asked to be made Adelantado of Florida. It was thought he could tell, if he would, wonderful tales of the richness, in many precious things, of the region where he had endured so much, and out of which he had come literally as naked as he came into the world.

De Soto is made Adelantado of Florida.



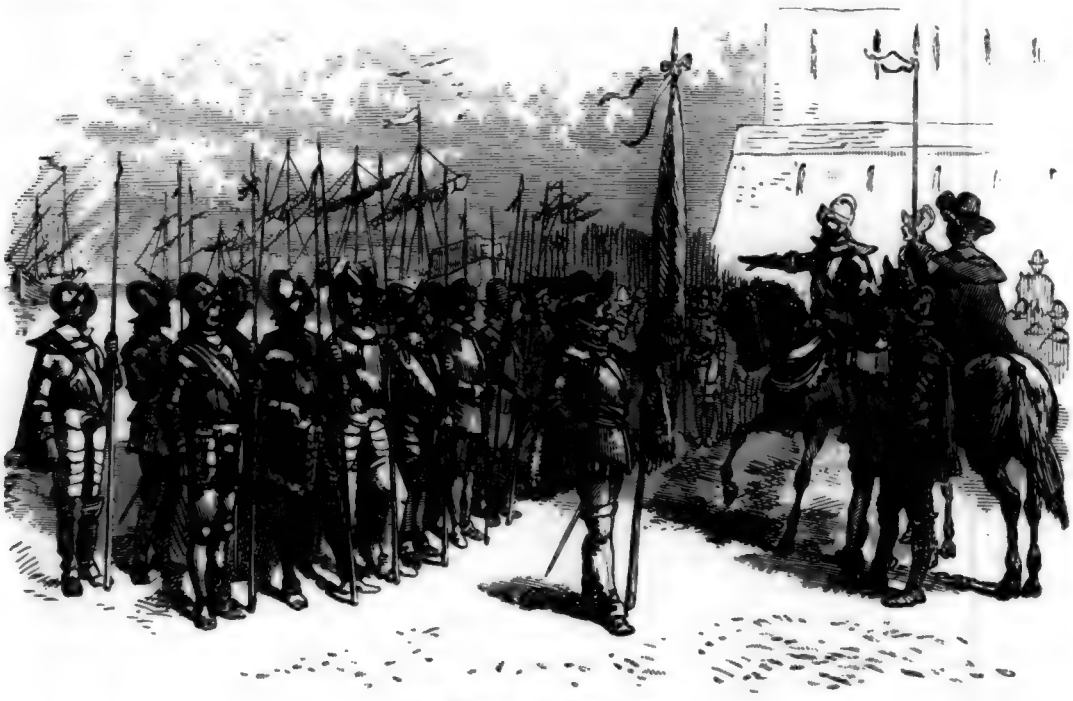
De Soto.

De Soto went prepared for conquest and colonization. His force was between six and seven hundred men — some say a thousand —

[1] *A Relation of the Invasion and Conquest of Florida by the Spaniards, under the Command of Fernando de Soto. Written in Portuguese by a Gentleman of the Town of the Elvas.* This is the original and the fullest and most trustworthy narrative of the expedition of De Soto There have been several translations, the first by Hakluyt (vol. iii.), and the last by Buckingham Smith, published by the Bradford Club. We rely mainly on the *Relation* but comparing Garcilaso de Vega, Biedma, and Herrera.

with, perhaps, a few women; among them were a number of priests with all the paraphernalia of their office, and mechanics with the instruments of their trades.[1] The fleet consisted of nine vessels, ships, caravels, and pinnaces; and besides their human freight they carried between two and three hundred horses,

Preparations for the Conquest of Florida.



The Muster at San Lucar.

a large herd of swine, and a number of bloodhounds, the most efficient ally of the Spaniards in the conquest of the New World. The emperor appointed De Soto governor of Cuba, that he might easily obtain supplies for the new colony, and every possible facility thus be given to the enterprise. After a year's preparation in Spain and the West Indies the expedition sailed at last from Havana on the 18th of May, 1539, and on the 30th the troops were landed at Tampa Bay.

The adventurers land at Tampa Bay.

From Tampa Bay the adventurers marched into the interior, pursuing substantially the same route as Narvaez about eleven years before. Within the first few days De Soto had the good fortune to meet with a Spaniard who had been captured from one of the ships of that earlier expedition by the Indians, and in his long captivity had become familiar with their language. The romantic story of John Smith and Pocahontas was in part anticipated in the experience of this man, Juan Ortiz. When first captured by a band whose chief was named Ucita,[2] he was bound hand and

Story of Juan Ortiz.

[1] De Biedma's narrative. Herrera says, nine hundred beside the sailors, three hundred and thirty horses and three hundred hogs.

[2] *Portuguese Relation.* Herrera calls him Harrihiagua, the name of his village.

foot to stakes, stretched at length upon a scaffolding beneath which a fire was kindled. The smoke had enwreathed the victim and the forked flames were leaping to seize the naked flesh, when the intended holocaust was suddenly interrupted by the prayers of a daughter of the chief. She besought her father to spare the life of the Christian; one such, she urged, if he could do no good at least could do no harm; and she made a cunning appeal to the vanity of the chief by suggesting how great a distinction it would be to hold a white man as a captive. Her prayers were listened to; Ortiz was lifted from the scaffold and unbound, to serve thenceforth as a slave. What the feeling was which the sight of the pale stranger had aroused in the bosom of the dusky maiden, or what the relation which may have afterward existed between them, we are not told; but whether it was on her part mere pity for a stranger, or a tenderer and deeper sentiment, it was not forgotten. Three years later Ucita was defeated in a petty war with



Sacrifice of Juan Ortiz.

another chieftain, and there was danger that Ortiz would be sacrificed to propitiate the devil whose anger, Ucita believed, had brought this misfortune upon him and his people. Then the princess came again to the rescue of the stranger and saved him from probable death. Warning him of his danger, and leading him secretly and alone in the night-time beyond the boundaries of her father's village, she put him in the way to find the camp of the victorious chieftain who had just triumphed over her father and would protect, she knew, the Christian slave.

Ortiz, when years afterwards he heard that his countrymen had arrived in Florida, was glad enough to welcome them, while he did not forget that he had some cause of gratitude to his Indian friends. As a horseman rode at him, not distinguishing him from the savages, he cried out: "Do not kill me, cavalier; I am a Christian! Do not slay these people; they have given me my life!" Fortunately his appeal was heard in time, and to him the expedition was more indebted than to any other man, next to De Soto himself; for through him alone was it possible to hold any intelligent communication with the Indians, whether for peace or war. His death, which occurred not long before that of the governor, was a source of deep perplexity and "a great cross to his designs."

The march inland.

When De Soto turned his face inward he sent his ships back to Cuba for provisions to return at an appointed time. The army toiled painfully through the woods and swamps of Florida from spring till autumn. The provisions they brought with them were soon exhausted, and the country afforded them but little support. They heard, as Narvaez did before them, of Apalachen where gold abounded; and when they reached the spot where, appalled by the difficulties before him and the poverty of the country round about, he had turned to the sea for refuge, so also the courage of De Soto's men gave way and they entreated him to return. But the governor declared he would never go back till he had seen with his own eyes the dangers in store for them if any there were.

The first winter was passed in the neighborhood of Apalachen Bay, and the point where Narvaez had built his boats and whence he started on his fatal voyage. Communication was held with Cuba; arrangements were made for a future supply of provisions, and twenty Indian women were sent as slaves to Doña Isabella, De Soto's wife, as an earnest of good things to come.

Spanish cruelty to the natives.

In the spring they pushed northward, and in April they were still only about three hundred miles from Tampa Bay. To the unhappy natives their march was as the march of a pestilence. The news of their coming was the signal for war. The cacique of every tribe they met was compelled to pay tribute in maize; to supply them with as many men as were needed for personal attendants and as carriers of burdens from the boundaries of one tribe to those of another; and that the service might be faithfully done, these slaves were chained in couples, neck to neck. The women they took both for servants and mistresses, following therein the example of the governor, who consoled himself for the absence of the Doña Isabella by the possession of not less than two of the comely Indian girls, the daughters of caciques or others, as best suited his

inclination. What was not granted through fear or good-will was taken by the strong hand; and in either case the result was the same — subjection and cruelty. A messenger whose message was not pleasing carried back for answer to his master the bloody stumps of his severed hands; amusement was combined with punishment by setting up prisoners as targets to be shot at with arrows.

Want of food.

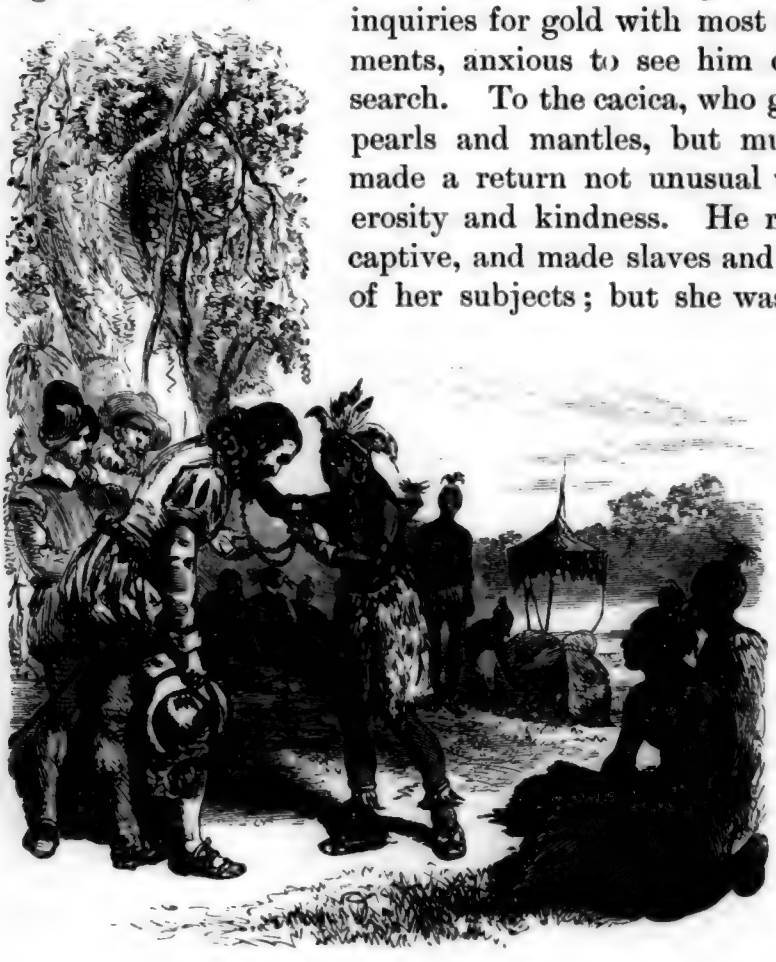
Maize they now often found in abundance in the fields and granaries of the Indians. They took it, or it was given to them — it mattered little which. But they suffered, especially the sick, for the need of salt and meat, though game, in the season, was plenty and the natives never wanted for it. The woods were alive with deer, with wild turkeys, and partridges; ducks covered the ponds; the rivers were full of fish; but the Spaniards lacked the skill either to entrap or to kill any wild thing except an Indian. When in extremity, the adventurers fed upon the hogs which had been produced in great numbers from the drove brought from Cuba, and which had thriven on the plentiful mast of the forest; nor did the hungry soldiers disdain to eat the native dogs whenever they could get them. But it was always war, and always a struggle for existence, while the gold they were searching for they only heard of and always in some province yet to be reached. Their hopes were fed, however, by the possession of great quantities of pearls — fed, though not satisfied.

De Soto and the Indian queen.

In April of the second spring there came to meet the governor an Indian queen, or cacica, who was brought to the bank of a river, carried in a litter by four of her principal subjects. A barge, over whose stern was a canopy supported by a lance, and beneath which was spread a carpet and cushions, awaited her. On meeting the governor she took from her own neck a heavy string of pearls and threw it over his, presenting him beside with mantles of feathers and thread made from the bark of trees. Offering these, with many protestations of welcome and good will, and observing the eagerness with which the Spaniards received the pearls, and how great a value they put upon them, she told them they could be found in large quantities in the graves of the villages. These were speedily rifled, and though three hundred and fifty pounds weight were gathered at one time, they proved of little value, as they had been bored by some heated implement, and had lost their lustre. Nevertheless they were pearls, and the hopes and the cupidity of the Spaniards were excited accordingly.

In the province of this cacica many of the people would have been glad to remain and found a colony. But De Soto, who was an "inflexible man and dry of word," willing enough to listen to advice but

seldom taking it, determined to push on; and there were never wanting those among the Indians who were ready to answer his eager inquiries for gold with most satisfactory statements, anxious to see him depart in further search. To the cacica, who gave him not only pearls and mantles, but much provision, he made a return not unusual with him for generosity and kindness. He retained her as a captive, and made slaves and beasts of burden of her subjects; but she was wary enough to evade the vigilance of her guards and escape into the woods, taking with her a box full of pearls which were said to be of great value. Her people were the most civilized of any of the Floridians that De Soto met with in his three years' march, for they wore shoes and clothing made from skins which they dressed and colored with great skill, and adorned themselves with mantles, made of feathers, or in a textile fabric of some woody fibre. The cacica's village was only two days' journey from the sea — the Atlantic coast — at the point where Ayllon had landed nearly twenty years before. The Indians cherished a dagger and some beads, perhaps a rosary, which they said came from some of Ayllon's men.



The Indian Queen.

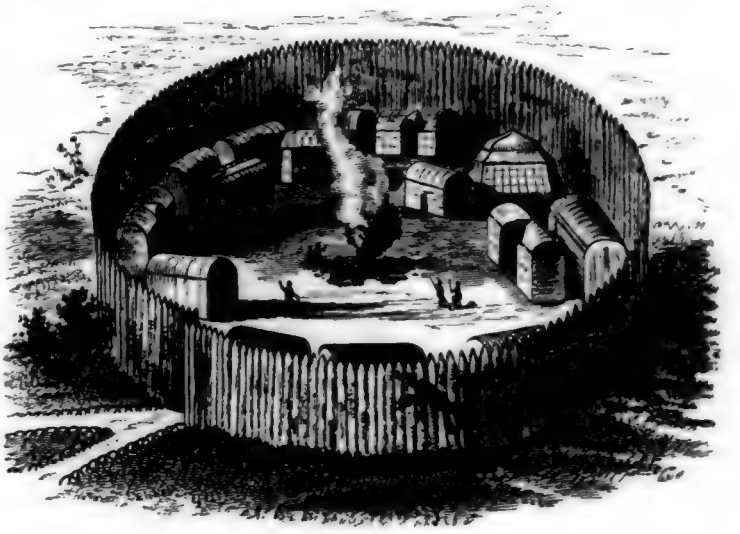
Escape of the cacica.

From the province of the cacica the invaders marched northwest, and, in the course of the summer, reached the neighborhood of the Appalachian chain. They had seen among the Indians some little axes of copper which were supposed to contain a mixture of gold; and the process of smelting ores, as practised among the people where they were mined, was described with great accuracy. Had the Spaniards pushed forward at the point they had now reached they would have found what they were in search of, though not in

Indications of gold.

large quantities. But an exploring party pronounced the mountains impassable, and fortunately for the natives, whose fate, in case of discovery would have been to gather gold as slaves, or resistance to death, the Spaniards lacked either the skill or the diligence to trace the evidences of the existence of metals. De Soto therefore turned south again with his little army of marauders, and wandered the rest of the summer in the valleys of the streams emptying into Mobile Bay.

In October they reached Mavilla, a village which has given its name to the river and city of Mobile. The country round about, as well as that through which they had been wandering for weeks, was populous, and they had done nothing to conciliate, every thing to exasperate the natives. Mavilla was a place of importance, containing many houses, and surrounded with palisades; it was soon evident that its possession was not to be yielded without a struggle.



Palisaded Town. [From De Bry.]

The governor and a few attendants entered; the cacique, who was with him, took refuge in a house, and, deaf both to entreaties and threats, defied him. It was easy enough to provoke an outbreak. A Spaniard replied to some haughty words from a chief by laying his back open with a cutlass, and all the Indians sprung to their bows and arrows. Every house was an ambuscade, and before the Christians could fly to the fields five of them were slain. Among those who escaped was De Soto, who, forming his troops, at once invested the town, and led the assault, the soldiers carrying their arms in one hand and a torch in the other. The defence was brave, desperate, and useless. A contest between naked savages and men, many of whom were mounted, and all were in armor, was rather a hunting-chase than a battle. Twenty-five hundred of the Indians were speedily put to the sword, or were driven to torture and death by suffocation in the smoke and flames of their own houses; of the Spaniards, eighteen only were killed, and one hundred and fifty received arrow wounds from which they quickly recov-

Battle with the natives.

ered.[1] Their most serious loss was of the property destroyed by the fire, for at the first desperate onset, before the Spaniards had time to rally, the chains of the captives were stricken off and their burdens taken within the palisades.

De Soto was now, as he learned from the Indians, within six days of Pensacola (Ochuse), where some of his ships awaited news of him. But he concealed the fact from his own men, lest they should desert him, and held no communication with the ships, for he preferred that as yet there should be no tidings sent to Cuba of the expedition. His pearls, the only thing of value he had found, were all lost; he had little else to report than continued misfortune, and that in his two years' wanderings he had lost more than a hundred men. After a month's stay at Mavilla, he again moved farther into the interior till he reached the upper part of the State of Mississippi, where he went into winter quarters on the banks of the Yazoo River. The country was populous, and the maize was plentiful; there was, therefore, no lack of food. But the cold was severe, the snow covered the ground, and whether on the march or in camp hostilities with the Indians never ceased. There was constant aggression on one side; constant retaliation on the other. In March a night attack was made upon the camp of the Spaniards which was more disastrous to them than the fight at Mavilla. All that was saved from the burning at that place was lost in this. Twelve Spaniards were killed, fifty horses and four hundred hogs perished in the flames; while on the other side the loss was only one man and one woman. In the confusion and suddenness of the attack and the fire, the soldiers lost nearly all their clothing, as well as their arms, saddles, and other property, leaving them for some days so destitute and miserable, that, "had the Indians," says the narrative, "returned the second night, they might, with little effort, have overpowered us."[2] The losses, however, were in a few days repaired, so far as was possible, by the forging of new swords and the making of new spears and saddles. Skins had to be substituted for clothing, and mats of dried grass for blankets.

The Spaniards go into winter quarters.

In the course of the spring and summer the army crossed the State of Mississippi diagonally from the southeast to the northwest corner till they reached the great river — the Mississippi, which the Spaniards called the Rio Grande — at about the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, or the boundary line between the States of Mississippi and Ten-

[1] Portuguese *Relation*. Herrera says (Decade IV., book vii., chap. 4) that the Spanish loss was eighty-three men, and that of the Indians eleven thousand, four thousand of whom were burnt to death.

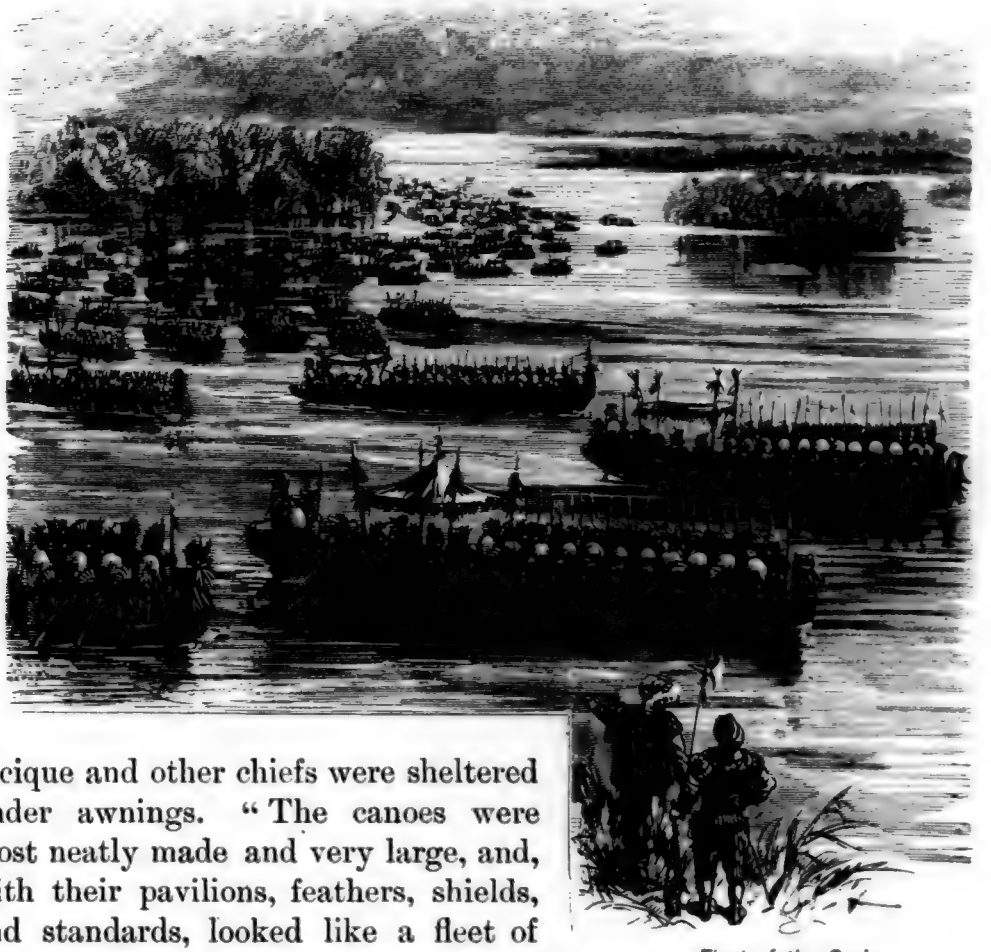
[2] Portuguese *Relation*.

nessee. "This river in that place was half a league over, so that a man could not be distinguished from one side to the other; it was very deep and very rapid, and being always full of trees and timber that was carried down by the force of the stream, the water was thick and very muddy. It abounded with fish, most of which differed much from those that are taken in the rivers of Spain." Boats were necessary to cross, and it took a month to build them.

Discovery of the Mississippi.

A great cacique, Aquixo, was lord of the country on the other side of the Mississippi, and in a day or two he approached to meet the strangers. He came with an imposing array of two hundred canoes, filled with armed men, a part of whom stood up to protect the rowers with feathered shields, but all with their bodies and faces painted, their heads adorned with plumes of many colors. The

Visit of the cacique.



Fleet of the Cacique.

cacique and other chiefs were sheltered under awnings. "The canoes were most neatly made and very large, and, with their pavilions, feathers, shields, and standards, looked like a fleet of galleys." They brought presents of fish and fruit and bread, and came, they said, to welcome and do homage to the strangers. But the strangers chose to believe that they had a hostile purpose; when they hesitated to land the Span-

iards killed five or six of them for such a want of confidence, and others who attempted to make a landing they fell upon as coming with evil intent.

When the boats were finished the army crossed without opposition. For a few days they kept along the west bank of the river, making their way with difficulty through the forest and wet bottom lands, and harassed by constant attacks from the Indians. But they reached, ere long, a higher and dryer country, where they remained for more than a month, and where they found artificial hills, on which the caciques sometimes put their houses.[1] On one of these De Soto set up a cross when two blind men were brought to him to be cured, and instead of healing he gave a homily to the assembled heathen on the mystery of the atonement. The simple natives knelt in imitation of the Spaniards at the foot of the cross, and De Soto admonished them "to honor and adore it, and demand of the Lord who was in Heaven all that they might stand in need of." Not long after De Soto accepted as a present from a chief his two sisters, "both handsome and well-shaped," with a request that the governor would make them his wives. But women with that tribe were as cheap as morality was with the Spaniards; they were purchased for a shirt a piece.

Piety of the Spaniards.

It is not clear how far north and west the expedition marched during this summer, as the narratives are obscure and sometimes conflicting. While the larger part of the force remained through a portion of June and all of July in the neighborhood of the Mississippi, a reconnoitering party was sent into the interior, which when it returned almost in a starving condition, reported that the country was poor and barren. They learned that further north there were very few people, but many cattle — bisons. The robes of these animals they procured at different times from the Indians, "which were very convenient against the cold of that country because they made a good furr, the hair of them being as soft as sheep's wool." But the progress of the main body seems to have been generally southwestward, crossing the St. Francis and the White rivers, marching through a country fertile, well-watered, and thickly inhabited, as far as the present site of Little Rock, in Arkansas. They found and used the saline springs of that State, and finally went into winter quarters on the banks of a river which may have been

Extreme limit of the exploration.

[1] "The caciques of this country make a custom of raising, near their dwellings, very high hills, on which they sometimes build their huts. On one of these we planted the cross, and went with much devotion on our knees to kiss the foot of it." *A Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto. By Luis Hernandez de Biedma. Historical Collections of Louisiana. By B. F. French*, 1850, p. 105. These hills were no doubt the "mounds" of the earlier people, but which the Spaniards naturally supposed were raised by the Indians.

either the White or the Arkansas. Near by, the Indians had reported, was a great lake which, it was supposed, might be an arm of the sea; and De Soto hoped to reopen communication in the spring with Cuba, and procure reinforcements, of which he was in great need. He had lost in his three years' wanderings two hundred and fifty men and one hundred and fifty horses; and since his first winter at Appalachee Bay no tidings had been sent to the Doña Isabella whether he were alive or dead.

That he was dead was to be her next news of him. With the spring the march was resumed, and its sole object now was to reach the sea. Communication with the Indians had become more difficult, for Ortiz had died in the course of the winter. The Indians, observing the weakness and perplexities of the Spaniards, were more defiant than any of their tribes had hitherto been. A haughty cacique sent word to De Soto that his boast of being the son of the Sun would be accepted when he was seen to dry up the great river; that meanwhile it was not the custom of him who sent this message to visit inferiors; if the stranger wished to see him he was always at home; if he came in peace he would find a welcome; if with hostile intentions the chief was equally ready for him. De Soto was in no condition to punish or resent this defiance. An expedition that was sent down the river to find the sea, returned and reported that in eight days journey they could make but little progress, for the country was full of swamps and dense forests, and that the river with many bends ran far up into the land.

Death of De Soto.

Worn down with hardships, anxiety, disappointment, and despair, De Soto sank under this accumulation of misfortunes. Conscious of approaching death, he called the principal officers of the expedition about him. He told them he was dying; he thanked them for the fidelity and affection they had always shown him, and regretted that he had not been able to reward them as he had always hoped to do, and according to their deserts; he asked pardon of all who believed they had cause of offence against him, and as a last favor he begged they would in his presence choose a leader to take his place, that he might leave them without fear of dissensions to arise after he was gone. They asked him to appoint his own successor, and he named Luis Moscoso de Alvarado, whom they all swore to obey. The next day, the 21st of May, 1542, he died.

His burial in the Great River.

It was thought wise to conceal his death from the Indians, for he had assured them not only that he was the son of the Sun, but that Christians could not die. The new governor ordered him to be buried secretly in the gateway of the camp. But the suspicions of the natives, who had seen him sick, were aroused.

He was no longer visible, but they saw a new-made grave, and gathering about it looked down with curious eyes and in solemn, whispered consultation upon the mysterious heap of earth. Then Moscoso ordered the body to be disinterred with great precaution in the dead of night, and, the mantles in which it was wrapped being made heavy with sand, it was dropped silently and in the darkness in the middle of the deep waters of the Mississippi. And when the cacique of



Burial of De Soto.

Guachoya came to Moscoso and said: "What has been done with my brother and lord, the Governor?" The answer was, "He has ascended into the skies for a little while and will soon be back."[1]

Luis de Moscoso.

Either De Soto misunderstood this Luis de Moscoso or history has belied him. It is said that he loved a life of ease and gayety in a Christian land, rather than one of toil and hardship and self-denial in the discovery and subjection of strange countries. But whether he believed that longer persistence in an enterprise, now in its fourth year, whose sole fruits had been death and disaster, was foolhardiness, or whether he wanted the energy and boldness to pursue it and achieve success, he decided at once to lead his companions back to Cuba if he could find the way. When this was announced and council called to consult as to the best direction to pursue, there were many who were glad that De Soto was quiet in his loaded mantles at the bottom of the great river. With him the enterprise could have ended only with his and their lives, and they rejoiced that he was taken and they left.

[1] Herrera says that the body was inclosed in the trunk of an oak hollowed out for the purpose, and sunk "in the middle of the river, where it was a quarter of a league over and nineteen fathoms deep."

The determination was to seek their countrymen, as Cabeça de Vaca had done, on the Pacific coast. Through the summer and autumn they straggled west and south, east and north, as they were led by some vague rumor or vaguer hope. Everywhere they inquired the way to the sea; but they met with no Indians who had ever seen it. Everywhere they asked if Christians had not visited that region; and when the Indians answered, No, they sometimes put them to the torture and extorted false confessions, which only misled the Spaniards with some new delusion. Enemies waylaid them with that stealthiness which only Indians are capable of; guides misled them with that cunning which the Indian counts as one of his chief virtues; hunger, sickness, insubordination, confusion well nigh bordering on despair, so beset them, that it seemed they could never escape unless God should be pleased to work miracles on their behalf. Once more, in the early winter, they turned back to the great river for a last effort to save themselves.

The Spaniards seek to return to Cuba.

A few miles above the mouth of the Arkansas, where the timber was the largest they had seen, they built, in the course of the next six months, seven brigantines. The maize which the Indians had stored in two neighboring villages the Spaniards seized for their own support meanwhile. From the chains struck from the slaves, from shot, from their stirrups, and whatever else of iron the camp afforded, they forged the requisite nails and spikes. The bark of the mulberry tree was twisted into cordage, and from the fibre of a plant like hemp they made oakum. The natives supplied them with mantles of matting for sails, and this was held as a special interposition of Divine Providence, "disposing the Indians to bring the garments; otherwise there had been no way but to go and fetch them." They did not, however, trust to Providence alone, for when the Christians had, or thought they had, reason to suspect that the Indians were coming with a hostile purpose, under a pretence of bringing presents, they killed some of the messengers, cut off the noses and the hands of others and sent them back to the caciques. This conciliatory measure had the desired effect, and the Indians brought and offered with great eagerness everything in their possession that would hasten the departure of such guests. The maize of which they had been robbed was the chief food of these poor creatures, and for want of it they would often fall dead "of clear hunger and debility" about the camp where they came to beg. The governor ordered, under heavy penalties, that nothing should be given them to appease their hunger; but to the credit of his men the orders were not rigidly obeyed, for "the Christians, seeing that even the hogs had their bellies full, and that these poor Indians came and took so much pains to serve them,

Building the brigantines.

and whose extreme misery they could not but pity, charitably gave them of the maes they had," — a weakness they reproached themselves for afterward, when they loaded their vessels with stores for the voyage and had room for more.

Voyage down the Mississippi.

These boats were finished in June. Most of the horses and all the hogs were killed for provisions, and on the 2d of July, 1543, the expedition, reduced now to three hundred and seventy-two persons, embarked for the voyage down the Mississippi. They were seventeen days in reaching the mouth of the river, fighting



Departure of the Spaniards.

their way on the water as they had always done on the land, for the Indians grew the more aggressive with the hope that they were seeing the last of the hated white men. Sailing out into the Gulf, pursued to the last moment by the natives, they cruised for fifty days along the coast of Louisiana and Texas, till they reached the Spanish colony of Panuco. Haggard, gaunt, half-naked, having only a scanty covering of skins, looking more like wild beasts than men, they kissed the ground when they landed among their countrymen, and "on bended knees, with hands raised above them, and their eyes to heaven remained untiring in giving thanks to God."

But the relation of such hardships as these men endured, following upon the almost complete extermination that befell the Narvaez expedition, could not deter their countrymen from further explorations in the same direction. It could not be forgotten that a

great country, still in the possession of savage heathens, stretched from the Atlantic coast, along which Gomez, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, and Ponce de Leon had sailed, to that Western — or as it was then called, Southern — Ocean, reached by Cabeça de Vaca, and his three companions, after six years' wanderings. De Soto slept quietly, after three years of travel, at the bottom of a river, broad and deep, hundreds of miles from its mouth, and no man could tell how far the land watered by it and its tributaries extended.

So vast a field for enterprise, and so full of magnificent promise, notwithstanding the fate of all who had hitherto entered it, could not long remain neglected. Yet in spite of its inviting name, *The Land of Flowers* continued most inhospitable to all attempts on the part of the Spaniards to gain a foothold there. An expedition, led by some zealous friars, eager for the conversion of the heathen, landed on its shores, and were massacred as soon as they set foot thereon. Twice within the ten years following De Soto's expedition, a fleet of ships, crowded with adventurers, and richly laden with treasure from Mexico, were wrecked on its coast, and those on board who escaped the perils of the sea were slaughtered by the natives, leaving barely enough alive to tell the story of their disaster. Occasionally a solitary survivor of one of these ill-fated enterprises returned to the Spanish settlements in Mexico, or the West Indies, to recount his romantic adventures. Hardly an expedition, after that of Ponce de Leon had first landed at Florida, failed to meet somewhere among the Indians, a white captive of their own race who had belonged to some previous company of explorers, and who, taken captive by the Indians, had been spared to slavery, after his companions were slain. Their story would be no less romantic than that of Cabeça de Vaca, or of Juan Ortiz, if, like them, it had gained a chronicler.

It was exactly twenty years after the imposing departure of De Soto from San Lucar, that a fleet of still larger size, and no less magnificence than his, was fitted up at Vera Cruz, in Mexico, for the conquest and settlement of Florida. It was commanded by Don Tristan de Luna, a scion of a noble family in Arragon, whose father was for several years a governor of Yucatan. He sailed from Vera Cruz on the 14th of August, 1559, with an army of 1500 men, besides many friars zealous for the conversion of the Indians, and a number of women and children, the families of the soldiers who were to colonize Florida. They had a prosperous voyage to a good harbor, which they named the Santa Maria.[1] Here they anchored the ships, and Don Tristan prepared to send news of his arrival back

Expedition of Don Tristan de Luna.

[1] *Hist. of Florida*, by G. R. Fairbanks, says this was Pensacola Bay, as the old Spanish maps gave the Bay as the Santa Maria

to the viceroy. But the accustomed ill-fortune of Spanish adventurers in these parts attended him. On the sixth day after his arrival, a great storm arose, and all his ships were driven on shore and destroyed. Left on the land with his great army with no means of returning to Mexico, he at once sent out a detachment of soldiers, under his sergeant-major, to explore the country, and seek for the rich provinces of which they had heard, while he remained at the port with the rest of his people.

Exploration of the country.

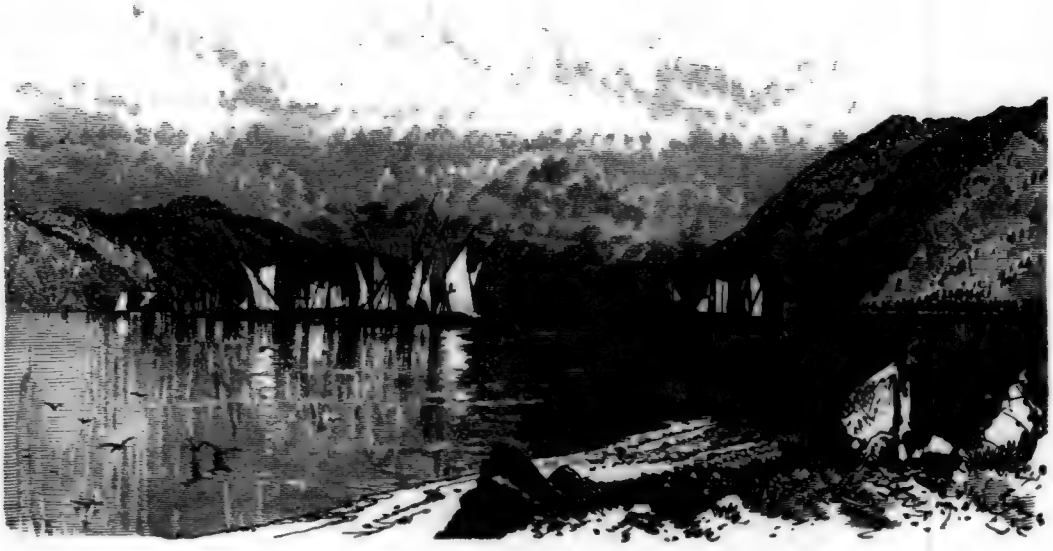
The detachment, after a march of forty days through a country empty of people and barren of provisions, reached an Indian town, which, although deserted, contained a quantity of corn, beans, and other vegetables. Most of the natives had run away on their approach, but they found a few bolder ones still lurking about the village, and conciliated them with presents of beads and ribbons. From these they learned that the town had been very large and well peopled, but had been attacked by men like themselves, who had destroyed and driven away the inhabitants. These same strange invaders had caused the general desolation of the country, and the abandonment of the villages which they had seen on the march. Refreshing himself and his men on the provisions, which seemed abundant, the sergeant-major sent back a party of sixteen to report to De Luna. In their absence, De Luna, who had lost a large part of his provisions in the shipwreck, was greatly distressed for want of food, and anxious for the safety of the sergeant-major. He was preparing to set out in search of him, when his messengers arrived, and he at once started to join the advance with his train of a thousand men, women, and children. Guided by the sixteen soldiers, they reached the Indian town, and for a short time feasted on the food they found there. But the supplies, which had seemed so inexhaustible to the first-comers, were soon consumed by the great numbers. The suffering that ensued was most severe. They were forced to eat bitter acorns, and even the bark and leaves of the young trees. A party was sent out again to find if they could discover any relief, or see anything of the rich town of Coça, of which the Indians told them. These were forced on their march to eat their pack-mules, and then the leather of their straps, and their gun-covers. Their lives were preserved by their entrance into a wood of chestnut and walnut trees, where they surfeited themselves on the abundant fruit.

De Luna awaited their return, till the sight of his people dying of hunger made him resolve to return to the port of Santa Maria. He reached there after much suffering, and was soon followed by the exploring party, who brought back still more unfavorable reports of the sterility and poverty of the country. They had found none of the

noble cities, rich in gold and silver, with people clothed in garments of silk and cloth of the Indies, of which they had heard reports. Instead, they saw only desolate lands, and villages deserted even by the savage inhabitants, who had learned to flee on the approach of the white man.

End of De Luna's enterprise.

At the port De Luna procured two small vessels, either built from the remains of the wreck, or else preserved from the storm which had destroyed the larger ships. These he sent back to the viceroy, with appeal for succor. Relief came in the shape of two ships, well provisioned, prepared to take away the unhappy colony, now distracted with misery, discontent, and anarchy. Tristan de Luna at first refused to abandon his enterprise, and insisted on being left behind with a few followers. But he was recalled by the Viceroy, and at last returned to Mexico in 1561, about two years from the time of his first setting out. Thus ended the most carefully prepared and most promising attempt ever made to colonize Florida by the Spaniards. Fortunately for the progress of the human race, and the future history of North America, all their efforts to gain a permanent foothold north of the Gulf of Mexico, were in the main unsuccessful.



Fishing Fleet at Newfoundland.

CHAPTER VIII.

FRENCH DISCOVERIES AND ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION.

Breton Fishermen on Newfoundland Banks. — Giovanni da Verrazano first enters New York Harbor. — Jacques Cartier sent on an American Expedition. — Exploration of the St. Lawrence River. — Cartier's Visit to the Indian Town of Hochelaga. — Voyage of Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval. — The Huguenots seek an Asylum in America. — The Colony of Admiral Coligny. — John Ribault goes to Florida. — Setting up the Arms of France. — Laudonniére commands a Second Enterprise. — Building of Fort Caroline. — Progress of the Colony.

As early as 1504, the hardy fishermen of various nations had followed the Cabots and Cortereals across the Atlantic, and were tossing all the summer through in their little vessels on the Grand Banks, and along the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. It was only to sail a few degrees more to the westward than their fathers had done, for it is certain that the mariners of England, of Brittany, Normandy, and the Bay of Biscay had approached, if they had not seen, the Western continent, long before its discovery by either Columbus or Cabot. It is not at all unlikely that they may have explored in the sixteenth century, harbors, rivers, and islands along the shores of New England, whose discovery has been the subject of controversy on behalf of this or that early navigator of distinction, for nearly three hundred years. But of what they did there is no record; content with finding good fishing ground, any other knowledge they may

have gained excited little interest beyond their own limited circle of humble people, too ignorant and too busy to trouble themselves or others with geographical conjectures. The practical question of liberty to fish in the newly-discovered seas, was all they cared for, and that they settled among themselves.

Some of these Breton fishermen gave a name — Cape Breton — to an island; in 1506, John Denys, of Honfleur, explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence; two years afterward, Thomas Aubert, a pilot of Dieppe, visited, it is supposed, Cape Breton Island, and carried some of the natives thence to France;[1] and in 1518, the Baron de Leri proposed to settle a colony on Sable Island,[2] but only landed some cattle, whose progeny, eighty years later, served to feed some miserable Frenchmen left there by the Marquis de la Roche. But all these, like the fishing voyages, were private enterprises.

Enterprise of French fishermen.

Spain, notwithstanding the marvellous splendor of her conquests farther south, had persisted for nearly twenty years, at great sacrifice of human life and of treasure, in the attempt to lay open the secret which she believed was hidden in the region north of the Gulf of Mexico. England and Portugal had both shown that they were not disposed to yield the possession of the continent unquestioned to Spain. France alone of the great maritime powers of Europe, seemed indifferent; for though no fishermen on the American coast were more enterprising and more fearless than hers, they claimed no rights except upon the sea. In 1522, a single ship of the Magellan expedition returned to Portugal, having circumnavigated the globe and solved the problem that by sailing westward the East could be reached. A new impulse was given to the desire for a shorter northern passage to India, and Francis I. of France, aroused to the great event of his time, is said to have declared: "Why, these princes coolly divide the New World between them! I should like to see that article of Adam's will which gives them America!" In 1523 he proposed to compete with other powers, both for a share in that New World, and to find for France a shorter route to Cathay.

Interest felt by Francis I. in American discovery.

With this intent an expedition put to sea from some port in Brittany, in the autumn of 1523. It consisted originally of four vessels, but before much progress was made, two of these were first disabled or lost, and afterward a third, leaving only a single ship, called the *Dauphine* — Dalfina.[3] The commander was

Voyage of Verrazano.

[1] Charlevoix, *History of New France*, vol. i., p. 106.

[2] Lescarbot, *Histoire de Nouvelle France*, p. 21. De Leri's full title was Le Sieur, Baron de Leri et de Saint Just, Vicomte de Gueu. This has been erroneously supposed to refer to two men.

[3] In the many accounts of this voyage, Dalfina is usually translated Dolphin, but by later writers, Dauphine. The latter, undoubtedly, is correct, as to the name of this

Giovanni da Verrazano, a native of Florence — Italian by birth, as Columbus and Cabot were, — who, according to the historians of Dieppe, was a captain of one of Thomas Aubert's ships ten years before.[1] He saw and did, for aught that can be known now, no more than Cabot and Cortereal had seen and done about a quarter of a century before. But he has left behind him in a letter to the king, a narrative of his adventures, and for the first time we get a dim and passing glimpse by actual description, of much of the long stretch of the Atlantic coast of North America now within the boundaries of the United States. So vague, indeed, and sometimes so incorrect is this narrative, that the question has been raised whether it was not altogether destitute of truth.[2] But the argument of its want of accuracy, based on internal evidence, may be brought with equal force against many of the accounts of early expeditions which certainly were made.[3]



Giovanni da Verrazano.

It has been supposed by some writers that Verrazano may have made a voyage in 1523 with his four ships across the Atlantic, and that the allusion in his letter to a disaster which overtook two of them, on "Northern coasts," refers to such an expedition. But the letter is otherwise taken up with the single voyage of the *Dauphine*, in

ship. Verrazano alludes to it as "the glorious and fortunate name of our good ship," — *del glorioso nome e fortunato.* "Glorious" would be held to be proper as applied to the Dauphine, but is not at all fitting as descriptive of a dolphin.

[1] Note by J. G. Shea, in Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 106.

[2] See *An Inquiry into the Authenticity of Documents concerning a Discovery in North America, claimed to have been made by Verrazzano.* Read before the New York Historical Society, October, 1864. By Buckingham Smith.

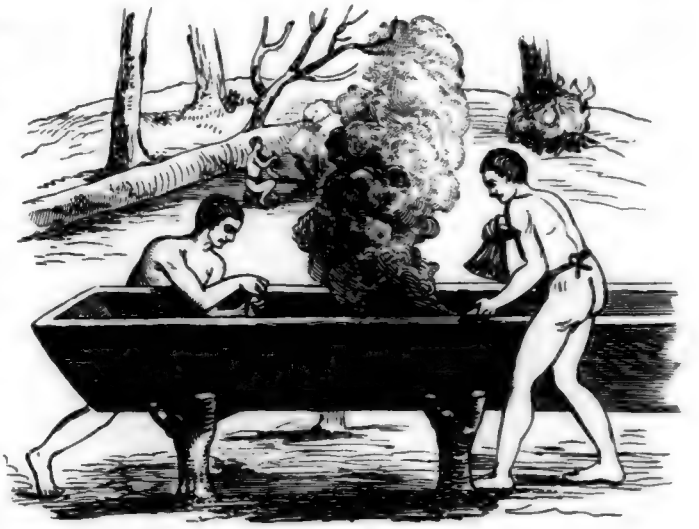
[3] The letter of Verrazano to Francis I. was first published by Ramusio, within about thirty-two years of its date, and was copied from him by Hakluyt. It has been held to be authentic for three centuries, and is not now to be easily set aside. The discovery, a few years since, of a map, by Hieronimus da Verrazano, in a public library in Rome, dating about 1529, offsets, it is claimed, any possible constructive argument against his voyage from negative evidence. For description of this map and the newest theory as to the course of Verrazano, see an article by James Carson Brevoort, in *Journal of American Geographical Society, of New York,* vol. iv.

which he finally set sail from the Madeiras in January, 1524. In forty-nine days he "reached a new country which," he writes, "had never before been seen by any one," and which by fires along the shore, he knew to be inhabited. His land-fall, he says, was on the thirty-fourth parallel, or about the latitude of Cape Fear, as his course after leaving the Madeiras was "towards the west, with a little northwardly." Thence he ran southward for fifty leagues, but finding no harbors he reversed his course. Cruising leisurely along the coast for two hundred leagues, he first notes that the shore was covered with fine sand, rising into little hills about fifty paces broad; then that arms of the sea flowed in through inlets, making an inner and an outer beach; but beyond the coast-line he saw a country rising into beautiful fields, and broad plains covered with immense forests more or less dense, various in foliage and color, and festooned with vines. This verdant land was fragrant with wild roses, violets, lilies, and many other flowers, watered with many lakes and streams. Beasts of the chase, and birds of gay plumage and pleasant song, were plentiful. The balmy air of a delicious summer blew gently over a smooth sea, and on the long stretch of coast, the water was deep, and there were no rocks or hidden dangers to vex the mariner.

His arrival on the American coast, March, 1524.

The natives thronged upon the sands to watch this strange ship, and the strange white men on board of her. They beckoned them to land, and when a sailor, attempting to swim ashore, was thrown, half-drowned by the surf, upon the beach, they rescued him, built fires to warm him and to dry his clothing — his comrades on the ship looking on meanwhile, dreading to see him presently sacrificed and spitted for a savage feast. But when his strength was restored, the natives dismissed him with many demonstrations of tenderness and respect. A few days later the Frenchmen made a cruel return for this kindness and hospitality, by capturing and carrying off an Indian boy they met near the shore, and would have taken also the comely mother, who had only known

Hospitality of the natives.



Indians making a Canoe. [De Bry.]

eighteen Indian summers, but for her outcries and vigorous resistance. All these people were dark in color, well-made, naked, except some scanty covering of furs, or dressed deer-skins and ornamental feathers; their canoes were trunks of trees hollowed out by fire and with stone hatchets; and their arms were bows and arrows.

Verrazano enters the Narrows.

The *Dauphine* anchored at length where a deep river flowed into the sea from among steep hills; a boat put off inland for a short distance, and found that this river widened into a lake some leagues in circuit. The ship had probably entered the outer Bay of New York; the Narrows, between the beautiful hills of Staten Island and the bluffs of Long Island opposite, was the supposed mouth of a river; the magnificent sweep of the inner harbor looked, as it does to-day to a stranger, like a lake; the Indians plied their canoes in large numbers from shore to shore, and at night their watch-fires blazed in the same unbroken circle of twenty miles that now shows the continuous twinkling line of the gaslights of a million of people.[1] But winds which brought peril to the ship in the outer harbor soon compelled them to put to sea again, and they left with regret "a region that seemed so commodious and delightful," and where they deluded themselves with the notion that the hills showed indications of great wealth in mineral deposits.

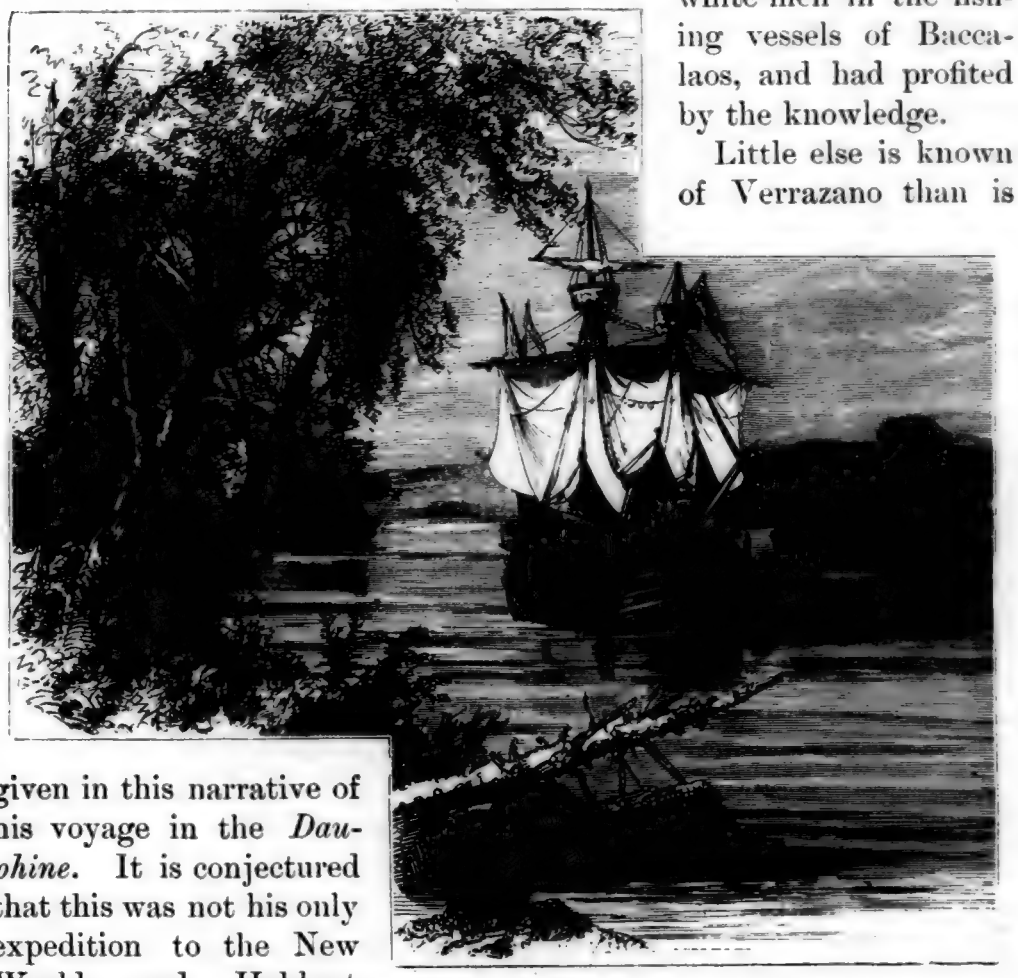
Narragansett Bay.

Sailing east for fifty leagues they passed an island of triangular form, which is supposed to be Block Island, and a few leagues farther entered a spacious haven, where they remained fifteen days. The entrance, with a rock in mid-channel suitable for a fortification, was a mile or two wide and looking toward the south; but within it was a large bay of many leagues, containing five small islands of great beauty, and covered with trees. The latitude, says Verrazano, was 41° 40′, which is about that of Narragansett Bay, and he describes the country "as pleasant as it is possible to conceive," abounding in fruit trees — of which he could have only seen the blossoms, as he was there in May — well watered, with open plains, as well as forests of stately trees, and having many animals of various kinds. If this was the Vinland of the Northmen, the stone tower of Newport was not there when the Frenchmen spent a fortnight in that harbor, and became familiar with its shores. Verrazano describes the houses of the natives as built of split logs, and nicely thatched with straw, and he could hardly have failed to see and describe so remarkable a structure as the tower if it was in existence, and he was ever in Newport harbor.

Here was their only resting-place for any length of time. When

[1] There are almost as many theories as there are writers on Verrazano's voyage, but that most generally received and which seems the most rational, is the explanation which we have here adopted.

the voyage was resumed it was to cruise along the shores of New England, seeing in the distance as they passed the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and sailing among the pleasant islands on the coast of Maine. The Indians of this northern region they found fiercer and less trustful than those with whom they had trafficked and held friendly intercourse farther south, for these knew something of white men in the fishing vessels of Baccalaos, and had profited by the knowledge.



Verrazano in Newport Harbor.

Little else is known of Verrazano than is given in this narrative of his voyage in the *Dauphine*. It is conjectured that this was not his only expedition to the New World, and Hakluyt says: "he had been thrice on that coast."[1] But whether his voyages were one or three, he profited by his observations. His intention was to find a passage to Cathay. The opinions of the ancients that "our ocean was one and the same as the eastern one of Asia," the discovery of the new land had disproved. It was possible, he thought, that this new land might be penetrated, but he was convinced after the cruise of the *Dauphine*,

[1] Since this chapter was put in type a volume of nearly two hundred pages, by Henry C. Murphy, on the voyage of Verrazano, has been published. Mr. Murphy's aim is to show that the claims of discovery made in Verrazano's name have no real foundation. The work is learned, laborious, and exhaustive, and seems to leave nothing more to be said on that side of the question.

that it was "another world," appearing "really to show itself to be larger than our Europe, Africa, or even Asia." That any short route to Cathay could be found was clearly impossible. His conclusion was that the globe was evidently larger than the ancients supposed; it was proved that the sea was wider; this western land, as the voyages of the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and that of the *Dauphine* combined had shown, stretched from the Strait of Magellan to the fiftieth degree of northern latitude, a length greater than that from the northernmost point of Europe to the most southern of Africa; if its breadth was in accordance with its length, then a new continent larger than Asia lay between Europe and India. He may have thought, therefore, that there was little to be gained by a western passage to India, even if one existed; and that it certainly could not be a short one. The credit belongs to him, not only of having first explored with some care the Atlantic coast of the United States, but of first promulgating the true theory of the size of the globe in contradistinction to that of the old cosmographers, which Columbus had adopted and believed in to the day of his death.

Verrazano's idea of the size of the continent.



Jacques Cartier.

The subsequent fate of this navigator is unknown. Some writers maintain that he is identical with a noted corsair, Juan Florin or Florentin, who preyed upon the Spanish treasure-ships, but was captured at last by the Spaniards and hanged.[1] But Ramusio, who first published his letter, says that in a subsequent voyage Verrazano having gone ashore with some companions, was killed by the natives, roasted, and eaten in the sight of those who remained on board the ship.[2] It is also conjectured, from an Italian letter written in 1537, that he was then still living in Rome.[3]

Subsequent fate of Verrazano.

Ten years elapsed before France sent out another expedition, when Philip Chabot, Admiral of France, urged the King to establish a colony somewhere in the northwest. The enterprise was entrusted

[1] This story seems to have been first published by De Barcia (*Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 8) in 1723.

[2] Biddle (*Memoir of Cabot*, chap. ix.) assumes that this ship must have been the *Mary of Guilford*, which sailed from England in 1527, and that Verrazano was her pilot.

[3] Letter of Annibal Caro, cited from Tiraboschi's *Italian Literature*, by Smith, Murphy, and others.

to Jacques Cartier, an experienced navigator of St. Malo, and he sailed from that port in April, 1534, with two ships of only sixty tons each, and carrying each sixty-one men. In twenty days the fleet reached Bona Vista Bay, on the east coast of Newfoundland, whence, after some delay from the ice, they steered northward and passed through the Straits of Belle Isle into the Gulf, afterwards named the St. Lawrence. Cartier coasted along the western shores of Newfoundland, finding the country so inhospitable, so filled with stones and wild crags, with not a cart-load of good earth anywhere, that he believed it to be "the land God allotted to Cain." The natives were uncouth and savage, "dressed in beasts' skins, their hair tied on top like a wreath of hay, a wooden pin run through it," and ornamented with feathers. Crossing the gulf he entered a bay, which because of the heat he named the Bay of Chaleur, where the natives, he thought, were "the poorest in the world," without clothing, eating fish and flesh almost raw, and with no houses but their upturned canoes. But the country was inviting, and he took possession of it in the name of the King of France, setting up a cross thirty feet high, with three *fleur-de-lys*, and the inscription *Vive le Roi de France* carved at its top.[1] Poor and savage as the natives were they knew enough to object to his proceeding, and their chief, protesting by signs that this was his country, said that he wanted no crosses set up in it. But Cartier enticed him and some others on board his ship, and conciliating him with some trifling presents, obtained his consent to take his two sons to France. They sailed soon after on the homeward voyage, and arrived at St. Malo in September, after an absence of a little more than four months.

Jacques Cartier sails from St. Malo. April, 1534.

His description of the people of Canada.

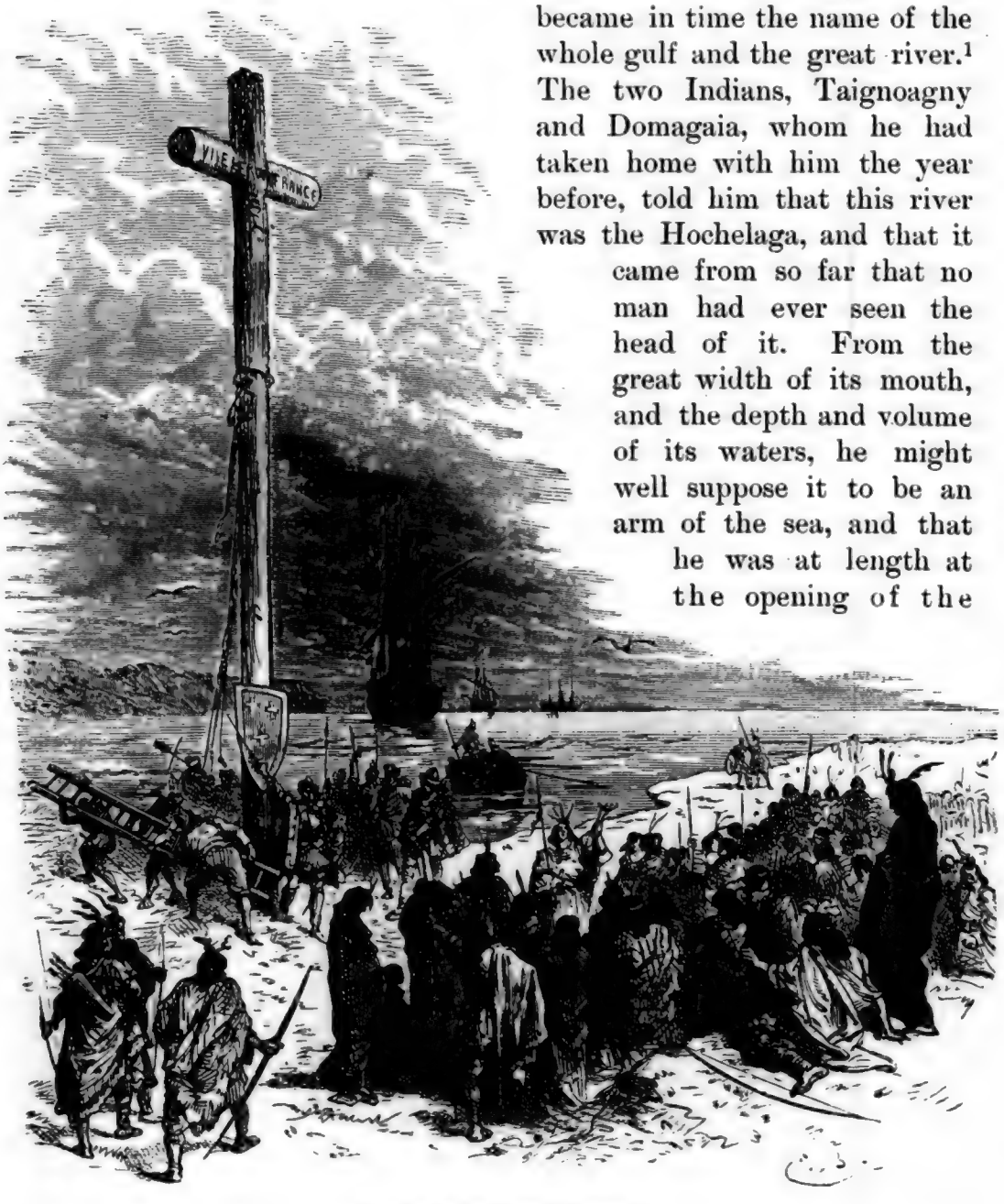
The report of these discoveries was so favorably received that another expedition was determined upon, and Cartier was dispatched the next spring — in May, 1535 — with three ships, the largest, however, only one hundred and twenty tons. Among his followers were some young men of family and fortune, enthusiastic for adventure. The embarkation was a solemn and eventful day in St. Málo; the ships' companies making confession, hearing high mass in the cathedral, and departing with the blessing of the bishop. They were going, not only to find the way to Cathay, and plant French colonies in new lands, but whole nations were to be brought within the pale of the Holy Catholic Church.

Second voyage of Cartier. May, 1535.

[1] There is an old tradition, says Charlevoix, that the Spaniards had visited this country before Cartier, but finding no mines, said of it *aca-nada* — nothing there. These words the Indians remembered and repeated, and hence the name Canada. Others derive the name, says Charlevoix, from the Indian word *Kannata*, meaning a collection of cabins. Shea adds in a note that the Spanish derivation is fictitious. — *History of New France*, vol. ii., p. 118.

Entering the St. Lawrence.

On the 10th of August the fleet was at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and this name which Cartier first gave to the strait between the island of Anticosti — he called it Assumption Island — and the north coast became in time the name of the whole gulf and the great river.[1] The two Indians, Taignoagny and Domagaia, whom he had taken home with him the year before, told him that this river was the Hochelaga, and that it came from so far that no man had ever seen the head of it. From the great width of its mouth, and the depth and volume of its waters, he might well suppose it to be an arm of the sea, and that he was at length at the opening of the



Setting up the Arms of France

strait, so long sought for, that would lead him to the Indian Ocean; but his guides said that it narrowed as it ascended, and that its waters were fresh. He made no haste, therefore, to push forward, leisurely

[1] Charlevoix, *History of New France*, vol. ii., p. 115.

exploring the coasts, examining the country, and looking for a convenient harbor for winter quarters.

On the first of September he met the dark waters of the Saguenay pouring into the St. Lawrence; fifteen leagues further on he anchored in the shadow of a pleasant island, which, because it was covered with hazels, he called *Isle aux Coudres;* eight leagues further he found another island still pleasanter and larger, and so abounding in grapes that he named it Bacchus Island — now known as the Isle d'Orleans. A fleet of canoes put out from the beach to look at these strange visitors, but the natives were too much alarmed to venture within their reach, till Taignoagny and Domagaia, whom they recognized as of their own race, assured them that the strangers were friends. Then they flocked aboard the vessels, listened to the wonderful story of all that had befallen the two youths on their visit to France, and of the kindness and benefits that had been bestowed upon them. Donnacona, the "lord" of Saguenay, had come with the rest, and he addressed to Cartier a long oration, took his arm, and, kissing it, twined it about his own neck in token of amity and gratitude that these two young men, his countrymen, had received such favors at the hands of the French.

Exploring the river.

A few leagues farther on, at the mouth of a stream which Cartier named the St. Croix, — now the St. Charles — was the village of Stadacona, the home of the chieftain Donnacona.[1] In the waters which washed its shores, beneath the cliffs where now stands the city of Quebec upon the site of this Indian village, was safe anchorage for the ships, and protection from the storms of the coming winter. But Cartier heard from the natives of another and a larger town, the seat of a rival and more powerful chief than Donnacona, from which the river took its name — Hochelaga. This he resolved to visit. The way to it, Donnacona said, was long and beset with perils, for he was jealous that any of the wealth of knives and copper basins, of little looking-glasses and brilliant colored beads, which the strangers brought, should fall into the hands of the rival chieftain and his people. To his persuasions he added gifts, presenting to Cartier two boys, one of whom was his own brother, and a little girl of ten or twelve years of age who was his sister's child.

Anchorage on the site of Quebec.

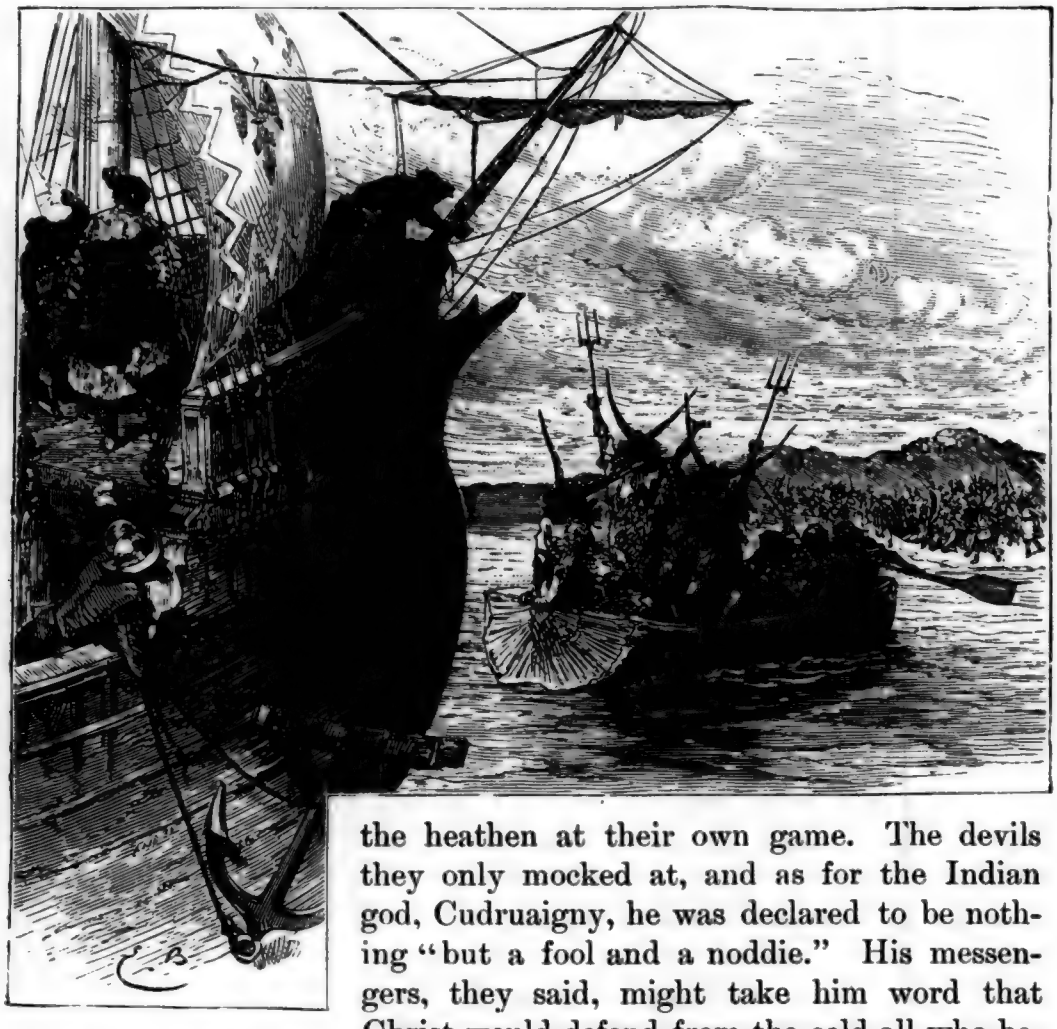
The Frenchman laughed at danger, and was deaf to entreaty; and then the cunning savage tried intimidation. Three devils — Indian devils — came out to the ships, "wrapped in hogges skins white and blacke, their faces besmeered as blacke as any coales,

Cunning of the savages.

[1] Charlevoix (*History of New France*), asserts that the St. Croix and the St. Charles are not the same. For the evidence and authorities that they are identical, see Shea's notes to Charlevoix, vol. ii., pp. 116, 117, and Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*, p. 185.

with hornes on their heads more than a yard long."[1] A crowd of natives followed howling and shrieking, and then with a hideous uproar retreating to the woods. Taignoagny and Domagaia, in real or pretended fright, with clasped, uplifted hands, and eyes raised to heaven, cried out, "Jesu! Jesu! Jesu Maria!" declaring that these devils had come from Hochelaga, sent by the god of that people to say that all should perish in the ice and snow who ventured thither.

But the Christians could answer prophecy with prophecy, and beat



Donnacona's Strategy.

the heathen at their own game. The devils they only mocked at, and as for the Indian god, Cudruaigny, he was declared to be nothing "but a fool and a noddie." His messengers, they said, might take him word that Christ would defend from the cold all who believed in him, and though the French captain had not himself talked with Jesus upon this subject, the priests had, and received from him a promise of fair weather. There was nothing more to be said. The devils were ignominiously defeated; the worshippers of Cudruaigny gave three great shrieks in token of their acceptance of his discomfiture, and fell to singing and dancing on the beach after their usual mad fashion. Cartier,

Cartier proceeds up the St. Lawrence.

[1] *Narration of Cartier's Voyages*, Hakluyt, vol. iii.

with the smallest of his vessels, a pinnace, and two boats, started the next day for Hochelaga.

For thirteen days they sailed leisurely along the pleasant banks of the river, noting and admiring the fruitfulness of the land, the beauty of the forests, and the many kinds of game, both beasts and birds, they sheltered; the abundance of wild fruit, especially of grapes. Everywhere on the way the natives received them with joy and wonder, and when, on the second of October, they landed about eleven miles from Hochelaga, below the rapids of St. Mary,[1] a thousand Indians, men, women, and children, came down to the strand to welcome them. With great pomp and circumstance, Cartier, "very gorgeously attired," marched with his companions to this royal residence. It was a village of about fifty huts, surrounded with a triple row of palisades, in the midst of wide fields where the brown dried leaves of the Indian corn waved and rustled in the autumn winds. On this spot now stands Montreal, and a hill near by which Cartier called Mont Royal, gave a name to the future city.

Arrival at the town of Hochelaga.

In the centre of Hochelaga was a public square where all the people gathered. The women and the maidens came with their arms full of children, begging that they might even so much as be touched by these wonderful white men from some far-off country. The "lord and king," Agouhanna, a man of fifty years, helpless from palsy, was brought in by his attendants stretched upon a deer-skin. Upon his head instead of a crown he wore "a certain thing made of the skinnes of hedge-hogs like a red wreath," but otherwise his apparel did not distinguish him from his subjects. He prayed that relief might be given him from the disease with which he was afflicted. Cartier with his own hands rubbed the shrunken limbs of the royal sufferer, who bestowed upon him in return his crown of colored porcupine quills. It seemed to these poor heathen "that God was descended and come downe from heaven to heale them," and the halt, the lame, the blind, the impotent from age — so old, some of them, "that the hair of their eyelids came downe and covered their cheekes" — were brought forward to be healed. The best the good captain could do was to pray; he read the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John and the passion of Christ, from his service-book, and besought the heavenly Father that He would have mercy upon these benighted savages, and bring them to a knowledge of His holy Word. The Indians were "marvellously attentive," looking to heaven as the Christians did, and imitating all the gestures of devotion; but they better understood, and were overwhelmed with joy when, the prayers being finished, the distribution of hatchets, knives, beads, rings, brooches of tin, and other trifles was begun.

Cartier besought to heal the sick.

[1] *The Conquest of Canada*, by the author of *Hochelaga*, vol. ii., p. 55.

Cartier and his companions soon returned to their winter-quarters at the mouth of the St. Charles, where those they had left behind had meanwhile built a rough fort. The river within a few weeks was covered with solid ice, and the ships were buried in four feet of snow.

Pestilence among the French.

With the increasing cold, one of those pestilences so common among the Indians broke out, and, whether it was contagious, or whether it was superinduced by exposure to the severity of the climate, it soon attacked the French. Twenty-four of the com-



Cartier at Hochelaga.

pany died, and the rest were so enfeebled that only three were capable of any exertion. To the fear of death from sickness was added suspicion of the Indians, who, they were afraid, would take advantage of the weakness of the strangers and exterminate those whom the pestilence spared. The natives were ordered to keep away from the fort and the ships under pretence of precaution against infection; and, when any of them approached, Cartier ordered his sick men to beat with hammers and sticks against the side of their berths that the noise might be mistaken for sounds of busy industry.

But where they looked for danger came succor. From the Indians they learned that a decoction of the leaves and bark of a certain tree was a specific for that malady under which they were fast perishing. The squaws brought branches of the tree, and taught them how to pre-

pare and use this sovereign medicine, which, in a few days, not only did all that was promised for it, but also cured the sick of some old chronic difficulties.[1]

Their suspicions of the Indians, nevertheless, continued. When Donnacona had gone on a hunting expedition the French had feared it was to gather a force sufficient for an attack upon the fort and ships. A certain shyness the Indians showed on their return, and an unwillingness to part, except at a high price, with provision they needed for their own support, confirmed the apprehensions. Suspicion on the one side undoubtedly begot it on the other; but that the natives had the most ground for it was shown in the end. When Cartier, in the spring, was ready to sail, he enticed Donnacona, with nine others, on board his ships, seized and confined them, and, heedless of the cries and entreaties of their countrymen, carried them to France. In July, 1536, the fleet arrived at St. Malo; and, when four years later, another expedition returned to Canada, Donnacona and his companions, excepting one little girl, were all dead. They had been baptized and received into the bosom of the Church, however, before they died — compensation enough, it was thought, for enforced loss of liberty, country, and friends.

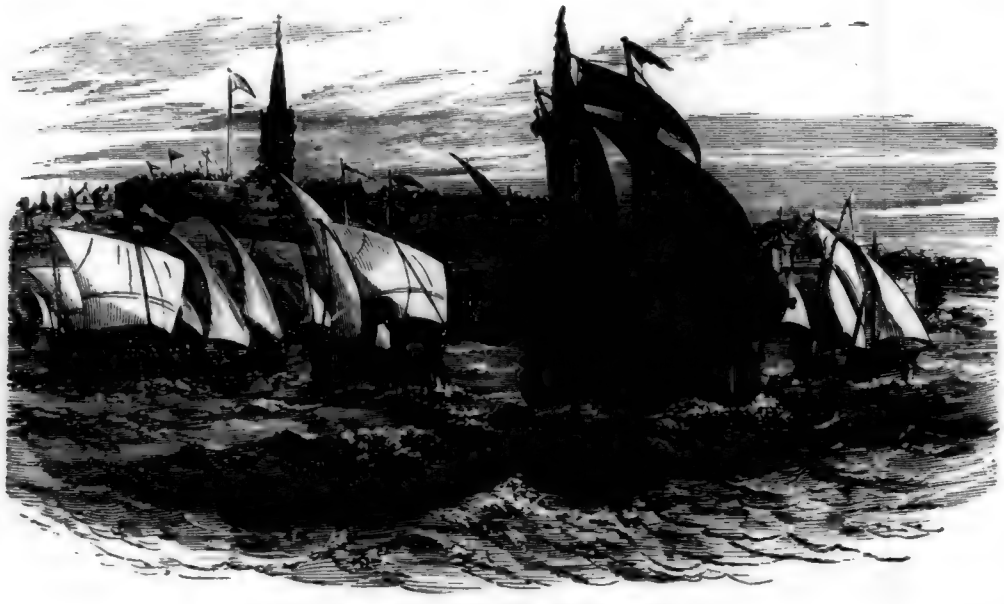
Suspicious conduct of the Indians.

Cartier made to King Francis a report of the fruitfulness of Canada, its wealth in copper, gold, and precious stones, which he had heard of, but not seen; of the wonders of the land, the deer with only two feet, the men with only one, others who never eat, and others still, mere pigmies in stature; but the interest excited was not enough to lead to any renewal of the attempt at colonization till 1540. In that year Jean Francois de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval of Picardy, asked a commission for farther exploration and experiment, and letters patent were issued, in which the titles were conferred upon him of Lord of Norimbegua, Viceroy and Lieutenant-general in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, Newfoundland, Belle Isle, Carpont, Labrador, Great Bay, and Baccalaos. A Spanish spy alarmed his government with a report that colonization was now to be undertaken by the French on a grand scale; that thirteen ships were to

Commission to Lord de Roberval. 1540.

[1] The tree was called Ameda, or Hanneda, by the Indians, and was thought, says the old chronicle, to be the Sassafras. But the same narrative (Hakluyt, vol. iii.) says, that the leaves were taken at the time from the tree, which, of course, could not have been possible of the sassafras in winter. "A tree as big as any Oake in France," it relates, "was spoiled and lopped bare, and occupied all in five or sixe daies, and it wrought so well that if all the phisicians of Mountpelier and Louaine had bene there with all the drugs of Alexandria, they would not have done so much in one yere as that tree did in sixe dayes; for it did so prevaile, that as many as used of it, by the grace of God, recovered their health." In the account of the next voyage of Cartier the Hanneda is spoken of as a tree "which hath the most excellent virtue of all the trees in the world," and as measuring "about three fathoms about." It was probably the spruce.

take out twenty-five hundred men, and two years' provisions. "Let them go," said the Portuguese, "they can do no harm in Baccalaos."[1] But in May, 1541, Cartier, who was the pilot general, got away with five vessels only, leaving Roberval to follow, after further preparations, the next year.



Cartier's Departure from St. Malo.

The expedition, like those preceding it, was barren of any permanent results. A new fort was begun a few miles above the site of the old one, at the mouth of the St. Croix River; some little land was sowed; something which they took to be gold was gathered; something else, probably crystals of quartz, they supposed were diamonds — for they were so "faire, polished, and excellently cut," that in the sunlight they "glister as it were sparkles of fire." Two ships were sent home in the autumn with tidings of good progress. It was determined, nevertheless, to abandon the adventure. The Indians soon became troublesome, for probably they were not in the least imposed upon by the story of Jacques Cartier, that their kidnapped countrymen — except Donnacona, who, it was acknowledged, was dead — were all married in France, and living there as "lords." And the next summer Roberval, on his way out with an addition to the colony, of two hundred men and women, met Cartier in the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, with his three remaining vessels bound homeward.

Cartier deserts Roberval.

Roberval indignantly ordered him to return to the St. Lawrence. In the morning his lieutenant was far out to sea on his way to France, having quietly slipped off in the darkness of the night. Perhaps it was not fear of the Indians, nor the hope-

[1] See Buckingham Smith's *Colleccion de raros Documentos*, p. 107, *et seq.*

lessness of a longer struggle with the difficulties and hardships of settling a new country, that alone influenced Cartier and his companions. For, says the old narrative, they were "moved, as it seemeth, with ambition, because they would have all the glory of the discovery of those parts themselves."

Roberval continued his voyage, weakened but not dismayed by the desertion of his lieutenant. Of the colony he planted little is known except its failure, after at least one winter's experience of the hardships of the wilderness. According to one account, Cartier was sent to bring the survivors home.[1] At any rate they returned. Roberval, it is said, undertook another expedition with a brother in 1549, which was lost at sea; but it is also asserted that this could not be, as he was killed in Paris. Cartier died about 1555. It was not till the end of the century that other Frenchmen followed these first adventurers for the settlement of the northern portion of that immense country in North America which France claimed as her own.

Return of Roberval and failure of attempt to colonize.

The foothold she next strove for was much farther south, where it was hoped a handful of Huguenots might find an asylum from religious persecution. In 1555 a colony went out to the Rio de Janeiro, but it soon came to a dismal end. They were Protestants, seeking to escape in the wilderness the scaffold and the fagot to which their religious belief at home exposed them; but bitter dissensions soon arose among them upon such questions as whether water could be rightfully mixed with the wine of the Lord's Supper, or its bread be properly made of Indian meal. Villagagnon, the leader, repenting of his Protestant heresies, if he ever seriously entertained them, returned to the bosom of the indulgent mother church, and abandoned his command. A little remnant of the colony was attacked by the Portuguese, and if any escaped alive it was only by throwing themselves upon the more tender mercy of the savages.

Huguenot colony in South America.



French Costumes (16th Century).

[1] Lescarbot, *Histoire de Colonie Française en Canada.*

Meanwhile the Reformation took deeper root in France, — a struggle for political power as well as for the rights of conscience. There were many anxious to escape from present wrong and suffering, and from the uncertainties of the future, strong as the Protestant party had grown both among the people and at Court. Coligny, the lord admiral, and leader of the Huguenots, with a view to the glory of France, and to the protection also of his oppressed countrymen, proposed to renew the attempt at colonization in the New World. In February, 1562, he sent from Havre, in the name of the king, two ships under the command of Captain John Ribault, "to discover, and view a certaine long coast of the West India . . . . called La Florida," — a coast so long, indeed, that it included the whole of the Atlantic side of the United States from the Rio Grande to the Canadian line. Ribault had under his command, beside the seamen, a band of soldiers, and with him went a number of gentlemen who were rather his companions than his subordinates. He was a man of experience, of character, of tried courage, of good sense and confirmed faith; and "a man in truth," says the old chronicle, "expert in sea causes."[1] His followers, it was hoped, were worthy of such a leader. They meant to build up the Reformed Protestant Church in the wilderness to the glory of God, and the salvation of a "brutishe people;" but they also looked "to trafficke in riche and inestimable commodities," in gold, and silver, and precious stones. They were determined to be rich, and they proposed also to be good.

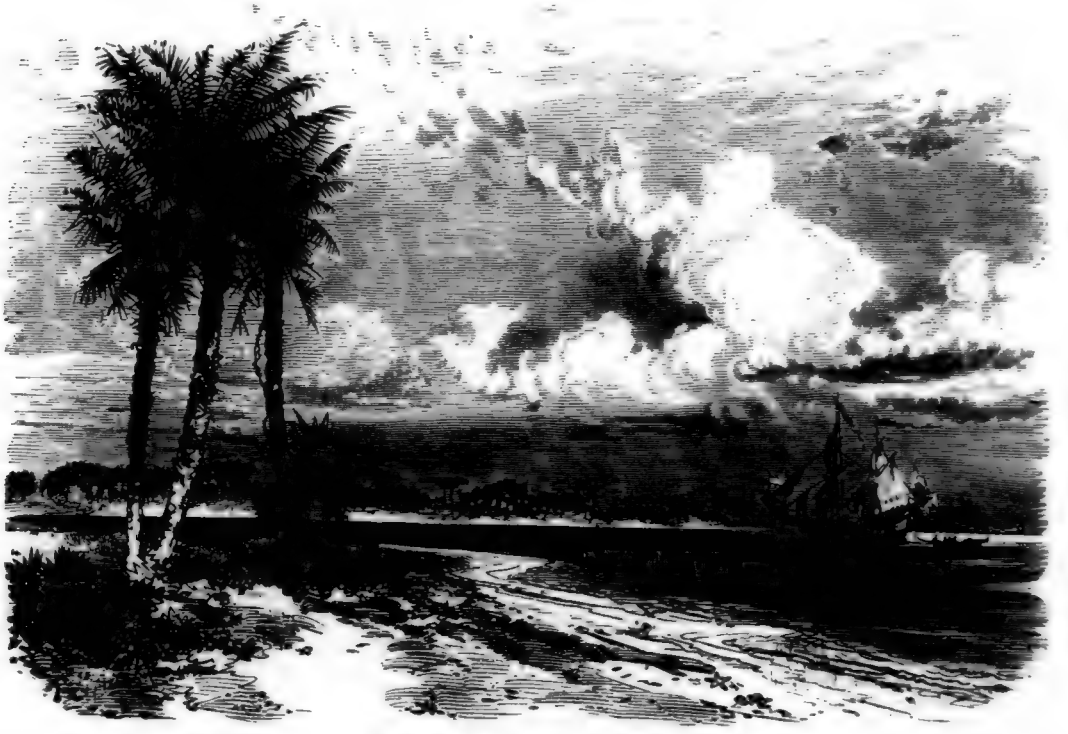
Admiral Coligny sends a colony under John Ribault. 1562.

The voyage was tempestuous and long, for winds from the west and southwest drove them back, compelling them to put into Brest to land their sick, and "suffer the tempest to passe." Taking thence a new departure on the 27th of February, they held a direct course across the Atlantic till the 30th of April, when they approached "a fayre coast, stretchying of a great length, covered with an infinite number of high and fayre trees, without anye shewe of hills." It was the coast of Florida, in about the latitude of twenty-nine and a half. Casting anchor some leagues from the land, off a cape which they named Cape François, and which is supposed to be a headland of Matanzas Inlet, the boats were sent to seek for a harbor. On their return in the afternoon, with a favorable report, they weighed anchor and sailed along the coast northward, observing it "with unspeakable pleasure, of the odorous smell and beautie of the same," till they came to "a goodly and great river." Entering this the next morning they found it "to increase still in depth and largenesse, boyling and roaring through the multitude of all kind of fish." It was a safe and pleasant harbor. The Indians running along the sands welcomed them

They reach the coast of Florida.

[1] Laudonniere's *Notable Historie*, in Hakluyt, vol. iii.

with wondering but friendly gestures, showing "all gentlenesse and amitie," and pointing out the easiest landing-place; trinkets, "some looking-glasse, and other prettie things of small value," were exchanged for skins and girdles of leather "as well courerd and coloured as was possible;" the chief, or king, made an oration, eloquent but unintelligible; and the French fell upon their knees upon the beach, "to give thanks to God for that of His grace He had conducted them to these strange places, and to beseech Him to bring to the knowledge of our Saviour, Christ, this poore people." The river they called, from the day on which they entered it, the River of May. It is now known as the St. John.



Entering the St. John River.

There were no bounds to the delight and enthusiasm with which the impressible Frenchmen entered upon their new possession; and in token of its being theirs they set up, on the second day, a stone column, on which were engraved the arms of France, on the south bank of the river, "upon a little hill compassed with Cypres, Bayes, Paulmes, and other trees, with sweete smelling and pleasant shrubbes." This was the first boundary on the south of his Majesty's dominion in the New World. It was erected in the early morning, before the Indians were assembled, perhaps because these Frenchmen were conscious that they had no more rightful title to the land than the red men had to the streets of Paris. But there was no

Setting up a pillar with the arms of France.

cause for anxiety; the natives looked at the pillar with mute surprise, evidently regarding it as only one puzzle the more about these strange visitors. They had yet to learn that as heathens they were the rightful spoil of all good Christians. The strangers chose to take this country as their own, for to them it seemed "the fairest, fruitfulest, and pleasantest of all the world." Its trees were "of wonderful greatnesse and height," and of every variety for beauty and value; to the tops the wild vines grew "with grapes according;" the caterpillars on the mulberries they supposed were silkworms; in these pleasant woods roamed deer, wild swine, bears, lynxes, leopards, conies, and many other beasts unknown, all valuable for food or for their skins and furs; among the many birds were turkeys, partridges of two kinds, and woodcocks; eyrets, herons, bitterns, curlews screamed, or swam, or waded about the waters of the bay; in the river was "marvellous store" of trout, millet, plaice, turbot, and other fishes; so that they concluded, "it is a thing unspeakable to consider the thinges that bee seene there, and shall bee founde more and more in this incomparable lande, which never yet broken with plough yrons bringeth forth al things according to his first nature, wherewith the eternall God indued it."

Description of the new country.

Not less attractive were the mild-mannered and courteous though naked savages. The men were well-shaped, of goodly stature, dignified, self-possessed, and of pleasant countenance; the women well favored, modest, suffering no one "dishonestly to approch too neare them;" and both were so beautifully painted that "the best Painter of Europe could not amende it." But better and more promising than all, some of these Indians wore ornaments of gold, silver, copper, pearls, and turquoises; from a collar of gold and silver about the neck of one of them, hung a pearl as big as an acorn, which the owner was willing enough to part with for a looking-glass or a knife. Pearls were found there as fair as in any country of the world, taken from oysters along the river side, among the reeds and in the marshes, in "so merveylous aboundance as is skant probable." Even Cibola could be reached in boats by way of rivers in twenty days — Cibola, two thousand miles off on the Pacific, which the Spanish friar, Marco de Niça, visited in the year 1539, and reported that within it were seven great cities, the houses whereof were built of lime and stone, two, three, sometimes five stories in height, ascended on the outside by ladders; whose inhabitants clothed themselves in gowns of cotton, in woollen cloth, and in garments of leather, wearing girdles of turquoises around their waists, emeralds in their ears and noses; whose common household vessels were of gold and silver; and where gold was more abundant than in Peru, the walls of the

Manners of the natives.

temples being covered with plates of that precious metal. This was the captivating perspective seen by the new comers through the everglades, and festooned, perfumed forests of Florida in May — the seductive vision of a life of opulence and ease which awaited them in place of the civil strife and religious persecution which they had left at home.

They sail up the coast northward.

From the St. John — River of May — they sailed northward along the coast, naming the streams for well-known rivers of France. Everywhere the natives gave them the same kind welcome; everywhere they found the country beautiful and promising — "full of havens, rivers, and islands," says Captain Ribault, "of such fruitfulnes as cannot with tongue be expressed; in fertilitie apt and commodious throughout to beare and bring forth plentifully all that men would plant or sowe upon it." On the 27th they entered the harbor of Port Royal. Here a navy might ride in safety — as navies have since done — "one of the fayrest and greatest havens in the worlde," into which flowed "many rivers of meane bignesse and large," watering "one of the goodliest, best, and frutefullest countreys that ever was seene, and where nothing lacketh, and also where as good and likely commodities bee founde as in other places thereby." Here it was proposed to plant a colony.

Entrance to Port Royal harbor.

Speech of Ribault to his men.

Ribault called his company together and made them an address, which he modestly omits in his own relation,[1] but which is faithfully reported in another.[2] He reminded them of the great importance of the enterprise in which they were engaged, and of the "eternal memorie" which should of right belong to those, who, forgetting their parents and their country, should have the "goode happe to make tryall of the benefits and commodities of this new land." Their humble birth and condition, he told them, should be no discouragement, for many, it should be remembered, among the Romans, "for their so valiant enterprises, not for the greatnesse of their parentage, haue obtained the honour to tryumph;" and not among the Romans only were there many notable examples of men of low origin rising to places of dignity and power. And his promise to those who should permit themselves to be "registred forever as the first that inhabited this strang countrey," was "I will so imprint your names in the king's eares, and the other princes,

[1] *The True and Last Discouerie of Florida, made by Captain John Ribault in the yeere* 1562. *Dedicated to a great noble man of France, and translated into Englishe by one Thomas Hackit.* Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages.*

[2] *A Notable Historie containing Foure Voyages made by Certaine French Captaines into Florida, etc., etc., by Monsieur Laudonniere.* Hakluyt's *Voyages,* vol. iii.

that your renowme shall hereafter shine vnquenchable through our Realme of France."

Whether moved by his eloquence, or carried away by the enthusiasm which the events and scenes of the last few days inspired, there were so many anxious to be left behind, that Ribault "had much to do to stay their importunitie." Thirty, however, were all he could spare, and a soldier of long experience, Albert de la Pierria, who was the first among them all to offer to remain, was appointed captain. With a good will all hands then went to work to put up a fort for the protection of the colonists. It was called Charles Fort, and was built on a little island in a stream they called Chenonceau, now known as Archer's Creek, about six miles from Beaufort, South Carolina.[1] This done, Ribault set sail with his two vessels on the 11th of June, to return to France, leaving with the colonists a store of victuals and ammunition, and this parting exhortation: that they be obedient to their captain, and live as brethren, one with another.

Beginning of the French settlement.

The first care of the colonists was to finish the fort, never resting night or day till this was done, that there might the sooner be leisure for exploration into the interior. But here all real work began and ended. A place to fight in, if need be, first; then to spy out and gather the riches of the land in gold and silver and precious stones, was their notion of colonization. No provision was made for the future; they relied on Ribault's promise to send them speedy succor, as if it were a narrow stream and not three thousand miles of ocean that separated them from France. The "fat ground," so "wonderfull fertill that it will bring forthe the wheate and all other corne twice a yeere," they suffered to remain as they found it, "unbroken with plough-irons," and ere long they were suffering for want of food. The game with which in their season the woods were filled, the fish with which the waters were alive, they were too unskillful or too idle to take. Indolent and improvident, they soon became dependent upon the bounty of the savages. They cultivated the friendship of all the tribes within their reach, and though the Indians soon learned to look upon them with contempt for their idleness and imbecility, they seem to have felt for them none of that hatred and fear which the Spaniards always aroused by their licentiousness and cruelty.

Improvidence and idleness of the colony.

No aid came from France. The Indians, who lived as their race lives always, from hand to mouth, and in their natural state were accustomed to look starvation in the face at least once a year between seed-time and harvest, had little to spare. Of this, however, they

[1] *Pioneers of France in the New World*, by Francis Parkman.

gave generously, and when at one time the store-house at Charles Fort, filled by the charity of a distant chief, was, the next night, destroyed with all it contained, by fire, their savage benefactors built, within twelve days, a new house, and refilled it. With hunger and destitution the colonists grew discontented, desperate, and insubordinate. Captain Albert, either from an ill-judged attempt to enforce rigid discipline among these starving wretches, or else in the mere wantonness of power, hanged a drummer, named Guernache, for some trifling fault, and banished a soldier, La Chère, to a desolate island, where he was afterward found half dead from hunger. Thereupon followed defiance and mutiny from others who were threatened with the like punishments, and these only ended in the murder of the captain. Then Nicolas Barre was chosen governor, "a man worthy of commendation, and one which knewe so well to quit himselfe of his charge that all rancour and dissention ceased among them." There was at last peace.

Mutiny and bloodshed.

But they were as hungry as before, and the question now was, how to get back to France. So desperate was their condition that, although there were no mechanics among them, they determined to build a



Building the Pinnace.

small pinnace. For cordage they took such rope as the Indians could make for them; for sails, what they had left of their own sheets and shirts; for provisions, as much corn as the natives chose to give; and so, "drunken with excessive joy" at the hope of seeing France again, but as always, without "foresight and consideration," and with "slender victual," they put to sea. No madder voyage, perhaps, was ever undertaken. Only one third of it was

Building of a vessel, and embarkation for France.

made when the wind failed them. For the next three weeks they sailed only twenty-five leagues, and then provision became so short that twelve kernels of corn a day was each man's allowance. Even this was soon exhausted, and there was nothing left to eat but their shoes and leather jackets. A part died of hunger. Water there was none, except the salt sea that poured in at every seam of their crazy craft. A storm overtook them, and for three days they lay helpless and in despair in the bottom of the boat, which drifted whithersoever it would. Hope revived at the proposition that one should die to save the rest, and the lot fell upon that La Chère whom Captain Albert had banished from the colony to starve alone upon an island at Port Royal. "Now his flesh was divided equally among his fellowes: a thing so pitiful to recite," says Laudonnière, "that my pen is loth to write it." But it saved the rest; they soon after fell in with an English vessel, on board of which was one of their companions who had gone home with Ribault, and they were taken, the most feeble to France, the others as prisoners to England.

Misery on shipboard.

It was by no neglect of Ribault's that the thirty men left at Charles Fort had watched in vain for his promised return till they were ready to resort to any desperate measure. Civil war had broken out when he reached France; and Coligny, the lord admiral, had no leisure to think, even in the interest of the reformed religion, of a feeble colony planted in the wilderness on the other side of the sea. So long as the country at home was distracted by the war, and so long as any doubt remained of his own party attaining to supreme power in the state, it was vain to ask for aid. A few months after Ribault's return, the Duke of Guise, the head of the Catholic faction, was assassinated, and in the confusion that followed, Coligny had enough to do to defend himself against the charge of being the instigator of that act. True, it ultimately led to a short peace, but it was long before there was even the semblance of a reconciliation between parties hating each other with both religious and political rancor; long before there was any real relief to a country whose business and agriculture were wellnigh ruined, whose discharged soldiers lived by robbery, whose people were generally suffering for want of food, and from whose borders a foreign foe had still to be expelled.

Affairs in France.

But in 1564, Coligny represented to the king that no news had been heard from the men sent to Florida, and that it was a pity they should be left to perish. A new expedition was determined on, but it is not certain that the survivors taken from the pinnace did not arrive in France before it sailed. If so, the attempt at colonization, at any rate, was to be persevered in, and three ships sailed in April under the command of Captain René de Laudonnière, who was with Ribault on the first voyage.

Coligny's new adventure under René de Laudonnière. 1564.



RIBAULT'S PILLAR ON THE RIVER MAY.

In June the fleet of three ships arrived in the River of May. On landing, the Frenchmen were greeted with shouts of welcome by a crowd of Indians, men and women, who cried out, "Ami! Ami!" (Friend! Friend!) the one French word they had learned from their former visitors, and remembered. Their Paracoussy, or chief, whose name was Satouriona, led the Frenchmen to the pillar of stone which Ribault had set up two years before, "and wee found the same," says Laudonnière, "crowned with crownes of Bay and at the foote thereof many little baskets full of mill (corn), which they call in their language, Tapaga Tapola. Then, when they came thither, they kissed the same with great reuerence, and besought vs to do the like, which we would not denie them, to the ende we might drawe them to be more in friendship with vs." The next day the chief received the captain and his suite in state, "vnder the shadow of an arbour, apparalled with a great Harts skinne dressed like chamois, and painted with deuices of strange and diuers colours, but of so liuely a portrature, and representing antiquity, with rules so iustly compassed, that there is no Painter so exquisite that could finde fault therewith."

Ribault's pillar adored by natives.

Among the first gifts from the Indians was a wedge of silver, given to Laudonnière by a son of Satouriona. When inquiry was afterward made as to where this silver came from, the cunning Indian, who understood the eagerness of the Frenchmen to find mines of the precious metals, and meant to turn that passion to his own account, asserted that the wedge was taken from a tribe, some days' journey in the interior, called the Thimogoa; that they were his natural and deadly enemies, and if the strangers would join him in fighting them, enough of gold and silver could be got to satisfy all their desires.

Gift of silver from the natives.

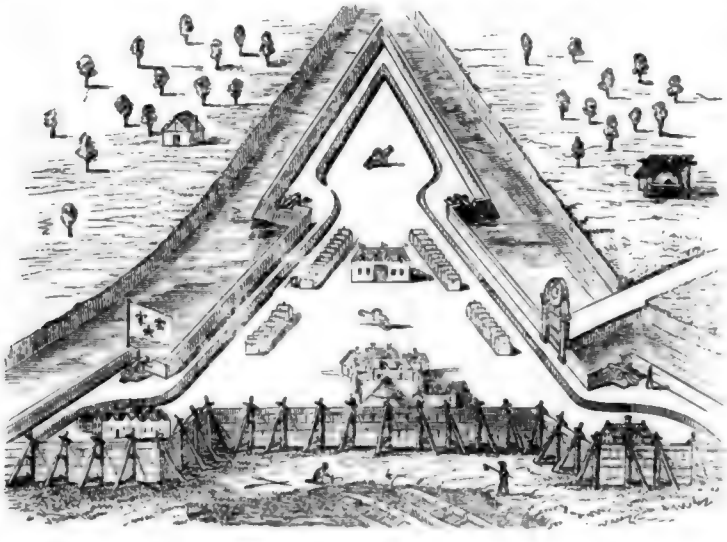
But the enthusiasm and delight of Laudonnière and his companions were — as the case had been with Ribault and his company, and as was entirely characteristic of them all as Frenchmen — extravagant and beyond all reason. The soil of this incomparable country was so rich; the trees festooned with vines and hanging moss, and "of so souereign odour that Baulme smelleth nothing in comparison," were so grand and beautiful; the waters of the lakes and rivers were so sweet and placid; the meadows were so inviting, divided asunder into "little iles and islets;" the flowers of such delightful hue and fragrance, that it seemed that life there must be passed in uninterrupted happiness and pleasure. And the people, apparently, were worthy of so pleasant a land, being "of a natural disposition perfect and well guided." Athore, the eldest son of Satouriona, was "gentle and tractable; perfect in beautie, wise-

Enthusiastic report of Laudonnière.

dome, honest sobrietie, and modest grauitie." The chief of a neighboring tribe was "gratious and courteous," and "one of the tallest men and best proportioned that may bee founde;" his wife a model as a princess, a woman, and a mother, endowed with great beauty, "of virtuous countenance and modest gravity," having in her train five graceful daughters, well brought up, "taught well and straightly." That they none of them wore much if any clothing perhaps added to rather than took from the glamour of this arcadian picture. Life, too, as seemed fitting, was prolonged in this land where the men were noble and brave, the women beautiful, and all nature bountiful. The father of a chief was found whose descendants were counted to the fifth generation. How old the sire was is not stated; but his venerable son numbered two hundred and fifty years, and both expected, unless cut off by a violent death, to live thirty or forty years longer.

Laudonnière, after sailing a few leagues along the coast, returned to the River of May without going to Port Royal, having heard, no doubt, either from the Indians or before leaving France, of the abandonment of Charles Fort. He determined to settle on the May, rather than at Port Royal, as "it was much more needfull to plant in places plentifull of victual, than in goodly havens, faire, deepe, and pleasant to the view." The spot chosen was just above what is now known as St. John's Bluff, on the bank of the river.[1] At break of day, the trumpet sounded to assemble the people; a Psalm of thanksgiving was sung; the blessing of God was asked upon their enterprise, and then all fell to work with shovels, cutting-hooks and hatchets. The fort was in the shape of a triangle, fronting the river, with the bluff on one side, a marsh on the other, and the woods in the rear. It was finished in a few days, with the aid of Satouriona's people, and was named Fort Caroline, in honor of the king, Charles IX. of France.

Building of Fort Caroline



Fort Caroline. [De Bry.]

[1] Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*. Fairbanks' *History of St. Augustine*.

They could handle the shovel to build fortifications, but not to till the ground. As in the first colony, no seed was planted; the only harvest thought of was gold and silver. The experience of the unfortunate Port Royalists profited them nothing; if they considered at all the advantage which numbers gave them, it was only that they would be able to explore the farther, and use them, if need be, in the subjection of the Indians, in acquiring the wealth they hoped to find. Expeditions were sent from time to time into the interior, always with the same purpose. Everywhere gold and silver were asked for; everywhere was the same answer: it was some chief beyond who had them in plenty, and against that particular chief the informant was always anxious to commence hostilities with the aid of the Frenchmen. There was no fable telling of gold that they were not eager to swallow. It was "good newes" at Fort Caroline that there were certain Indians who covered "their brests, armes, thighes, legs, and foreheads, with large plates of gold and silver," as protective armor, and that "the height of two foot of gold and silver," would be the booty that might be taken from the least of the petty chiefs of that people. Two Spaniards were brought to the Fort from the Gulf coast, where they had been shipwrecked fifteen years before; they reported that the king of that country "had great store of gold and silver, so farre forth that in a certaine village he had a pit full thereof, which was at the least as high as a man, and as large as a tunne;" that "the common people of the countrey also had great store thereof;" that "the women going to dance, did weare about their girdles plates of gold as broad as a sawcer, and in such number that the weight did hinder them to dance at their ease; and that the men ware the like also." While the cupidity of the Frenchmen was inflamed with such stories, there could be no useful industry and no steady discipline. Promises to the chiefs of rendering aid in their attacks upon their neighbors, were kept or broken, as either course seemed most likely to further the search for treasure. It was a trial of cunning with the native chiefs, in which, on the whole, the savages came off the best; for they were sometimes enabled, by the help of the Christians, to add to their store of scalps, while the promised riches which the Christians coveted, were still to be got by some new expedition. "The mountaine of Apalichi," which they soon learned to believe was the source of the precious metals they were in search of, seemed after every fight to be as distant as ever.

The greed for gold and silver.

CHAPTER IX.

FRENCH AND SPANISH COLONISTS IN FLORIDA.

PLOTS AGAINST THE FRENCH GOVERNOR LAUDONNIÈRE. — OPEN MUTINY IN HIS COLONY. — FIGHT WITH INDIANS. — VISIT OF AN ENGLISH FLEET TO PORT ROYAL. — ARRIVAL OF RIBAULT WITH A FLEET OF SEVEN SHIPS. — CRUSADE OF PEDRO MENENDEZ AGAINST HERETICS. — HIS ATTACK ON FORT CAROLINE. — SLAUGHTER OF RIBAULT AND HIS MEN BY THE SPANIARDS. — FOUNDING OF THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. — INDIGNATION OF THE FRENCH AT THE SPANISH ATROCITIES. — DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUES GOES TO FLORIDA. — HE MAKES ALLIES OF THE SAVAGES. — ATTACK ON THE SPANISH FORT. — THE BLOODY RETALIATION. — A SPANISH MISSION ON THE RAPPAHANNOCK.

DISAPPOINTMENT in these extravagant hopes and ill-directed efforts soon led to the inevitable results. Discontent and insubordination showed themselves in the fort; Laudonnière was blamed for want of energy and enterprise, and a plot was formed to depose him and even to take his life. One La Roquette pretended to have discovered by magic a mine of gold and silver, far up the river, which he promised should yield ten thousand crowns each to the soldiers who should take it, besides a reserve of fifteen hundred thousand for the king. Genre, a trusted friend of Laudonnière, was, with Roquette, the head of this conspiracy, and many of the soldiers were fascinated with the old delusion in fresher and more captivating colors than ever. But to reach this wonderful mine it was necessary first to dispose of the captain; for he held the key of the store-house, was rigidly economical of provision, was obeyed and trusted by many of the soldiers, and was an obstacle generally in the way of any plan whereby every man in the colony was to do just as he pleased without regard to anybody else. It was proposed to the apothecary to give him enough arsenic or quicksilver "to make mee," says Laudonnière himself, "pitch ouer the pearch;" the master of the fire-works was asked to put a keg of gunpowder under his bed. But neither proposition found favor in the eyes of those scrupulous officers; exposure speedily followed, and the conspirators were punished on the spot or sent back to France.

Insubordination in Fort Caroline.

But the fire was only smothered, not extinguished. Other mal-

contents soon after stole two small vessels, the only ones the colony possessed for excursions into the interior, and made off to the West India Islands for a piratical voyage on their own account. Two other and larger vessels were built as soon as possible, but were no sooner ready for sea than they also were seized, the mutineers, this time, being strong enough to imprison Laudonnière and compel him to sign a roving commission authorizing them to make a cruise among the Spanish colonies. By robbing churches and seizing treasure-ships they hoped to so enrich themselves as to be independent even of government at home, if their acts should be repudiated. But the fate which so often followed buccaneers attended them. They soon quarrelled over the booty they easily acquired;

The mutineers seize the ships.



Arrest of the Pirates.

three of the vessels finally fell into the hands of the Spaniards; the fourth, steered by a pilot who, with some of the sailors, had been compelled against his will to go in her, was brought back by his skillful management to Fort Caroline, when Laudonnière had the satisfaction of seizing the ringleaders and punishing them with death.

In the spring a new enemy beset them, whose coming should have been foreseen — "ignominious hunger." The provisions they brought

with them were exhausted, and they could no longer rely upon the stock of corn and beans which the Indians had laid up for winter use, as they parted unwillingly with any portion of their small remainder. Trinkets and clothing, with which they had become familiar, diminished in value in the eyes of the savages, and they knew from experience how to measure with accuracy the wasting corn-heaps by the months still to elapse before the ripening of the new corn. Less thoughtful than the Indians, the colonists had provided for no scarcity, and looked forward to no harvest, depending alone upon succor from France, as their unfortunate countrymen had done before them. Day by day, they climbed the hill and scanned the horizon in vain for a sight of the returning ships; and day by day their flesh wasted away, their bones pierced the skin, and hardly strength was left them to gather sorrel and dig the few edible roots they could find in the woods wherewith to keep the life in their miserable bodies. Driven to this extremity they clamored to be led back to France, though not one of their two or three small vessels was large enough to carry the whole company, or fit to encounter the perils of such a voyage.

Famine attacks the colony.

It was the time of planting, and they could as easily have waited for the ripening of fruit and grain and have thus made themselves self-sustaining and independent of all outside aid for the future, as provide for the three months it would take to build another ship. But they thought of nothing, cared for nothing, but to get away. A new ship, therefore, must be built, and they devoted such strength as they had left to that work. Meantime, they were in want of food. Foraging expeditions among the Indians only ended in disappointment; the hungry crowd surrounded Laudonnière, demanding that he should seize one of the neighboring chiefs and hold him to be ransomed in corn and other provision. "Shall it not be lawful for vs," they said, "to punish them for the wrong they doe unto vs, beside that we know apparently how little they respect vs." The wrongs were that the Indians were too prudent to part with the stores which were hardly sufficient for their own support till the new corn was fit to gather; the want of respect was the unconcealed contempt they felt for these civilized paupers who permitted themselves to be reduced to this pitiful extremity.

The remedy proposed did not commend itself to Laudonnière's judgment, but he was compelled to yield to the clamor around him. Outina, one of their kings, was seized amid the lamentations of the women and the cries for vengeance from the men of his tribe. The treacherous act, as Laudonnière expected, failed to arouse either the fears or the generosity of the Indians; but it in-

Injustice to the Indians.

flamed to the last degree their cunning and ferocity. Under pretence of providing for the ransom of their chief, they led the Frenchmen into an ambuscade, out of which they escaped, after a hard day's fight, with only two bags of corn, while two of their men were killed and twenty-two wounded. Incapable of the industry and wanting in the



Fight with Indians.

forethought indispensable to the successful colonist, they could still acquit themselves, weak as they were, with honor as soldiers.

As the season advanced food became more plentiful, and grain was gathered for the homeward voyage in August, 1565. On the third day of that month, however, Laudonnière, ever on the watch for aid from home, saw from the look-out on the bluff a fleet approaching. At the fort "they were so glad of those newes, that one would haue thought them to bee out of their wittes to see them laugh and leape for joy." Their joy was so far premature, that the ships were English, not French, though otherwise, as the event proved, they had equal cause for thankfulness.

Visit of an English fleet under Sir John Hawkins.

The fleet was commanded by Sir John Hawkins, now returning from a second and profitable voyage to the coast of Guinea, where he had learned three years before that "store of Negros might be had,"

and that they "were very good marchandise in Hispaniola."[1] He was not deaf or blind to the claims of humanity in white men, and took pity on the sore distress of the French colony, relieving not only their present wants, but offering to transport them to France. There was great "bruite and mutiny" when Laudonnière declined the offer, and the soldiers threatened that they would go without him. A compromise at last was made, and one of the English vessels was purchased, with sufficient provision for the voyage. Hawkins made some generous additions by gift, and then left them with renewed life and hope at this unexpected and timely relief, having won among them, says Laudonnière, "the reputation of a good and charitable man deseruing to be esteemed as much of vs all as if he saued all our liues."

In a few days they were ready to sail, and waited only a fair wind, when, on the 28th of August, another fleet was seen approaching. The long-expected aid had come at last from France. Seven ships anchored at the mouth of the river with three hundred men on board, under the command of Ribault himself. Amid the salutes of cannon, the greetings of old friends and companions, the welcome to fellow-countrymen who were looked on as deliverers, there was one man who was crushed by this arrival with a sense of new misfortune, and, the hardest of all things to bear, of cruel injustice in return for a self-sacrificing and faithful discharge of duty.

Arrival of Ribault's ships.

This was Laudonnière, who soon learned that the discontented and insubordinate persons, whom he had sent back to France the year before, had brought accusations against him of an unwarrantable assumption of power and tyrannical behavior in the colony, and that these had been listened to by Admiral Coligny. Ribault was sent to take command in his place, and he was recalled to answer for his conduct. When we remember the many difficulties he had had to encounter; the extravagant expectations of sudden wealth which had possessed his followers and the consequent disappointment and discontent; the mutinies he had been compelled to submit to or to quell; the calamity of famine he had been called upon to relieve; the war with the Indians into which he was forced against his better judgment; and that through all he had held the colony together and saved it from absolute destruction, it is much easier to believe that he was unfortunate than in fault. But his disgrace overwhelmed him, and he makes a touching, though unconscious appeal to all human sympathy, in the record of his state at this

Unjust complaints against Laudonnière.

[1] See *Voyages of the right worshipful and valiant Knight Sir John Hawkins.* Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. iii.

point of his sad story, that "weakened with my former trauaile, and fallen into a melancholy vpon the false reports that had bene made of mee, I fell into a great continuall feuer." It was doubtless a satisfaction to him to be assured that his friends among the new-comers were at once satisfied that the accusations against him were malicious, and had no foundation in truth; that Ribault begged him not to leave the colony, and generously offered to build another fortress for his own company, and to leave him unmolested in command of Fort Caroline. But Laudonnière felt too keenly the impeachment of his honor and character, to accede to any proposition but implicit obedience to the orders from home, and an immediate return to France to meet his accusers face to face. But misfortune had not yet done with him. Calamities yet to come were to sweep away all question, for a time all memory, of his past administration of affairs.

Only a week had passed, when a third fleet appeared, silently and suddenly in the night-time at the mouth of the River of May. When hailed as to who they were and what they wanted, the answer was that they were from Spain; that Pedro Menendez was in command; and that he had come in obedience to the king to burn and destroy such Lutheran French as should be found in his dominions.[1] An attack was to have been made in the morning. Three of Ribault's ships had gone up the river to Fort Caroline; the other four were no match for the Spaniards, and had no alternative but to slip their cables and stand out to sea. They not only outsailed the Spanish vessels, but turned and followed them, when the chase was relinquished, and watched their entrance into the River of Dolphins, a few leagues southward, and the landing of men, provisions, ordnance, and ammunition.

Expedition of Pedro Menendez.



Pedro Menendez.

This expedition of Menendez was esteemed in Spain as almost a new crusade. There was no lack of either men or means in so holy an undertaking as the extermination of heretics, who, with their pernicious doctrines, were sure to vitiate the pure minds of the Indians of the New World, stain their white souls with ineffaceable evil, and lead them to perdition. This fervent religious zeal, coupled with the execution and approval of the most frightful

Spanish zeal against heretics.

[1] MS. Letter of Menendez to the King; Parkman's *Pioneers*, etc., p. 100.

atrocities, was perfectly in accordance with the spirit of the times; but it is quite possible that the determination of the Spaniards to destroy, in the name of God, a handful of people in the wilderness, because they were heretics, may have been inflamed by the piracies which the mutineers, who stole Laudonnière's ships, had committed in the West Indies. Menendez himself, however, was a bigot, who could conceive of no better manifestation of love to God than cruelty to man, when man was heretical; whose scent for blood was unerring as that of the most ferocious wild beast; whose treacherous cunning in approaching and seizing his prey, was the keenest animal instinct, sharpened to the utmost degree by human intelligence. He undoubtedly looked upon his enterprise as a sacred mission, and, when on his outward voyage his fleet had been scattered by a storm, he insisted upon proceeding with only a part of his force, declaring that it was evidently God's will that the victory he was to achieve should be due, not to numbers, but to the Divine assistance. But the most intense religious bigotry condescends to worldly wisdom, and there is little doubt that information had been sent to Spain by some of the Catholics of the French court that reinforcements were about to go to Fort Caroline under Ribault, and that the zeal of Menendez was quickened by that intelligence to fall upon the heretics before this assistance could reach them.

Character of Menendez.

When the report was taken back to Fort Caroline, that the Spaniards had left their ships, Ribault proposed at once to fall upon them with all his force before they had time to fortify themselves on shore, and overcome them while in a defenceless condition. Laudonnière, on the other hand, urged that there was great danger of sudden storms at that season on that coast, which might defeat such an expedition by disabling the ships, or driving them to sea, while a prolonged absence of the soldiers would leave Fort Caroline defenceless, and exposed to attack by the Spaniards. His counsel, as the event proved, was wise, but it was unheeded. Ribault sailed with all the larger vessels and nearly all the effective men at his command. He left behind him at Fort Caroline about two hundred and forty persons, including the sick, the women, and the children, but among them all a very few only were able to bear arms.[1]

Ribault decides to follow the Spaniards.

As Laudonnière feared, Ribault and his ships were scattered by a sudden and violent tempest just as they were about to attack the enemy at the mouth of the River of Dolphins — an event which was

[1] Challeux's *Discours de l'Histoire de la Floride* — better known as "the carpenter's narrative," gives two hundred and forty as the number of persons left in the fort, but Laudonnière's estimate is much smaller.

hailed by the Spaniards as another providential interposition in their favor. This miscarriage of Ribault was the opportunity of Menendez, and he lost no time in availing himself of it. From the Indians he learned that many of the men had embarked upon the French vessels, and he proposed to proceed at once overland to the attack of Fort Caroline, trusting to reach it before the fleet could return. To many of his companions it seemed a foolhardy enterprise to march through unknown forests and swamps, to attack a fortress of whose strength and the number of whose defenders they were ignorant, and when defeat would probably be fatal alike to those who went upon the expedition and those who were left behind. But Menendez, confident in his judgment, invincible in his fanaticism, was firm in his purpose. Fort Caroline, he was sure, was almost defenceless; it would be easy to find the way through the woods by the compass; by making an attack when least expected, success was certain; and finally, he said, "we shall the more speedily do a service to our God and our king, and comply with our conscience and our duty."

Plan of Menendez.

On the morning of September the 17th five hundred men were drawn out upon the beach, a mass was said, and the march began. At the moment of starting two Indians, who had recently come from Fort Caroline, appeared, and were secured as guides across the country, and a French deserter was to show them where the fortress could be most easily approached and most successfully assaulted. For two days they struggled through the woods and morasses, exposed to heavy rains, sometimes wading to their waists, in danger of losing the ammunition and provision which each man carried on his back, — a cold, wet, hungry, disconsolate, and grumbling throng of stragglers held to any military duty or purpose only by the iron will of one man. They reached the fort in the night of the second day, and halting in water up to their knees, the pitiless storm beating upon their heads, they waited for daylight.

March on Fort Caroline.

The cold and drenching rain had driven the sentinels of the feeble garrison to shelter. One man only was found at his post, and he was seized and speedily put to death by a reconnoitring party that advanced with the first glimmer of daylight. Then the Spaniards poured through breaches in the palisades with cries of "Santiago! Victory! God is with us!" There was little fighting; only slaughter. The panic-stricken Frenchmen, aroused from sleep by the Spanish war-cry, confused by the darkness and by the suddenness of the attack, sought only, each for himself, to escape and find shelter in the woods and swamps. Neither sex nor age was spared, according to the French accounts; but the Spanish relations declare that quarter was given to the women, and children under fifteen years

Bloodthirsty attack of the Spaniards.

of age. Some were taken prisoners, apparently only from a refinement of cruelty, for they were all hanged a few hours later. Over their heads Menendez put this inscription, "I do this, not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans."

Survivors of the slaughter.

The whole number thus massacred in the name of religion was one hundred and forty-two. Those who escaped made their way through the marshes to the two vessels that Ribault had left behind him. Among these was Laudonnière, who was found the morning after the attack, held up by a soldier, in water to



Rescue of Laudonnière.

the arm-pits, where they had passed the night. When this wretched remnant of the colony was rescued, the vessels, which a nephew of Ribault commanded, sailed for France without waiting for tidings of the expedition to the River of Dolphins.

Thus far Menendez was crowned with complete success. "We owe," he said, "to God and His mother, more than to human strength, this victory over the adversaries of the Holy Catholic Religion."[1] Not a heretic Frenchman was left alive on the River of May, and that even the memory of them might be wiped out, the names of the river and the fort were changed to San Mateo by these devout Spaniards, the nearest saint-day, that of St. Matthew, being on the 21st day of September. Taking fifty soldiers with him Menendez returned to his encampment at the mouth of the River of Dolphins. A messenger had been sent forward to announce his success and his coming, and the whole camp turned out to meet him in procession with priests at their head in full canonicals, chanting a *Te Deum*, and bearing a crucifix. The Adelantado and his followers knelt before and kissed the cross, giving thanks to God that He had enabled them to extirpate his enemies and theirs.

The next anxiety of Menendez was to know what had become of the other heretics on board of Ribault's ships. Nor had he long to wait. Intelligence was soon brought in by the Indians that the Frenchmen were wrecked on Anastasia Island, a little to the southward. Proceeding thither with fifty soldiers, Menendez found a party of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men, to whom he made himself known. Thrown by the storm upon this desolate beach, exhausted from want of food and rest, with no means of escape or of subsistence, they appealed to his humanity to aid them in reaching a place of refuge at their fort, Caroline. Were they Catholics or Lutherans? he asked. They replied that they were all of the Reformed Religion. Then he told them that their fort was destroyed, and all its men were put to the sword. As to themselves, he said, that being of the new faith "he held them for enemies, and would wage war upon them even to blood and to fire, would pursue them with all cruelty wherever he should encounter them in whatever sea or land." They begged that he would give them shelter till succor could be sent them from France, which was at peace with Spain. His answer was: "They could give up their arms and place themselves under my mercy, — that I should do with them what our Lord should order; and from that I did not depart, nor would I, unless God our Lord should otherwise inspire."[2] Then they offered him fifty thousand ducats to spare their lives; but he was inexorable, and they, not knowing how small his force was, — perhaps misled by the courtesy with which he treated their messengers, — accepted the only alternative that seemed left to

The fate of the wrecked Frenchmen.

[1] MS. Letter from Menendez to the King, in Parkman's *Pioneers of France*.

[2] *Ibid.*

them, and surrendered unconditionally, giving up their arms and standards.

An inlet divided the two parties, and the treacherous Spaniard ordered that the Frenchmen should be brought over in companies of ten.

The murder of heretics.

As each squad arrived they were told that as they were many, and their captors were few, it would be necessary, as a prudent and rational precaution, that the prisoners should be bound before they were marched together to the Spanish encampment. They were led then behind a sand-hill, out of sight of their fellows on the other shore, and their hands securely tied behind their backs with bow-strings. When toward night-fall all were gathered together, they were marched a short distance to a spot which the adelantado himself had chosen and marked upon the sand with a spear. Once more the fatal question was asked: Were they all Lutherans? A dozen, who professed to be Catholics, and four others, who were calkers and carpenters, and whose services were needed, were led aside. A few moments later, of all the rest, — all bound, not able even to raise an unarmed hand to ward off a blow, — not one was left alive.

A cruel and inexorable fate seemed to pursue the wretched Frenchmen. The sand could hardly have soaked up the blood of the men so treacherously murdered, or the murderers have reached their camp a few miles distant, when Ribault himself, with the rest of his followers, arrived at the spot whence the others had, only a few hours before, been betrayed to their death. Menendez heard of it the morning after his return, and hurried back again to the inlet.

Ribault captured by Menendez.

As before he made such disposition of his men as to completely deceive the French, who knew nothing of the movements of the Spanish soldiers since their landing; as before, when aid was asked to enable the shipwrecked men to reach Fort Caroline, the answer was that the fort had been taken and its people put to the sword; and to convince Ribault that he was completely at the mercy of his enemy, he was led aside and shown the pile of the unburied corpses of his murdered countrymen. Nevertheless, the Frenchmen apparently would not believe that Menendez was absolutely wanting in all humane instincts, and when a ransom of a hundred thousand ducats was offered for their lives, they had, or thought they had, a pledge for their safety. The Spanish narratives assert that no such pledge was given, while the French declare that he bound himself by an oath to spare their lives; but at best, the answers of Menendez were only equivocal, and meant to betray. Of the three hundred and fifty Frenchmen, however, only one hundred and fifty, with Ribault at their head, offered to surrender; the rest refused, and marched southward.

The stratagems of the day before were again resorted to. In squads of ten, the Frenchmen were brought across the inlet; these detachments, on landing, were taken out of sight of those yet to come, and their hands bound behind their backs as a pretended precaution for a coming march; when all were thus secured, they were led to the spot where lay the bodies of their countrymen on the blood-red sand. If there was still any lingering doubt or hope in the minds of the wretched and betrayed men, it was dispelled by the questions, which, to Menendez, had but one significance — were they Catholics or Lutherans? and were there any among them who wished to make confession? Ribault answered that they were all of the Reformed Faith. Then, after repeating the Psalm, *Domine memento mei,* he said, "that from dust they came and to dust they must return; Death of Ribault.



Massacre of Ribault.

twenty years more or less could matter but little; and that the adelantado could do with them as he chose." Two youths of eighteen years of age, and the fifers, trumpeters, and drummers were spared. The rest were "put to the sword, judging this," says Menendez, in his letter to the king, "to be expedient for the service of God our Lord, and of your majesty."

That God would be pleased, he takes for granted; why the king

should be, he gives a reason; for he adds: "I consider it great good fortune that he (Ribault) should be dead, for the King of France could effect more with him and five hundred ducats than with other men and five thousand, and he would do more in one year than another in ten, for he was the most experienced sailor and naval commander known, and of great skill in this navigation of the Indies and the coast of Florida. He was, besides, greatly liked in England, in which kingdom his reputation was such that he was appointed Captain-General of all the English fleet, against the French Catholics in the war between England and France, some years ago." Even the savage has magnanimity enough to honor the dead in whose living presence he may have trembled; but that his enemy was to be feared in life, was with Menendez, a reason for treating his dead body with indignity. The flowing beard of Ribault, which had excited the wonder and admiration of the Indians, was cut off and sent to Spain as a trophy; and his head, divided into four quarters, was stuck up on lances at the four corners of the fort at the River of Dolphins.[1] The place of the cruel and treacherous massacre is known, to this day, as "the bloody river of Matanzas." [2]

There were two hundred men still at large somewhere in Florida. These were soon after heard of at a point farther down the coast. They had entrenched themselves behind some temporary defences, and from the materials of a wrecked vessel were building another in which to return to France. The adelantado marched thither and attacked them; the fort was destroyed, and the unfinished ship burnt. Most of the men surrendered under a promise that their lives should be spared; but a score of them, with the captain, escaped to the woods, declaring that they would take the chance of being eaten by savages rather than trust themselves to any pledge of Spanish faith. Menendez evidently did not think the immolation of the heretics who now surrendered, necessary to the glory of God and his mother; nor was their number sufficient to excite any fears for the safety of his colony. These prisoners, therefore, he held to the order of the king, instead of assassinating them the moment they were in his power. And the king wrote in reply: "As to those he (the adelantado) has killed, he has done well, and as to those he has saved, they shall be sent to the galleys." [3]

The remnant of Ribault's men made prisoners.

The heretics all, or nearly all, dead or held as prisoners, Menendez

[1] See original documents reprinted in French's *Hist. Coll. of La.*, New Series, 2 vols., and Charlevoix's *History*, Shea's edition, for a comparison of all the accounts of these incidents.

[2] *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine, Florida.* By George H. Fairbanks, New York, 1858.

[3] MS. Letter of Menendez. Parkman's *Pioneers.*

then had leisure to look after the other interests of his colony, at the mouth of the River of Dolphins. He had landed at this spot on the 8th of September, after his unsuccessful chase of the French ships from the River of May. It was here that Ribault had followed to attack him, when his fleet was scattered by the tempest, and finally shipwrecked. Menendez had gone on shore and taken formal possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain, with military pomp and religious solemnity; a priest meeting him at the water's edge, chanting a *Te Deum*, and bearing a crucifix, which the soldiers knelt before and kissed with devout thankfulness. The Indians watched these mysterious proceedings with simple wonder; but they received the strangers with great kindness, and gave them

St. Augustine built.



Laying out of St. Augustine.

the house of a chief, called Selooe, for immediate shelter. This was made the nucleus of a fort; a ditch was at once dug around it, and a rampart of earth and fascines raised. It was the first permanent European settlement within the present boundaries of the United States, and called by Menendez. St. Augustine, because on the festival day of that saint — the 28th of August — the Spanish fleet had come in sight of the coast of Florida, and run into the mouth of this river.

From this point, a few days later, he had marched upon Fort Caroline, and then to the massacres at Matanzas Inlet; and here he had returned with a sense of security thus frightfully purchased, to found a state.

The end of the French colony.

Not a month had elapsed since the fleet of Ribault sailed into the River of May, with streaming banners, amid the firing of guns, great and small, the hearty cheers for a voyage happily finished, the shouts of joy at an unexpected deliverance from danger and distress. Of the ships, two only were now afloat — those carrying Laudonnière and his companions on their painful and perilous voyage back to France — of the people, the few others who were alive were fugitives in the woods of Florida, or prisoners in the hands of a relentless bigot, whose mercy, when he showed any, was only some method of cruelty just short of death. Eight hundred Frenchmen [1] had perished, most of them stabbed to death while their hands were in bonds, behind their backs.

But there was yet to come another act in the bloody baptism of the first permanent colony planted in the New World, north of the Gulf of Mexico. The news of the atrocities committed by Menendez was long in reaching Europe, and any intelligence of the details was delayed till they were gathered chiefly from the relations sent home by the Spaniards themselves, pieced out from the fragmentary stories of the few fortunate Frenchmen who escaped. The horror and indignation which these tales excited were not confined to the friends and families of those who had fallen victims to treachery and cruelty, or to those who shared their sorrow from religious sympathy. But the Catholic King of France, and his infamous mother, took no steps to assert the honor of the crown and the rights of the people, either by punishing the perpetrators of so horrible an atrocity, or by calling upon Spain to bring them to justice. The declaration of Menendez that he executed his prisoners at Fort Caroline not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans, was clearly held to be, if not a justification, at least so far a palliation of his crime, that it called for no redress from a Catholic monarch. If vengeance or honor demanded retaliation it was left to whomsoever might take it upon himself to inflict it.

Indignation in France at the Spanish cruelties.

Nearly three years passed away, and the Spaniards of Florida had probably dismissed all fear of any retribution for the treachery and cruelty of their leader. In the spring of 1568 three small vessels appeared off the mouth of the River of May, — its name changed, as we have said, to San Mateo, — and the garrisons of two forts built there after the capture of Fort

Dominique de Gourgues appears in the River of May.

[1] Charlevoix's *New France*, vol. ii., p. 211.

Caroline saluted the strangers as they passed, supposing them to be Spanish. The salute was returned gun for gun, but the ships were French not Spanish, and under the command of Dominique de Gourgues, a soldier of the highest reputation.

De Gourgues, returning from foreign service, had heard of the massacre of his countrymen in Florida, and that the deed had gone unpunished for two years. It is not certain whether he was a Catholic or a heretic; but he was, at any rate, a Frenchman, and the soldier blazed into rage and shame that Frenchmen should have been so betrayed to death, and that no hand had been lifted to smite their murderers. With his passion mingled, doubtless, something of personal resentment, for he had himself once been made a prisoner by the Spaniards and, contrary to the rules of honorable warfare, condemned to the galleys. However, without making his purpose public, he now sold his estates, and borrowed money from his friends to fit out an expedition, ostensibly for the coast of Africa.

Sailing in August, 1567, he went to that coast, and thence to the West Indies. His cruise had lasted all winter, and perhaps its expenses were defrayed by a trade in negroes, seized in fights, which he is known to have had with some African princes near Cape Blanco. The spring found him in harbor at the western extremity of Cuba, when, for the first time, he disclosed to his men the real object of his expedition. Calling them together he repeated the story of the slaughter at the "bloody river of Matanzas;" he asked them to follow him, avenge this monstrous cruelty, and wipe off the stain upon the honor of France. Open ears and quick sympathies received his speech; it was even easier to arouse the indignation than to restrain the impetuosity of his men, and they were hardly willing to wait for favorable weather to put to sea. Wherever he would lead they would follow, and every man of them felt that the honor of his country was in his special keeping, and vengeance for the murder of his countrymen his sacred duty.

Object of De Gourgues' expedition.

De Gourgues stood out to sea, after passing the forts at the mouth of the May, that he might the better conceal his destination from the Spaniards; returning to the coast again, when a few leagues northward, he entered the mouth of a small river, probably the present St. Illa.[1] The Indians, who also supposed the strangers to be Spanish,

[1] The *Reprinse de la Floride*, and Laudonnière's narrative, call the river the Tacatacourou, named the Seine by the French, now the St. Illa. Fairbanks' *History of St. Augustine* says it was the Somme, now the St. Mary's, that De Gourgues entered; Parkman (*Pioneers*), conjectures that it may have been either the St. Illa or St. Mary's. As the earliest narratives distinctly state that the river entered was the Seine — the Tacatacourou; and as Laudonnière says that the place of rendezvous afterward was beyond the Somme — the St. Mary's — there seems to be no good reason for not accepting those narratives.

crowded to the shore prepared to oppose their landing, for Menendez and his companions had made themselves so thoroughly hateful to the natives that they were determined to hinder any more of a race they feared and detested from entering the country. But when they discovered that the new-comers were their old friends, the French, they received them with every possible sign of satisfaction and welcome, followed by the wildest delight when they learned that the expedition was a hostile one against the Spanish settlements.

Reception of the French by the natives.

Satouriona, who had been the friend of the French, after the Indian fashion, when they were at Port Royal and on the May, was the chief who received De Gourgues. Between them an alliance was entered into with the most binding Indian solemnities, a son of the chief and his wife being given as hostages for the safety of a reconnoitring party sent to examine the position of the forts on the May. Satouriona called in all the warriors from the country round about. A rendezvous was appointed further down the coast, to which the Indians went by land, the French by water. Thence they pushed forward, wading through marshes and streams, their feet torn and bleeding with the stones and sharp shells that lie in their beds, forcing their way through the tangled forests, at their head marching De Gourgues and Olotocara,[1] a nephew of Satouriona.

French alliance with Indians.

At dawn they were in front of the Spanish fort on the north bank of the May, and, as at Fort Caroline when Menendez surprised it at the same hour of the day, a single sentinel only was at his post to give the alarm. Shouting that the French were upon them, he coolly plied a gun he brought to bear upon the advancing enemy, till Olotocara, springing upon the platform, ran him through with a pike. The affrighted garrison rushed from their quarters in a vain attempt to escape, while French and Indians, in hot fury and savage hate, poured over the defences. In a few moments, of the Spaniards fifteen only, who were seized and bound, were left alive.

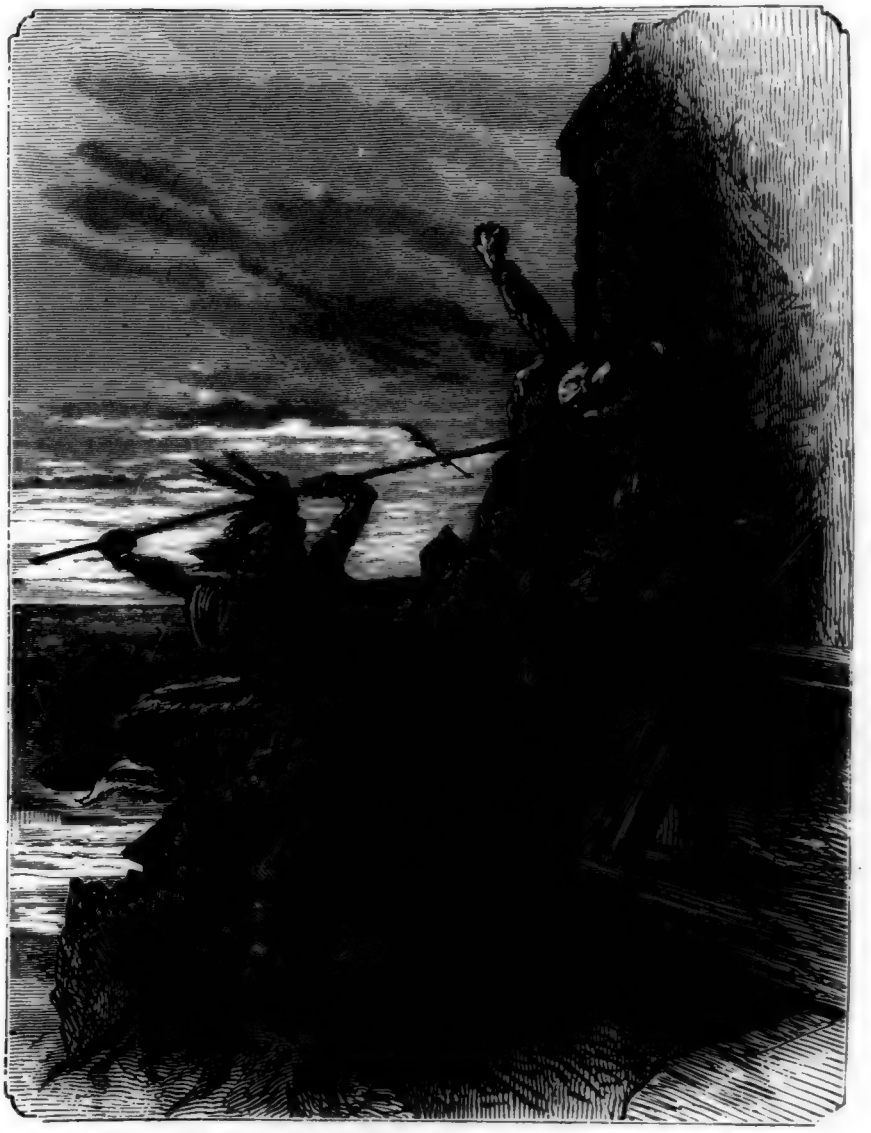
Attack on the Spanish fort.

The attack was as sudden, the onslaught as furious and as irresistible, the destruction more complete than when Menendez, nearly three years before, had fallen in the light of the early morning, amid the roar of the storm, the cries of men, and the shrieks of women and children, upon the feeble garrison of Fort Caroline. But the work was as yet but just begun, and the completeness of French vengeance was to be made still more significant.

The soldiers of the fort on the south bank of the river were at no

[1] The name is spelled Olotocara, Olotacara, Olatocara, Olocotora, and Olotoraca, by different authors.

loss to understand what was befalling their comrades on the other side. The woods were alive with Indians; the air was filled with their frightful yells of anger and defiance; to the Spaniards it was clear from their boldness that something more than usual had given



Death of the Sentinel.

them confidence and courage, and certainly it could be no savage hand that trained the guns of the captured fort so promptly and truly as to silence those that had been brought to bear upon the attacking party. The murderers of Ribault and his men did not need to be told that the white men they saw among the Indians must be French.

As speedily as possible De Gourgues embarked his men upon a vessel he had taken the precaution to have near at hand, to cross the river,

and the Indians, too impatient to await its return for them, plunged into the stream and swam over. The Spaniards, appalled and bewildered by the impetuosity of an onslaught transferred to their side of the river, which had evidently swept everything before it on the other, made only a feeble attempt to defend their works, and fled for their lives. The avenging French were behind them as they abandoned their fortifications; in the forest the Indians met and fell upon them as they sought, like hunted beasts, concealment beneath the deep shadows and in the tangled underbrush of the woods. In this, as in the other fort, there were sixty men; in this, as in the other, fifteen were seized to be held a little while as captives; in this, as in the other, all the rest were killed.

Dismay of the Spaniards.

San Mateo, with a force of nearly three hundred men, was yet to be taken. The alarm at that post was intense, for it was only known that both the forts below were overcome in a few hours and not a man escaped. The commander sent out a soldier, disguised as an Indian, to learn the strength and designs of the invaders; but the quick eyes of Olotocara detected the cheat; the spy was secured, and the garrison remained in the belief that San Mateo was about to be surrounded by two thousand Frenchmen. De Gourgues rested two days, and then appeared in the woods behind the fort. The enemy opened fire, which only sent the Frenchmen to the protection of the trees. Not knowing that De Gourgues' force was little more than a hundred men, the Spaniards probably supposed this to be only a detachment sent in advance, and a sortie was made to meet and disperse it. But the Spanish soldiers ventured too far; De Gourgues threw a body of men between them and the fort; a deadly fire, close at hand, met them in the face; in front, in flank, in the rear, the Frenchmen fell upon them sword in hand; not one was spared.

Fort Mateo besieged.

From within the palisades the Spaniards watched for the success and saw the slaughter of their comrades. They thought no longer of defence, but only of escape. Rushing in a mob to the opposite side of the fort, they threw themselves into the woods and fled, mad with fear, for their lives. They were met with the exultant war-whoop of hundreds of savage warriors eager for revenge, who sprang upon them from their ambushes, pierced them with deadly arrows, brought them down with crushing blows from tomahawks, tearing the bloody scalps from heads whose brains had not ceased to throb. Some few, perhaps, were fortunate enough, or brave enough, to fight their way through this storm of merciless slaughter; some turned and fled back again, hoping for quarter from Christian enemies. But few, if any, escaped from sudden death.

The panic-stricken garrison.

But the massacre of Fort Caroline was not even yet atoned for.

The flag of France once more floated over its ramparts of earth; the bodies of nearly four hundred Spaniards lay unburied on the shores of the River of May; but there were prisoners still alive. De Gourgues ordered them to be brought before him, in the presence of his own men and his Indian allies. He was there, he told them, to avenge acts which were as heinous an insult to France as they were atrocious crimes against humanity; although such deeds could not be punished as they deserved, the perpetrators should, at least, be made to suffer all the retaliation that could be inflicted by an honorable enemy. Near by were still standing the trees on which Menendez had hanged his prisoners, beneath the inscription: "I do this not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." To the same trees the French captain ordered the Spaniards to be led for execution, and over their heads were the words — burned into a plank with a hot iron, — "I do not this as unto Spaniards, nor as unto Maranes;[1] but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers."

The last retaliation.

The whole force which De Gourgues commanded, including soldiers and sailors, was less than three hundred men. It was not sufficient to justify him in an attack upon St. Augustine, or even to await a pursuit in formidable numbers from that point, which would be sure to follow if he remained upon the coast. He had done all he could do to satisfy the wounded honor of his country, to avenge the perfidy and cruelty which betrayed so many of his countrymen to death. But to give completeness to his work he demolished the three forts whose garrisons he had exterminated; this done, he took leave of his Indian allies with mutual protestations of good-will, with interchange of presents, with regrets on one side at the departure of such cherished friends, on the other with assurance of a speedy return. "I am willing now to live longer," said an aged squaw, in the spirit of heathen philosophy, "for I have seen the French return and the Spaniards killed." And that, no doubt, was the feeling of all her people. There was some good-will toward the French, of whom they had little fear. But the Spaniards they both feared and hated.

Departure of De Gourgues from Florida.

The intelligence of what De Gourgues had done reached Spain in time for the king to send a fleet of small vessels to intercept him on the coast. It was not far behind him in pursuit at Rochelle, where he first arrived, and followed him to other ports, but he fortunately evaded capture. The French king would not have regretted it had the Spaniards overtaken him; for much as his deeds in Florida were generally applauded, and especially by the Huguenots, he was looked

[1] Marane was an opprobrious term applied to Spaniards, meaning originally, suggests Parkman (*Pioneers of New France*), a Moor.

upon coldly at the Catholic court; and he found it prudent, when the king of Spain offered a reward for his head, to go into retirement, if not into actual concealment. For several years he lived in obscurity, and died when about to take up arms once more against his old enemies, as commander of the Portuguese fleet in the service of Don Alphonso, then at war with Philip II. of Spain. Menendez had died five years before (in 1574) when about to sail as admiral of the Spanish armada against Elizabeth of England.

Deaths of De Gourgues and Menendez.

The extirpation of error in the slaughter of heretics by Menendez had been fearfully avenged; in the propagation of the faith the bloody apostle was even less successful. He was, to do him justice, as zealous in the one cause as in the other, but the Indians steadily refused to listen to the teachings of the priests who, alone of all the Spaniards, were not more merciless and cruel than the savages themselves. And they learned moreover, from the success of De Gourgues' expedition, that Spaniards were not invincible, and they were not slow to profit by that lesson whenever the opportunity offered.

But Menendez did not confine his efforts, either for colonization or the conversion of the Indians, to the region about St. Augustine. By the way of the Bay of St. Mary, as Gomez and other early navigators called Chesapeake Bay, Menendez believed that the passage to India would be found, and in 1566 he sent a vessel carrying soldiers and priests to establish a post somewhere on the shores of the Bay or one of its tributary rivers. The party was guided by an Indian convert, a brother of the cacique of the Axacan or Iacan country, as a portion of Virginia was called, whence he had been taken some years before to Mexico, and christened by the name of the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco. This expedition was unsuccessful. But Menendez continued to urge his project, and four years later induced the general of the order of Jesuits to direct the establishment of a missionary station at Axacan.

Further efforts of Menendez.

The Indian convert, Don Luis, was then in Spain, and gladly availed himself of such an opportunity to return to his own country, promising to use his influence with his brother and his people on behalf of the missionaries. With him went a priest and two religious from Spain, and at Port Royal they were joined by the father John Baptist Segura, the head of the Jesuit Mission of Florida, another priest, and four Indian boys, novices from the mission school at Havana.

In September, 1570, this little party of devout and courageous missionaries were landed on the banks of the Potomac, — which the early Spanish navigators called the Espiritu Santo, where the vessel left

them, with a few stores, alone in the wilderness. Travelling six miles on foot across the country to the Rappahannock, they pushed into the interior for some distance along the coast of that river, till they reached an Indian village. Here they put up a rude log cabin for their own shelter and as a chapel, which they named "La Madre de Dios de Iacan" — "the chapel of the mother of God at Iacan," or Axacan.

Missionaries on the Rappahannock.

Their provisions were scanty, and they were soon called upon to endure the hardships of winter. The Indians were even poorer than usual, for there had been a long period of scarcity, and they could give at best but little aid to the strangers, though they received them with kindness. The helpless missionaries could neither hunt nor fish, and were almost entirely dependent upon the good-will and good offices of Don Luis, through whom alone could they hold much intelligent communication with the people of his tribe. But Don Luis soon forgot that he was a Christian; the instinct of Indian blood and the force of early habits were stronger than the rite of baptism and the pious promises of the neophyte; he soon abandoned the brethren and resumed the companionship of his youth and the free and savage life of the woods. In ceasing to be the friend of the Christians he became their most dangerous enemy, constrained in the nature of the case to prove thus the sincerity of his conduct to those whom he had once abandoned for civilized life and the religion of the white man.

Desertion of their Indian ally.

Again and again messengers were sent to the renegade to recall him to the duties he had so solemnly assumed, but they were answered only with frivolous excuses. Late in January father Quiros, taking with him two of the Indian boys belonging to the mission, went to try the effect of personal and spiritual authority with the man upon whose friendship now even their lives depended. But his expostulations and entreaties were met with evasions by Don Luis, who was unable, nevertheless, while standing face to face with the good father and listening to the solemn and tender admonitions of the priest, to avow the full extent of his own hypocrisy and treachery. But no sooner had Quiros and his two companions turned disappointed and sorrowful to retrace their foot-steps than they were brought to the ground by a volley of arrows from the lurking savages.

The father Segura and his little company spent the time meanwhile in prayer in the chapel as day after day passed and there were no tidings of Quiros. On the fourth day the war-whoop rung through the woods; a band of painted savages surrounded the chapel, Don Luis at their head dressed in the cassock of the murdered priest. Segura and his companions were no longer in doubt as

Massacre of the priests.

to the fate of Quiros; they guessed, no doubt, what was speedily to be their own. Don Luis demanded their knives and hatchets, which were meekly surrendered. At a signal from the apostate the savages rushed upon the defenceless missionaries, and all except one of the Indian boys, saved by a brother of Don Luis, were instantly slaughtered.

In the spring a vessel arrived from Port Royal with supplies. A crowd of Indians thronged the banks of the river as it approached; at a distance men were visible, clothed in the garments of the dead priests. The savages shouted, — "See the fathers who came to us. We have treated them well; come and see them, and we will treat you likewise." The sailors were not deceived by this shallow artifice, and returned at once to Port Royal to report the evident fate of the mission.

Menendez, in the course of the year, returned from Spain, and resolved, on hearing the story, to punish the Indians for killing his friends. Taking a small and fast vessel he sailed up the Potomac, landed a small force and marched in pursuit of Don Luis and his brother the cacique. He failed to overtake them, but others were captured, and confessed; the boy, Alphonsus, was brought to him, who related the particulars of the massacre, pointing out eight of those among the prisoners who were concerned in it. These the adelantado hanged at the yard-arm of his vessel, first having them baptized, more perhaps, to the satisfaction of his own conscience than to their edification. This done he returned to St. Augustine. For more than thirty years longer that remained the sole European colony within the limits of the present United States. The unknown site somewhere on the banks of the Rappahannock, of the chapel of Our Lady of Axacan, marked the only important attempt of Spanish colonization north of Florida.[1]

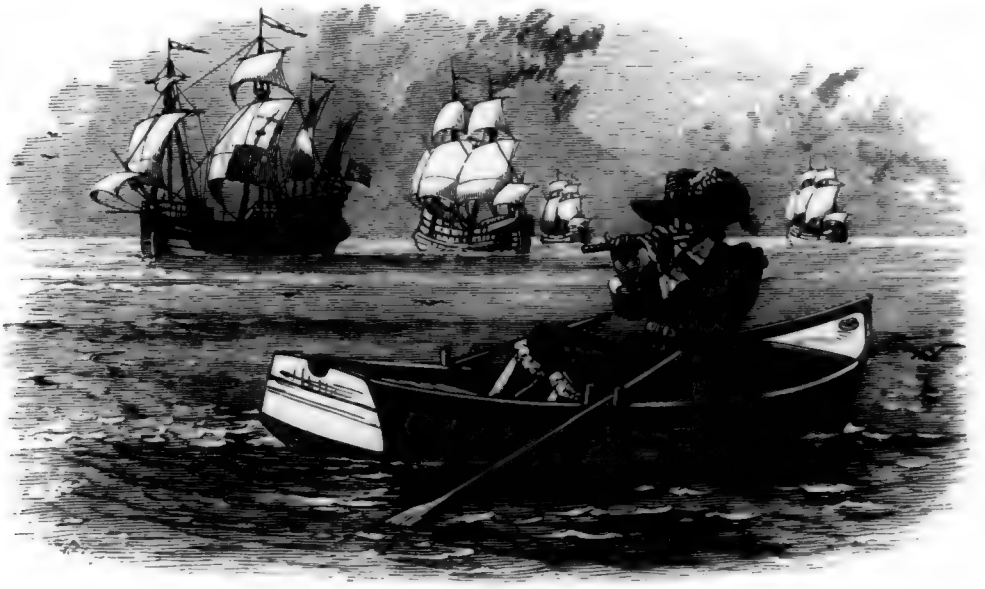
In 1586, Sir Francis Drake, on his way home from an expedition to South America, in cruising along the coast of Florida in search of the first English colony on the island of Roanoke, saw an outlook on Anastasia Island. Entering the River of Dolphins he found the Spanish settlement, then under the command of Pedro Menendez, a nephew of the founder. In the fort was a treasure-chest, containing £2,000, which Drake did not leave behind him; the town was a cluster of wooden houses, and these he burnt.[2] As he approached the fort, from which the Spaniards had fled, "forthwith came a Frenchman being a Phipher (who had bene prisoner with

Sir Francis Drake takes St. Augustine.

[1] See original MS. by John Gilmary Shea, in New York Historical Library; and "The Log Chapel on the Rappahannock," by the same author, in *Catholic World* for March, 1875.

[2] Barcia.

them) in a little boate, playing on his Phiph the tune of the Prince of Orenge his song."[1] Of the companions of Ribault whom Menendez



The French Fifer.

spared from the second massacre at Matanzas Inlet, because he had need of them, one was a fifer, and he it was, probably, who gave this shrill welcome to the English invader.

[1] Sir Francis Drake's *West Indian Voyage of* 1585. Hakluyt, vol. iii., 1600

CHAPTER X.

ENGLISH VOYAGES AND ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT.

First Impulse in England toward American Colonization. — Unsuccessful Voyages. — Theories of a Northeast Passage. — Voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. — Frobisher and Davis in the Northwest. — Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Plan for American Settlements. — His Departure from England and Arrival at Newfoundland. — Loss of Sir Humphrey on his Return. — Walter Raleigh sends two Ships to Explore in America. — His First Colony reaches the Coast of North Carolina. — Tobacco introduced into England. — New Plantation begun under Governor John White. — Mysterious Disappearance of the Settlers. — Unsuccessful Search for the Lost Colony. — Raleigh's Attempt at Colonization ended by Imprisonment.

It is not always unprofitable, and it is often interesting, to reflect what might have been the course of human events but for the intervention of some slight action, seeming at the moment to be of trifling importance. Had Columbus, for example, refused to deviate on his first voyage from that directly westward course which he had laid down as the only true one, his first land-fall would probably have been the coast of Florida. The history of the world would have flowed in another channel, and the progress of the human race been arrested for centuries if the order had not been given on board the *Santa Maria* to put the helm up and stand southwest for a night, in pursuit of a cloud-bank which one of the Pinzons mistook for land. We may venture upon almost any latitude of conjecture as to what might have been, had the Spanish march of conquest and possession been directed to the territory now occupied by the United States rather than to that of the rich and semi-civilized peoples of Mexico and Peru. In the providence of God it was not to be.

Besides, the disasters and disappointments attending all the expeditions of the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the French in North America, in the course of the sixteenth century, were alleviated and atoned for by none of that dazzling acquisition of wealth that came from the spoiling of the semi-civilized nations of the South. The North American Indians, unlike the natives of softer climates whom the Spanish subdued so easily, would fight to the death with the fierceness of wild beasts rather than quietly submit to the white men, or if re-

duced to slavery would die in obstinate despair. There were no slaves and no gold in this inhospitable region; people and country were proved to be alike valueless in the estimate of the Spanish conquerors, the one feeble colony at St. Augustine alone being an exception, and that owed its origin to a cruel fanaticism and was held together by the spirit of religious propagandism. It was happy for the world that it was so. If the history of South America had been repeated in the north it would have been better that the Atlantic had still been held to be a sea of darkness into which no ship manned by mortals could penetrate and live. At length it was plain that not the Spanish but a people of another blood, another faith, and another destiny were to possess the land, though more than a century passed from the time that the Cabots looked upon their *terram primûm visam* of the New World before an English colony was planted upon its shores.

The idea of the real value the new-found regions were to be to the English people, was of slow growth in the English mind. A short way to India was the main purpose of the voyages of the Cabots. If other voyages were projected or made under commissions from Henry VII. early in the sixteenth century, as was probably the case, they had no other object. Robert Thorne, an eminent merchant of London, whose father is supposed to have been upon a voyage to Newfoundland, urged Henry VIII. in 1527, to send out fresh expeditions to discover new lands and kingdoms whereby the king would win perpetual glory, and his subjects infinite profit. "To which places," he said, "there is left one way to discover, which is into the north, for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth three partes are discovered by other princes. For out of Spaine they have discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall; so that by this part of the Orient and Occident they have compassed the world. . . . . So that now rest to be discovered the sayd northe parts, the which it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Because the situation of this your Realme is thereunto neerest and aptist of all others."[1] And in another letter on the same subject and written with the same purpose, he says: "It appeareth plainely that the Newfoundland that we discovered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperor hath all the gold and pearles: and so continueth of coast more than 5000 leagues of length. . . . . So that to the Indies it would seem we have some title. . . . . Now then if from the sayd New found lands the Sea be navigable, there is no doubt but sayling northward and passing the Pole, descending to the Equinoctial line, we shall hit these Islands [of India,] and it should

Awaking of English interest in America.

[1] Letter of Robert Thorne to Henry VIII., Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 212.

be a much shorter way than either the Spaniards or Portingals have." [1]

Early voyage from England, 1527.

The same year two ships, the *Mary of Guilford* and the *Samson*, sailed from London, possibly in compliance with these exhortations of Thorne's.[2] At any rate the expedition was undertaken at the king's command; it went, wrote John Rut, the captain of the *Mary of Guilford*, as far north as the fifty-second parallel; was prevented by the ice from venturing further; and the ship then returned to England, without reporting any more interesting fact than that John Rut counted "eleven saile of Normans, and one Brittaine, and two Portugall Barkes, and all a fishing," in the harbor of St. John.[3] The *Samson* parted company with the other ship before she reached St. John and was probably lost. In this expedition Cardinal Wolsey seems to have had some pecuniary interest.

Voyage of Master Hore, 1536.

In 1536 an enterprise equally discouraging and certainly tragic was undertaken by one Master Hore, of London, "assisted by the king's favor and good countenance," Hore persuading many gentlemen of Inns of Court and of Chancery and some country gentlemen of good estate to go with him. Altogether there were one hundred and ten persons who sailed from Gravesend in April of that year in the ships *Trinitie* and *Minion*, the former of one hundred and forty tons burden. They arrived in Newfoundland after a stormy passage of two months, where they went ashore and remained for the summer. What good result was expected from such an expedition it is not easy to understand, for it was so ill provided that the men were soon in a starving condition, and forced to seek sustenance in such wild roots as they could gather. And to such extremity were they reduced that they soon murdered each other secretly and fed upon the flesh of the victims.

The captain, who had supposed that the loss of his men was due to wild beasts and Indians, had no other remedy, when the shocking truth became known to him, than to make a "notable Oration," in which he set forth their sin in the strongest terms as offensive to God, exhorting them to repentance and prayer. The murders probably ceased, but the famine continued, and it was not long before hunger drove them to cast lots for the choice of one who should die to save the rest. But such was the mercy of God, says the narrative, that a French ship well provisioned arrived that same night. Of this the

[1] Thorne to the English Ambassador in Spain. — Hakluyt, vol. i.

[2] Biddle (*Memoir of Cabot*, p. 279) suggests that it was on board the *Mary of Guilford* that Verrazano was pilot when he was captured and eaten by the savages. Her captain would hardly have omitted to mention such an incident had it occurred on board his vessel.

[3] *Purchas's Pilgrims*, John Rut's letter to Henry VIII., vol. iii., p. 809. Hakluyt refers to the sailing of one ship in 1527, and calls her the *Dominus Vobiscum*, vol. iii., p. 129.

Englishmen, either by force or by fraud, possessed themselves and put to sea, leaving the Frenchmen their empty vessel, and to starve in their stead. The Frenchmen, afterward, however, found their way to England, and were recompensed by the king for their losses, though the pirates who had overpowered them were not punished, as they should have been, in consideration of the dire distress which incited them to so base a crime.[1]

The want of success in these adventures had undoubtedly a discouraging influence. The belief, handed down even to a recent period as a kind of national heirloom, that British courage and perseverance would find somewhere a northwest passage to India, was, if not abandoned, at least forgotten for nearly forty years in the middle period of the sixteenth century. In place of it a conviction gained ground that the true road to Cathay was by the northeast. Sebastian Cabot was at that time in England, and he had "long had this secret in his mind;" originating, perhaps, in his own experience of half a century before, and his familiar knowledge, gained as pilot-major of Spain and England, of the abortive attempts of Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English to go, as Thorne said in his letter to Henry VIII., by way of the north into the back side of the New found land.

There was at this period great depression in the trade of England, and the growth of commercial enterprise was seeking untried channels. The merchants of London were looking for new and better markets for their "commodities and wares" than could be found near home, and they sought counsel of Cabot. Trade and science struck hands at once. In 1553 Sebastian Cabot appears as first governor of "the mysterie and companie of the merchants adventurers for the discovrie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknown," and is preparing "ordinances, instructions and advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay."

Sebastian Cabot made governor of a company of merchants.

In May of that year three ships sailed from London under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby as captain-general of the fleet. Evidently great things were expected. Willoughby was "a most valiant gentleman and well born," chosen as the admiral above all others because he was "of goodly personage and singular skill in the service of warre;" Richard Chancellor, captain of one of the ships and pilot-major of the fleet, was of the household of Henry Sidney — afterward the father of Sir Philip Sidney — who, in a public speech, assured the merchants, not only of the value of his friend, but that he hoped "this present godly and virtuous intention would prove profitable to this nation and honourable to this our land;" an intention

Sir Hugh Willoughby.

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 129.

which the nobility were ready to help and further. Even the names of the ships indicate the sanguine hopes of the expedition, for they were called the *Bona Esperanza*, the *Edward* (for the king) *Bonaventure*, and the *Bona Confidentia*. They were well built and well provided; and one of them, says Clement Adams,[1] "was made stanch and firme by an excellent invention:" they covered a piece of the keel of the ship with thin sheets of lead to protect it from the worms, — the first time apparently that sheathing was used in England.

The departure of Willoughby.

On the 20th of May the fleet dropped down to Greenwich. The court was at that place, and the courtiers came running out to see the vessels; the privy council looked out from the windows and from the tops of the towers; the people crowded down to the shore; upon the ships the sailors clustered like bees in



Willoughby's Ships in Arctic Seas.

the tops, upon the yards and shrouds, and while hills and valleys reverberated with salute after salute, these mariners "all apparelled in watchet or skie-coloured cloth," . . . . "shouted in such sort that the skie rang againe with the noyses thereof." It was a gala-day on the Thames, "a very triumph in all respects to the beholders."

In the north seas the ships, not many days after, parted company in a storm. Two of them kept together, and were found two years later by some Russian fishermen in a Lapland harbor. They were the *Bona Esperanza* and the *Bona Confidentia*. In the cabin of the *Esperanza* sat the body of Sir Hugh Willoughby, a pen between his

[1] See his narrative in Hakluyt, vol. i., p. 243, *et seq.*

frozen fingers, his journal open on the table before him. Scattered about both ships lay the bodies of the frozen crews; every man on board had perished with the cold. When afterward an attempt was made to take the ships back to England with their frozen companies, they were buried as they had died, together, for both the vessels foundered at sea.

In all the tragedies of Arctic explorations none is more pathetic than this; unlike many others, however, it was not a useless sacrifice. Chancellor in the other ship reached Archangel, and travelled thence overland to Moscow. A new channel of trade was opened; such civilization as Western Europe then possessed was brought to the knowledge and observation of less cultivated peoples; the Muscovy Company became powerful and rich, and largely added to that commercial prosperity and greatness which were to be the pride and strength of England. Satisfied that a northeast passage to Cathay was doubtful if not impossible, the English were content with the fruits which this search for it had brought them.

Commerce opened between England and Russia.

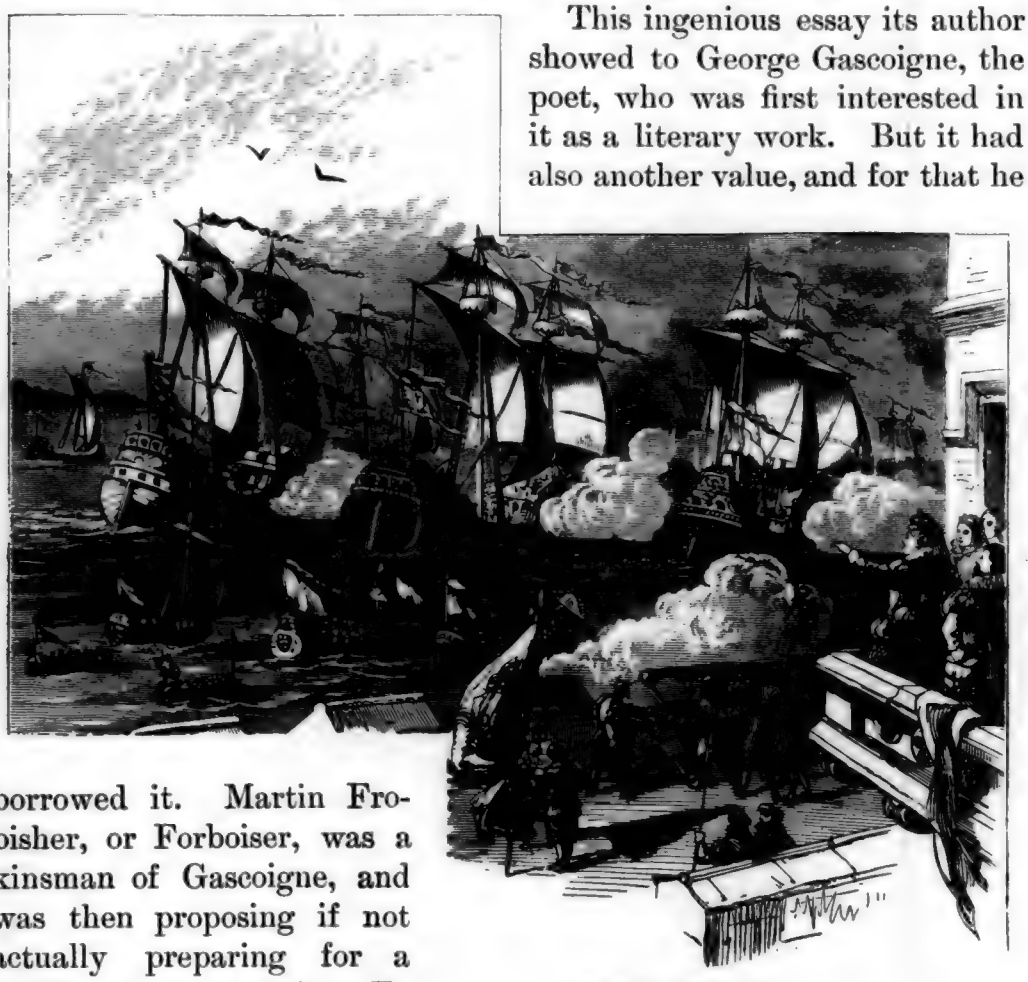
A few years later the old idea revived. In 1570 an ingenious essay full of the cosmographical learning of the time, written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, renewed the interest if not the belief in the northwest passage.[1] America, he thought, was the Atlantis of Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient philosophers. Partially submerged and divided by floods, all knowledge of it was lost for many centuries; but since it had been recently rediscovered, modern geographers had come to the conclusion of the ancients, that it was an island. If an island it could be circumnavigated, and it would be possible by sailing on the north side of America to go to "Cataia, China and East India." Not only was it theoretically possible, but it had actually been done. According to several writers, there had been, both before the Christian era, and also in the eleventh century, certain Indians cast upon the shores of Germany. They could not, argued Gilbert, have come by the southwest through the Strait of Magellan, nor by the southeast around the Cape of Good Hope, because of the distance and because of the winds and currents; nor by the northeast, even if there were any passage that way, which he doubted, because of the shallowness of the sea, and its being therefore perpetually frozen. Their only probable route, therefore, was by the northwest. But it was not a question of probabilities. One of the old writers had declared that three brothers had sailed from Europe through this passage, and hence it was called *Fretum Trium Fratrum* — the Strait of the Three Brothers. He, Sir Humphrey, had with his own ears heard a certain Spaniard assure Sir

Humphrey Gilbert's discourse on the northwest passage.

[1] "Discourse written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight," Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 11.

Henry Sidney[1] that he knew a friar, a man famous for his many voyages, who had sailed through and made a map of this strait; that he told the King of Portugal of it, who "most earnestly desired him not in anywise to disclose or make the passage knowen to any nation: 'for that (said the king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would both greatly hinder the King of Spaine and me.'"

This ingenious essay its author showed to George Gascoigne, the poet, who was first interested in it as a literary work. But it had also another value, and for that he borrowed it. Martin Frobisher, or Forboiser, was a kinsman of Gascoigne, and was then proposing if not actually preparing for a northwestern expedition. To him, doubtless, Gascoigne showed the paper; perhaps it was by his counsel that it was soon after published;[2] at any rate it can hardly have failed to influence opinion, and so have forwarded Frobisher's purposes. Two months later—in June, 1576—he sailed with three small vessels, one of them a pinnace of only ten tons. As they passed Greenwich on their way down the river, the queen, Mary, watched them from the windows, and conde-



Frobisher's Departure.

Martin Frobisher departs on a northwest voyage. 1576.

[1] Sir Henry Sidney, who nearly twenty years before took so lively an interest in the discovery of the northeast passage, and made a speech at a Merchants' meeting just before the sailing of Sir Hugh Willoughby.

[2] *Memoir of Cabot*, p. 290. Biddle quotes from the original publication, now in the British Museum, of Gilbert's essay with an introduction by Gascoigne. This introduction Hakluyt omits.

scended to wave her hands in token of farewell. She afterwards sent messengers on board to express her "good liking" to the expedition — an evidence of the importance attached to it.

Frobisher made two other voyages in the two following years. On all of them he saw the land of Frisland "rising like pinnacles of steeples," in about latitude 61°, from twelve to fifteen days sail west from the Shetland Islands. All along its coast were high mountains covered with snow, except where their sides were too precipitous. Nowhere could he find a landing-place or a harbor, nor were there any signs of habitation. Either this was Greenland, or Frisland has since disappeared, for no navigator since Frobisher has ever seen it.

Frobisher's second and third voyages.

Thence Frobisher steered westward, pursuing on each voyage nearly the same course. The strait, which to this day bears his name, he thought was a passage to the sea of Suez, and the island of Cumberland he supposed to be a part of the coast of Asia. On the first voyage he picked up some black stones, and one of these, on his return, was given as a curiosity to the wife of one of the adventurers. She threw it into the fire, and after long exposure to the heat without being consumed, it glistened like gold, and was pronounced to be such by the refiners. A new impulse and a new purpose were given to the subsequent expeditions, and on the last Frobisher went out in command of fifteen ships. They were to come back laden with ore, and, said the commander of the fleet, "if it had not beene for the charge and care we had of the fleete and freighted ships, we both would and could have gone through to the South Sea, called Mar del Sur, and dissolved the long doubt of the passage which we seeke to finde to the rich countrey of Cataya."[1] But the hundreds of tons of supposed ore which they brought back to England proved no less a delusion than the passage to the East, for they held no gold.

The cost of these shiploads of black stones was forgotten in the course of the next four or five years, and only Frobisher's assurance remembered — that, but for the care of those useless cargoes he would have sailed direct to Cathay. Another northern expedition remains to be noticed before we turn to the more important events of the same period under the guidance of statesmen who were wise enough to see that the power and opulence of England were to be increased by founding an empire in the New World rather than by seeking a passage to the rich kingdoms of other peoples. Three times in the course of the years 1585–86 and 1587, John Davis heroically pushed his way through those frozen northern

John Davis in the Arctic regions. 1585.

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 80.

seas. On the third of these voyages, in 1587, he left his two small vessels on the coast of Cumberland Island to fish, while he went northward in a pinnace. For about six weeks he pushed his way among the icebergs and fields of ice, sometimes along the western coast of Desolation, as he called Greenland, sometimes on the opposite coast, and penetrating Baffin's Bay as far as the seventy-third parallel. In the Strait, which ever since has borne his name, he saw the land on both sides of him; but beyond was "a great sea, free, large, very salt and blew, and of an unsearchable depth." Davis was persuaded that nothing but ice and bad weather prevented his sailing direct to India along the northern coast of America; but these did stay his further progress in any direction and he returned to where he had left his ships. These, meanwhile, satisfied with their "catch" of cod, had ruthlessly abandoned their commander and gone home to save their fish. The pinnace, however, reached England in safety. The death of Secretary Walsingham, who was Davis's chief patron, and the preparations to meet the Spanish Armada, prevented any further prosecution of his discoveries.

The familiar names of two straits upon the map of North America keep alive the memory of these intrepid navigators, Frobisher and Davis. The voyages of both, if not directly due to the "Discourse" of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, which George Gascoigne published, received from it, doubtless, an important impulse.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's plan of colonization.



Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

But Gilbert himself meanwhile had wider views than the possibility of navigation around the northern coast of North America, though no strait or headland upon the continent bears the name of the first Englishman who sought it with the single purpose of colonizing and making it a part of the British Empire. "Many voyages," says Captain Edward Hayes, "have bene pretended, yet hitherto never any thoroughly accomplished by our nation of exact discovery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the north from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees, of septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken

of planting a Christian habitation and regiment upon the same." [1] It is not, indeed, quite true that, as the narrative goes on to say, that "worthy gentleman our countryman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and government in those northerly countreys of America;" for Cabot had taken colonists to Baccalaos eighty years before. It nevertheless is true that in the active brain of Gilbert was first conceived the project which was the germ of the future power of England in the New World, the seed whence grew the present United States.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was one of three brothers, all of whom were men of character and distinction, and all engaged in schemes of Ameri-



View on Coast near Torquay.

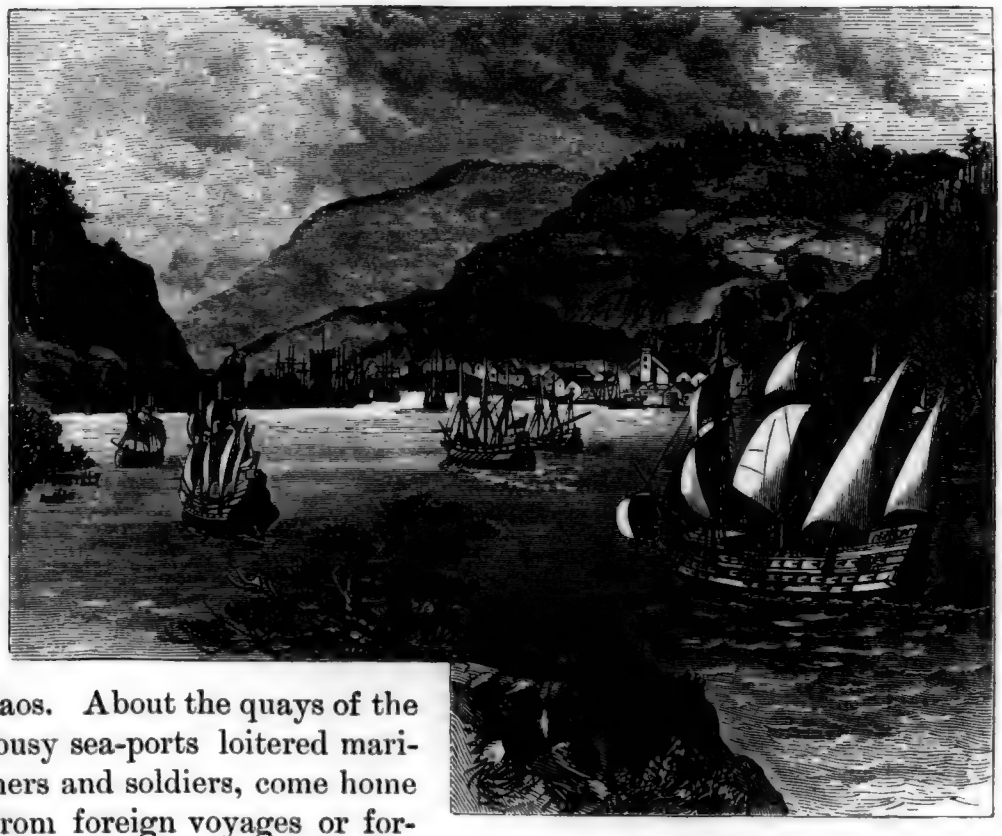
can colonization. The family was one of consideration and wealth in the County of Devon, then of the first importance in the country for its commerce and sea-ports. The family seat was not far from the port of Torquay, looking out upon the English channel.[2] The father was Otho Gilbert, whose name is remembered because he was the father of such sons and the husband of their mother. Humphrey, the second son, was educated at Eton and Oxford, and was destined for the law. But Devon influences were stronger than those of school and college. Let him ride where he would from his father's castle, within a circuit of not many miles, he would

Family of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 143, *et seq.*

[2] *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, by Edward Edwards, vol. i., p. 76.

come upon Torquay, Dartmouth, Brixham, Teignmouth, Exeter, their ports filled with vessels of all kinds, from the tall ship that sailed southward in pursuit of Spanish galleons, to the little craft that ventured into northern seas to load with cod upon the coast of Baccalaos. About the quays of the busy sea-ports loitered mariners and soldiers, come home from foreign voyages or foreign service, with tales of travel in strange lands and of deeds of war; and to a young man of courage and imagination these would have an irresistible charm in an age when the lure to ambition was romantic adventure.



Dartmouth Harbor.

On the maternal as well as paternal side Gilbert was of good blood, for his mother, who was the mother also, by a second marriage, of Sir Walter Raleigh, was of a family distinguished at various periods of English history, — the Champernouns. She was, says John Fox, the martyrologist, "a woman of noble wit and of good and godly opinions." Not much is known of her, but it is enough to know that she was the mother of the Gilberts and of Raleigh, — a woman to be held in reverential remembrance in a land where her sons were the first to plant the seed that should bear good fruit in the New World.

Humphrey Gilbert's services as a soldier.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert was first a soldier, serving in the wars of France, of Ireland, and of the Netherlands. That he did good service there is ample testimony. In the Netherlands he led a regiment for the Prince of Orange, fighting for the

Huguenots and the new faith. In Ireland he was made Governor of Munster. "For Sir Humphrey Gilbert," wrote Sir Henry Sidney, "I cannot say enough . . . . for the estimation that he hath won to the name of Englishman there [in Ireland] before almost not known, exceedeth all the rest." "I never hard," wrote Sir Walter Raleigh, "nor rede of any man more fered than he is among the Irishe nacion." [1]

In 1578 Gilbert received an ample charter giving him power for the next six years to discover "such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people," and have them for his own both by sea and land as absolute proprietor. Though that portion of America near the river of Canada was the best known, the more southern region was — Gilbert and those engaged with him believed — the more valuable. Florida, it was said, was by divine limitation the impassable boundary of Spanish dominion in the New World, and "that the countreys lying North of Florida God hath reserved the same to be reduced into Christian civility by the English nation." [2]

His charter, 1578.

Sir Walter Raleigh was chief among those who entered into this scheme of his half-brother, and who contributed money, influence, and personal effort for its success. When, the year after Gilbert received the charter, he made the first attempt to avail himself of the privileges it bestowed, Raleigh, it is said, sailed with him. The expedition, however, returned within a few days crippled, and with the loss of one ship probably captured in a fight with the Spaniards at sea. But it encountered many difficulties even before starting. Dissensions had arisen among those who had engaged in it, followed by withdrawals; then Orders of Council came, first that Gilbert should only put to sea under sureties of good behavior; then that he should abandon the enterprise altogether under pain of the queen's displeasure. For the watchful Spaniards, jealous of every English vessel that turned her head westward, complained of depredations made or to be made upon Spanish commerce — complaints likely enough to be well founded, for he was no true British sailor in the reign of Elizabeth, who did not hate the Spaniard as he hated the enemy of mankind, and did not hold him to be the lawful prey of all Christian men.

But in 1583 the start was more successful. Raleigh's influence with Elizabeth removed all obstacles that the Lords of Council could put in the way, if they were still disposed to listen to Spanish complaints, or the Spaniards to offer them. The queen wished Gilbert "as great goodhap and safety to his ship as if herself were there

[1] Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, vol. ii., pp. 2–12.

[2] *Report of the Voyages, etc., of Sir Humphrey Gilbert*, by Edward Haies. Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 143.

in person," and desired him to send her his picture as a keepsake. His charter, moreover, expired in a year, and he could afford to delay no longer. He sailed in June in command of five ships, the largest of which, the *Raleigh*, was fitted out by Sir Walter himself at an expense of £2,000, and was two hundred tons burden. The smallest, the *Squirrel*, was only ten tons burden; of the other three, the *Golden Hind* and the *Swallow* measured forty tons each, and the admiral's ship, the *Delight*, was one hundred and twenty tons. The *Raleigh* deserted them in a few days and returned to port, pestilence having broken out, it was said, among her crew; but something else was the matter, for, says Captain Edward Hayes, the owner and captain of the *Golden Hind*, as well as historian of the expedition, "the reason I could never understand. . . . . Therefore I leave it unto God."[1] And Gilbert himself wrote to Sir George Peckham,[2] "the Ark *Raleigh* ran from me in fair and clear weather, having a large wind. I pray you, solicit my brother Raleigh to make them an example to all knaves."[3]

Gilbert sails with a fleet of five ships. 1583.

In all there was a company of about two hundred and sixty men, among them mechanics of all trades fitted for a new settlement, as well as mineral men and refiners. On the admiral's ship was a band of music "for solace of their own people," and they carried such "toyes as morris-dancers, hobbie-horses and May-like conceits to delight the savage people, as well as petty haberdashrie wares" for barter with them.

The vessels all arrived in due season at the appointed place of meeting, — St. John's, Newfoundland. Here Sir Humphrey read to the tradesmen and fishermen of all nations, who, as had come to be the settled custom, had gathered there for the summer, his commission from the queen. He took possession of the place and the neighboring country, for two hundred leagues in every direction, with proper solemnities, receiving a sod and a twig in token thereof, and setting up a pillar with the arms of England carved upon it. He had gone there, however, only as a convenient stopping-place for repairs and provisions, on his way to that more southern country, which was the real object of the expedition. It was a disastrous delay. Many of his men deserted; many were disabled by sickness from further service; and some died. Altogether they were a rough and worthless set, some of whom had been pirates, and were impressed

Newfoundland claimed as English territory.

[1] *Hayes' Narrative*, Hakluyt, vol. iii.

[2] Letter to Sir George Peckham, *Purchas Pilgrims*, vol. iii.

[3] Oldys, in his *Life and Works of Sir Walter Raleigh*, vol. i., says, and others have repeated it on his authority, that Raleigh was in command of his own ship. Gilbert's letter is the most conclusive evidence that that could not have been the case. He would not have asserted that a ship which Raleigh commanded deserted in fair and clear weather, nor have asked him to punish as knaves the men who were under his orders.

against their will for the voyage. On the passage out, the crew of the *Swallow* had overhauled a French fishing vessel, stripped her of sails and rigging, and robbed the men of provisions and clothing, leaving them to perish seven hundred leagues from land. At St. John's, a conspiracy was detected to seize the vessels while the admiral and the captains were on shore. Defeated in this, some of the men boarded a fishing vessel, put the crew ashore, and stole out to sea. This accumulation of mishaps made it expedient to send the *Swallow* home with the sick and as many of the discontented and the insub-



Sir Humphrey Gilbert reading his Commission.

ordinate as could be spared, leaving Sir Humphrey with only three vessels and a diminished company.

At length they resumed the voyage. Doubling Cape Race, they sailed along the west coast of Newfoundland, as far as Placentia Bay, then headed for Cape Breton and Sable Island, meaning to land upon the latter, where they had heard were great store of cattle and swine, the progeny of some left there about thirty years before. For a week they struggled with contrary winds, making only about one hundred and twenty leagues. In thick weather and a gale of wind they suddenly found themselves, in the early morning, among breakers and on a lee shore, as so many have done

Loss of the *Delight*.

since on the dangerous coasts of Nova Scotia. Presently the *Delight*, the largest ship, struck and in a few moments went to pieces. Seventeen of her crew jumped into the long-boat, and after seven days of exposure, without food or water, fifteen of them reached Newfoundland; the rest were drowned; among them the captain, Maurice Browne, who refused to leave his ship, but "mounting upon the highest deck he attended imminent death and unavoidable." These were the men who had belonged to the *Swallow*, and had robbed and left to "imminent death" the crew of the French fisherman on the out-



Wreck of the "Delight."

ward passage, and that deed "justified to the mind," said Captain Hayes, "God's judgments inflicted upon them" in this sudden shipwreck. The *Golden Hind* and the *Squirrel*, warned in time by the fate of their fellow, hauled off and stood out to sea.

Gilbert resolves to return to England.

The weather continued tempestuous and cold, for winter was approaching; the land they sought they could not fall in with after beating about for many days; provisions were failing, and hunger pushing them sore; and it was resolved to return to England. Notwithstanding the disasters that had attended

the expedition, Sir Humphrey was content. At St. John's one of his assayers had brought him an ore, which he solemnly affirmed was of silver, and so persuaded of this was Gilbert that he believed he had but to return in the spring to gather great wealth. This vision took possession of him and was a great comfort in all his trials, though it did not make him forget his wise purpose of colonization on the continent farther south. The specimens of the ore had been left on board the *Delight*, by mistake of his servant, and the assayer, who knew most about them, was lost in that vessel.

But Sir Humphrey knew where to find the mine. Hitherto he had said little about it, and had enjoined silence upon others; but now that he was far out at sea and returning to England after so many misfortunes, he talked not a little about the great store of silver in his new possessions. The thing he seemed most to regret, next to the loss of his men, was the loss of the lumps of ore; and when long after, on visiting the *Golden Hind* at sea, he met the boy whose fault it was that these precious minerals were left on the *Delight*, he fell upon and beat him "in great rage." Good and pious and wise man as he was known to be, he was of a choleric and unforgiving disposition. Years before, when he was putting down the rebellion in Ireland, the castle or fort that did not surrender at his first summons, he "would not afterwards," he said, "take it of their gift, but won it perforce — how many lives so ever it cost; putting man, woman, and child of them to the sword." There was good reason why he should be more feared than any other man by the Irish, as Raleigh said he was. Among sailors who were pirates if they had the opportunity, and among Irish outlaws who were no better than half savages, he showed little of the quality of mercy.

So much did he rely upon his mine of silver, that he was sure the queen, upon report thereof, would readily advance £10,000, wherewith he would equip two fleets in the spring, one to bring home the ore, the other for a new venture to the south to plant colonies. "I will set you forth royally next spring," he said to his companions, "if God send us safe home." That hope was not ill-founded; the promise of sudden wealth in the New World was never made to dull ears. But it would only have been one more idle tale to be confuted, for there was no mine; the colonies, other hands than his were to plant.

The vessel Gilbert had last embarked upon was the *Squirrel*, the smallest of the fleet, of only ten tons burden. He was besought to leave her and find greater safety on board the *Golden Hind;* but his answer was always: "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." Severe as he was he would ask no man

The sinking of the *Squirrel*. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's death.

to do that which he was himself afraid to do. So small a craft was a poor thing in which to cross the Atlantic in September. The weather was foul, the waves "terrible, breaking short and high like pyramids. . . . . Never men saw more outrageous seas." On the 9th of the month the *Squirrel* came near foundering, but rode out the storm. The *Golden Hind* approached and hailed her, and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sitting quietly in the stern of the boat with a book in his hand, answered cheerfully, "we are as near to heaven by sea as by land." In the darkness of the night that followed they anxiously watched on board the *Hind* for the *Squirrel's* lights; suddenly at midnight, "as it were in a moment," they disappeared. The little vessel "was devoured and swallowed up of the sea."

Sir Walter Raleigh.

The County of Devon bred great men for the reign of Elizabeth, and the greatest of them all was Walter Raleigh. Whatever the local influence of its maritime position, the contagion of example, or the stimulus of noble emulation in families, did to form the characters of its sons, was done in larger share for Walter Raleigh than for all the rest. His half brother, Humphrey Gilbert, was a dozen years his senior; but that difference did not forbid close affection and companionship between them, while it gave the weight of years to example and precept. Walter, like Humphrey, went with the gallant band of young Englishmen, to fight on the continent for the new faith, and against the Pope; like him he served in Ireland, to subdue the half savage rebels of — as he called it — "that commonwelthe or rather common woo;" like him he hated the Spaniard, and longed for adventure and discovery; and he saw, as Gilbert saw, that the way to check the growth and power of Spain in the New World, was to take possession of the thousand miles of sea-coast, north of Florida, which the curse of Spanish invasion had not yet blighted, — that therein was to be found the true glory of England, and the best service to her queen. They were true brothers in spirit, in character, and in determined purpose, even more than in blood.



Sir Walter Raleigh.

Raleigh's loss was not a slight one in the desertion, at the outset, of the ship — the *Raleigh* — which he had built and fitted out at his own charges; but that was as nothing to the loss of his friend and brother,

whose heroic death the *Golden Hind* reported within a few days in England. Neither discouraged him, and he seems to have accepted the last as imposing upon him the new duty of carrying out alone the projects in which hitherto he had been content to second his half brother. Gilbert's patent was so near the time of its expiration as to be useless for any fresh enterprise; and as all knowledge of the supposed silver mine was lost with him, Raleigh had no special motive for planting a colony so far north as Newfoundland. With the promptitude and energy so characteristic of the man, he at once set himself to work, and in March, 1584, had secured from the queen a new patent with enlarged powers and privileges. A month later two ships, well manned and victualed, sailed down the Thames and put to sea, under the command of Captain Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow.

Raleigh obtains the patent of Gilbert.

This evidently was only a voyage of exploration, to find the place best adapted for the future colony. They sailed by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, for navigators had not yet learned to venture out of the course laid down by Columbus a century before, except when seeking those northern parts about the great river of Canada. It was sixty-six days before the smell of the land, "so sweet and so strong a smell, as if wee had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers," warned them of their near approach to the Western Continent, and two days more — July 4th — before they saw the low, sandy shore of North Carolina.

His first expedition. 1584.

Presuming this to be the main land, they kept along the coast for one hundred and twenty miles, seeking for a good harbor, and then entered an inlet, supposing it to be the mouth of a river. After their long and weary voyage, worn out with the heat, and suffering from the malaria of the tropics, they were enraptured with the region upon which they had fallen, more by chance than design. The cool sea-breeze tempered the heats of July; the waves rippled gently upon the white sands of the beach, lifting in their ebb and flow the graceful branches and clustering fruit of the vine which climbed every tree and bush down to the water's edge. The land rose gradually into low hills, crowned with cedars more stately and more beautiful than the cedars of Lebanon.

Mounting one of these hills they saw that they were upon an island about sixteen miles in length, the sea stretching on both sides further north and south than the eye could reach. The main land was still distant. As they afterward discovered, and as Verazzano had observed sixty years before, there ran along this coast for many miles a chain of long and narrow islands washed

Landing of Barlow and Amadas.

on one side by the ocean and on the other by an inner sea from twenty to fifty miles in breadth. In one of the connecting inlets Amadas and Barlow had found a harbor and had anchored their vessels in Pamlico Sound.

The island on which they landed has been generally supposed to be Wocokon, identical with that now known as Ocracoke, lying between Hatteras and Ocracoke inlets.[1] But on the map accompanying Hariot's "Briefe and True Relation of the New found Land of Virginia," published by De Bry in 1590, the island beginning next south of Cape



Landing on the Island.

Hatteras, is called Croatoan, and the second island south of that is Wocokon. Ocracoke, therefore, is that which was then called Croatoan, while that then known as Wocokon, is now, probably, Portsmouth Island.[2] The first footprints of the coming nation of Eng-

[1] See Stith's *Virginia;* Holmes' *Annals;* Belknap's *American Biography;* Bancroft's *History of the United States;* Hildreth's *History,* and others.

[2] In the original narrative, the source of all that is known of this voyage, written by Captain Barlow,[1] no name is given to the island on which the expedition first landed. But in describing the boundaries of the territory under the separate rule of different Indian chiefs, the southernmost town of one of them is placed on what is now known as Pamlico River, and Wocokon is referred to as not far distant. The unnamed island where they first went ashore, was, says Captain Barlow's narrative, about twenty miles from Roanoke Island; and from the Occam — Albemarle Sound — at the entrance of which lay Roanoke, to the

[1] In Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 246

lish blood on the shores of the New World were made not at Ocracoke but on the low sandy beach of Chickconocomack Bank, still often called by the people of the neighborhood Hatteras, Cape Hatteras, or Hatteras Bank. And as the inlet, through which the ships of Amadas and Barlow entered Pamlico Sound, was twenty miles from Roanoke Island, that channel must in the course of time have been filled by the shifting sands, while New Inlet, which is only

Exact point of landing.



Map in Hariot's "Relation." [Fac-simile.]

twelve and a half miles from Roanoke, has been formed — as its name implies — since the settlement of the country.

The ships had not long to wait for a visit from the natives. On the third day came three Indians across the sound in canoes, one of whom ventured boldly among the strangers, was shown about the ships, entertained with wine and food, and made happy by presents of a shirt and some other trifles. In return he loaded his

Visits from the natives.

Indian town near Wocokon, was four days' journey. Then Strachey, who was the first secretary of the first permanent Virginia colony, founded twenty-three years afterward, and who was probably familiar with the whole region, says of Amadas and Barlow, — "they arrived upon the coast in a harborow called Hatorask;" and he subsequently confirms, while he follows the original narrative by adding, "to the so-ward four daies journey, they discovered Socoto the last town southwardly of Wincandacoa" "neare unto which" was Wocokon, an "out island."[1] On the map of 1590 in Hariot's *Relation*, "Hatoras" is laid down as at the first inlet north of the point now called Cape Hatteras.

[1] *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, etc., by William Strachey, Gent. First published in 1849, by the Hakluyt Society, London, pp. 142, 143.

canoe with fish, fresh caught in the sound, and piling them up in two heaps upon the sand signified by signs that one was for each ship. The next day there came many boats bringing forty or fifty men, led by Granganameo, the brother of the king of that country. From him the Englishmen learned that the region round about was called Wingandacoa, whereof Wingina, then ill at home from a wound received in battle, was the king. These visitors were a "handsome and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly and civil as any in Europe."

Afterward they came in greater numbers and in entire confidence and cordialty, bringing food and skins, and accepting in return whatever the strange white men — at whose whiteness they "wondered marvellously" — chose to give. They soon brought with them their wives and children, and among them was the wife of Granganameo, a "woman very well favoured, of meane (medium) stature and very bashful; she had on her backe a long cloake of leather, with the furre side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same: about her forehead she had a bande of wite Corall, and so had her husband many times: in her eares she had bracelets of pearles hanging downe to her middle, and those were of the bignes of good pease." Such was a Virginia princess of the sixteenth century.

Indian hospitality.

A few days later Captain Barlow, with seven men, went up the Occam — Albemarle Sound — for twenty miles, and on returning landed on the north end of Raonoak (Roanoke) island. Here in a palisaded village of nine houses, built of cedar, was the residence of the chief Granganameo; and here this modest wife — he being absent — received and entertained their new friends with a boundless and graceful hospitality. Her house of five rooms she put at their disposal; she and her women fed them with the best that field, forest, and rivers, and Indian skill could provide; washed and dried their clothing; bathed their feet in warm water. And she disarmed her men that the confidence of her guests might remain undisturbed, and sent guards to watch by the river bank that no danger should approach while they slept in peace in their boat, covered by the dressed skins she gave them.



Lord and Lady of Secotan. [From De Bry.]

The adventurers were back again in England by the middle of Sep-

tember, having spent, perhaps, six weeks among a people so attractive and so simple, amid scenes so novel. Of the country they said "the soile is the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the worlde;" of trees they found fourteen "of sweet smelling timber;" the oaks were of as many kinds as in England, but "far greater and better;" the fruits were "of divers kinds, and very excellent good," such as "melons, walnuts, cucumbers, gourdes, pease," and "grapes in all the world the like abundance is not to be found;" the corn of the country [maize] was very white, fair and well tasted, and there were three crops from May to September; the fish were the best in the world and in greatest abundance; of "divers beasts" they name fat bucks, conies, and hares; and for the people, — they were "most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age."[1] As witnesses to the truthfulness of this pleasing picture of the new found land, they carried back with them to England two of the natives named Manteo and Wanchese; some of its products, "as chamois, buffalo and deer skins," and "a bracelet of pearls as big as peas" for Sir Walter Raleigh.

Enthusiastic reports of the adventurers.



Queen Elizabeth.

The effect of such a report was very marked in England. In the name of a virgin queen Raleigh was permitted to call the new country Virginia; as a reward for his part in its discovery the honor of knighthood was bestowed upon him; to his arms was added the legend, *Propria insignia Walteri Ralegh, militis, Domini, et Gubernatoris Virginiæ;*[2] and perhaps that he might

The land named Virginia.

[1] Captain Barlow's "Narrative" in Hakluyt.

[2] Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, vol. i., p. 87.

have the means to persevere in this enterprise he was enriched with a monopoly in the granting licenses for the sale of certain wines. Already a favorite with Elizabeth, he entered now more actively into public affairs as member of parliament for the County of Devon, and procured from that body a confirmation of the royal patent for the possession and colonization of foreign lands.

Raleigh's colony under Sir Richard Grenville. 1585.

In the spring a larger expedition and with a more definite purpose was fitted out. On the 9th of April, 1585, a fleet of seven ships, under command of Sir Richard Grenville, sailed from Plymouth. On board were about one hundred men who were to form the future colony. Of this Ralph Lane was to be the governor; Philip Amadas, who in this as in the expedition of the previous year, commanded a ship, was his deputy; of another ship Sir Thomas Cavendish, a young gentleman just come of age and into his inheritance by the death of his father, was owner and captain; Thomas Hariot, the mathematician and astronomer, went as the scientific man of the expedition. One John White was the artist, and his sketches are among the earliest, the most authentic, and the most valuable of the habits and appearance — though no doubt somewhat idealized — of the natives of Virginia as the Englishmen found them.

Altogether it was a notable company. Lane was already a soldier of reputation and was afterwards knighted by the queen. Cavendish, just out of boyhood, made, a year later, the most famous voyage of the time around the world, in which he gave some valuable contributions to geographical knowledge; and he specially commended himself to the affectionate respect of his countrymen and the approbation of the queen, for he wrote on his return, "I burnt and sunk nineteen sail of ships, small and great; and all the villages and towns that ever I landed at I burned and spoiled," — ships, towns, and villages being all Spanish. Hariot was Raleigh's friend to the end of his career; aided him in that "History of the World" which he wrote in the Tower; and because of this friendship, was thought worthy to be called from the bench a "devil" by Chief Justice Popham. Of him it is questioned whether he or Des Cartes invented the system of algebraic notation; whether he or Galileo was the first observer of spots upon the sun, and of the satellites of Jupiter, — the testimony in Hariot's favor being not trivial. Grenville, the admiral, was Raleigh's kinsman and his dear friend. Five years later, off the Azores, he in his single ship fought fifteen



Signature of Ralph Lane.

Notable men in the colony.

great Spanish galleons for fifteen hours, and when at last mortally wounded, said with his last breath in the heat and smoke of battle, "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life, as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion and honour."

It was men of this stamp who entered into the projects of Raleigh to plant English people, with English law and English civilization, in the New World. English hatred of the Spaniard took that direction — that the growth of Spanish power and dominion and wealth should be checked beyond the sea as well as on it. Nor was Raleigh's policy confined to North America. But here we have nothing to do with his romantic expeditions to Guiana, the last one a brief and sad interval between his release from twelve years' imprisonment in the Tower and his mounting the scaffold at Westminster Gate House. There, feeling with his finger the edge of the axe, he said, "It is a sharp and fair medicine to cure me of all my diseases;" and to a hesitating executioner, he added, "What dost thou fear? Strike man, strike!" That which was glory under Elizabeth was treason under James.

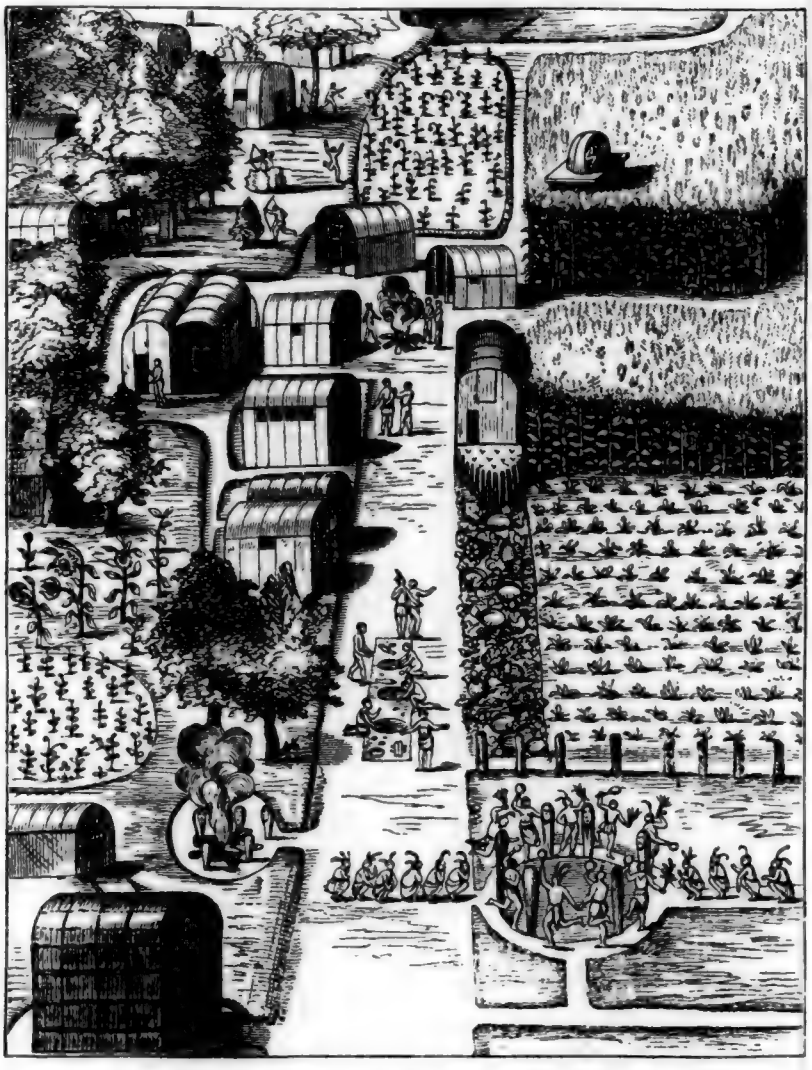
Every man who went with Grenville hated Spain as Raleigh hated her. The fleet sailed by way of the Canaries and the West Indies, spoiling the Spaniards wherever the opportunity offered, taking two of their frigates, one of which "had a good and rich fraight and divers Spaniards of account in her which afterwards were ransomed for good round summes." On his return voyage in August, the admiral fell in with another richly laden Spaniard which he took, he and his men boarding her in a boat, made on the instant and so hastily knocked together that it fell to pieces as they sprang from it to the deck of the enemy.

It was nearly three months from the time they left Plymouth before they had their first sight of the American coast south of Cape Fear. Standing northward they narrowly escaped shipwreck at that stormy point, and three days afterward landed as the original narrative distinctly says, at Wocokon.

Arrival at Wocokon.

Word was sent to Roanoke Island, by the Indian Manteo, of the return of the English. But the pleasant relations with the natives, established the year before, were soon disturbed. Grenville with his captains and other principal men of his fleet started almost immediately for an excursion of eight days further inland. Crossing Pamlico Sound they visited several Indian villages along the coast of the present Hyde County, North Carolina, and the lake which the savages called Paquipo, now named Mattamuskeet Lake. In one of these villages a silver cup was stolen by an Indian, and not being

speedily returned, they burnt and spoiled their corn and town, says the narrative, all the people being fled. Grenville soon returned to England with a portion of the fleet; but Lane, who remained as governor, followed, in the subsequent intercourse with the Indians, the evil example thus set him,— found it, perhaps, difficult to do anything else when the fears and the passions of the savages were once



An Indian Village. [From Hariot's "Relation." Fac-simile.]

aroused by such an act of cruel injustice. Peace for a time was kept by Granganameo, and his father Ensenore, an old and venerable man; but they both died in the course of the winter and spring, and with them all memory of the kindly intercourse of the year before was lost.

Wingina, — who called himself Pemissapan after the death of his brother, Granganameo, — the chief of the country round about Roanoke Island, threw off at length all pretences of friendship. He

and his subjects alone had been under the kindly influences of the visitors of the year before, while tribes farther off had not come in contact with Amadas and Barlow. This second expedition had begun with burning a village on Pamlico River; some of the men made their way almost as far north as Chesapeake Bay; Lane with two boats penetrated the interior far up the Chowan and the Roanoke rivers; and wherever the strangers went it was with such evident purpose and spirit as to excite throughout all this region at first secret mistrust and dread, and then open warfare. The son of one powerful chief Lane carried about with him as a prisoner, sometimes putting him in "the bilboes" and threatening to cut off his head. The simple, trustful, and kindly natives whom Barlow had found only a year before living, as he said, after the manner of those of the Golden Age, were suddenly transformed into wily savages. They hated and feared the Englishmen who, they believed, had brought pestilence among them, and who could kill them with invisible bullets, though they fled far out of sight into the most secret recesses of the forest. To submit to the presence of the strangers was, they feared, to consent to their own final extermination, and they acted accordingly. Pemissapan proposed to starve out the colony on Roanoake Island by planting no maize, hoping that the men would separate themselves into small companies to seek for subsistence, and could then be cut off in detail. Ensemore, Pemissapan's father, persuaded him to forego this project, and fortunately the seed was sown before the old man died in April. Then the chief entered into conspiracies with the heads of other tribes, ventured at last upon an attack on the colony, and lost his life.

Change in the temper of the natives.

But Lane, meanwhile, had pushed up the Roanoke River, beguiled by a tale of the abundance of pearls, of a rich mine of copper, and that the head waters of the river were so near a sea that the waves thereof would break into it in stormy weather. The mine they may have thought was gold, as probably it was; the Spaniards before them had heard of the smelting of gold in North Carolina. Lane and his men did not go far enough to find either the gold or the passage to the South Sea; but the Indians kept them ever on the watch with their frightful war-whoops; starvation was so imminent that they were reduced to a pottage of sassafras leaves and a porridge of dogs'-meat; and the captain concluded that nothing else but a good mine, or a passage to the South Sea, could bring the country "into request to be inhabited by our nation," notwithstanding the fatness of the soil and "its most swete and beautifullest climate."

Governor Lane explores the Roanoke.

Soon after Lane's return from this expedition and when the enmity

among the Indians about Roanoke Island had broken out into open hostilities, a fleet of twenty-three ships, commanded by Sir Francis Drake, appeared off the coast. They were fresh from the sack of St. Augustine, and called to get tidings of the progress of the Virginian colony, and give it help if needed. Drake loaded a well-manned ship with provisions to leave with Lane, but a storm soon after dispersed his fleet, and this ship with others was driven out to sea and returned to England. Another vessel was put at the governor's disposal and the question submitted by him to the colonists whether they would remain or return home. They had given up all hope of the succor which Grenville had promised to send them; a year's trial of the hardships of the wilderness and the disappointment about the mine had so completely disheartened them that they clamored to leave the country. They carried tobacco with them, which was then, it is supposed, introduced for the first time into England.[1]

Visit of Francis Drake to the colony. 1586.



Tobacco Plant.

In such haste did they take their departure[2] that "they left," says a narrator, "all things confusedly, as if they had been chased thence

[1] Sir Walter Raleigh made the smoking of tobacco fashionable among the courtiers, and even Elizabeth and the ladies of the court are said to have followed his example. Its cultivation and use seem to have been universal among the North American Indians. The Portuguese introduced it into Europe. Lord Nicot, French Ambassador to Portugal, in 1559, 1560, and 1561, sent the seeds to France, and from him it was named Nicotiana. It was held as a sovereign remedy for some diseases, especially ulcers. (*Maison Rustique, or the Countrie Farm. Translated into English by Robert Surflet Practitioner in Physicke.* London, 1600.) Hariot, in his *Briefe and True Report of the New found land of Virginia, and its Commodities*, says the Indians called tobacco Uppowoc, and that "the leaves thereof being dried and brought into powder they use to take the fume or smoke thereof, by sucking it thorew pipes made of clay, into their stomacke and head; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame and other grosse humours, and openeth all the pores and passages of the body; by which meanes the use thereof not only preserveth the body from obstructions, but also (if any be, so that they have not been of too long continuance) in short time breaketh them: whereof their bodies are notably preserved in health, and know not many grievous diseases, wherewithal wee in England are oftentimes afflicted." The Carribbees called their pipes *Tobacco*, and the Spaniards transferred the word to the herb itself.

[2] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 265.

by a mighty army, and no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that countrey." But Raleigh had not forgotten them. Drake's fleet had not been long at sea before a ship arrived at Hatorask well freighted with all things needful for their relief. Finding Roanoke Island deserted, they set sail again for England, and had been gone only a fortnight when Sir Richard Grenville himself arrived with three ships well provided with supplies for the colony. As there was no colony to relieve he landed fifteen[1] men to hold possession, consoling himself for his fruitless errand by spoiling some towns in the Azores and taking some Spaniards on his homeward passage.

Grenville returns to Virginia.

Raleigh was not discouraged by these repeated reverses, but the next summer (1587) sent a new colony of one hundred and fifty men. He gave it a charter, and incorporated it under the name of the Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh, Virginia. The company included women as well as men. The governor was John White, and Simon Ferdinando, who had been a captain of one of Grenville's ships two years before, was admiral. There was utter want of harmony and coöperation between these two men from the hour of sailing to the end of the voyage, — an element in the expedition necessarily fatal to its success. What Ferdinando thought of White we do not know; but White's opinion of Ferdinando he has left on record. The Admiral was passionate, wilful, given to much swearing — "tearing God to pieces," says White — and clearly had his own way always. That way was, if we may believe White, an intention to ruin as well as rule. One of the vessels he is accused of leaving at a port in the West Indies, stealing away in the night in his own ship, hoping that her captain would never, for want of knowledge, reach Virginia, or that he would be taken by the Spaniards. It was White's intention to go up the Chesapeake Bay, in accordance with Sir Walter Raleigh's orders, to find a seat for his colony, after looking on Roanoke Island for the fifteen men whom Grenville had left there the year before. But when Ferdinando had got forty of the colonists on board the pinnace at Hatorask to go to the island, he ordered the sailors not to bring them back again, declaring that the summer was too far gone to admit of time being spent in seeking for the best spot for a settlement. The two men were governed by different motives: one was for delay; the other for speed; the governor wanted time to move with caution and consider consequences; the sailor wanted to reach his port and discharge

The city of Raleigh incorporated. 1587.

[1] Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 265, also Strachey, p. 150. Smith, Stith, and others who follow them say erroneously fifty men were left by Grenville.

his cargo, looking forward to some new venture, — probably some homeward-bound Spaniard laden with treasure.

Governor White and his colony on Roanoke Island.

The fifteen men whom Grenville had left at Roanoke were not to be found. The fort was razed to the ground; the huts were standing, but they were overgrown with melon-vines, and the deer roamed through them undisturbed by any fear of human presence. The whitening bones of one man were the only sign of recent habitation. All that White could learn of the fate of his countrymen was that they had been attacked by the Indians, two of them killed and the rest driven to a little island in the harbor of Hatorask. They could be traced no farther.

The fleet remained a little more than a month, but before it sailed the enmity between the Englishmen and the Indians was renewed with fresh fury. One of the assistants, Mr. Howe, while searching alone for shell-fish along the beach of Roanoke Island, was killed by some of the tribe of which Pemissippan had been chief. To revenge his death an attack was made before daylight upon an encampment of Indians, who, after one of them was killed, were found to be friends from Croatan where Manteo's people lived. The effect upon the Croatans of this unhappy blunder was probably not favorable to their continued friendship, though they may have been appeased for the moment by the subsequent christening of Manteo who, by Sir Walter Raleigh's order, was, in reward of his faithfulness to the English, baptized with due ceremony under the name of Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonquepeuk. Before the fleet sailed, also, the daughter of White, the wife of Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, gave birth, August 18, to a daughter, who was christened Virginia — the first child of English parentage born upon the territory of the present United States.

White goes back to England.

White returned to England to ask for further assistance. He says he went at the earnest solicitation of all the colonists; but it seems unlikely that a necessity for sending the governor on such an errand could have arisen within a month of their arrival. The anxious desire, so evident in his narrative, to justify his going, indicates that it was his own wish rather than the wish of those he left behind him, to get back to England. He never succeeded in anything he undertook for the colony, and never failed in ingeniously finding reasons for the failure in the conduct of other people.

Only one single word was ever again heard directly from the colony. White sailed from Roanoke on the 27th of August, 1587; it was the 9th of the same month, three years later, — 1590 — before he again set foot in Virginia. There was no help at first for this delay. When

White reached home England was busy from one end to the other in raising recruits for the army to resist the threatened Spanish invasion; every ship in her ports was pressed into the naval service in one capacity or another. Sir Francis Drake, who, that year, cruising along the coasts of Spain destroyed a hundred of her ships, wrote to Lord Burleigh: "Assuredly there never was heard of or known so great preparations as the king of Spain hath and daily maketh ready for the invasion of England." In the summer of 1588 the Armada of one hundred and forty ships was in the Channel; Raleigh, as he had been among the foremost to arouse, arm, and drill the people to repel the invaders, so now he was on board the fleet that went to meet them on the sea. The "Invincible Armada" soon ceased to terrify England, and though Philip of Spain, when he learned of its dispersion and partial destruction, swore he would waste his crown to the value of a wax candle but he would drive Elizabeth from the throne he claimed as his own,[1] Drake was heard of ere the year was over harrying the Spaniards again on their own coasts. White, meanwhile, succeeded in getting off in April, 1588, to the relief of the colony with two vessels and fifteen new planters. But they went no further than a few leagues north of the Madeira Islands, where, in an encounter with the Spaniards, so many of the men were wounded and the pinnaces so disabled that they were compelled to return to England.[2] It had been first proposed to send a larger expedition under Sir Richard Grenville, but the ship was stopped by Order of Council, and Grenville himself ordered for service against the Armada. It was only by importunity that White was allowed to sail with these two small pinnaces, and it was not till 1590 that he was permitted to make another attempt to get back to his colony.

War between England and Spain.

In February of that year, hearing that three ships belonging to a London merchant were ready for sea on a voyage to the West Indies, but detained by general Order of Council, he procured their release through the influence of Raleigh. The condition was that they should carry a reasonable number of passengers and land them in Virginia; but this was fulfilled only so far as to take White alone. They sailed in March; spent four months in a cruise against the Spaniards among the West India Islands, capturing some prizes, and arrived at Wocokon on the 9th of August.

White goes to the relief of the colony. 1590.

Six days later the ships anchored in Hatorask harbor, having spent one night on the way off the Island of Croatoan. At Hatorask White was cheered with the sight of a great smoke rising in the direction of

[1] Rapin's *History of England*, vol. ix.

[2] See the first edition of Hakluyt, of 1589, p. 771. The voyage is not mentioned in the second edition of 1600, which contains White's narrative of his visit to Roanoke in 1590.

Roanoke Island, and the next morning salutes were fired at proper intervals to let the colonists know of the arrival of their countrymen. Boats put off for the island, but before they reached it another column of smoke in another direction raised fresh hopes. This they steered for, but having consumed the day in reaching the place where it seemed to rise it proved a delusion. Neither men nor signs of any habitation were found.

A disaster the next day well nigh put an end to all further attempts to reach Roanoke. The boats were sent ashore at Hatorask for water; the surf was heavy in the inlet, one of the boats was upset, and two of the captains of the ships and five others were drowned. So disheartened were the sailors at this mishap that they refused at first to go on, and this determination was with difficulty overcome by the will and authority of White and the remaining captain. It was night before they reached Roanoke and approached the spot where White expected to find his friends. Glimmering through the trees they saw the light of a fire, and for a moment their hopes were kindled into enthusiasm. Approaching it along the shore the notes of a trumpet-call from the boats rang clear and shrill through the silent woods; the sailors sung out in cheering tones the familiar words of English songs which would have so stirred the blood of any listening Englishmen long exiled from home. But there was no answer. The light of the distant fire still flickered above the dim line of the forest; but out of the darkness came no friendly shout of men, no woman's glad cry of joy and welcome.

Search for White's colony.

They landed at day-break; the fire they had seen was from burning grass and rotting trees, kindled, no doubt, by the Indians whose fresh foot-prints were found in the sand. Pushing through the woods toward the spot where White had left his colony three years before, they saw the letters C R O, carved upon the trunk of a tree, upon the brow of a hill. Pausing to consider what this might mean, White remembered that when he left the colony it was proposed that the people should remove to the main land, and that wherever they went the name of the place should be left behind them here upon trees or door-posts. It was further understood that should any misfortune have overtaken them, they should carve beneath the name a cross. Here then was the guide, if CRO meant Croatoan, to the place whither the colony had removed, though it was to an outer island rather than to the main. But to the anxious father and governor there was this encouragement, — the sign of the cross was wanting.

Again they pushed on after a brief consultation upon the "faire Romane letters curiously carved," which White had thus explained. It was not far to the deserted post, still surrounded with its palisades.



THE LOST COLONY.

Here all doubts were removed: at the entrance, upon one of the largest of the trees from which the bark had been stripped, was carved in capital letters, the word CROATOAN in full, and still without the cross. Within the palisades the houses were gone, but scattered about were bars of iron and pigs of lead, some large guns with their balls — "fowlers" and "sacker shot," they were called, — and other things too heavy for a hasty removal, all overgrown with grass and weeds. In a trench not far off were found some chests where they had been buried by the colonists and dug up afterward by the Indians; among these were three belonging to White, but all had been rifled; books were torn out of their covers, the frames of pictures and of maps were rotten with dampness, and a suit of armor was almost eaten up with rust. "Although it much grieved me," says White, "to see such spoyle of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certaine token of their [the colonists] safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was borne, and the Savages of the Island our friends."

The deserted fort.

It was his only consolation — if he really believed that his friends, among whom was his daughter, had found any such refuge. The boats had hardly regained the ships at Hatorask when a gale of wind with a heavy sea set in, and in attempting to get under way one of the ships lost her anchors and was near going ashore. The water casks, which had been taken to the land to be filled, could not be brought off; provisions were short, the sailors were despondent and impatient, and it was determined to abandon all attempts to go to Croatoan in further search of the colony, but to sail at once to the West Indies and recruit. White was only a passenger, and could probably do nothing to change this determination, though his friends, if still alive, were not many miles distant. He may, indeed, have been doubtful if they were still alive, for the ships on their arrival on the coast had stopped at Wocokon, had sailed along the shores of Croatoan, and anchored for a night off the north end of the island. Had there been any survivors of the colonists there, they could hardly have failed, on the look-out as they would always have been for succor, to see the passing vessels and have made their presence known by signals of some sort. But no signs had been seen of living men; no columns of smoke curled up above the trees; no flags of distress were descried; no friendly Indians beckoned them to land; no sound of gun or shout broke the silence of the wilderness. At Roanoke alone, in the one word Croatoan carved upon the trees, and in the crumbling vestiges of the colony, half buried in the rank growth of two or three summers, were there any evidences that Englishmen had ever been there — tokens, also, that they had perished.

End of White's search for the missing colony.

That such was White's conviction — that he believed his daughter and her children, and all the rest whom he had led to this distant land, had fallen victims to the vengeance of the natives — is the most charitable way of accounting for the readiness with which he seems to have acceded to the proposal to sail for the West Indies. It was, indeed, suggested that they should return to Virginia, after taking on board a fresh stock of water and provisions; but that could only have been a pretext, for as Croatoan was directly in their course a delay of half a day would have sufficed to ascertain whether there were any Englishmen alive upon the island. "I leave off,"— said White, in a letter to Hakluyt, narrating the details of this voyage, — "I leave off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will." Others did not leave off, no doubt sincerely believing what with White may have been only a desperate hope, that the unhappy planters were not all exterminated. Sir Walter Raleigh seems never to have neglected any chance of finding his lost colony, but excuses were never wanting for not making a thorough search on the part of those whom he engaged to undertake it.

In 1602, that no divided interest should interfere with a thorough prosecution of the object of the voyage, he bought a vessel and hired a crew for this one purpose. The ship was commanded by Samuel Mace, who twice before had been in Virginia, "a sufficient mariner, and an honest, sober man." But he, like the rest, found something else to do than to search for his countrymen. Did he think it a fool's errand? The honest man and sufficient mariner spent a month on the coast, forty leagues southwest of Hatteras, perhaps at the mouth of Cape Fear River, trafficking with the Indians, making no attempt to reach Croatoan, on the standing pretext of stress of weather and loss of ground tackle.[1] There was an evident unwillingness in England to acknowledge publicly that so cruel a calamity as the total destruction of so many men and women could have befallen an attempt to colonize Virginia; Raleigh himself was reluctant to give up — if he ever gave up — his firm persuasion that they had not all perished; but as those who were sent to their relief made little or no effort to find them, it is charitable to suppose that though they accepted his service they had no faith in his opinion.

Raleigh sends Samuel Mace to Croatoan.

That the colonists were all massacred soon after White left them, has been the common belief in later times; but there is good reason for doubting if that were the fact. There was clearly a conviction prevalent in the colony at Jamestown, twenty years afterward, that some of the Roanoke people had es-

Strachey's reference to the lost colony.

[1] Purchas, vol. iv.; Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 134. The statement in Purchas is that Raleigh had sent succor to those left in Virginia in 1587, "five several times at his own charges," before he sent Mace.

caped destruction, and might be even then surviving.[1] Strachey refers to them again and again, and in a way that conveys the impression he is speaking of a fact he knows will not be questioned. In describing the country of the Upper Potomac, he says that in the high land "to the so'ward" the people of Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen have, according to the report of an Indian, houses of stone, which they were taught to build "by those Englishe whoe escaped the slaughter at Roanoak," and that a certain chief had "preserved seven of the English alive — fower men, two boyes, and one yonge mayde, who escaped and fled up the river Chanoke, [probably the Chowan,] to beat his copper." Of White's last visit to Roanoke, when he found the indication that should have led him to Croatoan, he also says: "Howbeit, Captaine White sought them no further, but missing them there, and his company havinge other practises, and which those tymes afforded, they returned covetous of some good successe upon the Spanish fleete to returne that yeare from Mexico and the Indies, — neglecting thus these unfortunate and betrayed people, of whose end you shall yet hereafter read in due place in this decade."

But this story, if he ever wrote it, has not yet been recovered. What it may have been we can only infer from expressions like these scattered through "The Historie of Travaille." "He [Powhatan] doth often send unto us to temporise with us, awayting perhapps a fit opportunity (inflamed by his furious and bloudy priests) to offer us a tast of the same cuppe which he made our poore countrymen drinck of at Roanoak." The King of England, it is said elsewhere, "hath bene acquainted that the men, women, and childrene of the first plantation at Roanoak were by practise and comandement of Powhatan (he himself perswaded therunto by his priests,) miserably slaughtered without any offence given him, either by the first planted (who twenty and od yeares had peaceably lyved intermixt with those salvages, and were out of his territory,) **or by those who now are come.**" And again: "Powhatan hath slaughtered so many of our nation without offence given, and such as were seated far from him, and in the territory of those weroance [chiefs] which did in no sort depend on him or acknowledge him."

Assuming that Strachey was a trustworthy reporter — and of that there is no question — of what he saw and heard in Virginia, we conclude it was the belief at Jamestown that there were some survivors

[1] *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, by William Strachey, the first secretary of the colony at Jamestown, though written at an early period of the settlement, was not published till 1849, and the new light he sheds upon this subject is so recent that it has not, we believe, been noticed anywhere except by the Rev. E. E. Hale, in vol. iv. of the *Collections of the American Antiquarian Society.*

of White's colony, and that these Powhatan, or rather his priests, caused to be put to death after the settlement of the English at that place. Understanding this, we are better able to comprehend some allusions in the Smith histories which, without the light given by Strachey, have seemed blind and inexplicable, but are clearly a confirmation of Strachey's story that there were some survivors, in 1606, of the Roanoke people. Thus, in "The True Relation,"[1] the first book by Captain Smith on Virginia, he says, in relating an interview with the Emperor Powhatan: "What he knew of the dominions he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me." And again he says: "The people clothed at Ocamahowan, he [Powhatan] alsoe confirmed."[2] The allusion in both cases can only be to the lost colonists. And in the work known as his "Generall Historie," published fifteen years afterward, is this passage: "How or why Captaine Newport obtained such private commission as not to return without a lumpe of gold, a certaintie of the South Sea, or one of the lost company sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh, I know not."[3] That one of the objects of an expedition into the interior was to succor some of the survivors of the Roanoke colony, and because some of those unhappy men and women lived to so late a period without being released by their friends in England, is why, probably, Strachey speaks of them as being betrayed.

Allusions in Smith's histories to these colonists.

Raleigh's patent of 1584 was renewed from time to time, though as early as 1589 he hoped that he had induced others to carry on the work which he had begun. In those first years of enthusiasm, he had expended it is said, forty thousand pounds sterling in his several expeditions,[4] and he then enlarged on behalf of Thomas Smith and others, merchants of London, the charter of "The City of Raleigh" under which White and his associates were incorporated.[5] But this new company did nothing, and Raleigh's efforts were limited to the attempt to convey help to those colonists in whose total destruction he persistently refused to believe, down to the time when he sent Mace, in 1602. Of that voyage we have some further

Raleigh's interest in his colony

[1] *A True Relation of Virginia.* By Captain John Smith. Edited by Charles Deane, Boston, 1866, p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 37. We follow the punctuation of the passage in accordance with Mr. Deane's suggestion, by which alone can it have any meaning.

[3] *The Voyages and Discoveries of Captain John Smith,* vol. i., p. 120. Richmond edition.

[4] Oldys, in his *Life of Raleigh,* vol. i., p. 117, makes this statement on the authority of a scarce pamphlet which he describes as "a brief relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles." The sum named is probably exaggerated.

[5] The indenture between Raleigh and Smith has sometimes been supposed to be a conveyance of the patent of 1584, from Raleigh to Smith and others. It was only to include them, with enlarged privileges, in "the City of Raleigh" charter.

account in a letter from Raleigh, to Secretary Sir Robert Cecil, written in August of that year. "I wrote unto you," he says, "in my last that I was gonn to Weymouth to speake with a pinnes of myne arived from Virginia." Mace was from Weymouth, had sailed in March of that year for Virginia, and as he had spent a month on the coast to trade with the Indians, and to load his vessel with sassafras, he would be back in Weymouth in three or four months. His landfall was "forty leagues to the southwestward of Hatteras." [1]

Raleigh's pinnace was also loaded, he says, with "sarsephraze," and her landfall was "forty leagues to the west of it," — *i. e.* Virginia, — and it was for that reason that the captain did not "spake with the peopell" — the colonists at Croatoan. This letter was written to Cecil to ask him to intercede with the Lord Admiral for the seizure of sassafras brought home at the same time by a Captain Gilbert, who also had been on the American coast, forty leagues to the east of Roanoke, because, says Raleigh, "I have a patent that all shipps and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther without my leve." There can be no doubt that the pinnace here referred to was the one commanded by Mace.

Captain Gilbert was himself the bearer of this letter. He, said Raleigh, commending him to the good offices of the secretary, "is my Lord Cobham's man. . . . . It is he — by a good token — that had the great diamonde." The allusion recalled no doubt to Cecil's mind some stirring adventure, perhaps some piece of rare good luck in a fight with the Spaniard, in which Gilbert had been conspicuous. But although he was Lord Cobham's man, he was also, we suppose, a nephew of Raleigh's and in friendly relations with him, notwithstanding this proposed seizure of his sassafras. That, indeed, seems only to have been what is now called a business arrangement, Gilbert assenting to this method of taking one of the cargoes out of the market that the other might command a higher price. He also, no doubt, was the Bartholomew Gilbert who had sailed in April with Bartholomew Gosnold for the coast of New England, arriving home again the latter part of July, not long before the date of this letter.

Raleigh's letters on American business.

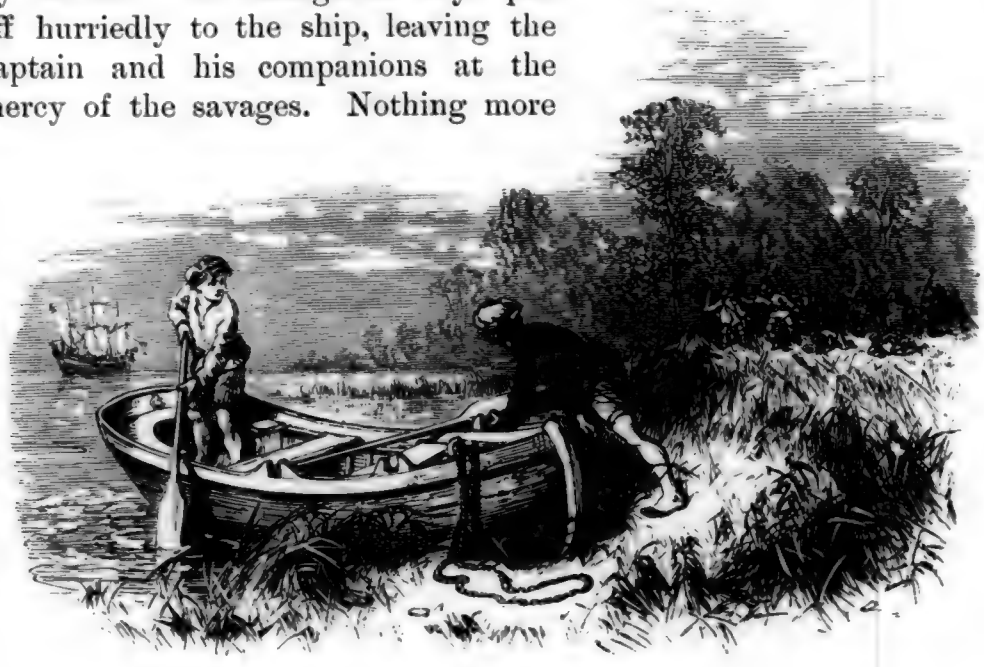
"I do sende both the barks away againe," writes Raleigh. Of Mace we hear no more; but Bartholomew Gilbert, it is known, sailed for Virginia, the following spring.[2] It was partly a trading voyage to the West Indies, but had also another object in which Raleigh's will is seen even if we had not his own assertion that Gilbert was to go

[1] Tracts appended to Brereton. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*

[2] Purchas, vol. iv., p. 1556.

again, this time with his sanction. The vessel took in a cargo in the West Indies, and on her way homeward went up the Chesepian (Chesapeake) Bay to look for the lost colony. The search was brief; heavy weather for some days prevented a landing, till at length Gilbert ventured to go on shore with a boat. Leaving this in charge of two boys, he with his men started on an expedition inland. They were still in sight of the lads they had left behind when a band of Indians started from an ambush and attacked them furiously. Several men were seen to fall, wounded by arrows: the affrighted boys put off hurriedly to the ship, leaving the captain and his companions at the mercy of the savages. Nothing more was heard of them, and the ship, her crew reduced in numbers, the captain and other officers gone, soon set sail and returned to England.

Fate of Bartholomew Gilbert.



Bartholomew Gilbert's Death.

With this tragic event — the death of another Gilbert in the cause of American colonization — ends Raleigh's connection with that country to which, as he said the year before, he still held the title, and of which he speaks in this letter to Cecil in these memorable words: "I shall yet live to see it an Inglishe nation."[1]

In this same summer, when his nephew lay dead on the beach of Chesapeake Bay, the final sacrifice of Raleigh on behalf of that new English nation, his patent expired by his attainder. On the

[1] Edwards' *Life of Raleigh*, London, 1868, vol. ii. Letter cx. From the original Cecil Papers.

charge of high treason, James I. found in Sir John Popham — remembered now chiefly for the part he took in the trial of Raleigh, and for following his example in attempting to found a colony on the North American coast — a chief justice base enough to bend the law to the will of a tyrannical master.

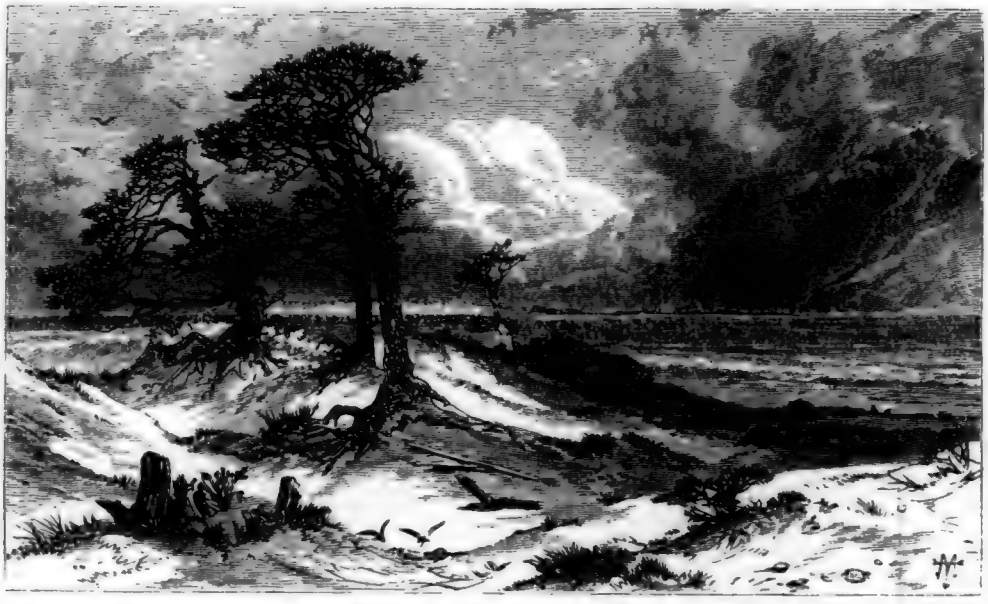
End of Raleigh's American enterprises.



Signature of Queen Elizabeth.



Signature of Sir Walter Raleigh



Entrance to Chesapeake Bay.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA.

GOSNOLD'S EXPEDITION. — PATENT GRANTED TO LONDON AND PLYMOUTH COMPANIES. — A COLONY SETS OUT FOR VIRGINIA. — DISCORD ON SHIPBOARD. — THE BUILDING OF JAMESTOWN. — NEWPORT'S EXPLORATION OF THE RIVER. — GOVERNORSHIP OF EDWARD WINGFIELD. — DISCONTENT AND SUFFERING AMONG THE COLONISTS. — THE INDIAN CHIEF POWHATAN. — ACCOUNTS OF SMITH'S CAPTURE BY THE SAVAGES. — DISCREPANCIES IN SMITH'S OWN STORY. — RETURN OF NEWPORT FROM ENGLAND. — CORONATION OF POWHATAN. — SERVICES OF SMITH TO THE COLONY. — THE NEW CHARTER. — EXPEDITION OF GATES AND SOMERS. — THE TEMPEST AND THE SHIPWRECK. — OPPORTUNE COMING OF LORD DE LA WARRE. — CODE OF LAWS FOR THE COLONY. — ADMINISTRATION OF GATES AND DALE. — CULTIVATION OF TOBACCO. — MARRIAGE OF POCAHONTAS. — SANDYS AND YEARDLEY. — THE COLONY FIRMLY ESTABLISHED. — WHITE AND BLACK SLAVERY. — THE FIRST AMERICAN LEGISLATURE.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD sailed from Falmouth, England, on the 25th of March, 1602, in a small vessel called the *Concord* — Bartholomew Gilbert being his second in command — sent, not by Raleigh, nor going with Raleigh's consent, but by the Earl of Southampton.[1] He

[1] The letter from Raleigh to Cecil, referred to in the previous chapter, shows that the presumption that this voyage was made with his consent (see *Bancroft*, *Palfrey*, and others), is erroneous. He asks that Gilbert's "sarsephrase" be seized, "because I have a patint that all shipps and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther without my leve." That he had given such leave, has hitherto been assumed, because Brereton (see *Purchas's Pilgrims* and *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. viii., Third Series), addresses his narrative of the voyage to Sir Walter Raleigh. Brereton's own words, however, make it plain that he did so only as a matter of courtesy.

took with him thirty-two persons, of whom twenty were to remain and found a colony somewhere on the northern coast of Virginia, as the whole country was then called, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. His purpose was to go by a direct northwest course, avoiding the usual circuitous route by the Canaries and the West India Islands; but contrary winds drove him southward to one of the Azores, whence he steered nearly due west, arriving on the coast of New England at about 40° of latitude, on the 14th of May.

Voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold. 1602.

At a point which he called Savage Rock, not far, probably, from Cape Ann, if not the Cape itself, the *Concord* was boarded by a party of Indians in a Biscay shallop, carrying both sails and oars; their leader, and one or two others, were partially clothed in European garments, which, as well as the boat, they had obtained from Biscay fishermen; nor was this the only evidence of frequent intercourse with such visitors, for it is said, "they spoke divers Christian words, and seemed to understand more than we, for want of language, could comprehend."[1] Finding at this place no good harbor, they stood southward, crossed Massachusetts Bay, and the next morning dropped anchor, within a league from the shore, under the lea of a great promontory.



Provincetown.

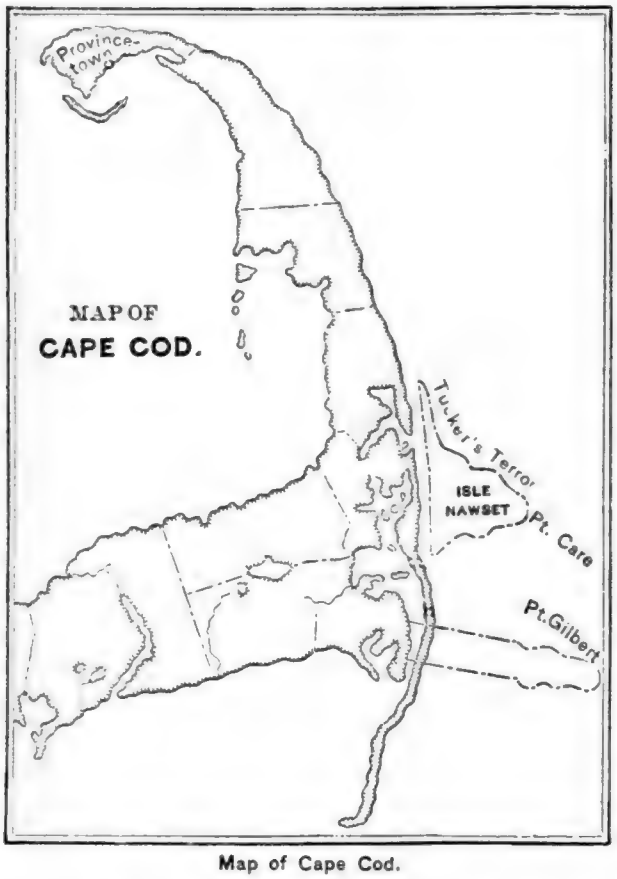
On this breezy point, jutting out into the Atlantic, which a voyager along the coast of the United States can hardly escape hitting, either in fair weather or foul, stands to-day the picturesque village of Provincetown, half buried always in sand, and at the proper season com-

[1] *The Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage*, by Gabriel Archer, in Purchas, vol. iv.

pletely covered over with drying cod-fish. Gosnold and his people at first called this promontory Shoal Hope, but presently changed the name to Cape Cod. Champlain called it *Cap Blanc* (Cape White), four years later, because of the aspect which its sands gave it;[1] and in 1614 Captain John Smith named it Cape James; but the name Cape Cod it has never lost. The captain and some of his companions landed, and found pease, strawberries, and whortleberries, as yet unripe; the woods were cypress, birch, witch-hazel, and beech — products which the visitor to the extremity of Cape Cod will now hardly find, by the most diligent search.

Gosnold sails past Cape Cod.

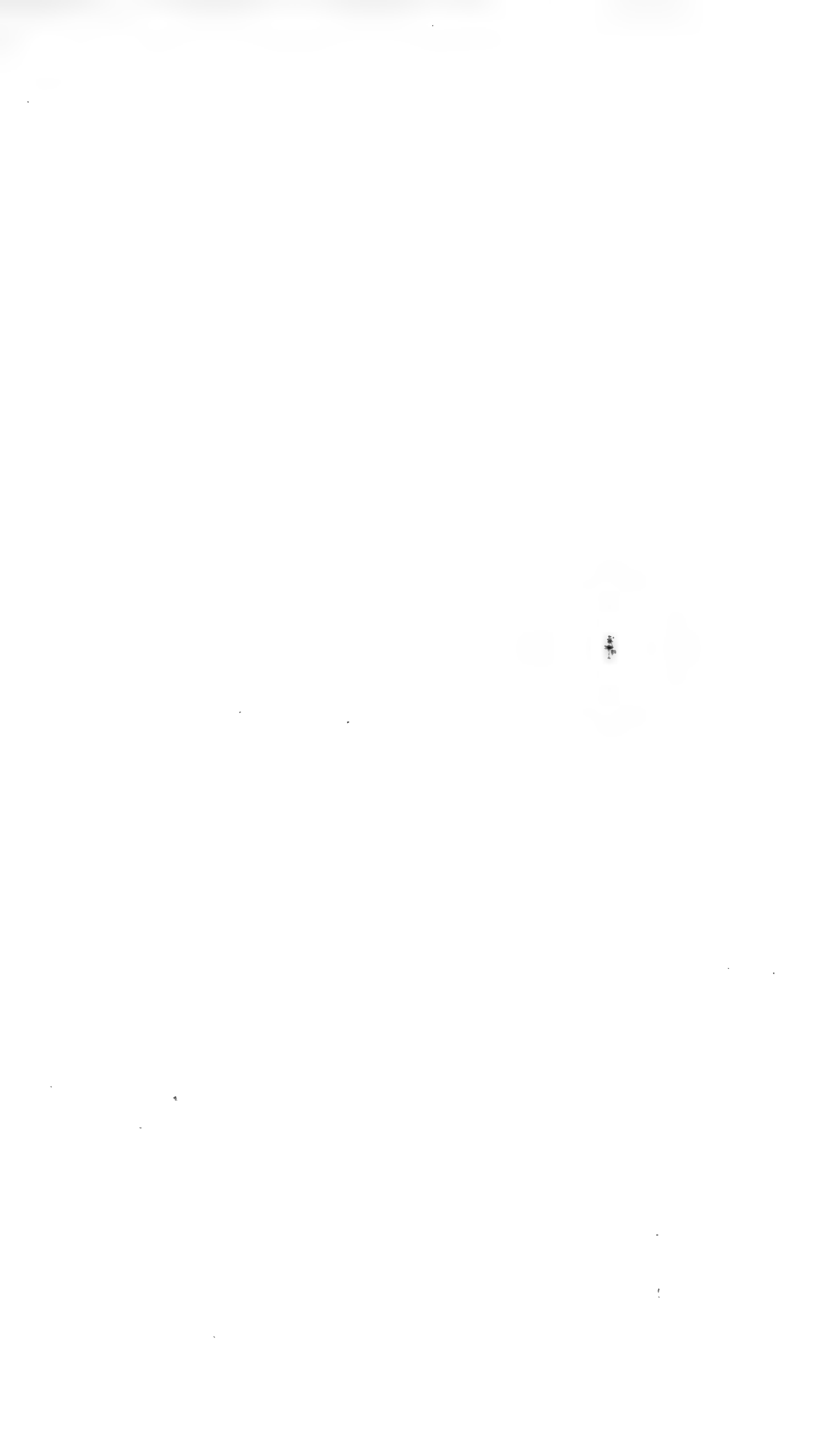
Doubling the headland, they sailed for six days along the outer coast of the cape, — "the back side" as it is now called, — which the Northmen, it is supposed, had discovered six hundred years before, and named Wonder-strands. Certain points now known as dangerous shoals, but which were then peninsulas of firm land, the *Concord's* crew called Tucker's Terror and Gilbert's Point, from two of their officers. The fishing was so good, — better, they thought, than off the banks of Newfoundland, — that they "pestered" their ship with the quantity of cod they took each day; inland the country seemed covered with grass and well wooded, and to be very populous. A few of the natives came alongside in their birch canoes, others ran along the beaches "admiring" the strangers; the pipes of those who boarded the ship, it was observed, were "steeled with copper," and one of these Indians wore a breastplate of that metal a foot in length and half a foot in breadth.

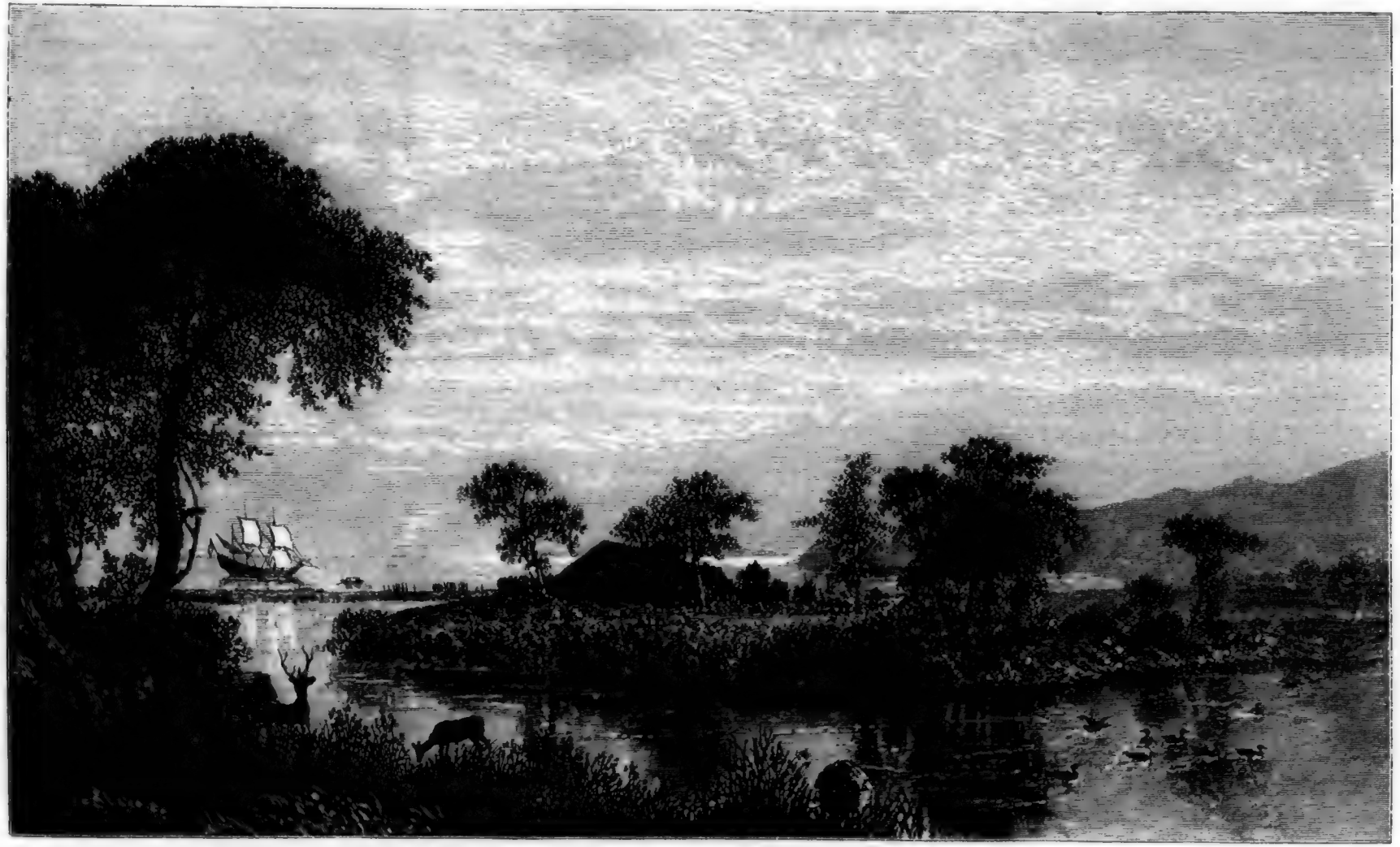


Map of Cape Cod.

Crossing the Vineyard Sound, they came "amongst many fair islands," on one of which they landed. It was full of woods and fruit-bearing bushes, with such an incredible store of vines running

[1] *Voyages du Sieur de Champlain.*





SITE OF GOSNOLD'S FORT.

upon every tree, that they could not go for treading upon them. It is the Northmen's story over again. "We will call it Vinland," said Leif the Lucky, of the country he found, probably in these same waters. To the island on which they first landed, Gosnold and his people gave the name of Martha's Vineyard.[1] This, there is little doubt, is now known as No Man's Land, the name of Martha's Vineyard being afterward transferred to the larger island north of it. Here they did not go ashore, but doubling its southwest extremity, calling it Dover Cliff as they passed, sailed into Buzzard's Bay. It seemed to them one of the "stateliest" of Sounds, and worthy to be called Gosnold's Hope. On an island now known by its Indian name of Cuttyhunk,[2] but which Gosnold called Elizabeth, — the designation now of that whole group of which Cuttyhunk is the outermost, — it was determined to plant the colony.

Decides to settle on Elizabeth's Island.

The soil was "fat and lusty." The seed of various grains, planted as an experiment, sprung up in fourteen days to a height of from six to nine inches. Indeed, on all the coast, no more enticing place could be found than this lovely island, with its southern side to the sea, the Gulf Stream winding in near enough to warm the tides that washed its shores. In a lake two or three miles in circuit, one end of it only a few yards from the outer beach, was a rocky islet — an island within an island — and on this they determined to build a fort. The larger part of the company at once set to work, and for the next three weeks were busy on a place of habitation and defence, while a few, "and those but easy laborers," employed themselves in gathering sassafras — few, because, adds Captain Gosnold, in a letter to his father,[3] "We were informed before our going forth, that a ton (of sassafras) was enough to cloy England." What became of this cargo, we learn from Raleigh's letter to Secretary Cecil.

The Indians were frequent visitors, bringing furs, wampum, tobacco — "which they drink (smoke) green, but dried into powder, very strong and pleasant" — and such provision as they had for traffic. Among them, as among the natives of the Cape, copper was in common use as an ornament, and by signs they made known that they dug it out of the ground, which gave great hope to the English of mines not far distant. Gosnold, with some of his companions,

[1] Or Martin's Vineyard, as it is often written by early writers. Captain Pring, who made essentially the same voyage the next year, was on board the *Concord*. His name was Martin, and it may have been given to the island in his honor, suggests Belknap, as the names of others of this ship's company were used to designate other places — as Tucker's Terror, Gilbert's Point, Gosnold's Hope, Hill's Hap.

[2] "A contraction of Poo-cut-oh-hunk-un-nok, which signifies a thing that lies out of the water." — *Belknap's American Biography*, vol. ii., p. 114.

[3] Master Bartholomew Gosnold's letter to his father, touching his first voyage to Virginia. See Purchas and *Mass. Hist. Coll.*

visited other islands of the group, and explored the main in the direction of the site of the present town of New Bedford, and found it to be "the goodliest continent that ever we saw, promising more by far than we did expect; for it is replenished with fair fields, and in them fragrant flowers, also meadows, and hedged in with stately groves, being furnished also with pleasant brooks, and beautified with two main rivers."[1] The natives were, on the whole, not unfriendly; and in a place so pleasant, with so much that was encouraging, this might have been the first English colony on the American coast, had the *Concord* been better provided.

Abandonment of the enterprise.

But when the time came for her return, it was found that only enough stores could be spared to sustain for six weeks at most those who should remain. There was little reason to hope that they might live upon the country, and they had made no provision for a crop by planting. The uncertainty as to how soon succor might reach them from home, and the doubt whether the Indians would leave them unmolested, counselled prudence, and they wisely resolved that none should be left behind. On the 18th of June they sailed for England, and on the 23d of July arrived off Exmouth. When four days afterward they anchored in Portsmouth Harbor, "we had not," said Gosnold, in the letter to his father, "one cake of bread, nor any drink but a little vinegar, left."

Indirectly this voyage of Gosnold's was not without important results, though a failure in its immediate purpose. New England thus just missed of being the site of the first settled colony, but attention was turned to these Northern coasts, never to be again relaxed for any long period. The immediate interest aroused was enough to send out in the course of the next two or three years, several expeditions for trade with the Indians.

Martin Pring's voyage. 1603.

Martin Pring, who was with Gosnold in the *Concord*, was fitted out by some Bristol merchants in the spring of 1603, with two vessels, one of fifty tons, the other of twenty-six only, with which he ran along the coast of Maine, stopping long enough in Casco Bay to find the fishing better than off Newfoundland; looking into the mouth of the Kennebunk, the York, and the Piscataqua rivers, cruising with delight among the many islands along that shore. Then following Gosnold's track from "Savage Rock" to Buzzard's Bay, trading with Indians wherever he could find them, he was back again in England, his two vessels well laden, within six months. Weymouth, whom the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel sent out two years later, was bent rather upon discovery than trade. But these voyages were the direct consequence of that of Gosnold; the

[1] Archer's *Relation*.

shorter route he opened by steering directly westward instead of the circuitous course followed by vessels going to Virginia for the previous twenty years, and the report of a rich and productive country, and a salubrious climate, at least in the summer months, on the Northern coast, promised a new field for English enterprise.

Gosnold himself was full of zeal and energy. The failure to plant a colony on Elizabeth Island did not in the least discourage him, and the few weeks spent in that region assured him of the possibility of successful colonization anywhere along the coast under better auspices. He inspired men of influence and wealth with something of his own enthusiasm. The merchants of London, Bristol, and Plymouth considered the subject in its commercial aspect, and that seemed full of promise; but there were many others who saw it in a more comprehensive light. Chief among these was Richard Hakluyt, a London clergyman, whose diligence as an author bore witness to the deep interest he felt in discovery in the New World, and the importance he believed the possession of its Northern portion to be to England. The result of the labors of such men was the formation of an association composed of some of the most influential and respectable persons in the kingdom, and which determined beyond a doubt the future of North America.

Letters-patent were issued in April, 1606, to Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, and others who should be joined to them, by which was granted all the territory on the American coast, between 34° and 45°, and the islands within a hundred miles. It was required that two companies be formed, one to be called the first, or Southern Colony; the other, the second, or Northern Colony. The jurisdiction of the Southern colony, whose council was chiefly composed of residents of London and came therefore to be known as the London Company, extended from Cape Fear to the eastern end of Long Island, from 34° to 41°; the other was called the Plymouth Company, as its council was appointed from Plymouth and its vicinity; its limits overlapped those of the other, extending from 38° to 45°, or from about the latitude of Delaware Bay to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Patent to the Virginia Companies. 1606.

Each colony was to be governed by a resident council of thirteen, to be appointed by the king, with power to choose a president, who should not be a clergyman, from their own body, and to fill any vacancies that should occur among themselves from death or resignation. The laws enacted by them were subject to revision either by the king or the council in England. No part whatever in the government was given to the people; even trial by jury was allowed only in cases of capital crimes, which were "tumults, re-

Government to be established in the New World.

bellion, conspiracy, meetings and sedition, together with murder, manslaughter, incest, rapes, and adultery;" lesser crimes and misdemeanors were to be tried before the president and council, and punished according to their will. Real estate was to be held as under the laws of England, but for the first five years all personal property and the fruits of the labors of the colonists were to be held as a common stock, and each member of the community was to be supported from the general store. Religion was to be established in accordance with the rites and doctrines of the Church of England; the people were enjoined by virtue of such penalties as the president and council should choose to inflict, to "kindly treat the savage and heathen people in those parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God," and also to lead them to "good and sociable traffic." Such were the essential features of the first constitution of government established within the limits of the present United States. It was especially the work of that pedantic despot, James I., who afterward amused himself with drawing up a code of laws for the administration of a government where, in the last resort, all political power rested in his hands, and the hands of those of his appointment.



James I.

In the summer of 1606, two ships sailed for New England under the auspices of the Plymouth Company,—one in May commanded by Captain Pring; the other in August, of which Henry Chalong was Captain.[1] Chalong was taken by the Spaniards, but Pring sailed along the coast of Maine and made, on his return, so favorable a report of the country that Chief Justice Popham, of the Plymouth Company, determined, the next year, to send his brother George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, a son of Sir Humphrey,[2] to settle a colony at the mouth of the Sagadahoc. As this colony, however, returned to England in a few months the first permanent settlement was that made by the London Company in Virginia.

[1] Some confusion has arisen in regard to these voyages. In the ship with Pring went Captain Hanam, or Hanham, some authors say as master, others as captain. Strachey speaks of a voyage by Captain Haines, which is probably a mistake for Hanam, and has led some writers to suppose there were three expeditions sent in 1606 by the Plymouth Company.

[2] See Prince's *Worthies of Devon*.

The colony numbered one hundred and five men — men only, for there were no women. Of these only about twenty were mechanics; of the rest, some were soldiers, some were servants, and nearly half of the whole number were "gentlemen," with whom it was not of so much consequence that they were unaccustomed to labor, — for the better bred and better educated a man is, the better able is he for any work — but that they looked upon labor as a degradation. Among its most notable persons were Bartholomew Gosnold and Gabriel Archer, Gosnold's companion in the *Concord* and historian of that expedition; Edward Maria Wingfield, afterward the first governor; the Rev. Robert Hunt, the chaplain, a good man, who soon had enough to do to keep the hands of his charge from each others' throats; George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, who did efficient service in the early struggles of the colony; and John Smith, already distinguished for a romantic career as a soldier in a war against the Turks.

Members of the colony.



John Smith.

They sailed from Blackwall, England, on the 19th of December, 1606, in three vessels: the largest, the *Sarah Constant*, of one hundred tons burden, the second, the *God-Speed*, of forty, the third, the *Discovery*, a pinnace of twenty tons;[1] and of this little fleet, Captain Christopher Newport, an able and experienced sailor, was commander. Contrary winds kept them hanging about the coast for five weeks; when fairly started on their western course, they went — though Gosnold and Archer could have taught them better — by the old route of the West Indies, trading with the Spaniards and dallying in pleasant places, so that four months passed before they saw the coast of Virginia.[2] The delay was not only at great cost of provisions, which they soon came to sorely need, but so long a voyage was in itself enough to breed discontent among men who must have been impatient to reach their destination. Discontent bred insubordination, and this was aggravated by the ignorance as to who among them was to be in authority in the future colony, and might, therefore,

They sail for Virginia December 19, 1606.

[1] Purchas, vol. iv.

[2] Smith's *History of Virginia*, book iii., chap. 2, says five months, but this is an obvious blunder.

command beforehand obedience and respect; for the London Council had unwisely ordered that the seals of their letters of instruction and appointment should not be broken till the colonists had landed upon the shores of Virginia. Among these malcontents John Smith made himself peculiarly obnoxious. His offence may have been in reality nothing more serious than to complain loudly of a delay, which, to one of his active and impatient temper, must needs have been exceedingly irksome; but perhaps his example was contagious, and it was therefore thought necessary to put him under restraint. He was accused (if we may accept his own statement) of an intention to usurp the government, to murder the council, and make himself king;[1] whether charges so serious were really believed to be true, or were only meant to curb a turbulent disposition, he was still considered as under arrest for several weeks after the arrival in Virginia.

The intention, it is supposed — though on insufficient authority — was to follow the Raleigh colonies and go to Roanoke Island; the reckoning, however, was in fault, if that was their purpose, for they overshot it. But there was, probably, no such intention. The instructions of the Council were that the ships should seek for a safe port at the entrance of some navigable river, and if more than one was discovered that should be preferred, if there were any such, which had two branches. Should either of these branches come from the northwest then that one was to be entered, as it might be the passage to the South Sea.[2] The hope of finding this passage the London Council never relinquished so long as the Company remained in existence.

Only three days were consumed in search of such a harbor, and on the 26th of April, 1607, they sailed into Chesseian (Chesapeake) Bay. Its southern point — where some of the people, on landing, were attacked by the Indians, and Gabriel Archer and a sailor wounded — they called Cape Henry; its northern, Cape Charles, in honor of the sons of the king. They would, doubtless, have welcomed the sight of a much less inviting land than this after the long delay; but they sailed up this noble bay with irrepressible delight, eager to begin their work.

Arrival in the new country. April, 1607.

Their first business was to ascertain who among them were to have the management of affairs. On the night of their arrival at Cape Henry the sealed box was opened and it was ascertained that the council was to consist of Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall. The next seventeen days were spent in looking for

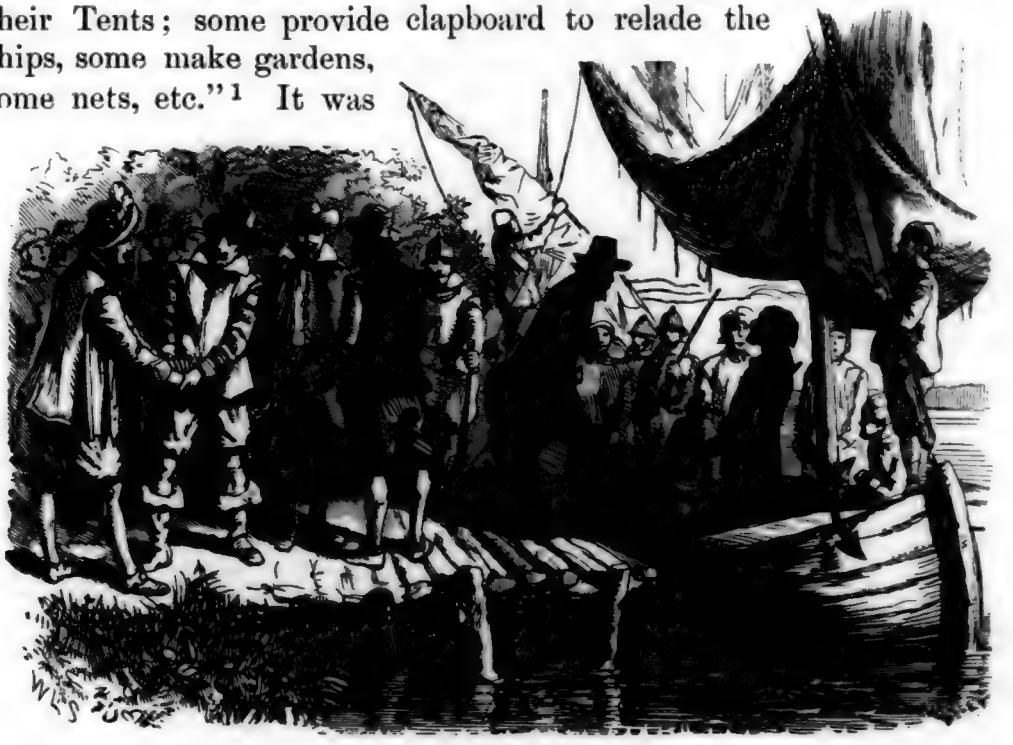
[1] Smith's *General History.*

[2] See instructions in full in Neill's *History of the Virginia Company in London.*

a suitable place to plant the colony, about which there was much disagreement, and on the 13th of May they fixed on the present site of Jamestown — so named in honor of the king — on a peninsula about forty miles from the mouth of the Powhatan, which, also in honor of James, they called the King's, and afterward James River. This was to be their permanent home; the council, excepting Smith, were sworn into office, and Wingfield chosen president.

Selection of the site of the town.

Then "falleth every man to worke; the Councell contrive the Fort, the rest cut downe trees to make place to pitch their Tents; some provide clapboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, etc."[1] It was



Newport's Embarkation.

the laying of the first solid foundation of that English nation, which Raleigh had said five years before he should yet live to see.

In the instructions of the Council the emigrants were commanded to discover the communication which was supposed to exist by some river or lake between Virginia and the South Sea. This they evidently looked upon as one of their first duties, and accordingly within a week Captain Newport "fitted out a shallop with provision and all necessaryes belonging to a discovery" — they believed they had not far to seek — and proceeded with "five gentlemen, four maryners, and fourteen saylors, with a perfect resolutyon not to returne, but either to finde the head of this ryver, the laake mentyoned by others hereto-

[1] Smith's *History*, book i., chap. 1.

fore, the sea againe, the mountaynes Apalatai [Appalachian] or some issue."[1] The issue was that they returned within the week without having discovered either the head of the river, the lake, the South Sea, or the mountains.

Newport's survey of the James River.

They made, however, a fair survey of James River for a hundred and fifty miles, visiting several Indian kings, or weroances, as they were called in the native tongue. By these they were received with great kindness, and made welcome with venison, turkeys, maize, strawberries, mulberries, raspberries, pompions (pumpkins), dried nuts, and tobacco. In return they gave their hosts the usual gifts of beads and other trifles, inviting the chiefs sometimes to share their English food, and drink of their strong drinks to that degree as to make the simple savage both sick and sullen. One tribe was governed by a "queen," — Queen Ahumatec — "a fatt, lustie, manly woman," dressed in a copper "crownet," a copper necklace, a deer-skin girdle, and "ells (else) all naked." She affected great state and was haughty in demeanor, but "cheered somewhat her countenance" when presented liberally with gifts. It was also observed of her, that she was much less affrighted at the discharge of a gun than the men.[2]

Their further progress up the river was stayed at that point where the city of Richmond now stands, and where the water fell down "through great mayne rocks from ledges of rocks above two fadome high." Just below was the village of a king Pawatah (Powhatan), — a brother or son, probably, of that Powhatan afterwards known as the Emperor, — which Newport named Pawatah's Tower, placed upon a hill on the north bank, or Popham side of the river; the south bank they called the Salisbury side. At this point it was proposed to proceed by land and reach the Quirauk (Blue Ridge) Mountains; but they were dissuaded by the Indians, who represented the way as tedious, and the people of that region as the enemies of Powhatan. Here, therefore, ended their discoveries, which, though they did not find the entrance to the South Sea, they hoped would "tend to the glory of God, his majeste's renowne, our countrye's profytt, our owne advancing, and fame to all posterity."[3]

As they went down the river, they observed a change in the conduct of the Indians which excited their apprehensions; and these were well founded, for on reaching Jamestown they learned that the camp had been attacked during their absence. Several of the men were

[1] *Captain Newport's Discoveries in Virginia.* First published, from MS. found in the English State Paper Office, in vol. iv. of *Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1860.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

wounded, one boy was killed, and the President, Wingfield, had narrowly escaped, an arrow having passed through his beard.

George Percy and Gabriel Archer, both men of note, went with Newport on this expedition, and were probably not without some share in its responsibilities and success, such as they were. The coupling of Smith's name alone with Newport's, in Smith's "History," is an assertion of a prominence belonging quite as much to others as to him. Courageous, enterprising, and energetic as he unquestionably was, he was inclined to make himself, or at least sanctioned others in making him, more the hero of the early history of Virginia than the facts seem always to warrant. His own "History" is apparently the only authority for the assertion that he was arrested in the West Indies; and such an arrest must have been made, if made at all, by Newport's orders.[1] It may be that the difference between Smith and Wingfield, which afterward led to such serious results, showed itself thus early, and that Newport saw the necessity of putting a restraint upon one of a turbulent and daring character. If this were so, it is more probable that he kept Smith with him that he might be under his own control, and prevented from interfering in the organization of affairs at the fort, rather than that he divided with him the responsibility and honor of the first expedition into the interior.

Newport's companions in this expedition.

Newport remained at the fort about three weeks before sailing for England, and assisted with his sailors in putting it in a better state of defence. "We labored," — says the narrative of his expedition, under date of May 28th, the day after his return — "pallazdoing (palisading) our forte." The colony had been on shore a fortnight, and had protected the encampment only with boughs of trees. The attack from the Indians showed that more efficient defence, for which the branches were only a temporary substitute and all that as yet there had been time to put up, must be at once made, But in Smith's "History," we are told that "the president's overweening jealousy would admit no exercise at arms, or fortification, but the boughs of trees cast together in the form of a half moon by the extraordinary pains, and diligence of Captain Kendall." This seems to be pure detraction, for there is nowhere else any intimation that Wingfield was wanting in diligence and energy, and the Newport narrative declares that at the first attack from the savages he "shewed himself a valiant gentleman," the proof whereof, was the arrow shot through his beard when with four others of the council he took the post of danger in the front.

Building the fort.

[1] We find no mention of it in the abridgment in Purchas of Percy's Narrative, in the report of Newport's expedition up the James River, nor in Wingfield's *Discourse of Virginia*.

Trouble brewing in the colony.

There was evidently trouble brewing which Newport tried to avert before he sailed on the 21st of June. Where the fault lay is not clear, but there was, says the Newport narrative, "among the gentlemen, and all the company, a murmur and grudg against certayne preposterous proceedings, and inconvenyent courses." A petition was sent in to the council, in relation to these difficulties, whatever they were, and Newport by "fervent perswayson" won a "uniformity of consent" among them, so that, continues the narrator, "we confirmed a faythfull love one to another; and in our heartes subscribed an obedyence to our superyors this day. Captain Smyth was this day sworne one of the Counsell, who was elected in England."

A compromise was thus apparently effected, and harmony restored by this admission of Smith to the board of councillors. But in Smith's "History" there is a material difference in the account of this transaction.[1] Referring to his arrest in the West Indies, from which he was not released, according to that authority, till he was admitted to the council, it is asserted that it was proposed to send him to England for trial. "But he so much scorned their charitie," says the narrative, "and publikely defied the vttermost of their crueltie, he wisely prevented their policies, though he could not suppresse their envies. . . . . Many vntruthes were alledged against him; but being so apparently disproved, begat a generall hatred in the hearts of the company against such vniust Commanders, that the President was adiudged to give him 200*l*, so that all he had was seized vpon, in part of satisfaction, which Smith presently returned to the Store for the generall vse of the Colony." Whether there was any such arrest or not, there is good reason for doubting that there was any such trial, for it is not mentioned in other relations of the troubles of that period. Two months later, however, Wingfield, who had then been deposed from the presidency, was called before the council to answer to an action of slander brought by Smith, who, he said, had concealed an intended mutiny; in this suit Wingfield was adjudged to pay a fine of £200 damages.[2]

As this is Wingfield's own acknowledgment, there can be no reasonable doubt of its truth, since he could have no motive for misrepresentation; while if the statement of Smith's "History" — hitherto ac-

[1] Smith's *Generall Historie*, which is a compilation of the narratives of various persons published under his name, has hitherto been the main reliance of writers upon this period of the history of Virginia. See Stith, Buck, and others who had access only to one side of the story.

[2] *A Discourse of Virginia. By Edward Maria Wingfield. Now first printed from the original manuscript in the Lambeth Library.* *Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1860.

cepted in the absence of any other — be also true, then we are to believe that Wingfield was twice condemned that summer, to pay Smith £200, which is not at all likely, and is nowhere asserted, and to accept also the occurrence of so curious a legal proceeding as the trial of one man — Smith — for treason, whose acquittal involved the punishment of another man — Wingfield — who was not on trial at all. But if the account in Smith's "History" of the circumstances attending his admission to the council be rejected in so important a circumstance on the testimony, recently published, of the Newport narrative and Wingfield's "Discourse," it is impossible not to question its truth in other particulars, and to doubt not only that there was a trial at that time for treason, but that there was any arrest.

Governor Wingfield's "Discourse"

A few days before his departure, and a week after "the faithful love one to another" was confirmed by his fervent persuasions, Newport asked of Wingfield how he thought himself settled in the government. Wingfield's answer was: "that no disturbance could endanger him or the colony, but it must be wrought either by Captain Gosnold or Mr. Archer; for the one was strong with friends and followers, and could if he would; and the other was troubled with an ambitious spirit, and would if he could." [1] This epigrammatic presentation of the condition of affairs, Newport reported to both Gosnold and Archer, and urged them, with many entreaties, to be mindful of their duties to the king and the colony. The internal dissensions were plain enough to him; perhaps he also foresaw how they might be inflamed by the sufferings the colonists were to endure for want of those stores consumed on the long voyage from England which should have been their present support.

It was a summer of great hardship. Early in July disease broke out among them, partly the effect of climate, but more often caused and aggravated by the want of food and proper shelter. "For the most part," says Percy, "they died of mere famine." By September nearly one half were dead, and among them Gosnold. Wingfield had found no reason to fear the influence which he told Newport, "that worthy and religious gent," had over the colonists. Upon Gosnold's good-will, the president said, when speaking of his death, depended the success of his own administration of affairs and of the colony; and so much did he rely upon his countenance and counsel in the differences between himself and the other councillors, that he "did easily foretel his owne deposing from his command," when his friend was taken ill. This good opinion of Wingfield's is confirmed by all we know of Gosnold, who seems, in the

A summer of great hardship.

[1] Wingfield's *Discourse of Virginia*.

glimpses we have of him here and elsewhere, to have been a man of thoughtful mind, calm judgment, and self reliant temper. He deserves to be remembered next to Raleigh among the direct founders of the American colonies.

But for the scarcity of food harmony might have been maintained among the leaders, for that was clearly the ostensible and a bitter cause of quarrel, whatever ambitions and jealousies may have lain hidden beneath the surface. They might, say Smith's partisans, have all been canonized as saints had they been as free from all other sins as from the sins of gluttony and drunkenness; for a half pint of boiled wheat and another of barley, infested with worms, was each man's daily allowance.[1] The president, it is said, exempted only himself from this penurious and fatal diet, keeping for his own use all the good things in store, and denying them even to the sick. On the other hand Wingfield says in his defence: "As I understand by a report I am much charged with staruing the colony. I did alwaies giue every man his allowance faithfully. . . . . It is further said I did much banquet and ryot. I never had but one squirell roasted, whereof I gave part to Mr. Ratcliff, then sick, yet was that squirell given me. I did never heate a flesh pott but when the common pot was so likewise." When the store of oil, vinegar, sack, and aquavitæ was all spent, saving two gallons of each, he ordered the vessels containing them to be "boonged vpp," reserving the sack for the communion table, the other articles for emergencies of extreme sickness. Gosnold, whom he consulted, approved of this pious and prudent action; but when he was dead and the president told the rest of the council of this little reserve of precious stores, he exclaims: "Lord, how they then longed for to supp up that little remnant! for they had nowe emptied all their own bottles and all other that they could smell out." And this small reserve, when they afterward came into possession of it, they "poored into their own bellyes." Again and again, the council demanded of him, he declares, larger allowances for themselves and their favorites who were sick. The president, protesting he would not be partial, refused unless his associates would take the responsibility by official action; for had he at that time enlarged the proportions of food allowed to each man it would have been, he declares, to have starved the whole colony, and he would not join with them, therefore, in such ignorant murder without their own warrant.

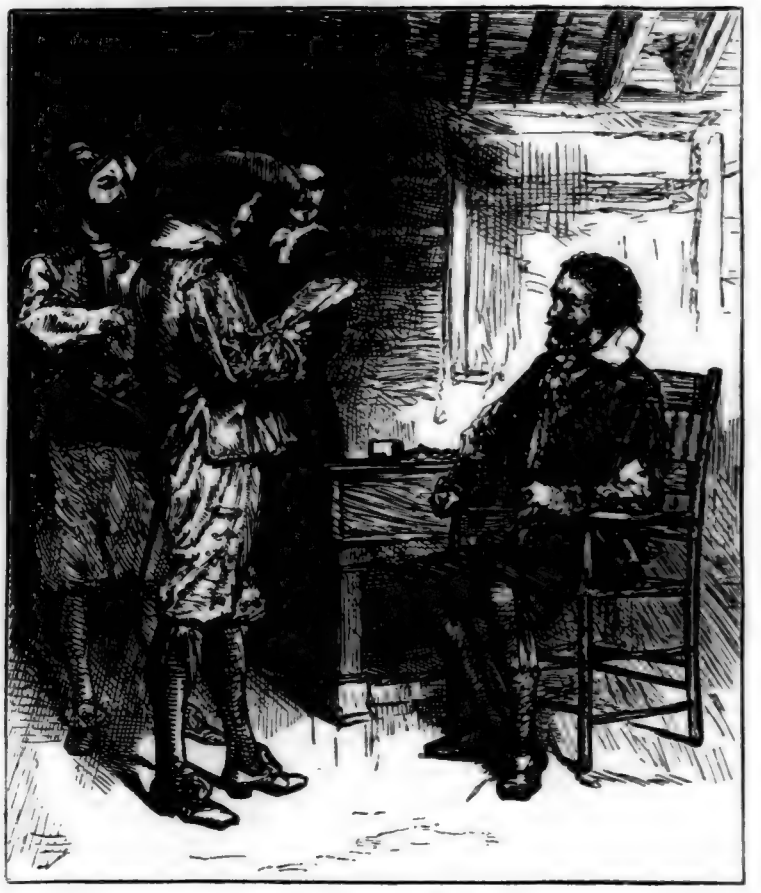
Accusations against Wingfield. His defence.

Early in September, Wingfield says the three other members of the

[1] "Our food was but a small can of barley sod in water, to five men a day; our drinke, cold water taken out of the river, which was at flood very salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth; which was the destruction of many of our men." *Percy in Purchas*

council, Ratcliffe, Smith, and Martin, waited upon him and by warrant deposed him from both the council and the presidency. He declined at first to be thus summarily dealt with; more than once he reminded them he had offered his resignation, which the council had refused to accept, and now they could not legally remove him, as, according to the charter, that must be done by a majority of a full council of thirteen. But finally, he gave up the contest, saying, "I ame at your pleasure; dispose of me as you will, without further garboiles." Wingfield deposed.

The next day he was called before the council, and the change in the government was made known and discussed at a public meeting of the colonists. The three councillors gave the reasons for their action, and with two of them hunger evidently was at the bottom of their discontent. Ratcliffe, the new president, complained that he had been denied "a penny whitle, (a small pocket-knife probably wanted for trade with the Indians), a chickyn, a spoonful of beere, and served with foule corne;" Martin declared that Wingfield had neglected his duties to the colony, "did nothing but tend his pott, spitt and oven;" and had, moreover, starved his son and denied him "a spoonefull of beere." All this would seem frivolous enough if we did not remember that these poor people were in the extremity of hunger, against which no dignity is proof. But Smith showed a nobler passion. He repelled an accusation of lying; he resented the scorn with which he had been treated by Wingfield, who said that though they were



Deposition of Wingfield.

equals here, in England Smith would not be a fit companion for his — Wingfield's — servant. Archer, who was now made recorder, and subsequently a member of the council, followed with other charges in writing, too slight to be remembered, though the accuser, says Wingfield, "glorieth much in his penn worke."

Kendall shot for mutiny.

Kendall was deposed from the council earlier than Wingfield, and seems to have belonged to neither party, or, perhaps, to each by turns. He was confined for a time with the ex-president on board the pinnace, and was subsequently tried for mutiny, and shot. In arrest of judgment the poor man objected that the new president's name was not Ratcliffe but Sicklemore, and the plea was allowed; but judgment, nevertheless, was pronounced by Martin. Afterward, according to the sequence of the narrative — though neither the date of Kendall's execution nor of this incident is given — Wingfield was summoned to appear before the council, which he refused to do on the ground that he was not legally deposed, but suggested, instead, a conference in the presence of ten of the most trustworthy gentlemen of the colony. This being granted, he proposed, inasmuch "as he had no joy" to live longer under the laws and government of the present rulers and "much misliking their triumvirate," to return to England and report to the London Council the sad condition of their charge in Virginia; not that he was anxious to leave the colony, for he was quite willing to remain if either Ratcliffe or Archer would undertake this errand; but if it were thought better that the enterprise should be altogether abandoned he would give a hundred pounds toward defraying the expenses of taking the whole company home. These propositions were all rejected; even the making them was considered a defiance of the council, and the fort opened fire upon the pinnace apparently to prevent Wingfield's departure. If he really intended to abandon his companions without regard to their wishes, this hostile measure answered its purpose.

Services of John Smith to the colony.

Meanwhile the distress of the colonists would have been more disastrous than it was but for the kindness of the Indians, who, when affairs were at the worst, brought them maize and other provisions. The energy of Smith was at the same time of the greatest service. Taking a few men with him in a boat he traded up and down the rivers gathering supplies. When the savages were insolent and refused to trade, he brought them to terms by force of arms. But returning from one of these excursions he found — according to the "General History" — that Wingfield and Kendall, then living in disgrace on board the pinnace, seeing all things at random in the absence of Smith, were attempting to regain their lost authority, or to take the pinnace and sail for England. This plot was

discovered to Smith on his unexpected return, "and much trouble he had," continues the account, "to prevent it, till with store of sakre and musket shot he forced them stay or sinke in the river, which action cost the life of Captaine Kendall." Wingfield's proposition, that either he, or Ratcliffe, or Archer should go to England, was construed into a mutiny, as we know from Wingfield's own representation, and both these relations undoubtedly refer to the same incident; but that Kendall's death was the result in any sense of that attack upon the pinnace cannot be true if Wingfield's statement be correct that he was previously tried and executed.

It is difficult to reconcile such discrepancies in any other way than to suppose a determination on the part of the writer in Smith's "History" to justify Smith and to magnify his services. That Wingfield and Kendall took advantage of his absence to carry out their treasonable purposes, and that it was only his opportune return, and his prompt and energetic action, ending in the death of one of the ringleaders in the mutiny, that averted a serious disaster, is a heroic view of affairs with Smith as the principal figure, greatly redounding to his credit. But in conflict with it is Wingfield's essentially probable and apparently truthful narrative of the struggle between him and the council, and between the council and others; of the criminations and recriminations, of the orders and disobedience, the conferences, the resistance and violent remedies which followed in turn, and in all of which many of the colonists, as was natural, were warmly enlisted. It is a representation of events differing from the history of the period hitherto accepted, and in it Smith's part seems neither so important nor so praiseworthy as it has usually been made to appear.

Dissatisfaction with the administration.

Whatever was the weakness of Wingfield's administration, Smith and his friends were as little satisfied with that of Ratcliffe and Martin. It was because "of the companies dislike of their president's weaknes, and their small love to Martin's never mending sicknes," that Smith found "all things at randome" on the occasion just referred to. According to the same authority, soon after bringing Wingfield to obedience and Kendall to punishment, he was called upon to deal with other offenders. Ratcliffe and Archer next proposed to abandon the colony to its fate, "which project also was curbed and suppressed by Smith." As the winter approached, however, tranquillity was restored, when, as the harvests were gathered, game became plentiful, and there was enough to eat; then no more of the "Tuftaffaty humorists desired to goe for England."[1]

Smith had now leisure for further exploration into the interior. Wingfield says that he started on the 10th of December to go up the

[1] Smith's *General History*.

Chickahominy to trade for corn, and to find the head of that river. On its upper waters two of his men, who were left with a canoe, were slain by the Indians, Pamunkey's men, and Smith himself, who was on shore at some distance, was taken prisoner, his life being saved "by the means of his guide," who was an Indian. He was taken to several of the neighboring chiefs to see if he could be recognized as one of a party who, two or three years before, had kidnapped some Indians;[1] he was taken at last to the great Powhatan, who sent him back to Jamestown on the 8th of January. He had been absent just four weeks.

Smith is taken prisoner.

Smith's life was saved, says Wingfield, by means of his guide. The story as usually told is that Smith tied the Indian to himself with his garters, and held him as a shield against the arrows of his assailants. Making his way toward the boat, which he had left in charge of two of his men, he and the guide slipped together into



From Smith's "General History." [Fac-simile.]

an "oasie creek," from which it was impossible to extricate themselves. Half dead with cold, he at length threw away his arms and surrendered, and was taken before Opechankanough, King of Pamunkey. He sought to propitiate the chief by presenting him with "a round Ivory double compass Dyall." The savages marvelled much at the playing of the needle which they could see, but, for the glass over it, could not touch. With this "globe like jewel," Smith explained to the king and his people the movements of the sun, moon,

[1] There is no record of any voyage to Virginia within two or three years previous to the settlement of Jamestown when any Indians were kidnapped, and if this refers to those taken by Weymouth and carried to England in 1605, it shows a more intimate relation between the tribes of New England and those of Virginia than has been supposed to exist.

and stars, the shape of the earth, the extent of land and sea, the difference in the races of men, and "many other suchlike matters," at which, it was hardly necessary to add, the savages "all stood as amazed with admiration." They nevertheless tied the lecturer to a tree, and were about to shoot him to death with arrows, when Opechankanough, who seemed to have a better appreciation than his followers had of the sciences of astronomy and cosmography, holding up the wonderful compass, stayed the execution. They then released the prisoner, fed him, and used him well.

So well, indeed, did they feed him, that he thought they meant to fatten him for a feast; and they received him otherwise with so much honor, that they dressed themselves in their brightest paints, the plumage of the most brilliant birds, the choicest rattle-snake tails, and "such toys," — adding, perhaps, as Strachey says the Indians sometimes did, "a dead ratt tyed by the tail, and such like conundrums," — and so attired danced before him and the king, "singing and yelling out with hellish notes and screeches." They promised him, moreover, life and liberty, land and women, if he would aid them by his advice in an attack upon Jamestown; but from this he dissuaded them by representations of the mines, great guns, and other engines with which such an attack would be repulsed. When he persuaded them to send a letter to the fort, and the messengers brought, as he promised they should, such things as he asked for, the savages were amazed anew, that either the paper itself spoke to those who received it, or that Smith had the power of divination.

This clothed and bearded white man was a strange spectacle to the Indians, and men, women, and children crowded to see him, as he was led from tribe to tribe. At length he was taken before the great king of all, Powhatan, at a place called Werowocomoco, which signifies king's house, on the north side of the York River, and only fourteen or fifteen miles from Jamestown. When Smith was led into his presence, the emperor received him in state, seated on a throne which was much like a bedstead, clothed in a robe of raccoon skins. On each side of him sat a young girl of sixteen or eighteen years, and beyond them a double row of men and women, their heads and shoulders painted red and adorned with feathers. A queen served the prisoner with water to wash his hands, and a bunch of feathers on which to dry them; a feast was spread before him as if he were an honored friend and welcome guest, for such was the Indian treatment of those who presently were to be led out to die.

Brought before Powhatan.

This ceremonious and hospitable reception was followed by a brief consultation between the king and his chief men. Two great stones

were then brought in, to which Smith was dragged, and his head laid upon them. The executioners stood ready to beat out his brains with their clubs, but at this critical moment, "Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her arms, and laid her owne vpon his to saue

Pocahontas is said to save his life.



From Smith's "General History." [Fac-simile.]

him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper."

The authority for this romantic story is Smith's "General History." With other things, it has come to be considered an established historical fact because that work was long accepted as the best, as it is the fullest, of the contemporary narratives of the adventures of the Jamestown colonists for the first two years. Obscurer authors were either not consulted or were unknown by those who gave currency to these relations. But Wing-

Discrepancies in the two accounts of his capture.

field, who records with such accuracy all the essential facts of Smith's capture, and his return to the fort by Powhatan, says nothing of Pocahontas; Strachey, to whom this young girl was evidently an object of interest, and who speaks in terms of praise of Smith's services and hazards on behalf of the colony, and of his great experience among the Indians, makes no allusion to this romance in the life of both; Hamor, who was also at one time secretary of the colony, and whose tract[1] is largely a biography of Pocahontas and of her interesting relations to the English, is silent on this first important service rendered by her to one of the principal men of the colony.

And even Smith differs with himself in different publications, as to the treatment he met with from Powhatan. In his first book, the "True Relation," published in 1608, he says that the emperor "kindly received me with good words, and great platters of sundry victuals; assuring me of his friendship, and my liberty in four days." After much kindly conversation between them, Powhatan "thus having, with all the kindness he could devise, sought to content me, he sent me home with four men — one that usually carried my gown and knapsack after me, two others loaded with bread, and one to accompany me." Such treatment is altogether inconsistent with a design upon his life, nor is there any hint of such an intention in the savage chief, or of the interference of his little daughter to avert it. It is only in the "General History," first published in 1624, that the narrative of Smith's captivity asserts that the prisoner was sentenced to death by Powhatan, and his life saved by Pocahontas.[2] Then we are told that he was sent back in a few days to Jamestown, not with four friendly guides only, who carried his clothing or were laden with provisions, but with twelve savages, with whom he did not feel that his life was safe till within the palisades and under the protecting guns of the fort. Meanwhile between the publication of the "True Relation" of 1608, and that of the "General History" of 1624, the princess had become famous as the "Lady Rebecca;" by her services to the colony; by her marriage with an Englishman, Rolfe; by her visit to England, presentation at court, and her baptism into the Christian Church; and by her death on the eve of her return to her own country.

Inconsistencies in Smith's story.

This Powhatan, who was called an emperor by the earlier writers, was the most powerful of all the Indian chiefs of Virginia, and became an important person in the history of the colony. Smith was the first to meet with him; the Pawatah who had enter-

The great chief Powhatan.

[1] *A True Discourse of the Present Estate of Virginia until 18th of June*, 1614. By Ralph Hamor, Jr.

[2] See comments on this subject by Charles Deane in his edition of Smith's *True Relation*.

tained Newport and his companions, some months before, at the falls of James River, being another and less powerful chief, perhaps a son of Powhatan. For Powhatan was a native of the country just above the falls of the James, and it was from it that he took his name. Among his own people he was known as Ottaniack, or as Mamanatowick, the latter meaning great king; but his true name, and that by which he was saluted by his subjects, was Wahunsenacawh.[1] He is described as a goodly old man, "well beaten with many cold and stormye winters," being somewhere about eighty years of age. He was tall in stature, stalwart and well shaped of limb, sad of countenance though his face was round and fat, and his thin gray hairs hung down upon his broad shoulders. As in his younger years he had been strong and able, so also had he been a cruel savage, "daring, vigilante, ambitious, subtile to enlarge his dominions," striking terror and awe into neighboring chiefs. Though in his old age he delighted in security and pleasure, and lived in peace with all about him, he was from the first watchful and jealous of these white-faced strangers who were penetrating his rivers, devouring his corn, and building houses within his dominions. With that Indian subtlety of which he was peculiarly a master, he sought their friendship, when that would best serve his purpose, but never letting an opportunity pass to cut them off when it could be done with little or no loss to himself and his people.[2]



From Smith's "General History." [Fac-simile.]

He had, it was said, many more than a hundred wives, of whom about a dozen, all young women, were special favorites. When in bed one sat at his head, and another at his feet; when at meat one was at his right hand, another at his left. Of his living children, when he first became known to the English, twenty were sons and twelve

[1] Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, p. 48.

[2] Strachey, pp. 49, 54.

were daughters, and among these last was one "whome he loved well, Pochahuntas, which may signifie little wanton; howbeyt she was rightly called Amonate at more ripe yeares," in accordance with an Indian custom in the naming of their children. She was well known at Jamestown at an early period. The Indian girls wore no clothing till the age of eleven or twelve years, nor were "they much ashamed thereof, and therefor," continues Strachey, "would Pochahuntas, a well-featured but wanton young girle, Powhatan's daughter, sometymes resorting to our fort, of the age then of eleven or twelve yeares, get the boys forth with her into the markett place, and make them wheele, falling on their hands, turning up their heeles upwards, whome she would followe and wheele so herself, naked as she was, all the fort over." As Strachey did not go to Virginia till 1610, and if he saw this young princess in that year, then eleven or twelve years of age, "turning cart-wheels" among the boys of Jamestown, she could have been only eight or nine years old at the time Smith was taken prisoner by her father. Elsewhere speaking of her as "using sometyme to our fort in tymes past," he adds, "nowe married to a private captaine, called Kocoum, some two yeares since."[1]

Pocahontas.

Again, we hear that Smith, on his return, found the colony "all in combustion;" that some of the leaders were, as usual, engaged in that inexplicable preparation to run away with the pinnace, which never came to anything; and once more that Smith, for the third time, and, at "the hazard of his life, with sakre, falcon and musket shot, forced them to stay or sink."

It is remarkable with what ingratitude these repeated services, if they were rendered, were received by a people among whom there seems to have been little law but the law of the strongest; for on this very day of Smith's return, and while he was compelling obedience on board the pinnace with the guns of the fort, the council, through the influence of Archer, were trying him by the Levitical law, for the death of the two men who were killed, while under his command, by the savages. He was adjudged guilty, and to be put to death the next day; "but," says the "General History," "he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners to England." Wingfield agrees that Smith was tried on the day of his return, and condemned to be hanged either that or the next day, but that his life was saved by the opportune arrival of Newport. Of an attack on the pinnace at the same time by Smith, he says nothing. In the

Opportune return of Captain Newport.

[1] Major, the editor of Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, supposes it must have been written between 1612 and 1616.

"True Relation," Smith says that he was welcomed back with truest signs of joy, by all except Archer and two or three others, and that these laid "great blame and imputation" upon him for the loss of the two men, slain by the Indians. "In the midst of my miseries," he adds, "it pleased God to send Captaine Nuport the same night, ... and for a while those plots against me were deferred." There is no boastful assertion of laying his enemies by the heels, nor of his bringing mutineers to order on board the pinnace. The narrative simply and naturally recognizes his own troubles, and is thankful for the arrival of one more powerful than any of the factious leaders, to bring security and peace.

On every account, Newport's arrival was opportune. In less than nine months the colony had become reduced to about forty persons, and his ship brought to a starving and despairing people an addition of one hundred and twenty men, besides a stock of provisions, of implements of husbandry, and of seeds. About the time of his arrival a fire which nearly destroyed the fort, consumed the entire stock of stores procured from the Indians, reducing the colonists to complete dependence upon the supplies brought by Newport. Unfortunately, however, Newport and his crew remained for fourteen weeks at Jamestown, and helped in the consumption of these provisions. Near the fort a deposit of yellow mica was found, which was mistaken for gold. The colonists were quite ready to take the risk of starvation, that the ship might be laden with this useless dirt. That it was useless, some of the more judicious, and Smith among them, were convinced, for there could be no hope of productive industry till this dream of sudden wealth was dispelled. Happily it did not last long, for in the spring when the second vessel, which had sailed with Captain Newport from England but had been detained in the West Indies by bad weather, arrived, she was sent home with a cargo of cedar. Wingfield and Archer returned home in one of these vessels, and Martin in the other, leaving Smith the principal person of the colony, and without rivals.

Newport's visit to Powhatan.

Newport spent a portion of the time of his stay in a visit to Powhatan, whose friendship he evidently deemed of great importance to the colony. The emperor received him with great courtesy, seated, as when Smith was led into his presence not long before as a prisoner, upon his bedstead throne, and surrounded by his warriors and women. He had received from Smith — who had entertained him on that occasion with a number of remarkable stories, all lies, as to the motives which had led the English to that country — an exalted notion of the power of Newport. No doubt to prove that he was as generous as he was great, Newport per-

mitted Powhatan to name his own price in corn for the copper kettles and trinkets which he offered in exchange. The result was, that the confiding Englishman got much the worst of the bargain. But Smith, who much better understood the nature of the wily but simple savage, presently restored the balance of trade by displaying in the eyes of the king some blue beads, on which a high price was put, as precious ornaments worn only by royal personages. Corn fell to a few beads the bushel, and the visit was made on the whole a profitable one in provisions, and in the establishment, for the present, of friendly relations with the powerful chief.

Smith makes a map of the Chesapeake Bay.

Smith passed the summer of 1608 in two expeditions upon the waters of Virginia, making an extended survey of Chesapeake Bay and its tributary rivers, of which he drew a map of remarkable correctness. In the Potomac he was beset by a band of Indians, who, if their story could be believed, were instigated through Powhatan, by some persons in Jamestown, to cut off Smith and his party. A more dangerous mishap befell him in the same river, where he was stung by a fish he calls a stingray; he was thought to be so near death that a grave was dug for his burial on an island near by; but he recovered in time to eat of the fish that struck him. On the second expedition the party ventured as far as Sassafras River, not far below the mouth of the Susquehanna, where the Indians are said to have known little of Powhatan, except by name, but who held intercourse with the French of Canada at a much greater distance. These were remarkable voyages to be made in open boats, into an unknown country, constantly exposed to the inclemencies of weather, the possibility of an entire failure of the means of subsistence, and the attacks of hostile savages. But it is characteristic of the exaggeration which distinguishes the Smith narratives that he is said to have sailed a distance of about three thousand miles while absent from Jamestown only three months.

First women join the colony.

On the return from the last expedition early in September, Captain Smith was made president of the colony. Newport arrived soon after with a second reinforcement of men and supplies, and with him came the two first women of the colony, Mistress Forrest and her maid Ann Burras. The latter did not wait long for a husband, for her marriage to John Laydon is announced a few weeks later.

Coronation of Powhatan.

Newport came with orders from the London Council to bring home a lump of gold, to discover the passage to the South Sea, and to find the survivors of the Roanoke Colony. He brought with him also some "costly novelties," as a basin, a ewer, a bed and some clothes for Powhatan, with directions to bestow the

ceremony of a coronation upon that naked monarch. He found neither the lump of gold, the passage to the Pacific, nor any of the survivors of the Roanoke massacre; but he crowned the savage who had, perhaps, procured the deaths of those unhappy persons.

Powhatan, reminded of his royal state, declined to go to Jamestown to receive the presents when summoned thither by Smith as a special ambassador. "I also am a king," he said; and if the King of England had sent him gifts, they should be brought to him; he should not go to receive them. Newport went, and the gifts were accepted; but



Coronation of Powhatan.

the coronation was a more difficult matter. No persuasions could induce the chief to kneel, and it was only by bearing heavily upon his shoulders that he could be made to stoop so low as to admit of the assumption that his posture was the proper one for the placing of a crown upon his head. The firing of a pistol as a signal for a volley from the boats in honor of the event startled him into an attitude of defence with the suspicion that he was the victim of some treachery; but being presently reassured of the entire sincerity of these proceedings, he accepted them as an acknowledgment of his regal state, and gave his old moccasins, the deer-skin he used for a blanket, and seven or eight bushels of corn in the ear, to the representatives of his royal brother of England.

If Captain Newport committed any errors they were errors of judgment, or acts done in obedience to orders from the Council at home, who held him in deserved respect and confidence. It was, perhaps, because of that estimation that the jealousy of Smith was aroused against him. Newport is abused in the "General History," after the second visit, with almost as much vehemence and rancor as Wingfield and others were before him. Smith, no doubt, understood better than any of his companions, the character of the Indians; to him this coronation of Powhatan was an absurdity, believing their ends would be more easily gained with the chief by dealing with him as a wily but ignorant savage rather than as a powerful king. A display of strength wisely used, he thought, was more likely to establish peaceful relations with the Indians than deprecatory measures and a show of pretended respect, which the natives would only construe into an acknowledgment of weakness. But he was not content with merely following his own wiser conclusions, both with regard to the Indians and the management of his own people; he would see neither good intentions nor good results in the actions of others. Had he shown in his own acts something more of the spirit of conciliation, and had he been less severe to subordinates and less jealous of his companions, his services, undoubtedly great, would have done much more to promote the secure establishment and welfare of the colony.

Smith's criticism on Newport.

The chief merit of his administration was, that he kept the colony from starvation. It depended for food mainly upon the Indians, for the colonists were neither provident enough, nor industrious enough to protect the stores brought from England, from destruction by decay, or by the rats which came in the ships and had also founded a colony. In cunning and courage the Indians were no match for Smith. He could always persuade them to sell or constrain them to give him provisions, and there was need enough for all that he could gather. He attempted to compel the people to steady labor, but, except when Newport's vessels were to be loaded for the return voyage, without much success. They would all rather beg or buy of the Indians, than plant, or fish, or hunt, and in spite of the severe laws of the president, would abandon the tasks to which they were put. Then a large proportion of the colonists were considered, by right of their being "gentlemen," exempt from labor. Two of them, indeed, did go heartily to work in felling trees, and were so efficient that, it was said, forty like them would be worth a hundred common laborers. But their example does not seem to have been followed by others of their class, who may have been deterred partly by the severity of a regulation of the president's, that a record should be kept of every oath uttered by men at work, and for each oath a can of water

Merits of Smith's administration.

be poured down the sleeve of the offender when the day's work was over.

Indolence and hunger were not the only troubles. Jamestown was in an unwholesome region, and deaths from the malaria of the sur-



From Smith's "General History." [Fac-simile.]

rounding swamps were frequent. Among those who died was Captain Wynne, a member of the council. Scrivener, another of the council, Captain Waldo, the commander of the fort in Smith's absence, Anthony Gosnold, a brother of Bartholomew, with eight others, were drowned by the upsetting of a boat. The council was thus reduced

to Smith alone, and the colony, if not altogether dependent upon him, was, at least, under his sole direction. He was, if we may believe the narratives written in his interest, quite equal to this enlarged responsibility. The Indians were as children in his hands, whether in negotiation or conflict. One stalwart chief he seized by his long hair in the presence of his tribe drawn up in battle array, with a pistol at his breast compelled him to submission, and led him trembling with fear among his people who threw down their arms in dismay. On another occasion he closed in fight with the King of Paspahey, a giant in strength and stature, who took him up, and bore him to the river to drown him; but in the struggle in the stream, Smith — who was a small man — at length got such a hold upon the throat of the savage as to nearly strangle him, and led him off at last a prisoner to the fort.

His own people, the president ruled with a relentless will, punishing the idle and insubordinate, threatening to hang the mutinous, if they did not give over their attempts to abandon the colony. Two or three Dutchmen, nevertheless, revolted from his authority, fled to the Indians, and entered into a conspiracy with Powhatan for the destruction of Jamestown. But Smith knew their plans, defeated them, and brought the great chief himself into submission. In the course of these events he was aided by the little girl Pocahontas, who sometimes gave him timely information of attempts to be made upon his life, and often supplied the starving colonists with the needed supplies.

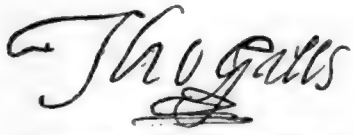
But the energy and services of Smith, whatever they really were, could only keep a feeble life in the colony. With the material of which it was composed, it was not possible to do more. The cost had been great, and the return almost nothing to the adventurers in England, and a new charter with larger powers and privileges was asked for. It was granted by James, and dated the 23d of May, 1609. The number of corporators was very large, and included the most exalted among the nobility, the highest among the clergy, the most distinguished among navigators, the wealthiest among the merchants in the kingdom, as well as all of the most influential guilds of London in their corporate capacity. The boundaries of the land it bestowed upon the company, were from two hundred miles north to the same distance south of Cape Comfort, including all the country between those extreme points, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and the islands within a hundred miles of both coasts. A council, to sit always in London, was nominated in the charter, future vacancies in which were to be filled by the corporators. The appointment of officers and enactment of laws for the colony were to be made by this body, and "for divers reasons and considera-

A new charter of the Virginia Company, 23d of May, 1609.

tions" this provision of the charter was to take immediate effect on the arrival in Virginia of a new governor. Smith's administration was clearly not approved of, which cannot be wondered at when we remember how many of the men whom he had quarrelled with, denounced, and superseded had returned to England.

So extended were the interests engaged in the naming of the corporators under this new charter that the contributions were large to carry on the enterprise. A fleet of nine ships, carrying five hundred people, was dispatched the latter part of May, the lieutenant-general, Sir Thomas Gates, the admiral, Sir George Somers, and the vice-admiral, Captain Newport, taking passage together in one of them, the *Sea Adventure*. Lord De la Warre was appointed captain-general, but as he remained in England, Sir Thomas Gates was to assume supreme command on his arrival at Jamestown. Among the captains of the fleet were Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, whose return to the colony by order of the new Council Smith might well consider a reflection upon his administration, and an answer to the complaints and charges he had sent home. Among the vessels was the *Virginia*, the first American ship, built by the people who were sent out under George Popham by the Council of the Second or Northern Colony, two years before, to make a settlement at the mouth of the Sagadahoc — the Kennebec River in Maine.

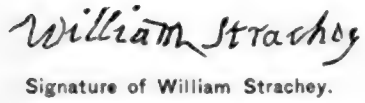
Sailing of the fleet under Gates and Somers. 1609.



Signature of Sir Thomas Gates.

The fleet was dispersed by a storm soon after sailing. Seven of them reached the Chesapeake in August, in a more or less shattered condition; of the two that were missing, one was a pinnace, which had foundered at sea, the other the admiral's ship, the *Sea Adventure*, on board which were Gates, Somers, Newport, and William Strachey. She also was supposed to be lost, for nothing was heard of her till the next spring.

Off the Bermuda group — "the still vexed Bermoothes" of Shakespeare — a storm had assailed the *Sea Adventure* and wrecked her on one of those islands. It was such a storm as Shakespeare describes in the first act of "The Tempest," and to Strachey's account of it, it is thought the dramatist was indebted for his inspiration.[1] Storm after storm, with fury added to fury, each more outrageous than that which went before, battered the

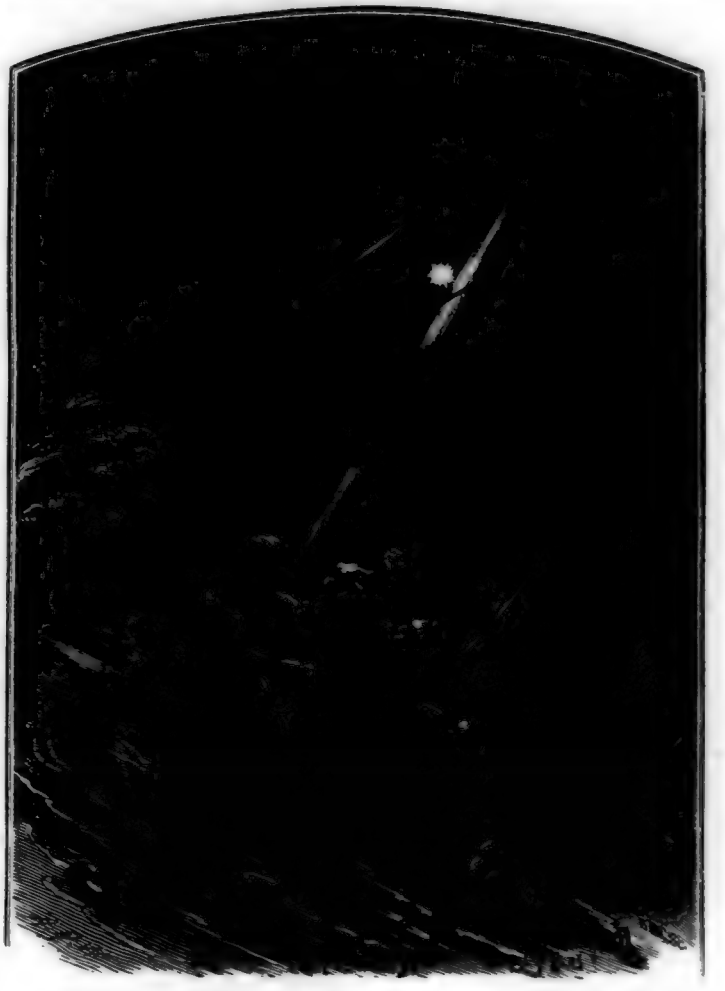


Signature of William Strachey.

[1] *A True Reportory of the Wracke, and redemption of Sir Thomas Gates; upon and from the Ilands of the Bermudas*, etc., etc. Written by William Strachey, Esquire. Purchas, vol. iv., lib. ix., chap. vi.

doomed ship, and made her miserable people, says Strachey, "looke one vpon the other with troubled hearts, and panting bosoms: our clamors dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder." There was "nothing heard that could give comfort, nothing seene that might incourage hope. Such was the tumult of the elements that the Sea swelled above the Clouds, and gave battell vnto Heaven. It could not be said to raine, the waters like whole Riuers did flood in the ayre. . . . . Windes and Seas were as mad as fury and rage could make them." The ship sprung a leak, or many leaks from every joint almost, "having spued out her Oakum," and this fresh calamity, the news of which, "imparting no lesse terrour than danger, ranne through the whole Ship with much fright and amazement," seemed "as a wound giuen to men that were before dead." Yet they fought bravely for their lives, passengers as well as seamen. "The common sort stripped naked, as men in Gallies, the easier both to hold out, and to shrinke from vnder the salt water, which continually leapt in among them, kept their eyes waking, and their thoughts and hands working, with tyred bodies, and wasted spirits, three dayes and foure nights destitute of outward comfort, and desperate of any deliuerance, testifying how mutually willing they were, yet by labour to keepe each other from drowning; albeit each one drowned while he laboured." The heavens looked so black upon them during all this time, that not a star was seen by night, nor the sun by day; but on the last night of their terrible

Strachey's account of the shipwreck.



Shipwreck of the "Sea Adventure."

struggle with the winds and waves, Sir George Somers saw, and called others to see, "an apparation of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling and streaming along with a sparkling blaze, halfe the height vpon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were vpon any of the foure Shrouds: and for three or four houres together, or rather more, halfe the night it kept with vs, running sometimes along the Maine yard to the very end, and then returning. . . . . but vpon a sodaine, towards the morning watch they lost of it, and knew not what way it made."

Shakespeare's "Tempest."

So the boatswain in Shakespeare's "Tempest" heard the howlings from within the ship, louder than the weather; so Miranda besought her wizard father to allay the war of the wild waters, when the sea mounted to the sky and dashed the fire out, as she saw the brave ship dashed all to pieces; so Ariel flamed amazement, burning in many places, on the topmast, the yards, the bowsprit, and then in a deep nook safely harbored the king's ship, as, on the morning of the fifth day, the *Sea Adventure* lay firmly fixed and quiet, between two rocks in still waters, under the lea of the island.

On these islands — henceforth known as the Somers Islands as well as the Bermudas, from Sir George Somers, and corrupted later into Summer Islands — there was abundance of food, especially of wild hogs, for the support of Gates and his one hundred and fifty companions, men, women, and children. There was no hardship in a winter in that lovely climate, and the people were for the most part contentedly employed in hunting and fishing, and in building two pinnaces in which to continue their voyage. There were deaths, and births, and even marriage among them; the wife of "one John Rolfe" gave birth to a daughter which was christened Bermuda, and a boy born to another couple was called Bermudas. Nor was crime wanting in private murders and public mutinies, for which there was due punishment; but, on the whole, the winter passed pleasantly, and in May they all embarked save two deserters and a few who were sent off earlier in the long-boat, and who, it was afterward supposed, reached Chesapeake Bay, but were murdered when they landed by some of Powhatan's people.

Distracted condition of the colony.

Meanwhile affairs at Jamestown were not prospering. In the absence of the captain-general, Sir Thomas Gates, Smith continued president, for there was no authority to supersede him. The colony was, as usual, in a distracted condition, hungry and dependent for food upon the Indians. Martin was sent to make a settlement at Nansemond; Captain West went to the falls of James River, and Ratcliffe to Point Comfort, for the same purpose. West bought of Powhatan, for a small quantity of copper, the country

he proposed to occupy — the region about Richmond — but the good-will of the Indians was secured neither by kindness nor by abstaining from bad treatment. The attempts to settle at these new points were unsuccessful; half the men were killed, and among them Captain Ratcliffe. While West was at the falls, Smith went to his assistance, and met with an accident which put an end to his career in Virginia. By an explosion of gunpowder in his boat, he was so burned and maimed that it was necessary he should go to England for surgical aid, and he sailed soon after with the returning fleet.[1]

George Percy succeeds to the presidency.

Percy succeeded him in the presidency, but he was capable neither of maintaining harmony among the leading men, nor even that degree of limited prosperity among the people, which existed under Smith. The late president had been so far able to compel the colonists to labor during the past summer, that the autumn brought them a considerable harvest; the swine and other animals had increased in numbers, and the people generally were in good health. Whatever may have been the severity of his rule, it produced good results, and was probably no harsher than was necessary among men described as a "lewd company, wherein were many unruly gallants packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies," and as "men of such distempered bodies and infected minds, whom no examples daily before their eyes, either of goodnesse or punishment can deter from their habitual impieties, or terrify from a shameful death." Before the return of spring, improvidence, idleness, and debauchery had done their work. The store of provisions which Smith had gathered from the harvest and from the Indians, the domestic animals, which had been carefully preserved for their natural increase, were all speedily consumed; hunger, despair, and death followed, and the winter was recorded in the annals of the colony, as "the starving time." When Gates arrived in May, of the five hundred whom Smith had left at Jamestown six months before, only sixty were alive.



Signature of George Percy.

[1] It is said in the *Relation of Virginia*, by Henry Spellman, 1609 — recently recovered and published in London (1872) — that Captain Smith sold Spellman to Powhatan for this land on the James, and required West to settle upon it. But that Captain West, "having bestowed cost to begine a toune in another place misliked it." That thereupon unkindness arose between them; Captain Smith saying little at the time, but afterwards conspiring with Powhatan to kill Captain West. "Which plotte," adds Spellman, "tooke but smale effect, for in the meane time Capt. Smith was Aprehended and sent abord for England." This Spellman is well known to have been a captive for some years among the Indians.

John Redclyffe also wrote, October 4, 1609, to the Earl of Salisbury, that Smith was sent home to answer to some misdemeanors. *Sainsbury State Papers*, quoted in Neill's *History of the Virginia Company*.

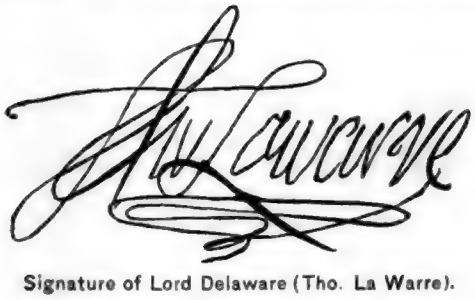
When Gates landed, he entered the church and ordered the bell to be rung as a summons to the people, and as many as could of the sixty miserable survivors crawled out to welcome him. Service was first held in "zealous and sorrowful prayer," and then Percy delivered up to him the old patent, his own commission, and the seal of the council. Gates went out to look at the seat of his new government. It was a scene of desolation. The palisades were torn down; the ports stood wide open; the gates were broken from their hinges; the empty houses of the dead had been dismantled for fire-wood, — those who were alive being too weak or too indolent to go to the forest near by for fuel, or too much afraid to venture far from the Block House, not knowing when or where to look for the arrows or the tomahawks of Indians lurking in the woods.

Landing of Gates, the governor-general. May, 1610.

The governor was satisfied in the course of a week, that the one wise thing to do was to abandon Jamestown with all possible speed, and get to some place where they might hope to be saved from starvation. From the Indians nothing could be looked for but the most determined hostility; the store of provisions brought from the Bermudas could be made to last only a few days longer, and it was determined, therefore, to sail for Newfoundland, where there would be English vessels from which assistance could be obtained. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, just a fortnight after the arrival of Gates, the whole company embarked on two vessels he found in port and the two built in Bermuda, the president himself being the last to go on board, that he might save the fort and houses from destruction, as some of the more desperate had determined to celebrate their departure by a conflagration.

It was fortunate that he took this precaution. As the ships lay at anchor the next day in the lower part of the river, waiting for the ebb tide, the governor's vessel was boarded by a boat from seaward. It was one sent in advance by Lord De la Warre, who had arrived at Point Comfort, where he had heard of Gates' decision, and hastened to send orders to intercept him.

Lord De la Warre's fleet arrives off Point Comfort. June, 1610.



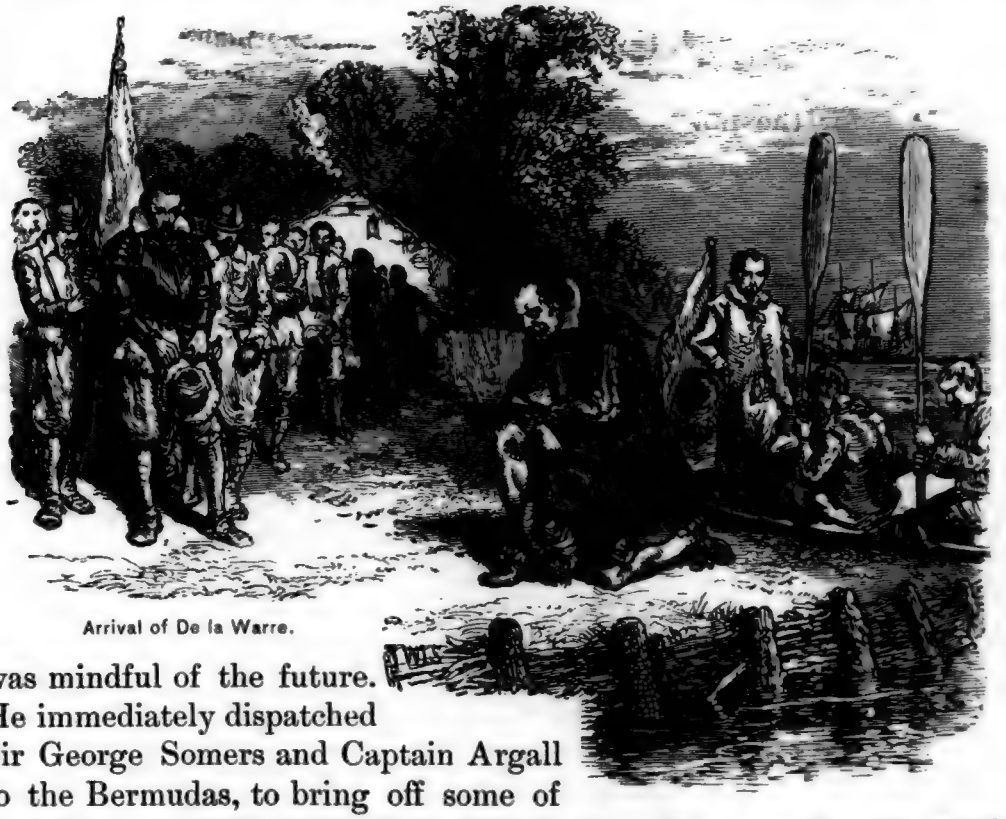
Signature of Lord Delaware (Tho. La Warre).

The news was received gladly by Gates; the tide which had prevented the vessels getting out to sea was taken advantage of to return to Jamestown, and that night the colonists were back again under the shelter of their old quarters, which Gates had saved from destruction. Two days later De la Warre also brought his three ships to anchor opposite the fort and went ashore.

As he landed he fell upon his knees and engaged in silent prayer. A procession, dignified but ragged, ceremonies more imposing in intention than in fact, awaited him, as he arose; in prayer and in sermon, his coming was welcomed; his commission as captain-general was read, and with parchments and seal, Sir Thomas Gates surrendered into his hands the colony which he had governed a fortnight. Then in a timely speech, De la Warre rebuked the idleness and other shortcomings of the past, warning his hearers that he held the sword of justice in his hands, which would certainly be drawn if occasion called for it, but encouraging them also with assurances of the good store of provisions with which his ships were laden.

Energetic measures of De la Warre.

There was food enough on hand to last for a year, but De la Warre



Arrival of De la Warre.

was mindful of the future. He immediately dispatched Sir George Somers and Captain Argall to the Bermudas, to bring off some of the wild swine with which those islands abounded, to replace the stock which the colonists had eaten up the previous winter. Both these vessels were driven northward by stress of weather, and Argall returned to Virginia; Somers reached the Bermudas, but soon after died there, and his nephew, who succeeded to the command of his vessel, returned to England. In Virginia, De la Warre was more fortunate. Argall was successfully employed in trading with the natives for corn; two forts were built near the mouth of the James, and another at the falls; the Indians were brought into more peaceful, if not more friendly

relations, by force of arms, however, rather than by conciliatory measures; and something like order and industry was enforced among the colonists. On the whole, the administration of De la Warre was more successful than that of his predecessors; but it lasted only a year, when failing health compelled him to return to England, leaving Percy again governor.

New impulses to colonization.

Four years had passed away since Newport first sailed up the Powhatan and landed the first comers, and public enthusiasm in the "action," — as these attempts at colonization were called in the language of the time, as in ours we say "an enterprise," — needed new impulses. Zealous divines preached eloquent sermons in the pulpits of London, and the Council plied the public with pamphlets. Gold mines and the South Sea, were still occasionally held out as possible discoveries; but the true value of Virginia, the mildness of its climate, the fertility of its soil, the magnificence of its rivers, the value of its timber and other natural products, its fitness generally for the home of civilized men, were coming to be better understood, and the dream of a repetition of Spanish experience farther south faded into dimness. The Council had to contend with doubt and indifference, the natural result of the mistakes and disasters of these first four years. The return of De la Warre was depressing, — for much depended upon his success, — until he could publicly explain the details of the sickness that made it necessary; how ague seized him followed by dysentery, to that succeeding cramps, to them the gout, and to the gout scurvy, till one wonders that he escaped at all, and can better understand the malarial influences with which these first settlers contended, and which carried them off so rapidly.

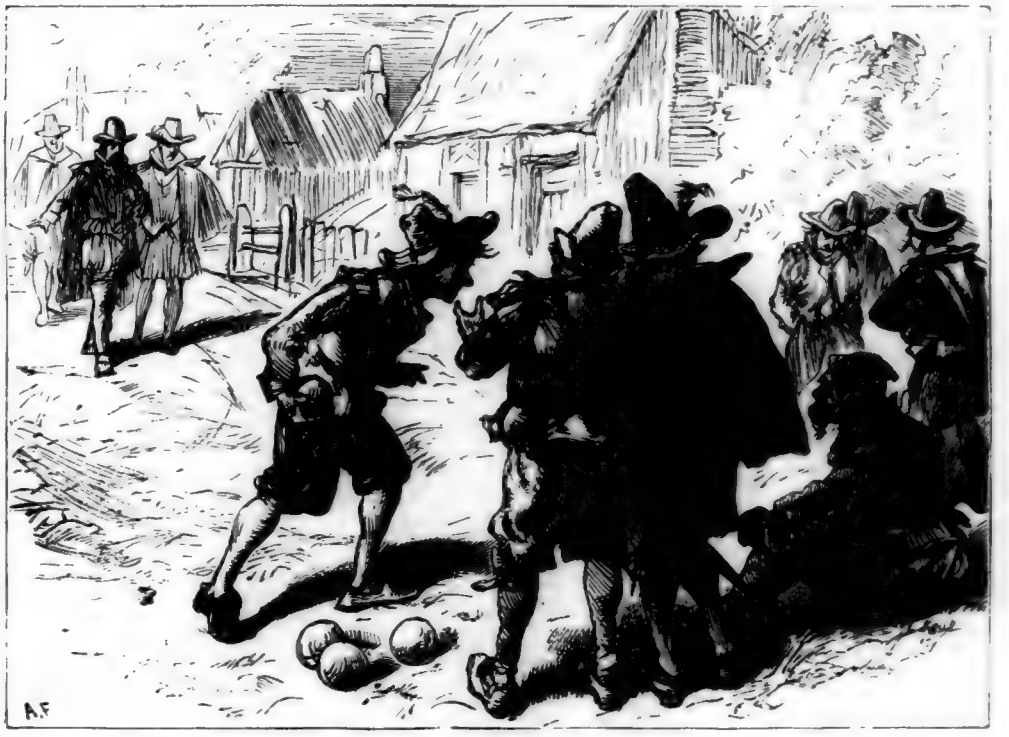
But fortunately before his arrival two fresh expeditions had sailed for Virginia, one under Sir Thomas Gates, — whom De la Warre had sent home for assistance, — the other under Sir Thomas Dale. Both were amply provided with men, with supplies, and with domestic animals. The lessons of four years of experience had not been lost, and the colony began at last to achieve some degree of prosperity.

Sir Thomas Dale commands in Virginia. 1611.

Dale arrived in May, 1611. He was wise as well as energetic, and set himself to cure, by something better than threats and exhortations, the idleness of a people whom he found relapsing again into want and suffering, while they amused themselves with playing bowls in the streets of Jamestown. He gave to each man three acres of cleared ground to cultivate for his own support and took away from him the dependence upon the public store for food. The result justified his expectations, and three men did more work under the new rule than thirty did under the old. There was an incentive to labor in the appeal to self-interest, for he who

was idle was very likely to starve. Tracts of corn-land, surrounded by palisades and protected by a block-house, appeared in various places; a beginning was really made in the settlement of the country under the influence of steady industry.

Gates followed Dale in August, and superseded him for the time being, in the government of the colony, but seconded his wise efforts to bring about a reform in the habits of the people. A new settlement was made, and a town called Henrico in honor of Prince Henry, was built a few miles below the falls of the James, New settlements.



The Idle Colonists.

on the extreme end of what is now known as Farrar's Island; and a few months later, another town was begun at the mouth of the Appomattox, and named Bermuda City. Both sites were elevated and healthful; the clearing and inclosing of lands for plantations, the laying out of streets, the building of houses, gave employment to idle hands. Hope and energy were aroused in men who would gradually become good and self-sustaining citizens in the prospect of homes of their own, and in ceasing to be paupers dependent for subsistence upon public stores brought from England, and upon corn bought at the public expense or stolen from the Indians. The foundation of the future state was at last firmly laid in the idea of the welfare of each individual member of the community. Not that the change was immediate; it was not easy to alter a condition of things which had continued for several years, and

the old system of support from the public store was still adhered to with regard to new comers for a certain period after their arrival. It was, nevertheless, the beginning of a new state of affairs, and the beginning of anything like a hopeful prosperity.

Code of laws for the colony.

It was not easy, however, for the Council in London to look upon these emigrants as a body of Englishmen capable of being governed by the same laws and influenced by the same motives and habits to which they were accustomed at home. A code of pains and penalties for crime was sent out, under which they were to live, drawn not from the common law and statutes of England but taken from the martial laws of the Low Countries.[1] The penalty was death for blaspheming God; for speaking "impiously or maliciously" of the Holy Trinity, collectively or individually; for any word or act in derision or in despite of the Holy Scriptures; for traitorous words against the king; for murder, for adultery, for rape, whether of white or Indian; for perjury, or bearing false witness; for trading with the Indians without a license; for embezzlement of the public goods; for desertion of the colony, for treason or misprision of treason against it or its rulers; for ordinary theft; for robbing a garden, wilfully pulling up a flower, a root, or herb when set to weeding; for gathering grapes, or plucking ears of corn, whether belonging to a private person or the public. He who used profane swearing, taking the name of God in vain or by other oaths, had a bodkin thrust through his tongue for the second time offending, and the third time suffered death; the penalty for absence from public worship, or violating the Sabbath, was deprivation of a week's allowance, public whipping, and if three times repeated, death; slander of the councillors or other principal officers of the colony, evil speaking of the colony itself, or of books written on its behalf, were punished by whipping, and by the galleys for three years, and by death for the third offence; disobedience of the magistrates carried the same penalties, and he who unworthily demeaned himself to any minister or preacher was publicly whipped three times, and compelled to ask forgiveness of the congregation for three successive Sundays; to kill any domestic animal, any poultry, or even a dog, though they might be one's own, without permission, was punished as a capital crime in the principal, and he who assisted him was to lose his ears and be branded in the hand; those who failed to keep their houses neat and clean, whose bedsteads were not three feet from the ground, and who threw foul water into the streets, were subject to trial by court-martial; a tradesman who neglected his business was sent to the galleys for four years if he persisted in the offense; if he or any soldier failed to appear at his ap-

[1] Stith's *History of Virginia*, p. 122.

pointed work at beat of drum, morning and afternoon, or left his work before the hour appointed, he was laid "head and heels together" all night upon the guard, for the first offence, for the second whipped, for the third sent to the galleys; whoever failed to render to the minister an account of his faith, or refused to take advice from him touching matters of religion, was whipped daily till he repented of his obduracy; public "launderer or launderesses," bakers, cooks, and fishermen were kept to a faithful discharge of their duties by similar penalties, and the minister or preacher who neglected to read publicly on every Sabbath day the laws and ordinances, of which we give this brief abstract, was deprived for a week of his allowance from the public store. But this was only the civil code. To the martial law, the pains and penalties of which were much more severe, and the possible offences more minute and varied, the citizens were also amenable.

If there was want of good order and good government, it was not for lack of authority in the hand of the magistrates. The increasing prosperity of the colony, however, in the administration of affairs by Gates and by Dale, owed little to the severity of the laws. The allotments of lands, first made by Dale, were increased after the expiration by limitation of the system of a common support and a common interest in the colony. There gradually grew up along the James and some of its tributaries a settled, though scattered community of planters, dependent on their own industry for their support, free from the evil associations and habits engendered in the earlier days of Jamestown.

From gaining a subsistence it was an easy step to the accumulation of a surplus; before the expiration of the first decade of the colony, the London Council began the granting of patents of large tracts of land to individuals, and such tracts were also given to colonists for meritorious services. The planting of tobacco was soon found to yield a far more profitable harvest than the sowing of corn, so profitable, indeed, that it was necessary ere long to regulate by law the proportion of ground sowed for profit, and for food. From a fashion of the court, introduced by Raleigh, the use of tobacco had become so common in England, that the cheaper staple of Virginia found a market where there was no demand for the dearer product of the Spanish colonies. In 1614 a member of Parliament said in a speech in the House: "Many of the divines now smell of tobacco; and poor men spend 4*d.* of their day's wages at night in smoke."[1] The increasing consumption greatly alarmed the king for the morals of his subjects, who were deaf equally to his arguments and his remonstrances; but his fears for morality gave way to apprehensions

Culture and export of tobacco.

[1] Neill's *History of the Virginia Company.*

in later years of loss to the revenue. Taxes and restrictions upon sales which the charter did not warrant, impelled the planters to look for a market in Holland. But a prerogative of the crown was not to be sacrificed to the prosperity of the colony, and this first dispute between it and the king was only settled by a compromise which sent all Virginia tobacco to England for exportation, but gave a monopoly of the trade to the Company.

This settlement, however, of the various questions to which this important trade gave rise was not reached till after discussions and difficulties protracted for a period of years, during which the colony was gradually growing to wealth and power. At the outset the cultivation of tobacco was so lucrative that those who had no land planted in the streets of Jamestown, and those who had were necessarily restrained by law, from running the risk of starvation by planting it all in tobacco, and none in corn. This profitableness of the crop, as it was found to continue, made the larger tracts of land desirable, but the land was useless without laborers.

Supply of laborers for the colony. First slaves.

The future of Virginia — and with hers, that of all that portion of the country where one or two great staples could be produced at an enormous profit — was determined by these considerations. Men held to service for a term of years were brought over from England by ship-loads. These were often convicted felons, often paupers who sold themselves in the extremity of want, or were sold to be got rid of, and were often unfortunate wretches kidnapped without regard to their condition, and in defiance of the law. On each laborer brought into the colony there was a bounty in land, and to his owner he represented also a certain profit in tobacco. So far as these people themselves were concerned they were, from training and habit, the least desirable population of a new country, in which they were to be, after a term of service as slaves, the free citizens; but a worse result followed, for the circumstances that made their servitude profitable, made it also the forerunner of a system still more pernicious, and of the evils of which there was no possible mitigation. When, in 1619, a Dutch ship arrived at Jamestown with a cargo of negroes from the coast of Guinea, they were eagerly welcomed at good prices by the planters. For many years these two systems of slavery existed side by side, till the obvious truth became firmly established that it was more desirable to own a black man in fee simple than a white man for a limited period.

Before the colony, however, became the object of earnest attention as a source of wealth in the production of one great staple, the interest in it was kept alive by other events. A third charter was granted in March, 1611–12, which included the Bermudas within the territory

of the Company — sold soon after to another corporation; the privilege of establishing a lottery was also given. Before this was revoked three years afterward by Parliament, as unconstitutional and injurious to public morals, it had added nearly thirty thousand pounds to the treasury of the Council. In 1616, public curiosity was aroused by the appearance in London, of the Princess Pocahontas as the wife of Mr. John Rolfe, who was also distinguished as the first cultivator of tobacco in Virginia.[1]



Pocahontas.

Rolfe, it seems, was a widower,[2] who was one of the company of Sir Thomas Gates, and was the father of the child born in the Bermudas, at the time of the wreck of the *Sea Adventure*, and christened Bermuda. In an expedition up the Potomac, in search of corn, Captain Argall had engaged an Indian to entice Pocahontas on board his vessel, whom he took with him to Jamestown, and detained in the expectation of compelling Powhatan to exchange her for corn and for certain Englishmen and English arms, held by that chief. While held as a prisoner, under the care of Sir Thomas Dale, she became a Christian, and was received into the church under the baptismal name of the Lady Rebecca. Whether the acquaintance between Rolfe and the princess commenced at that time, is not certain; but they were married soon after. Dale was so much interested in this comely daughter of Powhatan that he proposed to the king to send him a younger sister, of whose attractions he had heard, proposing to make her, said the messenger, "his nearest companion, wife, and bed-fellow." The offer could only have been made to get possession of the girl; wife she could not be, as there was already a Lady Dale in England. The king may have seen through the design; at any rate he good-naturedly declined the proposed honor of surrendering his daughter to be the mistress of even a white governor.

Marriage of John Rolfe and Pocahontas.

[1] Harmor's *True Discourse of the Present State of Virginia.*

[2] Pocahontas was also a widow if Strachey's statement was correct that she had married a "private captain called Kocoum."

Dale took Rolfe and his wife to England, and with them went several other young Indians, men and women, and one Tamocomo, the husband of another of Powhatan's daughters. The young people were under the guardianship of the Council, and to be educated as Christians; but Tamocomo was an emissary of his father-in-law, under orders to gather information in regard to the English people. His observations may have been valuable, but he soon gave over an attempt



Presentation of Pocahontas at Court.

to take a census of the population by notches on a stick. The whole party excited the liveliest curiosity. The Lady Rebecca was received at court with great favor, though grave doubts were entertained, suggested it was supposed by James, who was never unmindful of the divine right of kings, whether Rolfe had not been guilty of treason in presuming to make an alliance with a royal family. The princess appeared at the theatres and other public places, everywhere attracting great attraction as the daughter of the Virginian emperor, and as one to whom the colonists had sometimes been indebted for

Pocahontas in England.

signal services; and everywhere exciting admiration for her personal graces, and the propriety and good sense with which she always conducted herself. She remained in England for nearly a year, and died as she was about to sail for her native country. Her only child, a son, is claimed as the ancestor of some of the most respectable families of Virginia.

Alliances by marriage between the whites and Indians were encouraged and were not infrequent, as it was hoped to establish by such connections more friendly relations with the savages. They had, no doubt, some influence, the marriage of Pocahontas especially leading to a treaty with Powhatan which he faithfully observed so long as he lived, and which was renewed after his death, in 1618, by his successor. Meanwhile Dale was succeeded in the government of the colony, first by George Yeardley, then by Captain Argall, and again by Yeardley. During Dale's administration, Argall, who was of an adventurous and unscrupulous disposition, had won notoriety, if not distinction, by the destruction of a little colony of French at Port Royal in the Bay of Fundy. As governor he was more diligent in the pursuit of his own interests, than in any care for the welfare of the colony. The complaints against him were so loud and bitter as to demand reparation at the hands of the Council in London, while he was also called to account for the neglect and ruin which had fallen upon those plantations which it was his duty to have worked on behalf of the Company. Lord De la Warre was sent out to displace him and correct these abuses, but died on the way, somewhere, it is supposed, near the mouth of the bay since known as the Delaware. Yeardley, who meanwhile had returned to England, was made captain-general and ordered to Virginia.

Argall's administration.

The appointment in 1619 of Sir George Yeardley — for he was now knighted — as president, was the beginning of a new era in the history of Virginia. Others had been as honest, energetic, and clear-sighted as he, and as earnest in their efforts on behalf of the "action." But he reaped the benefit of all that they had done and had, besides, the advantage, which they often wanted, of being sustained by a wise conduct of affairs in England. Sir Thomas Smith, who from the beginning had been the treasurer of the company in London with almost plenary powers, retired from office this same year, and his place was supplied by Sir Edwin Sandys. Smith had been accused of mismanagement, and his accounts were in some disorder, but his reputation at the time evidently suffered no serious injury, as on his retiring, a grant of two thousand acres of land in Virginia was made him by the London Council. He had had many obstacles to encounter in the raising and

Sir George Yeardley appointed governor, and Sir Edwin Sandys treasurer.

disbursements of means to found a distant colony in an unknown region, and had done, perhaps, all that could be done in the first twelve years. The earlier difficulties were overcome when affairs came into the hands of Sandys and Yeardley, and to achieve success was a much easier task.

When Yeardley arrived in Virginia the colony numbered about six hundred persons. They had become discouraged and discontented under the arbitrary and dishonest rule of Argall, were suffering from a scarcity of food, having neglected the cultivation of maize, that they might raise the more tobacco and acquire the means to return to England. To induce and even to compel them to raise more to eat and less to sell, was the governor's first object, and he observed his own laws by planting corn on the Company's lands, and writing the treasurer in London that he must not expect remittances in tobacco for at least a year. To restore confidence among the colonists and to assure them of a guaranty for the future, he gave to them the power of self-government, to a certain extent, by calling upon them to send representatives from each of the towns, hundreds, or plantations to meet with the governor and council and decide upon all matters relating to the colony. The governor was to have a veto upon their legislation, and no laws were valid till approved by the Company at home. With this power of government came the sense of possession and permanency, undoubtedly exercising a strong influence over the minds of the colonists. Sir Edwin Sandys proposed to create a more complicated form of government, but this germ of the future commonwealth, in a house of representative burgesses, was left for a time to a natural growth. The first legislative assembly met in the church at Jamestown, on the 30th of July, 1619, and consisted of twenty-two representatives and the governor and council. One of the acts passed at this meeting was for the punishment of drunkenness.

Progress of the colony.

In this first year of Yeardley's administration, the loss by death to the colony was three hundred. By the special order of the king, its number was increased by the transportation of one hundred felons gathered from the jails of England. These misfortunes were offset by the wisdom of Sandys. Ten thousand acres of land were set apart at Henrico, for the foundation of a university, where both Indians and whites were to be educated, and within two years a hundred men were settled upon these lands, to cultivate them on half shares. A measure of more immediate benefit, was the transportation, with their own consent, of a hundred "maids, young and uncorrupt," as wives for young men, who, from being only temporary settlers, would thus be made, by domestic ties, permanent inhabitants and good citizens. The young women met with the heartiest welcome, and none

remained long without a husband, though the price of a wife was the cost of her transportation, payable in tobacco, except to those who were tenants of the Company's lands. Many poor children, both boys and girls, were sent out as apprentices. The system was sometimes taken advantage of by private persons, and young women and children kidnapped and sold as slaves to the planters; but the purpose of the Council was benevolent and its results beneficial to the colony. Provision was made for the religious instruction of the people; the principal seats of the colony were more securely fortified; a lasting peace with the Indians was thought to be secured by treaties. Within a twelvemonth eight ships were sent out to the colony by the treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys, and four more by private adventurers, carrying an aggregate of twelve hundred and sixty-one persons, to be about equally divided between the plantations of the Company and those belonging to individuals. The new English nation had at length taken firm root on the shores of America.

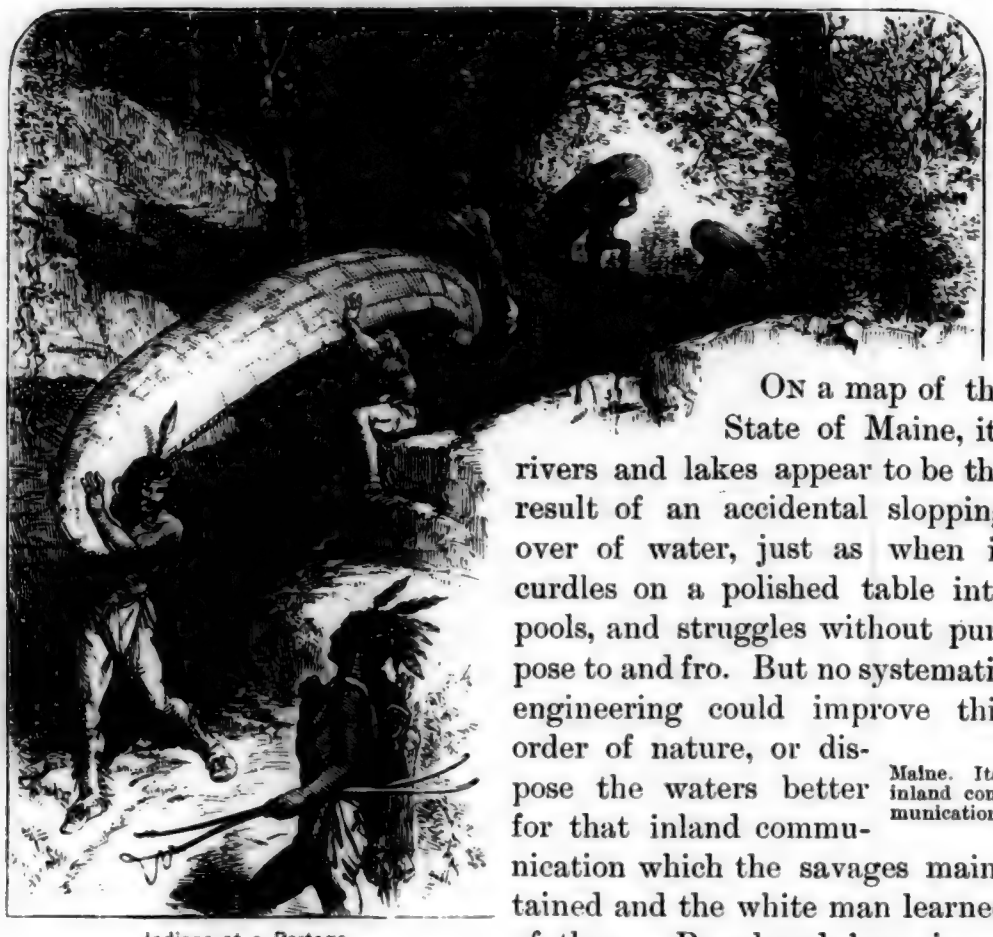


Signature of James I.

CHAPTER XII.

COLONIZATION UNDER THE NORTHERN COMPANY.

THE SEA-COAST OF MAINE. — THE EARLY FISHERMEN. — FRENCH TRADERS. — PONTGRAVÉ AND POUTRINCOURT. — GEORGE WEYMOUTH'S VOYAGE. — COLONY OF CHIEF JUSTICE POPHAM. — SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN IN NEW YORK. — SETTLEMENT ON MT. DESERT. — ARGALL'S DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH COLONY. — JOHN SMITH IN NEW ENGLAND. — EXPEDITIONS OF FERDINANDO GORGES. — SECOND CHARTER OF THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY. — NOVA SCOTIA GIVEN TO SIR WILLIAM ALEXANDER. — GRANT OF THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY TO GORGES. — FIRST TOWNS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE. — THE BREAKING UP OF THE PLYMOUTH COMPANY. — CHARACTER OF GORGES.



Indians at a Portage.

ON a map of the State of Maine, its rivers and lakes appear to be the result of an accidental slopping over of water, just as when it curdles on a polished table into pools, and struggles without purpose to and fro. But no systematic engineering could improve this order of nature, or dispose the waters better for that inland communication which the savages maintained and the white man learned of them. Broad and deep rivers, fed by lakes that are strung upon rivulets, with branches to explore and drain every nook of the land, were highways which the birch

Maine. Its inland communication

canoe was expressly framed to travel; it was no burden when the voyager came to carrying-places around falls and rapids. The Kennebec was called the shortest route to the great river of the North, the St. Lawrence, which could also be reached by the Penobscot, though in a more difficult and tortuous way. By water portages and a few day's marches, the Indian could strike the Chaudiere and drop down to the neighborhood of Quebec, or visit the ancient town of Hochelaga, which gave the St. Lawrence its first name.

No less remarkable is the coast, which hangs like a tattered fringe to seaward, broken into numerous coves and inlets with their long protecting line of islands and picturesque bluffs wooded with the birch and pine. The tide runs up deep bays and fills the quiet reaches between the mainland and the outer sea, inviting crafts of every tonnage, from a shallop to a ship, to lie in shelter or to slip along to harbors. Here the early navigators moored in safety under the lee of islands, and explored in their boats the intricate waters of the coast, to fill their casks, to exchange trinkets for peltry with the natives, or to pitch upon a spot for permanent occupancy. They tell how the contrasts of foliage, the singing of birds, the stretches of green meadow, and all the scents of summer mixed with the tonic air, delighted them as they rowed along the streams or penetrated into the woods. Rosier, who accompanied Capt. George Weymouth in 1605 upon his voyage of discovery, and was the chronicler of what they saw, writes with great enthusiasm of the "excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen," of the good holding ground, of the planted peas and barley which grew half an inch a day, of the gallant coves with sandy beaches where ships might be careened, secure from all winds, and the "plane plots" of thirty and forty acres of clear grass, "the goodness and beauty whereof I cannot by relation sufficiently demonstrate." It is easy to conceive the surprise and pleasure of a ship's crew let loose upon this balmy and picturesque coast in some month of summer, as Weymouth's were in early June, after a tedious voyage made in cramped quarters, shared in later times with horses, goats, and cows for the use of colonists. These men tasted the first rapture which a virgin land, whose charms had never been once suspected, could bestow. There grew, close to launching places, spars of various woods, and trees for building pinnaces and vessels; brooks of sweet water came trickling down in all directions, fringed with grass or berries of the wood, the soil invited tillage, the woods were stocked with game, colonies of beavers were established near to falls, and the sea swarmed with fish of many kinds — salmon, haddock, pollock, and cod. The first attempts at colonizing, upon Newfoundland and "the Maine," turned upon the value of this fishery, and

Its sea-coast.

were stimulated by it. There is no doubt that many gangs of fishermen wintered upon the northeastern coast, and upon islands off the coast of Maine, many years before there was thought of chartering a colony. So the fisherman pursued and worked a vein of wealth wherever the cod ran along the shores of the New World; and the mute fish piloted History to the scenes of her most speaking achievements. She stepped from the deck of a fishing smack, and began the work of founding a republic by tending the rude stages where the fish were dried.

Cod fisheries on coast of Maine.

Norumbega, the name by which Maine was earliest known in England, although its boundaries were vague and shifting, is first designated in an account of French voyages in Ramusio's collection of travels. Norumbega was derived by European pronunciation from an Indian word belonging to the tribes between the Kennebec and Penobscot. It was applied by them to an aboriginal kingdom whose seat of power was in a half-mythical town near Penobscot Bay, and upon the eastern side of it. But the early geographers sometimes applied the name to the whole region between Cape Sable and Cape Cod, and occasionally even as far south as Florida. It properly belonged, however, only to that region near the Penobscot whose people referred to a mysterious site of aboriginal rule in the interior. At a later period, this great lord of the Penobscot country was called the Bashaba; but although a good many names of local sagamores of distinction are mentioned in the early annals, nobody ever had an interview with the veritable Bashaba, nor entered the traditional city of Norumbega. It is probable that the term *bashaba* merely indicated the sagamore who happened at different times to enjoy the ascendency among the Penobscot tribes.

Early explorations of Maine.

It is said that an English ship, sent out in 1527, sailed along the coasts of Arambec, a corruption plainly of Norumbega, and that her men frequently went on shore, to explore these unknown lands.[1]

Among other voyagers to the coast of Maine, at this period, was André Thevet, the French traveller and cosmographer, who had been a member of Villegagnon's Huguenot colony in South America. He relates that in 1536 he visited the Grand River (Penobscot), and gives a circumstantial narrative of his intercourse with the natives. The behavior of his Indians was so effusively affectionate, that one is disposed, at first, to question his truthfulness. But, in fact, the Abnakis and Micmacs, the aboriginal inhabitants of Maine, were

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 129. Biddle (*Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*), believes the English voyage referred to, to be identical with that of John Rut, in the same year (mentioned in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 809), and Kohl (*Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i., Second Series), seems to share his opinion, and says: "This voyage was the first instance in which Englishmen are certainly known to have put their foot on these shores."

more amiable, and indulged in more social habits than were known among other Indians of New England. Their temper was not uniform, however; at the least hint they would fly to suspicions, and take up arms. But there is abundant evidence that they were disposed to welcome the English, until the hostile policy of the French began to exert its influence.

Aborigines of Maine.

The Abnakis, who inhabited the territory from the Penobscot, north to Canada, and through New Hampshire, loved to collect in permanent villages, of which there were five, two in Canada, and one on each river, the Kennebec, the Androscoggin, and the Saco. These are described by French missionaries as having been enclosed by stout and high palisades. The wigwams were built of bended poles, and covered with bark. The dress of the natives was "ornamented with a great variety of rings, necklaces, bracelets, belts, etc., made out of shells and stones, worked with great skill. They practised also agriculture. Their fields of *skamgnar* (corn) were very luxuriant. As soon as the snows had disappeared, they prepared the land with great care, and at the commencement of June they planted the corn, by making holes with the fingers, or with a stick, and having dropped eight or nine grains of corn, they covered them with earth. Their harvest was at the end of August." [1]

They were very brave, tenacious of purpose, faithful to engagements, uncompromising in war, hospitable, "and their attachment to the family was," says one of their historians, "such as we do not read of in other tribes of the Algic people."

The French knew how to attach these Indians permanently to themselves, and keep them firmly hostile to the English. They soon came under the influence of the French missionaries, and of the soldiers and traders, who showed the tact and adaptability which distinguish that nation. Even in giving names to places, a significant difference between the French and English policy showed itself. The French flattered the Indians by trying to pronounce all their local names, and by perpetuating them. The Englishman made English words migrate and settle upon the new sites, ignoring the native nomenclature. He loved thus to recall his Portsmouth, Rye, Appledore, his York, Falmouth, and Portland. Either the place of his birth, or the port from which he started, provided names for the new places. The French studied in every way to appropriate the habits of the Indians, to hunt, travel, eat, sleep, and dress in the native fashion. They were apt learners of the different dialects; the lists of words and the dictionaries compiled by their missionaries can be relied upon. And these devoted men drew savage admiration by their constancy,

[1] *Collections of Maine Hist. Soc.*, vi. 218–19.

calmness in perils, assiduous efforts to teach and civilize, and their skill in healing, as well as by the impressive solemnity of those novel services of religion, with cross, cup, bell, and candle, under the groined arches of the primitive cathedral. But the English possessed over the French one great advantage; and that has since been styled "manifest destiny." For the current of history undermines and carries away the adroitest policies and the nicest arts of accommodation.

French claim to Nouvelle France.

The French claimed the region which included Maine, under the title of Nouvelle France, although from the time of Jacques Cartier and De la Roque, until nearly into the beginning of the seventeenth century, they made no definite attempt to settle there. In the last decade of the sixteenth century, a new interest was awakened, especially in Brittany and Normandy, whose fishers continued in constant intercourse with the new-found lands. In 1598, the Marquis de la Roche obtained a patent from Henry IV., and made a futile attempt at settlement. He landed a colony of wretches drawn from the galleys and the prisons of France, on the barren shores of Sable Island, and left them to drag out a miserable existence, subsisting on some cattle which had bred from a number left there by the ships of the Baron de Leri, eighty years before.

Expedition of Pontgravé and Champlain. 1559.

The year following, Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, who had been for furs as far as Tadoussac on the St. Lawrence, formed the design of establishing a fur-trading port in Canada. He enlisted with him De Chauvin, an experienced sea officer, who had sufficient influence at court to obtain a commission similar to that granted De la Roche. Chauvin went on two voyages, but whatever results they might have produced were checked by his sudden death, as he prepared to go upon a third. In 1603 Pontgravé went himself on a voyage, taking with him Samuel de Champlain, an officer of repute in the French navy, a man in good favor at court, and an ardent Catholic.



Samuel de Champlain.

Together with Pontgravé, Champlain explored the St. Lawrence, and carried back to France maps and observations made upon the banks of that noble river. In the following year, another and more important

expedition was undertaken, which came very near establishing a permanent French colony within the present limits of Maine. This new expedition was led by Pierre du Guast, Sieur de Monts, the governor of Pons in the province of Saintonge. He had been on one of the voyages of Pontgravé, and on the death of Du Chaste, the governor of Dieppe, who had succeeded to Chauvin's commission for discovery and colonization in America, De Monts obtained it.



Signature of Champlain.

De Monts was a Huguenot, but he had rendered such important services to Henry IV. during the troubles of the League, that the king, though he changed his faith, did not lose confidence in his servant. Eager for maritime adventure and discovery, De Monts procured an edict which created him lieutenant-general of Acadia, as the country was called from the 40th to the 46th degree of north latitude.[1] Free exercise of his own religion was permitted to him, in return for which he engaged to have the savages converted to Catholicism. A company was formed by merchants of Rouen and Rochelle, to whom the king granted by letters-patent the exclusive trade in furs and fish between the 40th, and 54th, degrees of north latitude.

Acadia granted to De Monts. 1604.

De Monts sailed from Havre de Grace on the 7th of March, 1604. He took with him his friend Jean de Biencourt, the Baron de Poutrincourt, and Champlain, whose experience in previous voyages he thought would be of service in this new enterprise. Poutrincourt wished to find a place to which he might transfer his family, and forget the turbulent politics of Europe in the permanent occupancy of a land unvexed by parties and religious strife.

De Monts reached in about two months a harbor on the eastern side of Nova Scotia, where he found a vessel engaged in fishing and an illicit fur-trade. It was commanded by a Captain Rossignol, whose only consolation for the confiscation of his cargo was the transference of his name to the harbor. The place is now called Liverpool, and Rosignol's name is perpetuated in a lake not far distant, the largest in Nova

[1] The word is usually supposed to be derived from the French or Latin, but comes, says one authority, from the Indian word Aquoddie, a pollock. It was corrupted by the French into Acadie, Acadia, Cadia, Cadie. The original is preserved in the name of Passamaquoddy Bay, which is derived from *Pos* (great), *aguam* (water). *aquoddie* (pollock); meaning great water for pollock. *Historical Magazine*, vol. i., p. 84. Another authority (see *Collections of Maine Historical Society*, vol. i., p. 27, note) says that the *Acadi* is a pure Micmac word meaning *place*, and was used by the Indians in combination with some other word, as *Suga-bun-acadi*, the place of ground nuts, and *Passam-acadi* (Passamaquoddy), the place of fish.

Scotia. The present Port Mouton, on the next bay, is probably the Port au Mouton of De Monts, — which he so named because he there lost a sheep overboard, — and where he spent a month on shore while Champlain explored southward for a place that would better suit them for a permanent settlement.

Champlain doubled Cape Sable and returned to show the expedition the way to the Bay of Fundy. This De Monts named Baye Francaise; the harbor now known as Annapolis, Champlain called Port Royal. After sailing up Minas Bay, they crossed the Bay of Fundy, entered Passamaquody Bay, and on a little island which they named St. Croix, in the river now known as the St. Croix, the Passamaquody, or the Schoodic, they determined to settle. It was an unfortunate choice; timber was scarce; the water had to be brought from the main land; before the winter was over they were reduced to salt meat and snow water, and the scurvy broke out among them. The island is now known as Neutral Island, and is on the border line between Maine and New Brunswick.

First colony in the State of Maine.

Champlain, always restless and bent on new discoveries, sailed during the winter as far south as Cape Cod, which Gosnold had already visited and named. The Frenchman called it Cap Blanc, from the white sands of its long beaches; he narrowly escaped shipwreck somewhere along that dangerous coast, at a place he named Cape Mallebarre, perhaps Gosnold's Point Care, the extremity of Isle Nawset. In the spring he again sailed southward with De Monts, who was determined to find a better spot than St. Croix on which to plant his colony. They entered the mouths of those noble rivers of Maine, the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Casco, the Saco; visited Mount Desert, sailed up Portland Harbor, which De Monts named Marchin, from the Indian chief with whom they had some trade. There was many a pleasant spot in the deep bays they penetrated where they could have sat down contented to fish and trade and thrive, far away from the turmoils and contentions of the Old World which Poutrincourt hoped to escape. But the natives showed none of the kindly traits which Thevet had described; they menaced and repulsed the strangers, who returned to St. Croix.

Champlain explores southward.

De Monts visits the coast of Maine.

The condition of the colony was more miserable than ever, and hardly any change could be for the worse. The next move was to a harbor in Acadia, on the other side of the Bay of Fundy, to which Champlain had given, the year before, the name of Port Royal, now Annapolis. Here for several years the colony maintained a feeble existence.

Removal of the colony to Port Royal.

But the English were not idle while the French were thus busy in

attempts to gain a foothold in the new country. Foremost among those who saw the importance of colonization were the earls of Arundel and Southampton; the former, one of those steadfast friends of Sir Walter Raleigh who did not desert him even when led to the scaffold; the other, that friend and patron of Shakespeare who gave him £1,000 and was distinguished for the dedication the poet made to him of his earliest poems. These two noblemen united in sending out a ship under George Weymouth, who was instructed to explore that part of North Virginia to be known a few years later as New England.

Voyage of George Weymouth. 1605.

Weymouth sailed in the *Archangel*, March 5, 1605. On May 17 he



The Mouth of the Kennebec.

came to anchor near the island of Monhegan, twelve miles southeast of Pemaquid, an Indian word signifying "that runs into the water." The cape jutting southward forms the most eastern headland of Lincoln County. The delight of Weymouth and his sailors was unbounded at beholding the beauty of this island where they first landed. Gooseberries, strawberries, wild peas, and rosebushes grew to its very verge, and rills of sweet water trickled through cleft rocks, and ran into the salt sea. With delicious draughts from these rivulets the men eagerly cooled their sea-parched mouths, while they refreshed their eyes with the spring greenness of the landscape; from the sea they took a store of cod, a welcome change from their sea-rations, which gave them a foretaste of the great plenty of fish they found there afterwards.

The authorities differ as to the next movement of Weymouth. One theory takes him up the Penobscot to the neighborhood of Belfast;

a second, toward the islands outside of Boothbay Harbor, and into the Sagadahoc; and a third, up St. George's River, which is just west of Penobscot Bay, and runs up toward the Camden Hills. He saw mountains far inland; these are claimed by some to have been the White Mountains, and by others the Camden Hills, because he tried to reach them and came so near that his men thought themselves "to have been within a league of them."[1] It hardly seems possible that they could have made such an estimate respecting the White Mountains, which can be seen in clear weather from several points off the coast over low land. On the whole, the evidence seems to be in favor of their landing at Pemaquid, and visiting the region between the St. George and the Kennebec River.

Places visited by Weymouth.

If they were delighted with the little island where they had first touched land, they were no less enchanted with the mainland. The narrative praises the richness of the soil and the number of native products found there, from the good clay for brick-making to the finest and tallest trees they had ever seen; the very shells on the beach yielded pearls, and the bark of the trees oozed gum which smelled like frankincense. As usual, the Indians received them at first with hospitality, gave them good bargains in peltries, feasted them in their best fashion, and offered them tobacco. But the savages soon showed mistrust of the whites, and the whites suspected treachery among the savages. The hostile feeling growing out of these suspicions decided Weymouth to keep no faith with the natives. Five of them, who trusted him sufficiently to come on board his vessel, he detained and took with him to England. Arriving at the port of Plymouth he gave three of them to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was the governor of the fort there, a leading member of the Plymouth Council and warmly interested in all things concerning America. The other two captives he sent up to London to Sir John Popham. The kidnapped Indians were the objects of curious wonder. Such gaping crowds followed them in the city streets as Shakespeare alluded to, when in "The Tempest" he made Trinculo long to have Caliban on exhibition in England: "Not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver; there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man; when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."

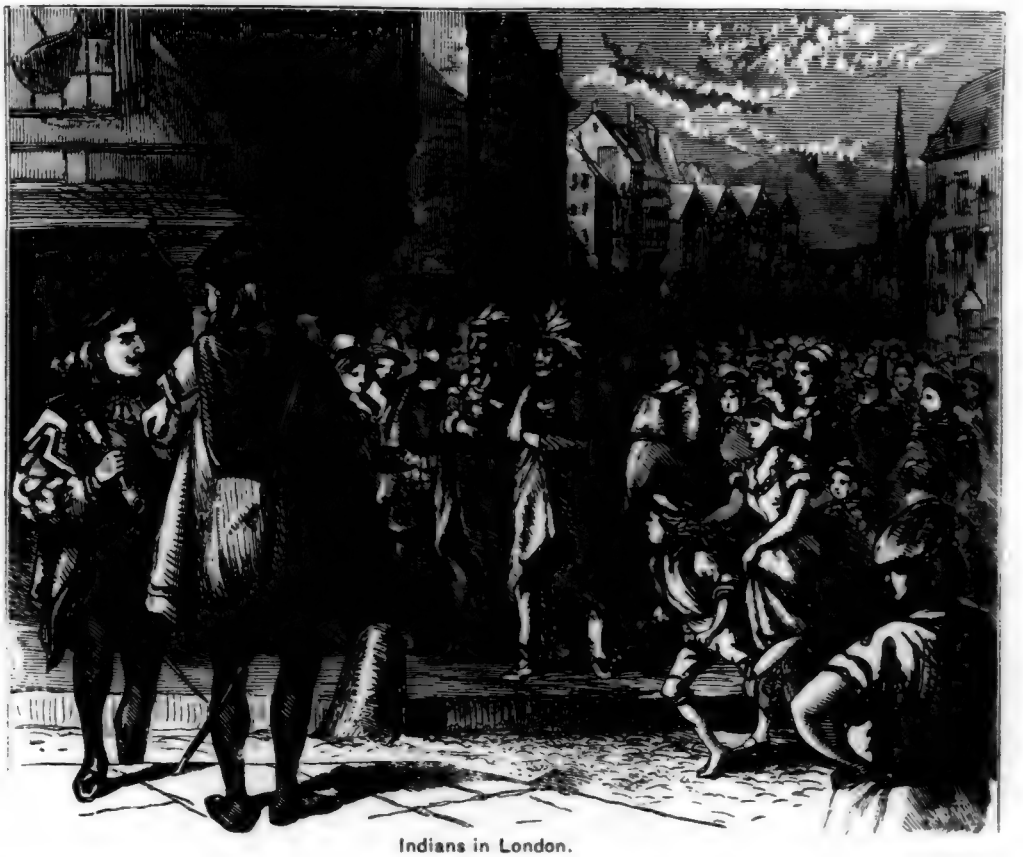
Dealings with the Indians.

Sir John Popham, the chief justice, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to whose care these Indians were given, had both been largely instrumental in getting from the king the patent for the North Virginia Company, and their zeal received a new impulse from the informa-

[1] James Rosier's Narration of the Expedition, in Purchas.

tion gained from these captive natives. A ship was soon despatched under Captain Henry Chalong to make further discoveries, and two of the Indians were sent back in her. But she unfortunately was captured by the Spaniards. Another vessel was sent soon after with Thomas Hanham and Martin Pring as master and captain, who took with them the Indian, Nahanada, to his tribe at Pemaquid. And these expeditions were followed up by another, which but for a series of untoward events, would have made the

Expeditions under Popham and Gorges.



Indians in London.

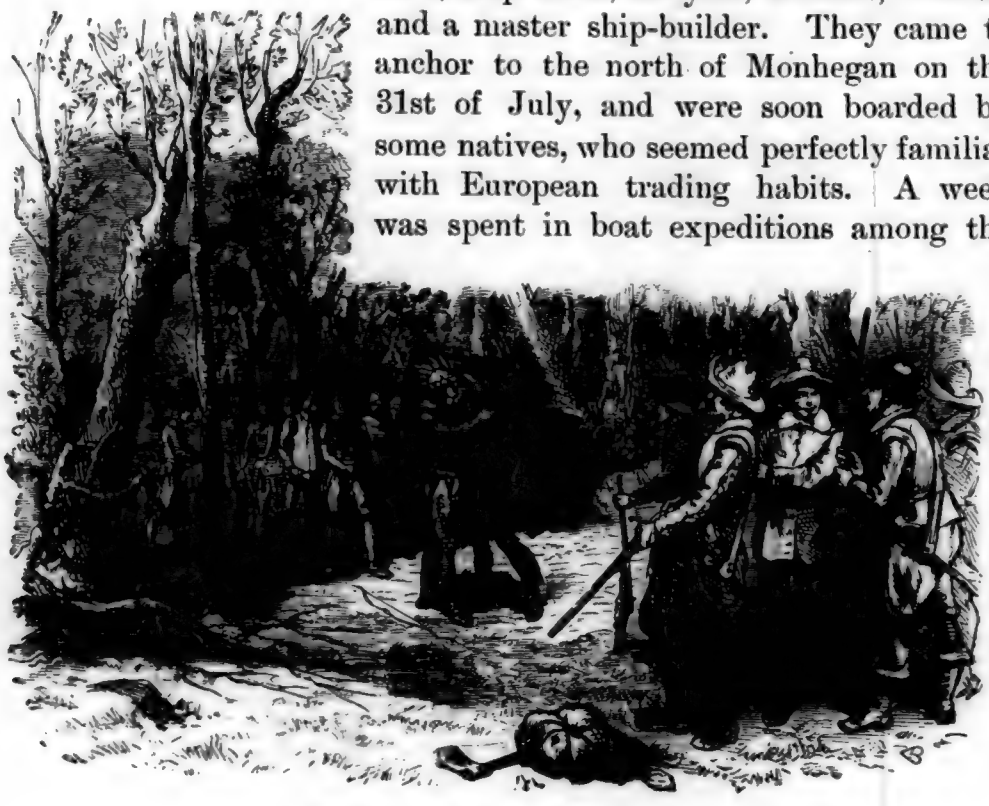
permanent settlement of New England only a few months behind that of Virginia.

On May 31, 1607, *The Gift of God*, of which Sir George Popham, the brother of the chief justice, was captain, and *The Mary and John*, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, a younger son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, set sail from Plymouth. One hundred and twenty persons were on board, many of them well adapted for the founding of a colony. There is no evidence of the truth of the assertion sometimes made, that the chief justice depleted the prisons of England to furnish forth this company; in fact, his powers could not stretch to that extent, though James I., a few years later, gave to persons who had been prosecuted for grave crimes the alternative of a colony or a prison.

The Popham Colony. 1607.

Arrival of the colony.

On board one of the ships was Skitwarroes,[1] one of the five Indians captured by Weymouth, to serve as a guide and interpreter. The chaplain of the expedition was Richard Seymour, a gentleman of the highest culture, who is supposed to have been a kinsman of Sir Edward Seymour, Lord Protector in the reign of Edward VI. He lived in the neighborhood, and was probably related to the families of Raleigh, Gilbert, Gorges, and Popham, all of whom were allied by intermarriage. Among the colonists were various artisans, carpenters, sawyers, laborers, a smith, and a master ship-builder. They came to anchor to the north of Monhegan on the 31st of July, and were soon boarded by some natives, who seemed perfectly familiar with European trading habits. A week was spent in boat expeditions among the



Meeting of Nahanada and Skitwarroes.

islands, and on the evening of the 5th of August they found on one of these a cross, which Weymouth had set up two years before. Captain Gilbert sent a boat up the river to the mainland, piloted by the Indian Skitwarroes, to a village of the natives situated in Pemaquid. At the first appearance of the boat the Indians took to their arms; but when their chief recognized Skitwarroes, and saw that those with him were Englishmen, he commanded his party to lay aside their bows and arrows, kissed and embraced the strangers, and entertained them for hours with a kindly and cheerful welcome. The chief who met them in this friendly way was Nahanada,[1] who had been returned to his home the year before by Captain Hanham.

[1] The original accounts differ from each other, and in themselves, in the spelling of these Indian names.

On August 9, which was Sunday, they landed upon an island to which they gave the name of St. George, where the service of the Church of England was read and a sermon preached by the chaplain, many natives attending with great sobriety of demeanor. On August 15, the *Gift of God* entered the Sagadahoc, which was the name of the broad channel below the junction of the Androscoggin and Kennebec; its Indian meaning is "the end of it," as if it had been named by natives exploring from above. The Sheepscot River comes down to the east, directly north of George's Island.[1] On August 17th, they sailed up the Sagadahoc in the pinnace and long boat, and noticed all its advantages of islands and fresh water streams; and on the next day they made choice of a peninsula upon the western side which the Indians called, after a native chief, *Sabino*.[2] All landed here on the 19th, another sermon was preached, the president's commission was read, and the first act of the first English colony of New England was complete. A fort was built, mounting twelve guns, to defend the little town of forty or fifty houses which quickly sprung up. The master shipwright of the expedition, Thomas Digby, had the timber cut down, shaped, and left to season during the autumn, for building a small vessel of thirty tons, which when done was called the *Virginia*. This was the first vessel built by Englishmen in American waters; and the first use she was put to was to take back to England, before the winter was over, nearly two thirds of the colonists, thus early discouraged by the rigor of the climate.

The settlement

First ship built in Maine.

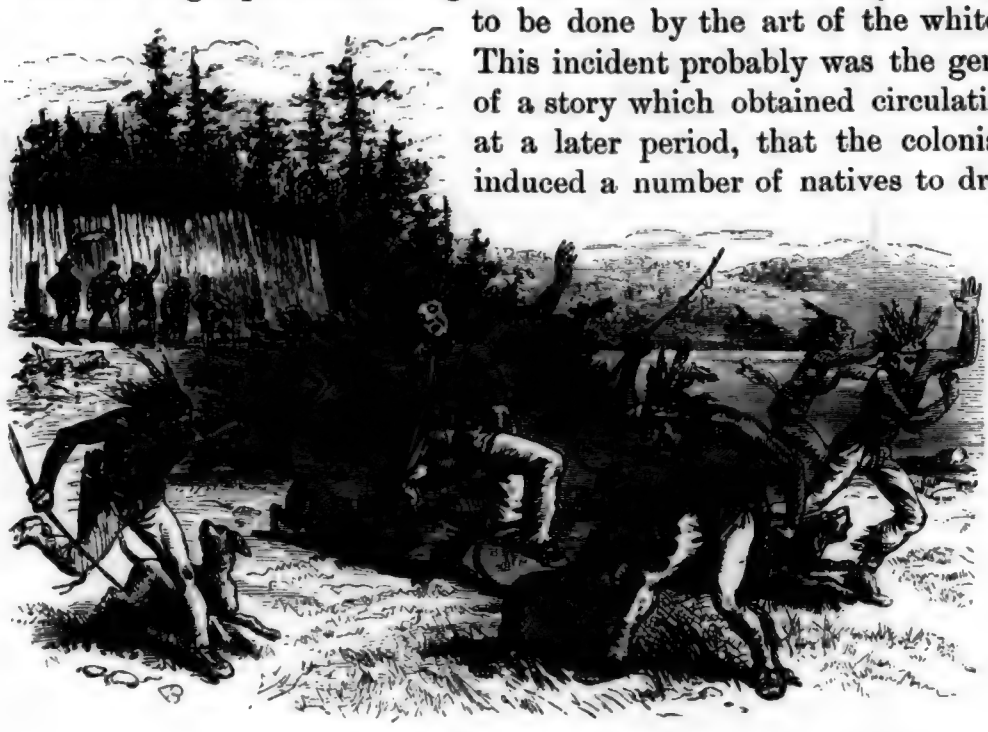
The Indians did not relish this cool annexation of their favorite peninsula, in which they were not consulted, not even asked to sell, still less to accept an equivalent. But it was characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon method. They soon began to be troublesome: they intruded within the enclosures, and some of the more reckless colonists set the dogs upon them, and used their sticks too freely. Captain Gilbert went exploring up the river, and came into the district of a chief less disposed than Nahanada was to keep the peace with these intruders. They endeavored to get possession of Gilbert and his crew, and he ran the gauntlet of menaces all the way.

[1] Its Indian name was *Sipsa-couta*, "flocking of birds." We surmise that the English language gained the word *coot* from this river; just as skunk is a fragrant legacy from the native *sagankou*. Moose is derived from *moussouk*, muskrat, properly musquash, from *mouskouessou*, and the *honk*, or cry of the goose, from *sehunk*. So our favorite Americanism, *scoot*, came from the native word *schoot*, "to go with a rush;" and when, in later times, a new kind of vessel was launched at Newburyport, a bystander, using the same native word, cried, "How she schoons!" and schooner she was from that day.

[2] Perhaps *Sebenoa* Anglicized. This peninsula was a favorite resort of the natives, and numerous relics of stone axes, hammers, arrow-heads, and chippings of stone-work, indicate that it was a place for the manufacture of savage weapons.

On the 5th of February, Popham, who was the president of the colony, died, and Captain Gilbert succeeded to the office. The ship *Mary and John* had been sent back to London in the preceding December, to procure supplies. It returned to find the colony in a deplorable condition. The winter had been of exceptional severity; fighting had broken out between the men and the natives; the storehouse with all its contents had been burned; the natives were in possession of the fort for awhile, and the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder, through their own carelessness, they believed to be done by the art of the whites. This incident probably was the germ of a story which obtained circulation at a later period, that the colonists induced a number of natives to drag

Misfortunes of the colony.



Setting Dogs on the Indians.

along one of the guns by the ropes, running with them in front of the muzzle, and that when they were well in line with it the gun was discharged. But when the Indians were recounting to the Jesuits the injuries which they had sustained from the English, this incredible incident was not mentioned. If it had been, the Jesuit missionaries would not have failed to record it.

In the spring came the news of the death, first, of Chief Justice Popham, then of Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother of the new governor. The last compelled the return of Raleigh Gilbert to England, for he was his brother's heir. The loss of two governors, of the principal mover and proprietor of the colony, within so short a time, and the desertion of so many of their companions were discouragements so serious that the remaining forty-five determined to return home with Gilbert.

Breaking-up of the Popham Colony.



LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

Sir Francis Popham, the son of the chief justice, continued for years to send expeditions to the coast of Maine, at his private cost; but no permanent settlement was made, though the crews of these vessels may have wintered sometimes at Monhegan, and sometimes at Pemaquid. The Northern Virginia Company was inactive, content, apparently, to watch and wait for the results of the efforts of the sister company farther south. The French, on the other hand, though the tenacious preference of the English for the Atlantic coast may have served to turn their attention to the bays and rivers farther east and north, persisted in the attempt to gain possession of the land. In 1608, Champlain penetrated in a new direction within the territory of the present United States.

On the 3d of July, 1608, he reached Stadacona — Quebec — and began, the next day, to build a fort near the spot where Jacques Cartier had passed, nearly three quarters of a century before, the winter of 1535–36. Champlain's adventurous spirit did not permit him to remain long at rest, and in the intervals of his frequent voyages to and from France, he was busy with new discoveries, making charts of sea-coasts and river-courses, taking minute notes of climate and the natural products of the country, and writing narratives of all that befell him on land and sea. When in the spring his fort at Stadacona was finished, the little colony well established, their garden-plots laid out and carefully planted, he had time to think of new adventures. With a few companions he sailed up the great river, visiting its islands, entering the mouths of its tributary streams, giving them names by which many of them are known to this day. At the mouth of the Iroquois, now the Richelieu, he met by appointment a party of natives on the war-path against their enemies, the Iroquois. The river, he learned, came from a beautiful lake, which his shallop could reach without difficulty. The latter statement he soon found was not true, the Indians deceiving him that they might lure him on to take part in their expected battle. Disappointed but not discouraged, he persuaded two of his men to go on with him, and sent the rest back to Quebec with the vessel.

Champlain founds Quebec. 1608.

They made the somewhat perilous passage safely, without losing a single canoe, landing where the falls were highest and carrying their frail boats on their backs, till they came to smoother water. It was early in July when they entered the lake dotted with many beautiful islands and surrounded with noble trees, many of them, Champlain observed, like those of his native France, on which hung vines as luxuriant as he had ever seen anywhere. Coasting the lake he saw to the east some lofty mountain peaks, still snow-covered under the July sun. In the secluded valleys

Discovery of Lake Champlain. 1609.

among these mountains lived the fierce Iroquois, who had fertile plains rich in corn and other natural products. After a sail about the lake Champlain gave it his own name, — the only instance, he records, in which he had thus arrogated to himself the honor of his discoveries.

Several days passed before their foes, the Iroquois, made their appearance. It was in the dusk of the evening when they came to the banks of the lake, and all night the two parties taunted and defied each other for the fight which was to take place when the next day's sun should rise. But the party of savages who counted on the assistance of Champlain and his companions, kept their white allies carefully concealed. Next day they formed in ranks and approached to within about two hundred feet of the Iroquois, who awaited them firmly. At that point they opened their ranks to give passage to Champlain, who advanced to the front and discharged his harquebus, wounding two of the enemy, who, astonished at such an appearance and its effect, fled in fright and disorder to the woods, pursued by the delighted victors.

Fight of the Indians.

After this battle Champlain returned to Quebec, where he continued governor **until its surrender to the English admiral Kertk in 1629.** He was reinstated in the office when it again fell into the hands of the French, and from that time continued to command there till his death in 1635.

Meanwhile a second attempt was made by the French to obtain a settlement on the coast of Maine. In the autumn of 1605, De Monts sailed for France, promising to send out supplies to the Port Royal Colony. But during his absence prejudice had been aroused against him as a Huguenot. His exclusive privilege of fishing the king had revoked, and the merchants did not care to invest in a venture which promised small returns. After many difficulties, however, he procured an outfit, and set sail on May 13, 1606, not arriving at Port Royal till July 27, but just in time to prevent the worn-out settlers from returning to France. Still desiring to find a more southerly place for his colony, he despatched Poutrincourt on the old route along the New England coast, and returned to France. Off Cape Cod Poutrincourt's vessel was stranded upon a shoal, and three of his men were killed by the natives, who manifested great hostility. The weather also proving unfavorable he put back, and reached Port Royal about the middle of November. Champlain and the other gentlemen received him with great joy, and a butt of the best Burgundy "made their caps spin round."

Further attempts of De Monts.

In the midst of their spring planting a vessel arrived with the unwelcome news that no more men nor supplies could be furnished, and that the colony must be disbanded. Port Royal was left uninhabited

till 1610, when Poutrincourt returned at the instance of the king to make the new settlement a central station for the conversion of the Indians, — a work which made some Jesuit missionaries prominent in the history of the New World. His son followed in 1611, with Fathers Pierre Biard, and Enemond Masse. Madame la Marquise de Guercheville, a pious Catholic, to whom De Monts had ceded his title to Acadia, and to whom afterwards the French king granted the whole territory now covered by the United States, was the chief patroness of these voyages. Desiring to make another settlement, she despatched a vessel in 1613, with two more Jesuits, Father Quentin and Gilbert du Thet, and forty-eight men under La Saussaye, who intended to reach a place called Kadesquit (Bangor) on the Penobscot. This spot had been selected by Father Biard on a trip which he made from Port Royal to the Penobscot. They reached Port Royal on May 16, and taking Fathers Biard and Masse on board sailed for their destination.

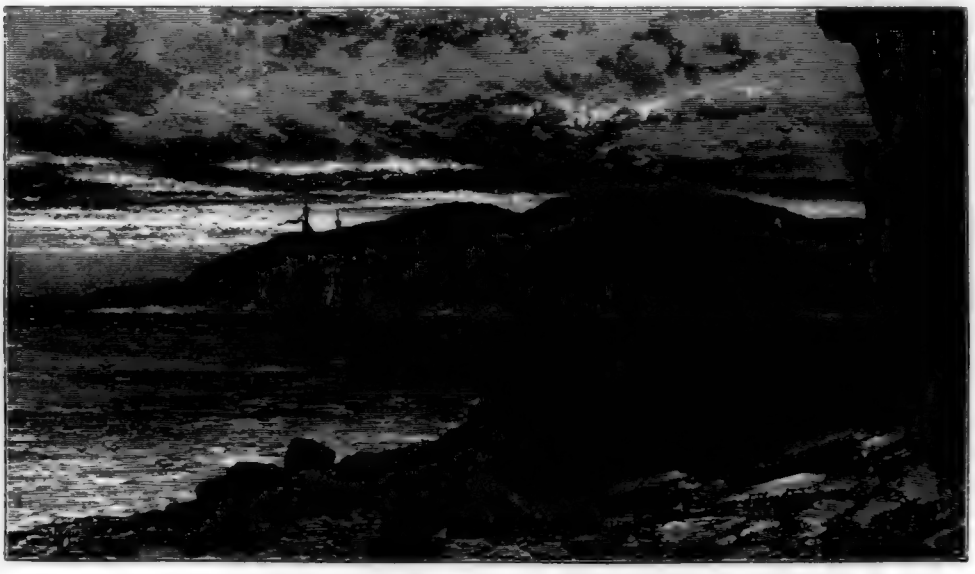


Great Head.

But such a fog enveloped them off Menans (Grand Manan) that they had to lie to for two days; when the weather cleared up they saw the island which Champlain named Monts Deserts, and which the Indians called Pemetig, which means "at the head," from its commanding position. The lifting fog disclosed Great Head, rising sheer from the ocean to buttress the forests of Green and Newport mountains. On their right was the broad sheet of water, since called Frenchman's Bay, extending far into the land. Into this they gladly sailed, and dropping anchor inside of Porcupine

Mount Desert.

Island, effected a landing not far from the bar which gives its name to a little harbor. There the broad flank of Green Mount, with Newport just alongside to make a deep and still ravine, greeted the eyes which sea-spray and the fog had filled. Eagle Lake lay buried in the forest in front of them, and the wooded slopes stretched along to the right as far as they could see. The islands with bronzed cliffs to seaward, and bases honeycombed by the tide, wore sharp crests of fir and pine. The American coast does not supply another combination so striking as this, of mountains with their feet in deep ocean on every side, lifting two thousand feet of greenery to vie with the green of waves; of inland recesses where brooks run past brown rocks, and birds sing woodland songs as if their nests swung in a country remote



Bar Harbor.

from sea-breezes. Delicate ferns fill the moist places of the wood, and the sea-anemones open in the little caverns where the tide leaves a pool for them. Nature has scattered the needled pines, of shape so perfect, from those of an inch high to the finished tree, artfully distributed in the open spaces. The Frenchmen hailed this picturesque conclusion to their voyage, and named the place and harbor St. Sauveur.

Several Indian villages were on the island. A smoke rose as a signal that the men were observed; they signalled with another smoke, and the natives came to see them. Father Biard had met some of them on the Penobscot, and now inquired the way to Kadesquit. They answered that their place was better, and so wholesome that sick natives in the neighboring parts were brought thither to be cured. But when Father Biard could not be persuaded, they belied

their own sanitary praises, and begged the good father to come and see their sagamore, Asticon, who was very sick, and like to die without the sacrament. This wily stroke prevailed: they took him round to the eastern shore of a bay, which is now called Somes's Sound, from a Gloucester man who settled there in 1760. Great shell heaps still indicate the site of Asticon's village. He only had an attack of rheumatism; so the father asked the natives to show him the place which they esteemed to be so much better than Kadesquit. They took him around the head of the Sound, to a grassy slope of twenty or thirty acres, with a stream on each side, running down to the tide. The bay was as still as a lake; "the black soil fat and fertile, the pretty hill abutting softly on the sea, and bathed on its sides by two streams, the little islands which break the force of waves and wind."[1]



Somes's Sound.

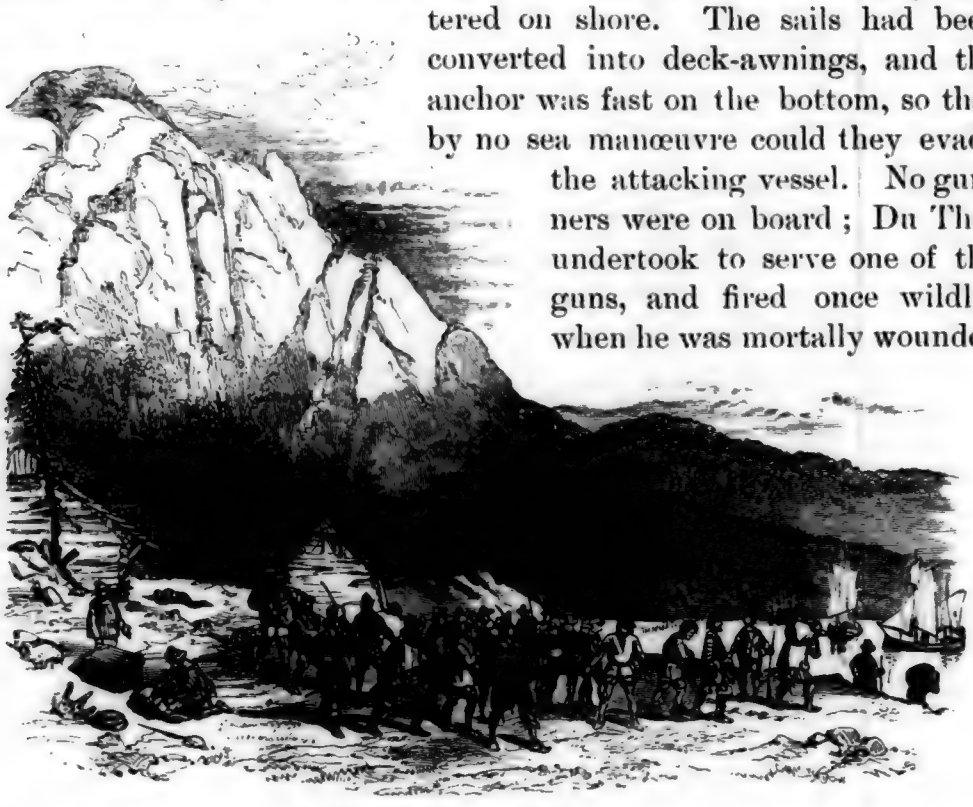
These islands are the Great and Little Cranberry, and Lancaster's. The cliffs rise to a great height, and the water at their base is deep enough for any ship to ride a cable's length from the shore. No wonder that Father Biard thought no more of Kadesquit. They planted the cross, threw up a slight entrenchment, and La Saussaye began to plant, for the time was early in June.

But, unfortunately, the English in Virginia were used to cruise along the coast as far as Pemaquid annually to catch fish. This year Samuel Argall sailed on such a fishing voyage, some accounts adding that he was sent by Dale, the governor, to drive the French out of Acadia. Champlain says he had fourteen pieces of artillery. When he reached Pemaquid, the savages, not intending

Argall's attack on the French.

[1] Father Biard's *Relation*.

any harm, as the French and English were then at peace, gave him to understand that Frenchmen had arrived at Mount Desert. They attributed the excitement of Argall and his men to a pleased anticipation of meeting the French, and procuring some needed stores. So an Indian volunteered to guide Argall to the French vessel. He, without a challenge, summons, or word of explanation, bore directly down, "swift as an arrow," says Biard, upon the French vessel, on the plea that it was in waters covered by the patent of the Virginia Company, and opened fire. Only ten men were on board the vessel, the rest being scattered on shore. The sails had been converted into deck-awnings, and the anchor was fast on the bottom, so that by no sea manœuvre could they evade the attacking vessel. No gunners were on board; Du Thet undertook to serve one of the guns, and fired once wildly, when he was mortally wounded



Argall's Attack on the French

by a musket shot. The vessel surrendered, the Englishmen landed and began to search the tents. Argall, finding La Saussaye's desk, broke it open and took out his royal commission, then locked the desk, and when he returned coolly asked him for his papers. Of course they were missing; then Argall, pretending that he was an impostor, with no title to fish, trade, or settle, gave his soldiers license to plunder, which they did thoroughly in a couple of days. After the death of Du Thet, who lingered for a day, the other Jesuits remonstrated with Argall, and declared that they were on a genuine mission, approved by their king. "Well," said he, "it is a great pity that you have lost your papers."

La Saussaye, Father Masse, and a dozen men were turned loose in

a boat to find their way to Port Royal. Near the coast they were met by two fishing vessels which carried them to France. Father Biard and the rest of the company were carried to Virginia; and as Argall began by representing that they had sailed without a commission, they were lodged in jail, where they were so badly treated, and threatened with death, that Argall became frightened, and told Sir Thomas Dale, the Governor, that he had taken La Saussaye's commission; they were then released.

Argall's conduct was approved at Jamestown. The governor sent him back, with his own vessel and the French prize, to destroy all the settlements in Acadia. He landed again at Somes's Sound, cut down the French cross, set up another with the English arms, and obliterated every trace of the settlement. Then sailing to the island of St. Croix, he burned all the vacated buildings there and carried off a stock of salt. His next point was Port Royal, where Biencourt, Poutrincourt's son, who was incapable of making any effective resistance, tried to buy Argall off by proposing to divide the trade with him. But Argall executed his commission. He "destroyed the fort and all monuments and marks of French power at Port Royal. He even caused the names of De Monts and other captains, and the *fleurs-de-lys*, to be effaced with pick and chisel from a massive stone on which they had been engraved."[1] In one of his vessels were the three Jesuits who had been taken to Virginia. On their return, the vessel in which they sailed became separated from Argall's in a storm, and driven to the Azores, whence they found their way to England, and then to France. Thus not a Frenchman was left upon the coast of Maine, nor a single cross to signify priority of possession.

Destruction of French settlements.

After this expedition of Argall and his ruthless work of destruction at Mount Desert, the next English navigator of any note who visited Maine was Captain John Smith, who in 1614 came thither with two ships fitted out by some London merchants. As usual, a search after rich mines was announced as one of the chief objects of the adventure, but it easily and naturally turned to a fishing and fur-trading voyage. Several ships were drying and preparing their fish upon the coasts when Smith arrived among them, and his own sailors, expert in this sort of work, readily took in a cargo. "Is it not pretty sport," writes Smith, in his narrative of the voyage, "to pull up two pence, six pence, and twelve pence as fast as you can haul and veere a line."

John Smith in New England. 1614.

Smith did not spend all his time in trading and fishing, but leaving most of his crew thus employed, he cruised along shore in a little boat, drawing a map as he went from isle to isle, from harbor to harbor,

[1] Beamish's *History of Nova Scotia*, vol. i., p. 58.

marking all soundings, rocks, and landmarks. This map he took home, and submitted to the prince, — afterwards Charles I., — who gave to the country, at Smith's suggestion, the name of New England.

Indians kidnapped by Captain Hunt.

Smith had sailed with two ships, and on his return left one behind to finish lading. They took a good cargo of fish, but not satisfied with that, the ship-master, Thomas Hunt, seized twenty-seven [1] of the savages, it is supposed in Plymouth Bay, and carried them captive to Spain, whither he went to dispose of his cargo. There he sold his fish at an excellent profit, and sold also his Indian prisoners as slaves. Through the benevolent efforts



Cod-fishing.

of a brotherhood of Spanish friars, some of the savages were rescued and sent to London, and thence to their native country.

Smith's plea for cod-fishery.

Smith's characteristic enthusiasm was greatly excited by the value of the fishery on the coast he had visited. He commended that staple to the consideration of English merchants, and argued that fish, although it might seem a "mean and base commodity," had yet made the fortunes of so thriving a state as Holland. He also made an able plea for colonization in New England, declaring that those who undertook the matter could, with sense, discretion, and perseverance, get rich. "For I am not so simple," he says, "as to think any other motive than wealth will ever erect a commonwealth, or draw company from their ease and humors at home, to stay in New

[1] Accounts differ as to the number of the kidnapped Indians, but Smith's *Description of New England* says twenty-seven.

England, to effect my purposes." And he therefore urged earnestly the great commercial value of fur and fish, so abundant there. In a letter written to Lord Bacon, in 1618, to commend the fisheries to his care, he says that he had made a fishing voyage two years previous with only forty-five men,[1] and had cleared £1,500 in less than three months on a cargo of dried fish and beaver skins. This would be a good catch even for a fisherman of the present day, for a pound sterling in Lord Bacon's time had more value than twenty-five dollars of our money of the present day, so that John Smith's three months' venture brought in an amount nearly equal to $40,000.

He made an attempt to go again to New England in 1615, but was driven back to port by storms; on starting out a second time he was captured by French pirates, and only reached England after much delay and ill fortune. His energy in fighting against adverse circumstances seems for the first time to have deserted him, for we hear no more of any attempt at new adventures, though he never lost his interest in the New World. In the same year of this second attempt of Smith's, Richard Hawkins, who was made president of the Plymouth Company, sailed to the coast of New England, but found so serious a war raging among the savages that he left those parts, going south to Virginia, and afterwards to Spain, where he sold his cargo, and thence returned to England.

Voyage of Richard Hawkins. 1615.

Finding himself not seconded by any other of the Company, Gorges sent out, at his own expense, Richard Vines to make a settlement. This heroic man spent the winter of 1616 and 1617 in Saco Bay, at a place called Winter Harbor. A pestilence which depopulated all the Indian tribes between the Penobscots and the Narragansetts had broken out. Vines, who was a physician, had no thought of deserting his post, though his vessels offered an easy escape; he tended the Indians with assiduous kindness, and afterwards, when he ventured into the interior, the savage gratitude preceded him, and he was everywhere received with hospitality and reverence. Through all the raging of this disease among the Indians, he and his men often lying in the cabins with sick and dying, not one of them, it is narrated, ever felt so much as a headache, but retained uninterrupted health.

Richard Vines.

Vines was absorbed in trade, discovery, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the Indians. The dismal winter, which devastated so many native wigwams, was used by him to make the whole coast better known to the English.

Work of Vines in the New World.

[1] This was very likely the voyage of 1614, as the date of the letter probably referred to its publication, and there is no record of any voyage accomplished by Smith after 1614. This was a very profitable cargo, as he says Hunt sold his fish "at forty reals a quintal, each hundred weighing two and a half quintals."

He had no fear of the savages, for he ventured in a canoe up the valley of the Saco River to its source, that trickles through that narrow gap, or Crawford's Notch, the sad gate by which so many white people were subsequently taken into Canadian captivity. He was the first to describe the White Mountains, if not the first to reach them. To him also belongs the honor of restraining traders from debauching the Indians with rum. Thus he favored a kind of Maine Law before Maine existed. The English might have traced to rum the gradual deterioration of the native temper of the Abnakis, from which they were the first to suffer in the frontier raids; it exasperated courage to ferocity, and embittered every practice of savage warfare. Rum never made the Indian good-natured. He became something appalling, a concentration of the cruel and mocking rage of many men, as soon as liquor filled his veins.



Richard Vines at Crawford Notch.

The post of Gorges, as governor of Plymouth, seems to have been especially favorable to catch all the news, and receive all the wonders which the line of returning ships brought to England from her possessions in the New World. The governor had begun by questioning the first Indian captives whom Weymouth had brought him, about the country from whence they came, and he seems to have regarded them as most useful allies in discovery. Thus it happened again that some of the natives who were kidnapped were sent to him to dispose of, either to be retained in his keeping or returned on the ships that he fitted out for America. One of these Indians, named Epenow, a savage of "goodly and brave aspect," who

The Indian captives of Gorges.

had been exhibited in London as a curiosity, came into Gorges' hands, and was sent by him as guide and interpreter in an expedition sent in 1614, fitted out by himself and the Earl of Southampton.

Epenow, — his escape from the English

But the wily Epenow was restless in captivity. He quietly bided his time, and no sooner was he in his native land than he planned with his savage kinsfolk, who came out in their canoes to visit the ship, to make his escape. Though strictly watched, and clad in long coats, to be easily laid hold of if he should attempt to escape, he suddenly leaped off the ship, one day, when standing between two men who were acting as his guards, and once in the water easily reached the shore.

Squanto.

Another of these savages, named Tisquantum, or Squanto, one of those whom Thomas Hunt had sold in Spain, was shipped to Newfoundland, where Captain John Mason was governor of an English plantation. Here, in 1618, Squanto met with a Captain Dermer, who had sailed with Smith in one of his voyages. Dermer wrote to Gorges that if he would send him a commission in New England, he would go there from Newfoundland, taking Squanto with him. Gorges responded by sending out Captain Rocroft, who had before been in Virginia.

Thomas Rocroft in Virginia. 1619.

Rocroft was ordered to go to New England only, but he had barely reached the coast when he overhauled a bark, commanded by a Frenchman, from Dieppe, and enriching himself with what he found on board, sailed for Virginia. Here he fell in with some boon companions, quarrelled with them, and was killed. His vessel, left to drift without a captain, was lost, and although some of the cargo was saved, no part of this venture ever came back to Gorges.

Captain Dermer fitted out by Gorges. 1619.

In the mean time, Dermer, disappointed in his hopes of getting a ship in Newfoundland, returned to Plymouth to confer with the governor and get his commission. Gorges hurried him back in a ship of his own which happened to be in port. Dermer left his ship at the island of Monhegan, and in an open pinnace explored the coast in 1619 from Maine to Virginia. At Martha's Vineyard he met Epenow, who told the story of his escape with much merriment. Thence Dermer sailed through Long Island Sound, — the first Englishman who discovered that inland passage, — lost an anchor in the rapids of Hell Gate; acquired, as he believed, certain knowledge from the Indians of a passage to the South Sea; and went out to sea again through the Narrows. He may have thought the Hudson river to be the channel which the Indians assured him they knew. If so, when he returned the next season in search of it, he was, very likely, better instructed by the Dutch whom he found on

Manhattan Island. He seems, at any rate, to have said nothing more about the South Sea, to have gone again to Virginia, and to have died there soon after.

In the mean time the Northern Company, of which Gorges was the most active member, had never been satisfied with their rights under the charter which connected them with the South Virginia Company, and in 1620 urged their claims to a new patent so strongly that it was granted them by the king. This defined their territory as that land from the 40th to the 48th degree of latitude. Against this charter the Virginia Company loudly remonstrated, because, according to Gorges's account, "they were debarred the intermeddling within our limits who had formerly excluded us from having to do with theirs."[1] The dispute was referred to a committee of Parliament, before whom Gorges appeared three times to argue the rights of the Plymouth Company, and, on the third hearing, being called to state the case, he made a speech so sensible and so eloquent, urging the value of the fishing trade, which, even while they were disputing on boundaries, might be monopolized by French or Hollanders, that most who heard him were satisfied with his representation, and in spite of the strong influence held by the Virginia Company, the king could not be induced to revoke his patent.

Charter of the Plymouth Company. 1620.



Signature of Ferdinando Gorges.

Their charter being thus confirmed, the Plymouth Company felt themselves on a sure basis, and more than ever Gorges was inclined to redouble his attempts at settlement in the new lands. The company in 1621 made a grant to one of the Scotch favorites of James I., Sir William Alexander, afterwards made Earl of Stirling, a man of some literary fame both as a dramatist and a writer of sonnets. This grant was called Nova Scotia, and extended from Cape Sable to the St. Lawrence, including Cape Breton, and all the islands within six leagues. It will be seen that this grant encroached on the French dominion of Acadia, which still stretched its indefinite boundaries about that region. The French then and thenceforth, until the final settlement between France and England, claimed, and largely maintained their claim, to all the territory east of the Penobscot and north to the St. Lawrence; the English held their right to all west of the Kennebec. The land lying between was disputed territory, which neither was fully able to hold. Alexander's design was to people all his territory with his own countrymen, who should present a firm barrier of Scotch Presby-

Grant to Sir William Alexander. 1621.

[1] Gorges's Narrations, *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii.

terianism to the Catholicism which the French settlers had brought thither.

But the territory, including all the sea-coast of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, between the lands of Alexander and the little Pilgrim colony just fastened on that rocky shore at Plymouth, was still unoccupied. Ships, laden with fish, furs, and timber, constantly plied between England and its namesake in the New World. In one year fifty ships came into English ports from these parts with profitable cargoes of these homely exports, and the value of their American possession began to be clearly recognized by the Company, even though no mines like those of Mexico and Peru were found there. Early in 1622, Gorges for the first time got a special grant for himself from the Company of which he was so indefatigable a member. He joined with him John Mason, also a member of Plymouth Company, who had been, says Gorges, governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, and was a man of action and experience. This grant the two owners named Laconia; it embraced the region between the Merrimack and Kennebec, stretching back to Canada and the great lakes. The year their grant was confirmed, 1623, they sent over a ship-load of settlers, half fishermen and half planters, with all necessary tools and provisions, to make a permanent settlement. They sailed in the spring, and debarked at the mouth of the Piscataqua. There they divided into two parties. One of these stopped at a pleasant place, which was named "Strawberry Bank," where the white blossoms of the wild strawberry spreading over the land gave promise of fruitful farms, and the close proximity of the sea made it easy for the fishermen at any time to take to their boats. There they built a rude house for general occupation, and went to work at once to furnish means for curing the fish, which was to be their staple product, by erecting salt-works. This was the site of the old town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. The other party went up the river a few miles, and began the plantation of Dover. These two towns were the first decided fruits of Gorges's work of colonization.

The Laconia Grant. 1623.

Settlement of New Hampshire. 1623.

Almost simultaneously with the beginning of these settlements another enterprise was begun by the Plymouth Company. There was as yet no general government instituted in its territories, and it was therefore decided to appoint a governor-general over their whole domain, who should go in person to America, and establish such laws and government as should be in conformity to those of England. Robert Gorges, a son of Ferdinando, was thus appointed in 1623, and a large grant of land on Massachusetts Bay, of three hundred square miles, was given him by

Governor-general of the Plymouth Company.

the Company of Plymouth. He had for his assistants Captain West and Captain Christopher Levett, both of whom had been in New England, and also the governor of the New Plymouth Colony already established on lands near his own grant. Gorges went first to New Plymouth to confer with its governor, and was hospitably received. The wife of Robert Gorges was a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who felt so much interest in Puritan emigration, and Gorges, probably, had no special hostility to the religious sentiments of the New Plymouth colony, and held most amicable relations with the Pilgrim fathers. But he did not like the country, and only remained there till the spring of 1624, when he took ship and went up the coast to the mouth of the Piscataqua, where he was to meet Captain Levett. He soon after went back to England and never

Robert Gorges.



View at the Mouth of the Piscataqua.

returned to America. His brother, John Gorges, succeeded him in his rights there, and in his turn made over this grant to William Brereton, who established several families in the lands originally given to Robert Gorges.

Captain Levett, now one of the assistants of the newly appointed governor-general, had shortly followed his chief from England, and met him at the mouth of the Piscataqua. Here Mr. David Thompson, one of the planters who had settled in Portsmouth the year before, already had a successful plantation; both Gorges and Levett were his guests. Captain Levett made an interesting exploration of Maine in the region of the Sagadahoc, looking for a place for permanent settlement. He had the true spirit of an adventurer, and relates cheerfully, that after sleeping night after night on

Levett's voyages. 1623.

the wet ground, he was filled with content at getting dried grass for his bed; and recounts with much merriment the story of the beggar, who said if he were rich he would have every day a breast of mutton with a pudding in it, and sleep up to his neck in dry straw.

Levett finally built a house at a place he called York, somewhere near the present site of that town, in Maine, and then returned to England, where he printed an account of all that he had seen and done, and specially commended to the attention of merchants the rich products of the country and sea-coasts, in timber, furs, and codfish, ending with the wholesome advice that no man go to the country unless he was willing to work. He declares that a man with a family who were unfit to labor would do better to stay at home with them; but he that could work and had not too many hostages to fortune in the shape of wife and children, if he went out properly equipped with tools, and enough provisions to last till he was prosperously established, was certain to get rich in New England.

In all these attempts no permanent plantation which could fairly be called a settlement had been made on the coast of Maine. Although a large part of the Laconia grant was within the present limits of that State, yet the first expedition sent by Mason and Gorges had established itself on the other side of the river, which was to form the boundary of New Hampshire. As Levett explored the coast, although he found many fishing stations, and mentions several large tracts that had been granted to English owners, he speaks of no settlements west of the Piscataqua after he left the hospitality of Mr. Thompson's plantation. There were some scattered beginnings on Monhegan Island, and several fishing stages for the cure of the fish, some of which afterward formed the nucleus of a town; and it is not unlikely that solitary plantations may have been begun, of which we have no record, along that coast which furnished resting places and harbors for so many fishing vessels, and from whence so much tall timber had already been carried away. In 1625, two wealthy merchants of Bristol, Robert Aldworth and Giles Eldridge, bought Monhegan Island, and sent over an agent to settle there; a year later they bought the point of Pemaquid, which had already been sold by Samoset, the friend of the New Plymouth colonists, to an English purchaser, and there they established a flourishing colony, which in 1630 numbered eighty-four families.

Settlements in limits of Maine.

In this same year 1630, the Plymouth Council gave Richard Vines and John Oldham, each a tract of land on the Saco River, four miles broad on the sea, and extending eight miles up into the land. Oldham had been six years in the country, and Vines's coming must certainly date thirteen or fourteen

Settlements of Oldham and Vines, on the Saco

years earlier.[1] These two men founded the towns of Biddeford and Saco, on their tract, which faced each other on opposite sides of the river. These were the most decided beginnings of settlements in Maine. No such well-defined towns were built in this as in the other colonies, and to this want of centralization and concentration Maine owed in part its relation afterwards as a dependency of Massachusetts. Its scattered settlements were unable to preserve for it a separate existence when its stronger neighbor prepared to include it in her more powerful organization.

Gorges and Mason divide their grant.

In 1629, when the settlements in Laconia on the Piscataqua were six years old, Mason and Gorges divided their grants into two parts, the former taking all west of the Piscataqua, and naming it New Hampshire, — Mason being then governor of the County of Hampshire, England, — and the latter all east of that stream, to the River Sagadahoc, the eastern boundary of Laconia. Gorges named his part of the territory New Somersetshire, from the county which had been his early home. For this new tract, now solely his, he sent his nephew William Gorges and others, "with craftsmen, for the building of houses, and erecting of saw-mills," also cattle, laborers, and servants, and the foundation of a plantation was laid. This was the town of York, on which a planter named Edward Godfrey was the first settler. On this, Gorges had set aside an inheritance for his grandson Ferdinando, of 12,000 acres, and it seems to have been his favorite point for the establishment of a proprietary interest for his family in New England.

The Plymouth Company resign their patent. 1635.

But already bitter complaints were made in England, that discontented spirits full of disaffection to the king, and hostile to the government of the established church, were settling on the grants made by the Plymouth Company. Gorges, in New England, was looked upon with jealousy and dislike by many of the Puritans, because of his large territorial claims in their vicinity, as well as on account of his opinions as a loyalist and member of the English Church; on the other hand he was attacked in England as an upholder and author of the reputed license of laws and opinions among the new colonies in Massachusetts. He seems to have been deeply hurt at this, after his long and arduous work in forwarding the plantation of English colonies in New England, and he "therefore was moved to desire the rest of the lords, that were the principal actors in this business, that we should resign our grand patent to the king, and pass particular patents to ourselves, of such parts of the

[1] There is a doubt about the exact time of Vines's first coming. Prince, in his *Chronology*, says it was the winter of 1616–17, but Gorges, in his narrative, puts it after the attempt at settlement by the Popham Colony, and just before one of the voyages of 1614.

country about the sea-coast as might be sufficient to our own uses, and such of our private friends as had affections to works of that nature." [1] This was done in 1635, and the lands of the Company, lying between the forty-eighth and thirty-sixth degree of latitude, were parcelled out among its members.[2]

The territory of Gorges.

This new division confirmed the right of Gorges to the tract lying between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, with a sea-coast of sixty miles, and an extent of one hundred and twenty miles inland. And now for the first time, he called this his province of Maine,[3] and he drew up for it a code of laws, dividing the land first into counties, subdividing these into hundreds, and again into parishes or tithings, as fast as population flowed in to fill up the vacant places. He offered also to transport planters to his domain, promising to assign them a certain portion of land at the low rate of two or three shillings for a hundred acres, and if any would found a town or city, he would endow it with such liberties and immunities as they would have in England. Others of poorer condition, who would go as laborers, should have as much land as they could till, at the rent of four or six pence an acre, according to the situation.

The laws and government were a return to Saxon simplicity, the lord proprietary retaining ownership of the soil. In 1637, the king gave Gorges a commission as governor of New England, to compensate him for his strenuous efforts in colonization, and the many losses he had suffered in these endeavors. He made preparations to go to Maine, to assume the duties of this office, and see a country in which he had so great an interest, but some accident prevented his departure, and he never came to America. Three years later, he sent

[1] Gorges's "Brief Narration," *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 5, 7.

[2] The divisions were: (1.) Between the St. Croix and Pemaquid, to William Alexander. (2.) From Pemaquid to Sagadahoc, in part to the Marquis of Hamilton. (3.) Between the Kennebec and Androscoggin; and (4.) From Sagadahoc to Piscataqua, to Sir F. Gorges. (5.) From Piscataqua to the Naumkeag, to Mason. (6.) From the Naumkeag round the sea-coast, by Cape Cod to Narragansett, to the Marquis of Hamilton. (7.) From Narragansett to the half-way bound, between that and the Connecticut River, and fifty miles up into the country, to Lord Edward Gorges. (8.) From this midway point to the Connecticut River, to Earl of Carlisle. (9 and 10.) From the Connecticut to the Hudson, to Duke of Lennox. (11 and 12.) From the Hudson to the limits of the Plymouth Company's territory, to Lord Mulgrave. — See Hubbard's *Hist. N. E.*, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Series 2, vol. v., p. 228. Williamson's *Hist. Maine*, vol. i., p. 256. Gorges's "Brief Narration," *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 54.

[3] Sullivan in *Hist. of Maine*, and others, say that the territory was called the Province of Maine, in compliment to Queen Henrietta, who had that province in France for dowry. But Folsom, "Discourse on Maine," *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 38, says that that province in France did not belong to Henrietta. Maine, like all the rest of the coast, was known as the "Maine," the mainland, and it is not unlikely that the word so much used by the early fishers on the coast, may thus have been permanently given to this part of it.

over his kinsman Thomas Gorges, who came first to Boston, and after a courteous reception by the governor there, went to take up his abode at Agamenticus.

The services and character of Gorges.

To Ferdinando Gorges more credit is due than has been always acknowledged, for his persistent efforts to settle New England, and for his unswerving belief in the value of such a colony to the mother country. In the conflict of patents and titles between him and the Virginia Company, and between him and the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, his real and essential services as the friend of colonization have been in some degree lost sight of. As a staunch adherent to the Established Church, he undoubtedly wished that those who should find homes in the lands under his jurisdiction in the New World should be of the faith of that Church in which he believed. But the jealousy with which, for this reason, he was regarded, seems to have had no sufficient ground; for no sectarian narrowness prevented his being the earnest friend of the Puritans of New Plymouth, and always desirous of their success and welfare. If, indeed, the fear of him as a zealous Churchman was quite sincere, it was, at least, no doubt increased by a covetous jealousy of him as a patentee. As so often happens, the contemporary estimate of his character, taking its form from the convictions and interests of those who made it, has survived, and is often accepted as just by those who do not in the least sympathize with the partial and narrow views which led to that judgment. Losing sight of these, or taking them at their real value as the result of local and temporary influences, the true place of Gorges is found among those Englishmen whose far-sighted wisdom, zeal, and energies were devoted earnestly and unselfishly to the permanent settlement of his countrymen upon this continent. He builded, perhaps, better than he knew; but, so far as he did know, he built with no narrow purpose.

CHAPTER XIII.

DUTCH EXPEDITIONS TO NORTH AMERICA. — SETTLEMENT OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

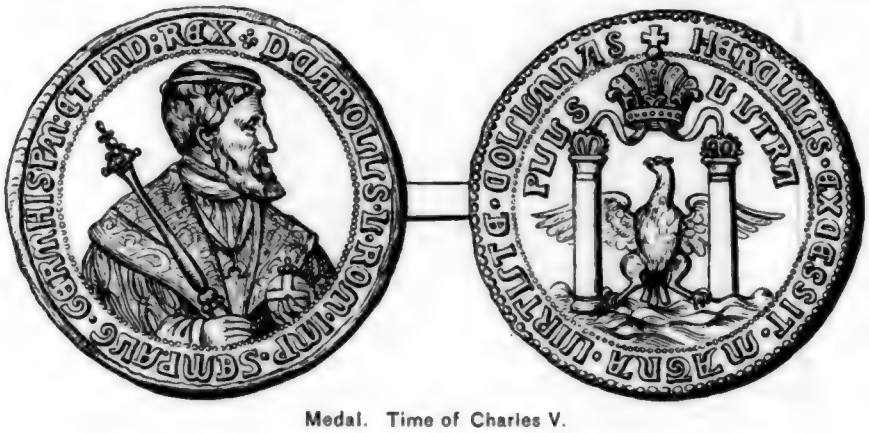
COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE AND PROSPERITY OF THE DUTCH. — THEIR INTEREST IN A SHORT ROUTE TO INDIA. — EARLY NORTHEAST VOYAGES. — HENRY HUDSON EMPLOYED BY EAST INDIA COMPANY. — HIS FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA. — ENTRANCE INTO NEW YORK BAY AND DISCOVERY OF THE HUDSON RIVER. — HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND. — VOYAGE TO HUDSON'S BAY. — THE DUTCH ESTABLISH TRADING-POSTS AT MANHATTAN ISLAND. — DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY CHARTERED. — EMIGRATION OF WALLOONS. — SETTLEMENTS ON SITES OF ALBANY AND NEW YORK CITY.

ALONG the whole Atlantic coast of North America, there were, in the early years of the seventeenth century, only three feeble European colonies established, — that of the Spanish at St. Augustine, of the English on the James River, and of the French in Acadia on the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Yet more than a hundred years had passed away since it was claimed that Cabot had run along this coast for a thousand miles in an English ship; and that only a few years later Verrazano for the French, and Gomez for the Spanish, had visited and named some of the most distinctive of its rivers, bays, and capes. Of all the states of Europe, Spain alone had increased in wealth and power from the discovery of the New World. Into her coffers, both public and private, gold had poured in such enormous quantities from the ravishment of Mexico and Peru, as to affect the relative value of everything that was bought and sold among civilized people; but otherwise no other nation shared in this sudden wealth except as their ships could spoil the Spaniards on the high seas. The Emperor Charles V. stamped upon his gold coin the device of the Pillars of Hercules and the legend *Plus Ultra;* but other powers saw as yet little reason to boast that there was much for them beyond the western boundary of Europe.

That Spain had gained so much and other nations seemingly so little, was owing partly to the poverty in gold and silver of the northern regions; partly to the failure to find the northwest passage to the South Sea; and partly to the absorbing interest of great political and religious complications which agitated all Europe during much of the sixteenth century. But there were secondary results of American

discovery in the growth of commerce and navigation, the closer relations, whether hostile or friendly, between nations, the significance of which was to be developed in the coming years of another era. These, as they led the way in a certain degree to juster views of the importance of the New World to the Old, so also, they brought another power into competition with the other maritime states of Europe for a share in the acquisition of a hemisphere.

When Charles V. resigned his Spanish possessions to his son, with certain outlying kingdoms in Europe and that great and vague *Plus Ultra*, a portion of them included a country small in extent, but already of extraordinary wealth and energy, — a country of which the



Medal. Time of Charles V.

favorite phrase of historians has always been that it had "wrested its territory from the sea." This was the region occupied by the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands. Its people had been busy for centuries in redeeming foot after foot of swamp, and marsh, and submerged land, and surrounding the fertile territory thus gained with dikes and defences against the ocean; in developing an agriculture which was amazing considering the resources at command; in establishing trades which even at this time produced the highest results of any in Europe; and in training, as such means inevitably must, a race of prosperous, vigorous, and intelligent citizens. It is easy to admit, without being carried away by any enthusiastic admiration, that the material advancement of the country at the time of Charles's abdication denoted the highest degree of prosperity. The emperor is said, and probably without exaggeration, to have derived two of the five millions of gold which formed his annual revenue, from these little provinces alone.[1] They had become leaders in the commerce of the world, and had gained much of the trade that had been a great source of wealth to the southern nations of Europe; they had shown themselves powerful in war as well as in

The Netherland Provinces.

[1] Suriano MS., quoted by Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, chap. i.

peace; and their political institutions, in all those things where they themselves controlled them, were liberal and enlightened not only for the time, but might have been held so in a much later period.

Policy of Spain toward the Netherlands.

It was dangerous to attempt to oppress or repress provinces like these; but Charles and Philip were among the most short-sighted of their class of rulers. Charles had treated the Netherlands with cruelty of every kind; he had extorted from them enormous sums for schemes of personal ambition, besides constantly drawing from them a revenue utterly disproportionate to their place among his possessions; he had interfered with their political liberties and charters in every possible way; repressed every attempt to make their institutions as liberal as the intelligence of their citizens required; issued edicts disposing of their people as if they had been born serfs; and finally had established the Inquisition, where Protestantism was rapidly becoming the prevalent faith. But it was reserved for Philip to attempt to carry out his father's policy with a still more terrible thoroughness, and with a bigotry which even Charles did not bring into the work. He established a still more elaborate tyranny in the provinces; sent them governors each one of whom was worse than his predecessor; and finally, by setting over them the brutal Alva, he roused the Netherlands into open war.

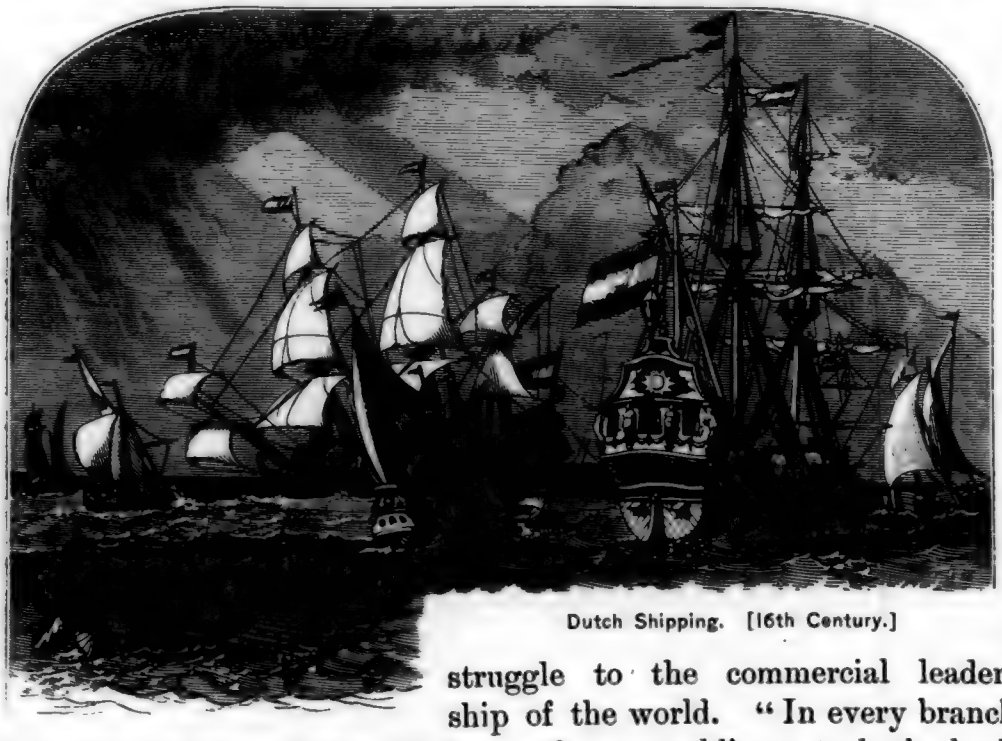
War of the United Netherlands.

This war continued through the century, and soon assumed its true character — that of a war of independence. What was already the wealthiest and strongest of the regions subject to Spain, became through it one of the first of the self-sustained nations of Europe. Bound together by the Union of Utrecht in 1579, and declaring their entire independence in the memorable declaration issued at the Hague on the 26th of July, 1581, the seven provinces of Gelderland and Zutphen, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Overyseel, and Groningen, states which had, at length, determined to throw off all foreign rule, established the Republic of the United Netherlands, and carried on the conflict against Spain not as a rebellion, but as an independent power. It was apparently as unequal a struggle as any recorded in history; but the heroic pertinacity with which it was continued was greater than the inequality of the combatants. The little republic steadily gained ground through all discouragements. The murder of William of Orange, the great leader of his people, only "hardened their stomachs," as Walsingham wrote, "to hold out as long as they should have any means of defence." This spirit brought about its inevitable results. Spain was slowly but very surely taught the strength of it; and more than forty years after the time when Philip had sent Alva into his provinces, the independence of the United Netherlands was acknowledged in a treaty which estab-

lished a twelve years' truce, conceded virtual freedom of worship, and practically granted to the Dutch great material advantages which had long been in dispute. The seven provinces which had maintained the long and unequal war, took their place as a united independent republic.

The new nation had not, however, won its independent existence only by an ordinary struggle with arms; it had used means which were perhaps as important to the world at large as the ends which they gained. It had defeated Spain almost literally by virtue of its wonderful commercial prosperity. Provinces that had been, fifty years before, a most thriving and important source of the riches of the state, had attained during the

Commercial prosperity of the Dutch.



Dutch Shipping. [16th Century.]

struggle to the commercial leadership of the world. "In every branch of human industry," says Motley, "these republicans took the lead. . . . . But the foundation of the national wealth, the source of the apparently fabulous power by which the republic had at last overthrown her gigantic antagonist, was the ocean."[1] He cites authorities to show that at this time the United Netherlands had nearly one hundred thousand sailors in her service, and possessed three thousand ships in her commercial and war fleets.

While its commerce in Europe was of very great importance, the real golden prize which the new nation in the long conflict had almost completely taken away from Spain, was the India trade. So humiliating and disastrous was this loss to the Spaniards,

The East India trade.

[1] Motley, the *United Netherlands*, vol. iv., pp. 552, 553.

that when by the treaty they were compelled practically to concede the right of Eastern commerce to the Dutch, they did so in a secret article, and in language that vainly sought to conceal the fact by ingenious circumlocution. For twenty years this trade had so increased, and capital had flowed into it in such abundance, that it had returned threefold to its owners. In 1602, seven years before the truce, the Dutch East India Company, the first of great trading-monopolies, was formed by the consolidation of several small corporations, its charter granting it sole permission to trade for twenty-one years to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, and to sail through the Straits of Magellan; four years afterward it declared a dividend of seventy-five per cent. The establishment of a similar company for trade to the West Indies had been suggested some time before this, and small associations for that purpose had even been formed; but a renewed attempt in 1607 was put aside, for the time at least, by the States General.[1]

The short passage to India.

With such interests as they had at stake in the East, it would have been extraordinary if the government and merchants of the Netherlands had not been drawn sooner or later into the search for the supposed short passage to India. They had not been idle in the matter; and their first efforts, like all others, had been confidently directed to the Arctic Seas. They had carefully watched the English expeditions in both hemispheres; but Linschoten, perhaps their chief practical geographer, the study of whose life had been paths of ocean navigation, and Plantius, another learned scholar of the time, and many more, were firm believers in the theory that the long-sought way lay to the northeast, through ice-bound regions, about which the common people held as many wild superstitions as ever the ancients had held about the ultimate bounds of their narrower world.[2]

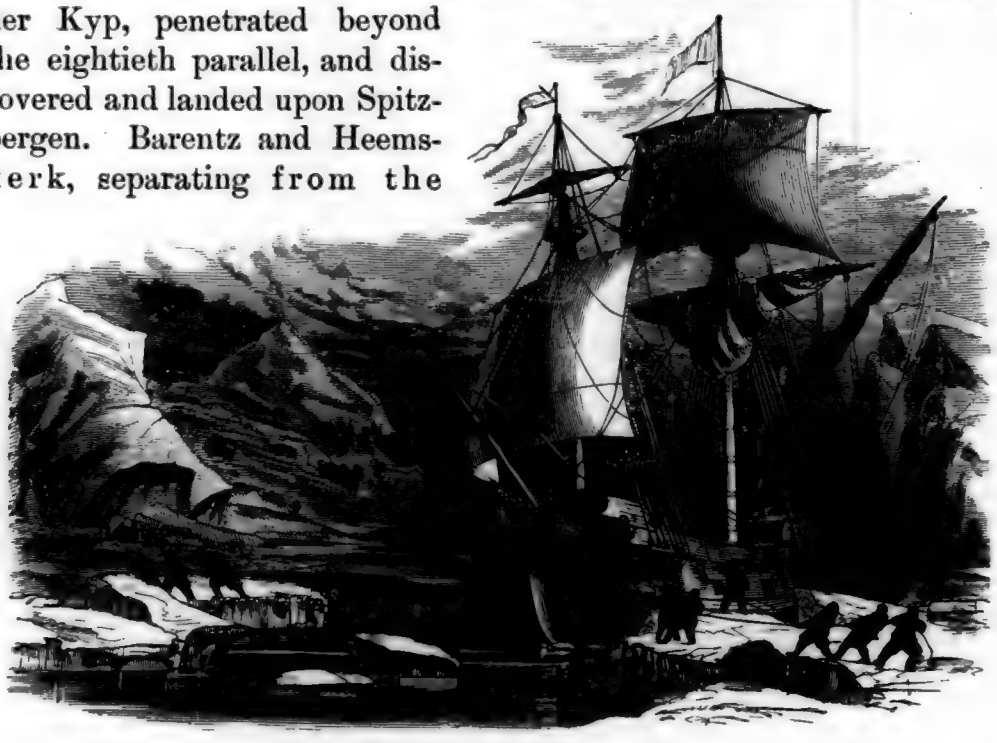
Northeast voyages by the Dutch.

In June, 1594, Willem Barentz, a pilot of Amsterdam, with four vessels provided by the provincial and several city governments, — the whole expedition being advised and furthered by the geographers just named, and by others, — sailed for the Arctic region to the northeast. Barentz, separated from the

[1] In 1591, according to the Dutch historians, William Usselincx of Antwerp had suggested such a company. In 1597 Leyen of Enckhuysen and Peterszoon of Amsterdam, two merchants, had formed small societies for West India trade. In 1607, the consideration of renewed proposals of Usselincx was postponed by the States, lest the granting of another large charter should prejudice the approaching negotiations with Spain. Compare Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iv., pp. 298, 299, 300. Brodhead's *History of the State of New York*, vol. i., pp. 21, 22, Dutch authorities cited.

[2] Many of these fantastic notions of the north are detailed by Motley, *United Netherlands*, vol. iii., pp. 553, 554, where they are repeated from several Dutch sources. Some believed a region to exist there where perpetual summer reigned, and a cultured and happy race lived in great comfort and order; others peopled the Arctic lands with races of savages, half men and half beasts, and with various terrible monsters.

rest, reached and explored Nova Zembla; while the others sailed into the straits called the Waigats. They all returned before the winter. Linschoten, the geographer, who had accompanied one of the ships, was still sanguine that the northeast passage to India was possible; the hopes of the rest were somewhat dampened. Nevertheless the enterprise was tried a second and a third time: the second expedition, in the summer and autumn of 1595, proceeded by way of the Waigats, but was an utter failure, returning without result of any kind; while the third, in 1596, under Barentz, Heemskerk, and Van der Kyp, penetrated beyond the eightieth parallel, and discovered and landed upon Spitzbergen. Barentz and Heemskerk, separating from the



Barentz at Nova Zembla.

other vessel, rounded Nova Zembla, and became imprisoned by the ice near Ice Havenga Bay, to which Barentz had given the name. They were kept here, enduring the greatest suffering, until the next year; and it was in endeavoring to escape from their imprisonment, that Barentz finally yielded to the rigor of the climate and to privation, dying in his boat in June, 1597. His companions finally effected their return; but with this last failure much of the enthusiasm about a northeastern passage died away.

These attempts show how fully prepared the Netherlanders had become, when their independence was finally acknowledged, and their commercial prosperity had reached so great a height, to turn their attention to a new region of the earth. The old pathways to India were all their own; they had thus far found the way effectually barred to the northeast; and, commercially at least, they might

naturally look for new worlds to conquer. The English voyages to the west had been followed, as were all English undertakings, with watchful and jealous eyes; but the old delusion was still powerful: it was only India upon which minds were fixed; and we shall see how it was only the action of one navigator that turned Dutch enterprise toward the west at all.

Among the persons in intimate relations with the Muscovy Company of England, of which Sebastian Cabot was the governor, and which had sent the expedition of Willoughby in search of a northeast passage to India, was an experienced navigator, Henry Hudson. It is quite likely that he was the lineal descendant of one of the founders of that corporation,[1] and may, for that reason, have been held in high esteem and trust by its members, and employed on other important voyages before he went upon those by which he is best known. He was probably a native, as he was a citizen, of London; he was a friend of Captain John Smith, and intimate with other adventurous navigators of the time; and no doubt from training and associations, the aim of his life, as it was that of so many of his contemporaries, was the discovery of a passage to the East, either by a northeastern or northwestern passage.

Henry Hudson's voyages to the northeast. 1607.

The last expedition, under the direction of the Muscovy Company, was commanded by Hudson. Sailing from Gravesend on the first of May, 1607, he was instructed to proceed directly across the pole. He steered northwest, and along the Greenland coast to about the eightieth parallel, but could penetrate no farther because of the ice, along the unbroken barrier of which he sailed to the eastward, to the region of Spitzbergen. But he could nowhere find an opening in the almost solid wall; and late in the same year he returned to England after a practically fruitless voyage. In the early part of the next season he made another attempt, this time to the northeast; but the ice again stopped him near Nova Zembla, and he made his way back with another report of ill success.

Hudson invited to the Netherlands.

The Muscovy Company now abandoned for the time all further effort. But the report of these two voyages had excited wide attention; it was of just the nature to stimulate the enterprise of the Dutch rivals of the English traders; and the navigator, who had proved himself, even in his failures, to be skilful, brave, and of great energy and perseverance, had barely returned from his second expedition when he received a new commission. The Dutch East India Company's directors sent for him to come to Amsterdam.

[1] See *Historical Inquiry concerning Henry Hudson, his Relations and Early Life, his Connection with the Muscovy Company*, etc. By John Meredith Read.

The directors resident at Amsterdam decided that before positively engaging Hudson they must wait for the meeting of the Company's Council of Seventeen, in the following year. But the repeated explorations undertaken by the Muscovy Company had aroused others beside the East India Company. As soon as this delay was announced, Hudson was approached by a former officer of the corporation, who had now, however, left it and become a keen opponent of its plans, — one Le Maire, a French merchant in the Dutch city, — who at once sought to secure him for the service of France, and was aided in this design by President Jeannin, French ambassador at the Hague.[1] This attempt was all that was needed to spur the East India directors into immediate decisive action, and they signed a contract with him on January 8, 1609. This paper specified that the directors should furnish a small vessel to Hudson, with the needed outfit, in which he was to sail as soon as the favorable season opened in April. He was to have a sum equivalent to about three hundred and twenty dollars of our gold for his expenses, and the support of his family during his absence; and, should he not return, his widow was to receive eighty dollars as an indemnity for his loss. Should he find a practicable passage, he was to receive a suitable reward, — the clause promising this being only generally expressed.[2]

His contract with the East India Company.

The old theory of the passage was rigidly adhered to, both in the contract and in Hudson's detailed instructions. He was to search for a passage "around by the North side of Nova Zembla," and he was "to think of discovering no other routes or passages, except the route around by the north and northeast above Nova Zembla."[3]

Armed with memoranda of sailing instructions which had been made by Barentz on his first voyage, and with an ancient document by a Greenland navigator,[4] Hudson made himself master of the whole

[1] *Négociation du Pres. Jeannin*, cited by Read, *Hist. Inq.*, p. 140, and by Henry C. Murphy, *Hudson in Holland*.

[2] Mr. Henry C. Murphy, the most successful of inquirers into the history of Hudson's voyage and matters connected with it, discovered a copy of this contract between Hudson and the Chamber of Amsterdam, in the royal archives at the Hague. It is given, with the full details of these negotiations, etc., in his *Henry Hudson in Holland*.

[3] Murphy's *Hudson*, p. 39, seq.

[4] This singular document had, in the translation used by Hudson, the following title: "*A Treatise of* IVER BOTY, *a* Gronlander, *translated out of the* Norsh *Language into High* Dutch *in the yeere* 1560. *And after, out of High* Dutch, *into Low* Dutch, *by* WILLIAM BARENTSON *of* Amsterdam, *who was chiefe Pilot aforesaid.* The *same Copie in High* Dutch *is in the hands of* IODOCVS HONDIVS, *which I have seene. And this was translated out of Low* Dutch *by* Master WILLIAM STERE, *Marchant, in the yeere* 1608, *for the use of one* HENRIE HUDSON. WILLIAM BARENTSON'S *Booke is in the hands of Master* PETER PLANTIVS, *who lent the same to me.*" The treatise contains a variety of quaint sailing directions and information concerning the northern seas as known to Norse voyagers in the time before Columbus; and

plan he was to carry out; yet there are indications that even before his departure probabilities in a very different direction had occurred to him. In his long consultations with Plantius, the geographer, and others, rude maps of regions far to the west were studied, and discussions took place, in which the fixed belief of Plantius as to a northeastern route appears to have been called in question by Hudson.[1]

Departure of Hudson. April 4, 1609.

On Saturday, the fourth of April, 1609, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam in a yacht or Vlie-boat[2] named the *Half Moon*, with a crew of Dutch and English sailors, numbering, according to different authorities, sixteen, eighteen, or twenty men, the smallest number probably being the true one. The vessel was of eighty tons burden — forty lasts by Dutch measurement — and had been most carefully equipped. By noon of Monday she was off the Texel, and the voyage was fairly begun. She steered away to the north, making up the Norway coast toward the North Cape, in literal accordance with instructions to Hudson, and soon gained the regions with which his previous explorations had made him more or less familiar.[3] On the fifth of May he passed the northern extremity of the main land, and sailed directly toward Nova Zembla; but the sea was filled with ice as it had been before, and he was not long in finding his progress as effectually barred in this direction as it had been in preceding voyages. His crew were discontented and insubordinate; it is said that some of them, used only to warmer climates, were unable to bear the cold of these high latitudes; and besides, they were of two nationalities, and seem to have quarrelled continually.

The obstacles thus put in Hudson's way to the northeast, seemingly

it further gives an account, conceded by northern antiquaries to be substantially correct, of the Icelandic colonies in Greenland. It has an interest of its own apart from its connection with these voyages; for its antiquity is undoubtedly very great, and it throws no little light on the state of Greenland in the days of its settled condition. The Treatise of Boty (or Bardsem, as he is generally called), has been published with an introduction and notes, by the Rev. B. F. De Costa, under the title of *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, etc.

[1] Van Meteren, *Historie der Nederlanden*, quoted by Read, *Historical Inquiry*, p. 155, says that Hudson showed Plantius a letter and maps of his friend Captain John Smith, in which the latter explained that there was a sea leading into the Western Ocean north of the English colony.

[2] From the river Vlie, where such boats were used. The name passed into the English fly-boat.

[3] Of this voyage we have several accounts, differing in no essential particular, but supplementing each other in many ways. John de Laet, who published the *Nieuwe Werelt* in 1625, made use in writing it of Hudson's own journal, which unfortunately has not been preserved. Van Meteren's *Historie der Nederlanden*, published in 1614, contains materials which came to its author at first hand. But the most minute record of the voyage is that made by Robert Juet, Hudson's former mate, who acted on this expedition as a captain's clerk, or kind of purser, and kept a precise and probably exceedingly accurate diary of every matter of interest during the whole duration of the exploration. His account appears in full in Purchas, vol. iii.

impassable bars to further discovery, confirmed his doubts of the impossibility of a northeastern passage, and led him to take a most important step. In direct violation of his instructions, he offered his crew a choice between two courses. One was to sail westward, and, making the American coast, to search for a passage where Captain John Smith had indicated the probability of one, somewhere north of the English colony; and the other was to keep nearer the latitude they were in, and sailing directly to the west, to try again at Davis's Straits. The first proposal was adopted, and on May 14, nine days after rounding the North Cape, the *Half Moon* was put about, and headed west by south. In two weeks she was taking fresh water at the Faroe Islands, and in six she lay safely off the banks of Newfoundland, the little vessel much the worse for her encounters with those northern seas.

He changes his course.

Hudson avoided a fleet of fishermen which lay off the bank; and at once made his way farther south and west. On July 12 he sighted the coast of the continent, and six days later anchored in one of the large bays on the coast of what is now the State of Maine — almost without doubt Penobscot Bay — where his crew were set to work upon repairs to the vessel. A new foremast was brought from shore to replace the one the vessel had lost at sea, and she was put into thorough order. But Hudson's stay here was cut short by an incident which, with many other things in this expedition, shows the lawless and buccaneering spirit of his crew. As the *Half Moon* lay in the bay, two shallops filled with Indians approached her, their crews looking for peaceful trade with the strangers, and such friendly intercourse as the French had everywhere encouraged. But Hudson's men met them in another temper. Manning a boat, they captured and carried off one shallop; and then, in pure wantonness, they armed two skiffs of their own with pieces which deserved their name of "murderers," and attacked and plundered the Indian village on the shore. The outrage fully warranted a quick revenge; and Hudson feared it, — for on the same afternoon the ship was dropped down to the entrance of the bay, and on the next day (July 26), she was again under sail to the southwest.

Visit to the coast of Maine.

Though within a week she went aground on what are now known as St. George's Shoals, it was ten days before her crew sighted land again; this time at the north end of the headland of Cape Cod, which Hudson, before he knew it to be Gosnold's Cape, promptly named "New Holland." Some of the men landed here, for they fancied they heard people calling from the shore, and that the voices sounded like those of "Christians;" but they came back after seeing none but savages, and the yacht again bore away to sea, passing

Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, and once more making a straight course to the southwest.

When Hudson made land again he was close by the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. Just within it he might have found his countrymen on the banks of the James, and have consulted his friend Smith about that "sea leading into the western ocean," of which the Virginian captain had written in the letter shown to Plantius. Perhaps because they were his countrymen, while he was in foreign service, he made no attempt to reach them, but sailed away to the northward, following the trend of the coast, until he

On the coast of Delaware.



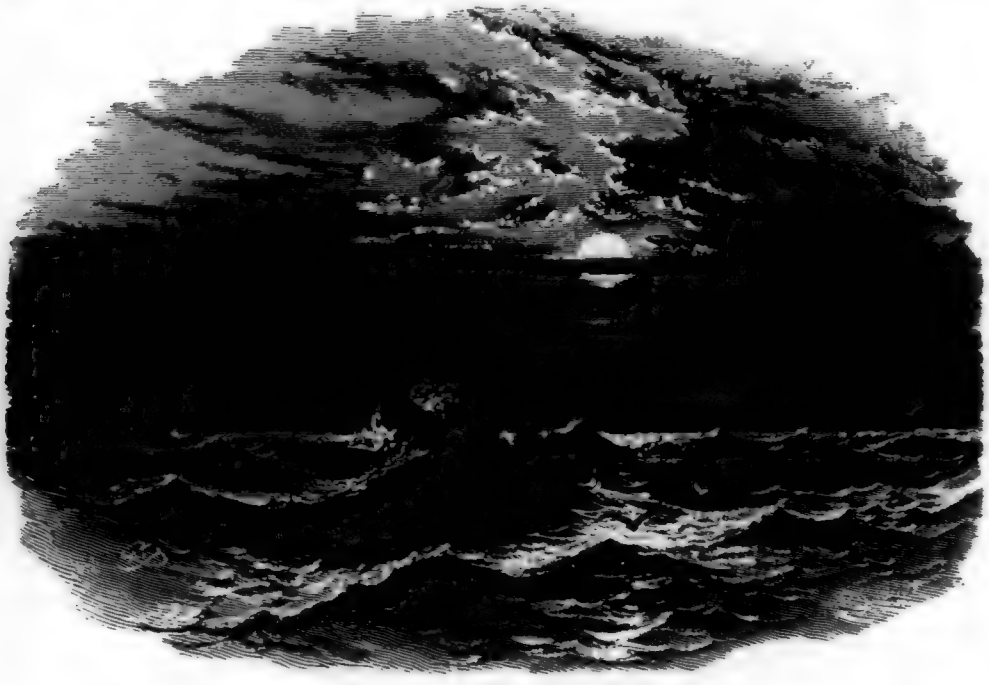
Hudson's Attack on the Indian Village.

came to the capes of the great bay which a few years later was named the Delaware. He tried to enter it, but unsuccessfully, for the *Half Moon* drew too much water for its shallow bars; so the vessel again took up her northward course, and passed along a coast that looked like "broken islands" — the now familiar sand-banks of New Jersey — until, in the evening of the second of September, the high hills of Navesinck were made to the northward, and the vessel came to anchor near a shore that was "a pleasant land to see."

The night was fair, with little wind; as morning came a thick mist settled about them, and hid the pleasant coast from the explorers;

but when it had lifted, toward noon of the 3d of September, and they had made their way along the long, curving sand-spit that extended just beyond the hills near which they had lain, they saw before them what they thought were three great rivers. The northernmost seemed to them the broadest, but they could not enter it because of the bar across its mouth; and coming back to the deeper one — the passage through which Verrazano's boats, it is supposed, had passed nearly a century before into the "most beautiful bay" — the *Half Moon* floated slowly past the sandy cape, and cast anchor, at nightfall, just within its shelter.

Enters the lower harbor of New York.



The Approach to the Narrows.

When the next morning dawned, the whole broad bay lay in view; and the explorers, little dreaming how their judgment was to be confirmed in centuries to come, decided, as they shifted their anchorage to the greater security of the "Horseshoe" further inside Sandy Hook, that it was "a very good harbour." Across it, to the north, they could see an island with low hills, beside which another great river ran out from the land; on the east the coast trended away in a long ridge; and on the west a vast curve of low, wooded shore extended from where the *Half Moon* lay to the mouth of a third river, barely in sight in the northwest. The wondering Indians crowded the beach near by; and though their own traditions represent them as alarmed and troubled at the strangers' coming, they put off in their canoes to the vessel, and seemed to the crew to welcome them with delight.

The boats, while the vessel lay at anchor, were busy in the exploration of the bay. On the 4th, a boat's crew put out to fish; and, according to an Indian tradition, landed on the long beach of Congu, or Coney Island, the first Europeans who trod the shore of the great New Netherland harbor. On the 6th, another crew rowed across the broad expanse between the vessel and the more distant island; and passing through the "river" which we now call the Narrows, explored the strait on the west side of the harbor, running between the island and the main, the "Kills" of later times. But as they came back through these, past shores which were "as pleasant with grass and flowers, and goodly trees, as ever they had seen," they were set upon by two canoe-crews of Indians, who shot a flight of arrows at them, and then made off under cover of the darkness of an approaching stormy night, leaving an Englishman, John Colman, dead in the boat, and two others wounded.

The *Half Moon*'s boat attacked by Indians.

Losing their way in the night and storm, the diminished crew only regained the vessel late in the morning of the next day. At noon they buried the dead man in the sand on the beach, and gave to Sandy Hook, in memory of him, the name of Colman's Point,— a title it did not long retain. The yacht was put in a condition of defence, for no one knew whether the attack upon the boat was not the prelude to general hostilities; but though the Indians, during the next few days, made some demonstrations that were interpreted by the crew as hostile, nothing more serious happened. Two Indian captives were kept on the vessel, the men putting red coats upon them and holding them as hostages; but there was no attack.

The *Half Moon* had spent a week in the lower bay, her crew thus exploring the shores and trading with the people, when Hudson, after several times changing his anchorage, and drawing nearer the mouth of the Narrows, decided to push on into the great river.

On the twelfth of September, an afternoon when it was very "faire and hot" along the shores of the wooded islands that lay on either side of the broad passage, his little vessel floated up with the floodtide, through the quiet strait which her discovery was to make a thoroughfare for the world. The hills of Staten Island were covered with "great and tall oaks," and "very sweet smells came from them;" and the high terminal ridge of Long Island was wooded to the water's edge. The channel probably seemed broader than we see it, for its surface and shores were unbroken, and the inner bay that lay before the explorers widened more gradually from the strait than now. At the mouth of the Kills lay projecting rocks, the present name of which is a corruption of the old title "Robyn's

The Kills of Staten Island.

Rift,"[1] that marked them as the favorite haunt of seals. The mainland on the west was bordered by a broad marsh, as now; but everywhere else the shore was covered with trees, even at the northern limit of the view, where a few little islands dotted the surface near a rounded point, beside which opened still further reaches of the great river. The stranger sailed across the great and beautiful bay, going up slowly with the tide and anchoring at night; the people crowded about her in canoes, and brought corn and tobacco, "making show of love."



Robyn's Rift.

As the yacht entered the broad mouth of the river that stretched away to the north in long still reaches over which "no Christian" had ever sailed before, it is not strange that her crew were amazed at the strong current, and began its exploration with intense curiosity as to where so vast a stream might lead them. Their progress was slow. They floated with a light wind past the long shore of Manhattan Island, then more wild and rugged than any of the scenery that lay about it, its stony hills scantily wooded, and its rough beach broken by rocky inlets. Beyond it the eastern bank grew higher, and gentle in its slope; but on the other side of the stream the rocky palisades began, overlooking the lonely river and towering above the solitary ship as though they shut out some still stranger region of the silent country into which the discoverers were following an unknown way.

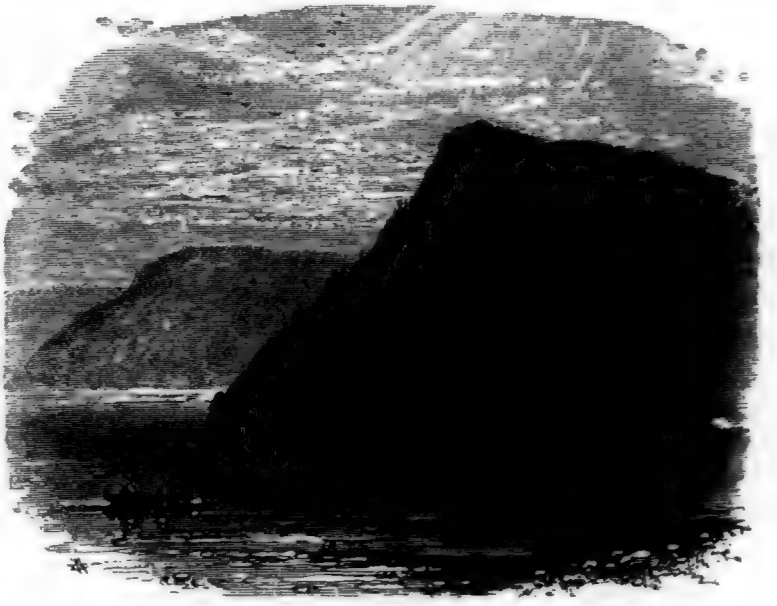
Sail up the Hudson River.

When the river broadened into the great bays above — the "Tappaan Zee" and "Haverstroo" of later New Netherland topography — the voyagers sailed more fearlessly and rapidly; the long cape or hook was passed which later Dutch sailors called Verdrietig (tedious), because it remained so long in sight; but with the quickly narrowing current beyond, the land suddenly grew high and mountainous in what seemed the very path of the vessel, and the scenery about her became darker and wilder. As she passed, just before nightfall, through the narrow gap in the mountains that had seemed to stand unbroken in her way, the lonely

The *Half-Moon* at the Highlands.

[1] Robyn's Rift — *i. e.* Seal Reef — now called Robin's Reef.

ship came into the heavy shadow of the great Donderberg, and into the stillness which always lies, even now, over the long, dark reach between the Hudson Highlands. As it grew dark, the explorers anchored near where the high promontory of West Point extends into the stream, the densely wooded mountains about it making an amphitheatre through which the river runs in the deep shadows of its sides. They were in the midst of an unbroken wilderness such as they had never seen before; and the little yacht, anchored at night, with her lights marking the one gleam of life in the silent expanse of river and forest, might well have seemed to her crew to be strangely lost and isolated in the darkness and stillness of a region unknown to civilized men.



Verdrietig Hoeck.

The morning following this first night in the Highlands was misty and still; and while the fog hid the river from view Hudson's two Indian hostages slipped out of a port and swam quietly away; but when the weather cleared, and the *Half Moon* got under way, they were seen on the shore, calling to the crew "in scorn." The yacht passed on with a fair wind among the hills; all day, indeed, she had mountains in sight; and at night anchored where the higher Catskills lie a little back from the river side. Here the crew found "very loving people, and very old men;" and lay for a day at anchor, filling their casks with water, and bartering with the Indians for their corn, pompions (pumpkins), and tobacco.

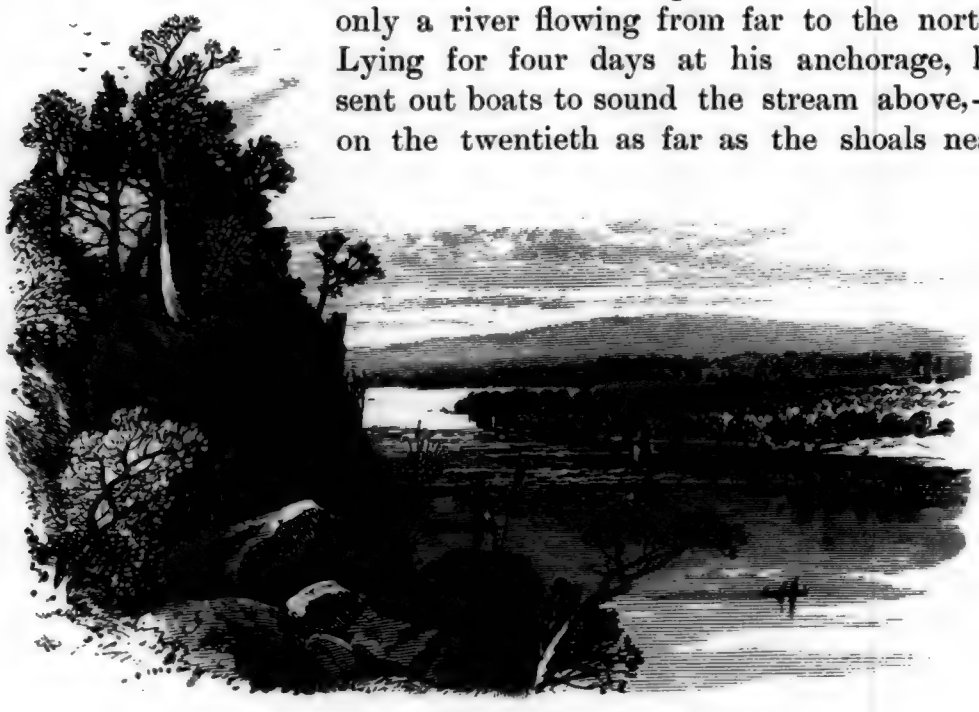
At this point the river navigation changed, the stream growing shallower and more difficult, so that in the run of the next few days the vessel sometimes grounded, but without injury, upon the soft, "ozie" shoals. The scenery changed as the banks grew lower, and fertile plains bordered the stream. On the eighteenth Hudson himself went ashore, near where the town that bears his name now stands; and visited an old chief who seemed to be a governor of the country,

and who showed him how great store of maize and other provision lay in his village, and how the young men of his tribe could "make good cheer" for their guest, killing game and feasting him royally. When the captain insisted upon returning to his ship toward the close of the day, they fancied it was from fear, and to show him that he had no cause for it, they took their arrows, broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire. But he refused to stay longer and returned on board the yacht.

Hudson entertained by the natives.

With the run of the next day the vessel reached the limit of her voyage. She lay near the present site of Albany; the water was fresh, the stream constantly growing shallower and narrower. If, when he entered it, Hudson had entertained a notion that this might be a passage to the South Sea, he must now have been persuaded that it was only a river flowing from far to the north. Lying for four days at his anchorage, he sent out boats to sound the stream above,— on the twentieth as far as the shoals near

End of the river navigation.



Limit of Hudson's Voyage.

where Troy stands, and on the twenty-second to a little distance beyond Waterford, a place where the village of Half-Moon still commemorates the farthest point of his exploration. Both boats returned with the same report, — a narrowing shallow river, flowing between low banks, over shoals impassable for the yacht; and dwindling as they passed up it, so that there seemed to be no hope of greater depth beyond.[1]

[1] The precise point reached by Hudson has always been a matter of some dispute, for a very little study shows that the measurements of "leagues" given in Juet's Journal are not to be relied upon. De Laet says Hudson reached lat. 43°, which would be about twenty-five miles above Albany, and fifteen above Waterford. *A Collection of Dutch East India Voyages*, a work cited by Moulton in Yates' and Moulton's *History of New York*, vol. i., part

The captain, who had not been idle while his boats were thus engaged, now put his vessel about, and prepared for the return to the river's mouth. While he lay in the stream, his men putting the spars in order, or trading as before with the always friendly natives for otter skins and fruits, he had entertained the chief men of the country at a feast, the story of which lingered for two hundred years in their traditions.[1]

A drunken Indian.

It was here, where Hudson gave the chiefs "much wine and *aqua vitæ*," that the northern Indians first saw a drunken man; and "they did not know how to take it," thinking him bewitched, and bringing charms ("stripes of beads"), to save him from the strangers' arts. But when the old chief promptly recovered on the next day, after "sleeping all night quietly," and professed himself much delighted with the experience, they held the whites in high honor, and made Hudson "an oration;" and as the *Half Moon* sailed away down the river, between the pleasant banks of the reach below, they followed with friendly farewells, and hearty regrets at their guests' departure.

Return down the river.

For two days of her downward voyage, the yacht made such slow progress as the troublesome navigation and frequent shoals permitted; but on the third, a stiff gale blew from the south, and for two days more she lay at anchor, while the crew brought wood, nuts, and fruit from the shore. They were but a few miles from the place where they "had first found loving people"; and canoes came up from the friendly village, bringing the old chief who had so amazed his companions at the revel a few days before,

1, p. 248, note, says he went to 42° 40′, but gives no indication as to whether it means that the *Half Moon* reached this point, or only the boat. Lambrechtsen (*Beschryving*, etc., quoted by Moulton and others) agrees with De Laet. Mr. George Folsom, in editing Juet's Journal (extracts) in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., says: "the boat probably reached Castle Island (now called Patroon's Island, just below Albany);" and he does not believe the ship approached Albany at all. Brodhead (*Hist. State N. Y.*, vol. i., p. 31) thinks the boat went "probably to some distance above Waterford," on the 22d. In the text, we have adopted, after a careful comparison, the theory of Yates and Moulton. Their account nearly agrees with De Laet, who had Hudson's journal before him, with Lambrechtsen, and with Juet's descriptions.

[1] A tradition of the first coming of the whites, in which this scene had special prominence, existed among the Iroquois or Six Nations, nearly two centuries afterward. A similar tradition current among the Delawares (especially the Mohican branch) was carefully recorded about 1760 by the Reverend John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary among the Pennsylvania Indians. In 1801 he gave his account of it to Dr. Miller, who placed the MS. in the library of the New York Historical Society. This paper, which purports to give the tradition verbatim as it came from the lips of "aged and respected Delawares, Monseys, and Mahicanni," is quoted at length by Brodhead, in note A of his appendix to *Hist. State of N. Y.*, vol. i.; also by Yates and Moulton, i. 1, p. 252. See also Dr. Miller's address in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., p. 35; and pp. 71, 73; *Hist. and Lit. Transactions of the Am. Philo. Soc.*, vol. i. (Philadelphia, 1819). Singularly enough it places the scene of the revel on Manhattan Island.

and who again received Hudson's hospitality, though it is not recorded that he repeated his experience of *aqua vitæ*. He brought a friend with him, and women, who behaved themselves with modesty; and as he went away he made signs that the crew should come to his village, to be feasted in their turn. But with the next morning a fair wind came; and leaving the old man "very sorrowful," the *Half Moon* sailed away down the stream, only delaying awhile in the bay now overlooked by Newburg, before she again made her way among the points and eddy winds of the Highlands.

The old man's regrets at his white friends' departure would probably have been less keen, if he could have foreseen that before many days were over, they were to commit an act of very foolish and wanton cruelty against some of his fellow-Indians. As the vessel anchored at the mouth of Haverstraw Bay, at noon of the first of October, the day of her passage through the kills, the "people of the mountains" came flocking aboard her as before. But among them, wondering at the ship and weapons, was one savage of thievish propensities, who took the opportunity to climb by the rudder into a cabin window, and steal therefrom "a pillow, and two shirts, and two bandeleers."[1] As he was making off with this trifling booty, he was seen by the mate, who forthwith shot him in the breast and killed him; and then, all the rough brutality of the crew being aroused, the boats were manned, a general pursuit began, and another Indian, who tried to seize one of the boats as he swam, shared the fate of his fellow.

A thievish Indian.

This was the first interruption of the harmony between the Indians and whites since the death of Colman; but it was to be followed by more serious trouble. The next day, as the yacht reached Manhattan, one of the two savages who had been prisoners on her and escaped, appeared with many followers, approaching with evidently hostile intent. When they were not suffered to come alongside, they called to their aid two canoes filled with armed men, who ran under the stern of the vessel and shot a flight of arrows at her, but without doing harm. The crew replied by a half dozen musket-shots, two or three of which took effect, and drove the savages to shore. But more than a hundred now gathered near the upper end of Manhattan Island, where, when scattered by shot from a falcon on the yacht, some of them manned still another canoe, and were only driven off after severe execution had been done among them. The *Half Moon* withdrew across the river, and anchored under the high bank at Hoboken, passing a stormy night and day under its shelter, but receiving no further attack. She had again reached the mouth

Affray with the savages.

[1] A bandeleer, meaning a short sword or cutlass.

of the great river which she had been the first vessel to ascend; her disorderly crew were little inclined for any fresh adventures; and disputes, which continued even after she set sail, had begun, as to her next destination. As she again weighed anchor and sailed across the upper bay, whose shores may have begun already to show the bright colors of autumn foliage, officers and crew wrangled over their plans for the future. The Dutch mate desired to winter in Newfoundland, and explore Davis' Straits during the next spring; the crew "threatened savagely" if they were not taken back to Europe; and Hudson feared their violence, and wished besides to carry the news of his discoveries at once to Holland. It was not until the yacht had passed through the Kills on her outward route, and had dropped below Sandy Hook, that a compromise was at last effected. It was decided to make first of all for the British Islands, and two days later they were well out at sea upon an eastern course. The voyage was prosperous; and on the seventh of November the ship lay safely in Dartmouth Harbor, her turbulent sailors contented for the time, and her master sending his report to the Amsterdam directors of the Dutch East India Company.

Hudson's return. November, 1609.

Hudson had of course intended to go in person to his employers, as soon as he should reach a European port; but he was not permitted to do so. In spite of the frequency with which, at that period, men entered foreign service, the obligations of nationality were arbitrarily enforced when any advantage was to be gained thereby; and the English government saw that they had let a man of too great ability enter the employ of their energetic neighbors. When the news of the *Half Moon's* arrival was received in London an order was issued forbidding her captain to leave the country. and reminding him and the Englishmen on his vessel that they owed their services to their own nation. Hudson entered again the employ of the Muscovy Company, to whose efforts his success seems to have given new energy; and in the spring of 1610 he sailed on his last and fatal voyage to the northwest, to be abandoned by his brutal crew among the ice-fields of the great and desolate bay which bears his name and was the last of his discoveries. The *Half Moon* was detained for months at Dartmouth, and was only permitted to return to Amsterdam in July of the year of her captain's departure.

His detention in England.

Hudson's discovery was received in the Netherlands in a way characteristic of the people. It had opened to the government of the States General a broad and fertile territory, untouched before by any European nation, and undoubtedly their own by right of first occupation; yet this seems to have been only a secondary consideration in their minds. Territorial increase seemed

Indifference of the Dutch to their American discoveries.

at first sight a comparatively unimportant matter; the first thought of government and people was the commercial value of the new region. For several years the States did little in the matter but to give official information about the situation of the new river and the course necessary to reach it, formal inquiries on these subjects having reached them from the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Enckhuysen, and Hoorn. They did not in set terms affirm their right to the discovered territory, extend its boundaries indefinitely, as England, France, and Spain had done in similar cases, or make grants to encourage colonization — an idea which does not seem even to have occurred to them until very much later. This was not the course of the government alone; the East India Company itself did nothing farther with regard to the west. The short passage to Cathay was still the absorbing scheme with its directors; another unsuccessful expedition was soon to be sent to the northeast, urged by the indefatigable Plantius. The discovery of the "Great River of the Mountains" by Hudson did not seem to them a compensation for his failure to find a Northeast passage.

Beginning of the fur trade.

While these stood aloof, however, private enterprise, as so often before in Holland, stepped in to seize the advantages of the new region. No sooner had the *Half Moon* come back to Amsterdam, than a few shrewd merchants of the city, who saw the advantage of buying costly furs for trifles from ignorant and friendly savages, engaged a part of her crew to guide a vessel of their own to the great bay and river, and bring her back laden with good peltries. The venture was highly successful; and a trade quickly sprang up, that constantly attracted new vessels and fresh competition, and grew quietly but steadily till it held a high place in Netherland commerce, and furnished a new channel for the private capital now set free from the dangers and disturbances of the long Spanish war.

Dutch trading boats in the Hudson.

Thus the three years following the return of Hudson's expedition saw the lonely "River of the Mountains" traversed by the little round-prowed vessels of the Dutch, with their crews of eager traders, making their slow way up or down the stream from one Indian village to another; or lying at anchor in the sheltered bays, while canoes laden with skins thronged about them, and the savages flocked aboard for the beads and knives and hatchets which they took in payment. Manhattan Island, though only a fort and one or two small buildings had been erected upon it — perhaps not even these till 1613 — had become the chief station for the collection of the peltries and their shipment to home ports; and an unsuccessful attempt even had been made to keep European goats and rabbits there

for the traders' use.[1] The river began to be called Mauritius, after the Stadtholder Maurice of Orange. Not only its waters, but the bays of the present New Jersey, and the coast as far south as Delaware Bay, were embraced in the territory of the Dutch fur-trade; and the energetic Netherland seamen began to push out right and left from their new station, and to add fresh discoveries to their scanty knowledge of the neighboring shores.

First trading post built.

Foremost in these enterprises were Hendrick Christaensen, Adriaen Block, and Cornelis Jacobsen May, three Dutch captains, who, by the end of the four years following Hudson's voyage, had grown most familiar with the new region, and had engaged their ships most successfully in its trade. Christaensen, who by that time had made ten voyages to the river, built the first great trading post upon it, in 1614, — Fort Nassau, on Castle Island, close by Albany, — and was appointed its commander. Block spent the winter of 1613–14 on Manhattan Island, in building a yacht of sixteen tons, the *Onrust* (*Restless*), to take the place of his ship, the *Tiger*, which had accidentally been burned. In the spring he sailed eastward, passing through the rapids of Hell-Gate in the East River, explored Long Island Sound from end to end, discovered and entered the Quonehtacut, or Connecticut River, and made his way up the New England coast as far as what he called Pye Bay, — now the bay of Nahant, — which he called "the limit of New Netherland." He visited the shores of Narragansett Bay, and saw within it that "Roode" or "Red" island from which the modern State of Rhode Island derives its name.

Exploring voyage of Adriaen Block.



Nahant.

[1] Wassenaar's *Historische Verhael*, vol. ix., p. 44, quoted by Brodhead, vol. i., p. 47. Captain Argall is said, on doubtful authority, to have visited Manhattan Island, on his return from Port Royal, and to have found four or five houses there.

Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket the Dutch named Texel and Vieland; the waters surrounding them the Zuyder Zee; the island which still bears Block's name, northeast of Montauk Point, they called "Visscher's Hoeck." Meeting Hendrick Christaensen's ship, the *Fortune*, which had been sent to Cape Cod Bay perhaps to take him on board, Block transferred the *Restless* to another skipper, Cornelis Hendricksen, and sailed in the other vessel to Holland, adding his report to the list of explorations which revealed the extent and wealth of the new country.



Block Island.

May had seen "Visscher's Hoeck" even before Block, and had visited the coast of Martha's Vineyard. But his name is perpetuated farther south, in the Cape May of Southern New Jersey; though New York bay was for many years called, in his honor, Port May.

It was now four years since Henry Hudson's crew had returned to Amsterdam, and the trade with the Mauritius River had aroused so brisk a competition as to alarm the few merchants who had been the first to engage in it. With the spirit of an age when the right of monopoly was firmly believed in and looked upon as the protection of commerce, they had already urged upon the States General the passage of an ordinance to protect them from those who were interfering with a traffic which, as they believed, belonged only to them. They had succeeded so far as to secure (March 20, 1614) a decree in general terms, by which any discoverers of "new passages, havens, lands, or places," should have "the exclusive right of navigating to the same for four voyages," provided they reported their discoveries within fourteen days after their return to Holland. But the passage of this act was only a preliminary step. With Block's return in September they began to press for a special charter; and provided with a carefully-drawn "figurative map" of the new country, they appeared before the assembly of the States, detailed to that body the merits of their work, the great risk, expense, and effort to which they had been put, and asked to be protected. Under the conditions of the ordinance of March, with the terms of which they had complied, and which had, indeed, been the spur of Block and

the rest in their discoveries, there could be no hesitation; and their charter was granted on the 11th of October, — a charter in which the name "New Netherland" was first officially applied to the American region "between New France and Virginia, being the seacoasts between 40° and 45°." The New Netherland Company were given the monopoly of the trade for three years from January 1, 1615, and no other Dutch citizens were to be permitted to "frequent or navigate" those "newly-discovered lands, havens, or places," "on penalty of the confiscation of the vessel and cargo, besides a fine of fifty thousand Netherlands ducats."

New Netherland Charter granted to the Dutch traders. 1614.

The prescribed three years passed quietly and prosperously away, every trading voyage of the company bringing in enormous profits to the Amsterdam proprietors; while in the great region now laid open to their enterprise, new explorations were undertaken and new resources opened. It was a development of trade, rather than of the country, however; for the New Netherland Company had no interest in the future of a territory in which they held so short-lived a title; they had no motive to colonize it or test its agricultural capacities; their aim was naturally to get from it all the gain they could in the little time given them, and leave to others the uncertain experiments which might come after. If this system had its evils, it had also its benefits. It led to constant search for new trading grounds, and thus brought about a more thorough knowledge of the geography of the neighboring region than settled colonists might have gained in many years. It kept up constant communication with Europe, so important to a distant settlement. Best of all, it established friendly relations with the Indians wherever the traders met them; and these, though often one-sided, were founded on mutual interest, and differed entirely from the enmity and fear which were usually the immediate result of any intercourse, however brief, between Europeans and Indians.

Aims and accomplishment of the Netherland Company

Even the murder of Hendrick Christaensen, by one of two Indians whom he had long before taken on a voyage to Holland, but had restored safely to their homes, did not change the friendly attitude of the whites, though they promptly punished the murderer. Just before Christaensen's death he had finished the trading-house and defences at Fort Nassau, and in the directorship of this he was succeeded by Jacob Eelkens, who had been a clerk in Amsterdam, and who, though wanting the adventurous spirit of his predecessor, was an excellent commercial agent. As the three years of the company's monopoly went on, he sent constantly increasing stores of furs down the great river to Manhattan; his scouts made long ex-

The Company's directors in New Netherlands.

peditions into the vast forests to the westward, to barter with new tribes, and find new kinds of skins; and unknown regions were roughly mapped out for the guidance of future traders.

Dutch made prisoners by the Indians.

In one of these expeditions, a party of three scouts, who had penetrated farther into the interior than any before them, seem to have reached the upper waters of the Delaware, and to have descended the stream to the mouth of the Schuylkill. Here they were seized by the Indian tribes of that neighborhood, and held as prisoners, though without suffering any harm at the hands of



Upper Waters of the Delaware.

their captors. Their situation gave rise, in turn, to new explorations, which it would have seemed natural to undertake long before, but which had been neglected. For when the traders at Manhattan heard of the detention of three of their fellows, and studied out the probable position of those who had taken them, they at once despatched Cornelis Hendricksen in the yacht *Restless* along the coast to the southward, that he might go up the rivers from the great bay into which they were supposed to flow, and ransom the prisoners.

They explore Delaware River.

Hendricksen thoroughly explored the shores of Delaware Bay and river, and brought back, besides the three scouts, the most glowing acounts of the river banks covered with grape-vines and abounding in game; and of the trade for seal-skins, which he had opened with the natives. His explorations completed the survey of the whole coast that nominally belonged to New Neth-

erland; for he had been as far south as the cape he named Hinlopen, or Inloopen, either after a worthy Amsterdam merchant, or, as some contend, because it seemed to vanish as the ship drew near. The Amsterdam directors even founded, upon the discovery of these new "havens, lands, and places," a claim for a new special charter; but the States General feared to encroach upon the boundaries of Virginia, and refused the petition, though Hendricksen had been sent home to aid it by plans and arguments.

In the early summer of 1617, Jacob Eelkens removed the Company's trading-post from Castle Island, where it was exposed to disastrous freshets every spring, to the west bank of the river at the mouth of the little stream called Tawasentha by the natives; and here, a little later, he concluded the first formal treaty of friendship with the Indians. But besides these two events, nothing noteworthy marked the last year and a half of the prosperous New Netherland monopoly; on the first of January, 1618, its charter expired by its own limitation, and all petitions for a renewal were refused. Those who had held privileges under it, still continued for several years to enjoy their advantages almost without much trouble from competition; but before the law their exclusive rights had ended. A more powerful company than they had ever proposed was soon to succeed to all their privileges, and to add to them the functions of the founders and virtual rulers of a new state, where the Amsterdam merchants had only sought the immediate profits of a trade.

Expiration of the first New Netherland charter 1618.



Trading Scouts.

The greatness of the new country's resources had made itself felt in Holland; and the need of some more comprehensive and direct action, such as other nations were taking in regard to their American territories, was now appreciated. In the characteristic spirit of the Netherlands, this action took a commercial direction almost as a matter of course. The requests of small bodies of merchants were refused, it is true; the owners of a new ship (which, under May's command, had gone as far south as Chesapeake Bay), fared as ill, when they petitioned for a charter, as the Netherland Company had before them.

But it was on commercial grounds, nevertheless, that the American possessions were to be dealt with; and whatever power and riches they were to bring to the state were to come by the hands of a great trading corporation.

West India Company incorporated. 1621.

In 1621, the year in which the twelve years' truce with Spain expired, the great West India Company, so often suggested before, and so long debated and postponed, was chartered by the States General of the Netherlands, with powers scarcely less than those of its fellow monopoly in the East. Its patent, with that assumption of authority which belonged to the great monopolies of the time, forbade any and all inhabitants of the United Netherlands, for twenty-two years after the first of July, 1621, to sail to the coasts of Africa between the tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope, or to those of America between the banks of Newfoundland and the Straits of Magellan except in the service of the West India Company. In the Dutch territory in America its power was practically absolute. It could make treaties, appoint governing officers from the highest to the lowest; build and garrison forts; administer justice; exercise, in fact, all the functions of a government, and was only responsible to the States General for its acts as shown through its own reports. Its central board of nineteen delegates, drawn from its five chambers of directors in Amsterdam, Middleburg, Dordrecht, North Holland, Friesland and Groningen, together with a representative of the States General, sat at their council-board at home, and ruled a territory immeasurably greater than their little state built upon the marshes; a small army of officials and a considerable merchant fleet carried out their orders; thirty-two vessels of war and eighteen armed yachts were at their service in case they needed defence.[1]

The Company takes possession of its domains. 1622.

It was to the Amsterdam chamber of this powerful corporation, that the affairs of all the region of New Netherland were given in charge; and, by the authority of their patent, the West India Company formally "took possession" of the country in the spring of 1622. The enterprise of private traders had not been discontinued in the mean time; for the fur trade had been so vigorously prosecuted along the coasts to the south and east of Manhattan, and even in the bays near which the new English colony of Plymouth had been founded, that Sir Dudley Carleton, King James's Ambassador at the Hague, had entered a protest against the encroachment. But this remonstrance went through a process which would now be called "stifled in committee"; for it

[1] Sixteen war vessels and four yachts provided by the States General under the terms of the charter; sixteen vessels, and fourteen yachts by themselves. For the charter in full see O'Callaghan, vol. i., Appendix A.

was referred first to one branch of the Netherland government and then to another, each professing ignorance of any actual Dutch establishment in America, until at last the subject was fairly forgotten. At all events, it was not permitted to interfere with the West India Company's plans; these went steadily on, and now took such shape as for the first time promised the new territory a permanent population, and began to change it from being the resort of transient traders to the site of settled and lasting colonies.

In the spring of 1623, when the Company had at last completed all their arrangements, closed their subscription books, and fully organized their official staff, that clause of their charter which prescribed that "they must advance the peopling of those fruitful and unsettled parts," received its first practical attention. Early in March the ship *New Netherland* sailed from Holland, and carried as her passengers, not only many of the company's officers and servants, but also the first colonists, in the true meaning of the word, who were to make their homes in the new country, and be the earliest tillers of its soil. Like the first settlers of New England, these "Walloons" had been driven from their homes by religious persecution, but it had been of a fiercer and more relentless kind than any that the English Puritans had been made to feel. Their name, in which the root of the old Dutch "Waalsche" and the German "Welschen" appears, indicated their French origin; but they had lived for generations in those southern Netherland provinces which had not joined the great revolt against Spain, and whose population was chiefly Roman Catholic. In Hainault and Luxembourg, Namur and Limburg, they had formed a class sharply distinct from the mass of the people. Speaking French that was even then quaint and old in its forms, and professing the reformed religion, they were a marked race, out of place among the Flemish subjects of Philip; and the savage persecution of the Spaniards had been exercised against them with a force that was driving great numbers of them into the freer Netherlands. Here they generally settled, seeking, by industry and their remarkable skill as mechanics, to replace the property they had lost; but many of them longed for a country they could call their own, and the sense of permanence and security which that alone could give.

Emigration of the Walloons. 1623.

It was a company of these thrifty people who now ventured to the New World. They had already applied through Sir Dudley Carleton to King James and the Virginia Company for permission to emigrate to Virginia; but only unsatisfactory conditions were offered them. The West India directors, hearing of their application, wisely seized upon the opportunity, and made them tempting offers,

which they accepted. Thus they sailed on the *New Netherland*, under the command of the Company's first regularly appointed director, the old Captain Cornelis Jacobsen May; and, the ship passing up the Mauritius or North river as far as where the fort had been on Castle Island, they were landed there on the west bank, and set to work with all the industry of men whose welfare depended on their own hands. When the yacht *Mackarel*, which had been sent out the year before to take possession, returned to Holland, she reported that the colonists' corn was "nearly as high as a man"; and around the large and strong "Fort Orange," which they had thrown up on their first arrival, a village of huts of bark was already clustered, where the sturdy Walloon families were living, and already carrying on a brisk traffic with the Indians, whom they described as "quiet as lambs."[1]

They settle on the site of Albany.



First Settlement at Albany.

Not all the Walloons, however, and by no means all of the *New Netherland's* passengers, established themselves at Fort Orange. About eighteen families settled there; but several others had, on the way, been sent from Manhattan to the South (Delaware) River, and still others to the mouth of the Connecticut or Fresh River, and to the western end of Long Island at Waal-bogt, or Walloon's Bay — now known by the English corruption, Wallabout. Eight men, too, were left at Manhattan Island, to form a trading establishment for the Company. On the South River, the settlers built a fort, which was finished a year after their arrival; and from its site, northward and eastward, all along the coast to Narragansett Bay, the Dutch now traded peacefully, their settlements growing in prosperity and their traffic in profits; so that Adriaen Joris, who had come out as second in command of the *New Netherland*, was able to report, when he returned home in December, 1624, that everything was going on favorably wherever the colonists had founded their homes.

The post on Manhattan Island.

[1] D. D. Barnard (Address before Albany Institute, 1839), says the site of the settlement is now occupied by the business part of Albany. At the time of the address the "Fort Orange Hotel," an old mansion-house, afterward destroyed by fire in 1847, stood on the ground once occupied by the fort. Compare Brodhead, vol. i., p. 152, note.

Three governors in turn administered the affairs of the growing colony during this early period of quiet prosperity: May, as has been said, during 1624; William Verhult in 1625; and Peter Minuit after the fourth of May, 1626. But it was only with the arrival of the last that the different settlements were properly united under a single government. It was Minuit who first made Manhattan politically what in spite of neglect it had long been naturally, the chief place of New Netherland. Acquiring a firmer title than that of discovery, by buying the whole island from the Indians for "the value of sixty guilders," [1] he established himself there with his "Schout" or high sheriff, his "Opper Koopman" or secretary and commissary, and his council of five members, and began to rule with a wisely directed energy.

First governors of New Netherland.

His plans with regard to Manhattan were soon aided, though at the temporary cost of the other settlement at Fort Orange, by an act of the greatest folly on the part of Krieckebeeck, a commissioner who now commanded at the latter place, Eelkens having long before been superseded for misconduct toward the Indians, and Barentsen, his successor in the fur trade, only acting as second in actual control of the fort. Krieckebeeck allowed himself to be persuaded by the Mohican Indians to act as their allies against the Mohawks; and going out with them upon the war-path, was killed, with several of his people, in a sudden attack made by the enemy. Any farther bad results of his action were, it is true, prevented by his deputy, Barentsen, who was a favorite with the Indians everywhere; but nevertheless Minuit thought it best to withdraw the colonists from Fort Orange to Manhattan, leaving only a small garrison. About the same time, the settlers on the South River left it and joined the main colony; so that from this time all the chief interests of New Netherland were permanently centred in that spot.

Removal of the colony to Manhattan.

In material improvements the island had for several years little to boast of. Rude dwellings of wood and bark, clustered along the bank of the North River near the southern extremity of the land, furnished temporary homes for the colonists. A thatched stone building, more lasting and pretentious, formed the Company's business quarters; while on the point itself a large quadrangular stone fort, Fort Amsterdam, was begun, within whose shelter permanent houses were to be built later.

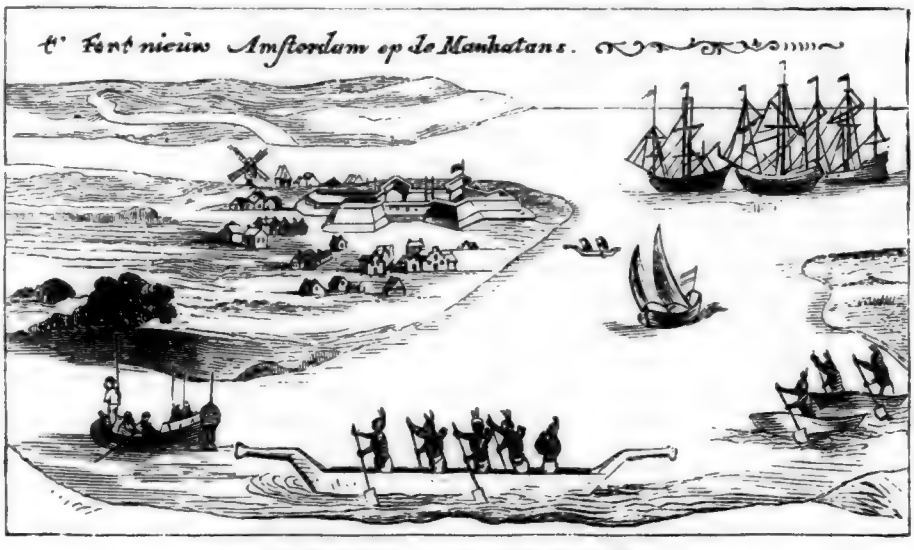
Building of Fort Amsterdam.

But these beginnings, though rude, were vigorously pushed forward by the busy settlers; while from the headquarters thus at last established where nature seemed to have made a perfect site, the West India Company's yachts carried their rich cargoes back to Holland, or

[1] About twenty-four dollars, gold.

followed their fast increasing trade along the coast to the south, or to the east as far as Buzzard's Bay. A friendly letter was written to the English colony at Plymouth; and the New Netherland government made its first essay in diplomacy in sending its secretary as a formal ambassador to the Puritan Governor Bradford, with whom he exchanged congratulations, though the New Englander stood somewhat stiffly upon his rights under the patent of King James, and argued, though courteously, that the Dutch had no right to the land which they occupied. Later, the matter even threatened to take the form of a more serious dispute; but the powers at home were still too closely allied to have their colonies at war, and instead of conflict, trade was promoted between Manhattan and Plym-

Increase of New Netherland trade.



Earliest Picture of New Amsterdam.

outh, whereby the latter obtained "linen and stuffs" and excellent wampum, which was used again in buying from the Indians.

In 1628 the Island of Manhattan had a population of two hundred and seventy colonists. The profits of the West India Company's fur trade had more than doubled since the establishment of the settlement; but the agriculture of the new region was not yet far enough advanced to support the people unaided, and supplies were still sent out from Holland by every vessel. Mills were built, and there were manufactories of brick and lime, so that the completion of Fort Amsterdam, with its stone facing, was greatly hastened, and better houses began to appear about it; but the great trouble in the way of the colony's further advance seemed to be a lack of organized labor. Private effort had done its utmost when it provided shelter and food enough to eke out the stores the Company furnished; and for a little time there seemed danger that the

Manhattan in 1628.

New Netherland experiment would come to an end for want of a class with large interests, apart from trade, in the soil itself, and the systematized and disciplined labor that such a class would be sure to foster. Though not a violent or sudden one, it was nevertheless in some sense a crisis in the colony's affairs; and it was met by the vigilant directors with a measure of relief which was perhaps illiberal and certainly short-sighted, but which at first appeared to attain its end, while it was far from inconsistent with the spirit of the time in which it was adopted.

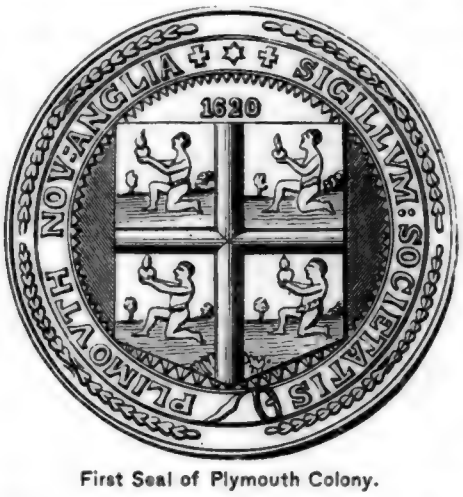
CHAPTER XIV.

THE FATHERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

THE PURITANS UNDER JAMES I. — SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE ENGLISH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. — THE SEPARATISTS OF NORTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. — BREWSTER AND THE EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE AT SCROOBY. — PERSECUTION OF THE PURITANS. — THEIR ATTEMPTS TO ESCAPE FROM ENGLAND. — LONG EXILE IN HOLLAND. — MOTIVES FOR A PROPOSED REMOVAL TO AMERICA. — PETITION TO KING JAMES. — NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DUTCH. — EMBARKATION OF THE PILGRIMS AT DELFT-HAVEN. — FINAL DEPARTURE OF THE "MAY FLOWER" FROM ENGLAND. — ARRIVAL AT CAPE COD. — FORM OF GOVERNMENT ADOPTED. — EXPLORATIONS ALONG THE COAST. — SITE FOR A COLONY SELECTED. — CONFUSION OF FACTS AND DATES AS TO THE LANDING AT PLYMOUTH. — THE FIRST WINTER. — SUFFERINGS AND DEATHS.

The lessons of exile.

THE moral, political, and, in some sense, the material training which the colonists on the James River, in Virginia, were twelve years in acquiring, as a necessary preparation for future success, the Pilgrims were, during the same period, subjected to in Holland. "We are well weaned," said the pastor, Robinson, after nine years of exile, "from the delicate milk of our mother countrie, and enured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land." Poverty in Amsterdam and Leyden was not, indeed, quite so irremediable as in the American wilderness, but the lesson it taught did not greatly differ in either place. As exiles in strange lands with no dependence but upon themselves, the necessity of self-denial and self-reliance for the sake of self-preservation would grow alike in both places; in the circumstances of both was the same stimulus to the most active use of all the powers of mind and body; isolation, whether from absolute solitude, or from being surrounded by an alien people, would produce the same sense of mutual interest, of the necessity of mutual help, and of a mutual regard for each other's rights, which is the only sure foundation for political self-government.



First Seal of Plymouth Colony.

While, however, this preparatory education of events was thus, in some measure, the same for the founders of the first two English colonies on the American coast, the Pilgrims had this great advantage over their countrymen in Virginia, — that a bond of unity in deep-seated religious convictions was strengthened by a brotherhood of social relations growing out of the peculiar circumstances of their flight from their native land.

The accession of James I. to the throne of England did not bring, as they hoped it would, relief to those devout and devoted believers, who, through the preceding reign, had contended for religious freedom. From the time of Mary, "the one side laboured," says Bradford, "to have the right worship of God and discipline of Christ established in the Church, according to the simplicitie of the Gospell, without the admixture of men's inventions, and to have, and to be ruled by, the laws of God's word dispensed in those offices, and by those officers of Pastors, Teachers, and Elders, etc., according to the Scripturs. The other partie, though under many colours and pretences, endevored to have the episcopall dignitie (after the popish mañer) with their large power and jurisdiction still retained; with all those courts, cannons, and ceremonies, together with all such livings, revenues, and subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly upheld their antichristian greatnes, and enabled them with lordly and tyranous power to persecute the poore servants of God."[1] In this succinct statement is the very pith of the matter in that religious controversy which followed the Reformation; and one of its important results, hardly noticed, and almost unknown at the time, was, that it banished, early in the seventeenth century, a ship-load of yeomen from England.

The issue between the Church and the Separatists.

At a conference held in 1603, to consider the grievances of this class of his subjects, James I. boasted, in a letter to a friend in Scotland, that he had "kept such a revel with the Puritans these two days, as was never heard the like; where I have peppered them so soundly as ye have done the Papists."[2] There was nothing to be hoped from this son of a mother who had been led to the block for her adherence to the ancient faith, as well as for her crimes against the state. It was equally amusing to James to "pepper" Puritans in public debate, and to remember that Catholics had lost their heads for their devotion to the religion in which they believed.

There were many of these persecuted dissenters throughout the

[1] *History of Plymouth Plantation*, by William Bradford, the Second Governor of The Colony.

[2] Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, App. No. 46. Quoted in Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. ii., p. 130.

Kingdom, sometimes gathered into societies of their own, especially in London; sometimes bearing alone a silent but painful testimony against the undoubted immoralities connived at in the church, and the vain ordinances — as they deemed them — which they were called upon to share in and to sanction. But in no rural district were they so numerous or so well organized as in that part of England where the borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire met. More than one earnest preacher in that neighborhood had called and held together by his eloquence and zeal a little knot of followers as firm in the faith as he, and ready to follow whithersoever his higher light should lead.



View of Scrooby Village.

The village of Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire.

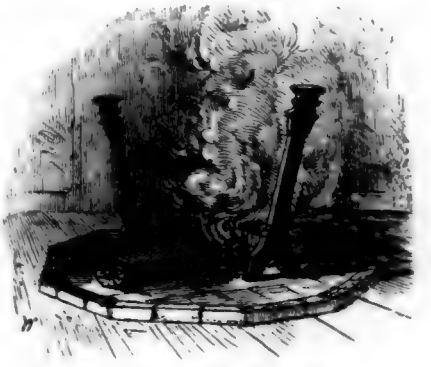
In North Nottinghamshire, in the Hundred of Basset-Lawe, is the village of Scrooby. Though little more than a hamlet, it was of some importance three hundred years ago, as a post-town on the great road from London to Scotland, and as containing a manor place belonging to the Archbishop of York, then the Archbishop Sandys, one of whose sons was that Edwin Sandys who, in 1618, was made Treasurer of the Virginia Company in London. There were historical associations connected with the archbishop's residence at Scrooby other than those for which the descendants of the "Pilgrim Fathers" may cherish its memory, and which even now are not without some interest. Here Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Henry VII., slept for a night, on the way to her own kingdom, in 1503; here, also, Henry VIII. passed a night on a northern progress in 1541; and in this manor-house Cardinal Wolsey lived some weeks after his fall, ministering to the poor in

deeds of charity, saying mass on Sundays, and distributing alms in meat, and drink, and money.[1]

This house of the archbishop was the one great house of Scrooby, for the people of the neighborhood were, for the most part, plain yeomen, who followed what Bradford, the Plymouth Governor, called the innocent trade of husbandry. In the method and manners of their lives there was no very essential difference, except that they had enough to eat and wear, from that way of life which fell to the lot of some of them in an American wilderness.

Social condition of English common people of that period.

For the habits of the common people of England at that period were exceedingly simple, and in some respects almost primitive. Only where wood was plentiful were their houses well and solidly built of timber; elsewhere they were mere frames filled in with clay. The walls of the rich only, who could afford such a luxury, were covered with hangings to keep out the dampness, and even plastered walls were uncommon. The floors of these houses were of clay, and covered, if covered at all, with rushes. Chimneys had come into use in the sixteenth century, though it was common long after to have a hole in the roof for the escape of smoke, as is done in Indian wigwams. The windows were not glazed, for that was a luxury so costly that even noblemen when they left their country-houses to go to Court, had their glass-windows packed away with other precious furniture for safe-keeping. In the houses of the common people there was no better protection from the weather than panes of oiled paper.[2] A pallet of straw, with a rough mat for covering, and a log for a pillow, was deemed a good bed. The food of the people was chiefly flesh, for gardening was an art confined to the very rich, for ornamental purposes, and few vegetables were cultivated. Even agriculture was in a rude state; the draining of land was almost unknown, and fever and ague consequently the common disease. A clumsy wooden plough, a wooden fork, a spade, hoe, and flail were the only agricultural implements. The bread was the coarser kind of black bread made of the unbolted flour of oats, barley, or rye, and in times of scarcity this was mixed with ground



Fire-place in 16th Century.

[1] See *The Founders of New Plymouth*, by Rev. Joseph Hunter. London, 1854. Also Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*.

[2] Winslow wrote home from Plymouth, in the early days of the colony, to those about to emigrate: "Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows."

acorns. Table-forks were unknown; the spoons and platters, where there were any, were of wood; with the use of a knife, the fingers, and a common dish, the civilities of the table were generally dispensed with.

The English yeoman.

The yeomen, who lived in this rude fashion, were not called Sir or Master, as gentlemen and knights were, but plain John or Thomas. Yet they were the "settled or staid men" — from the Saxon Zeoman — the great middle class of England, the firm foundation on which the state rested; and in "foughten fields" the king remained among his yeomanry, or footmen, for on them he relied as his chief strength. The land they lived upon and cultivated was sometimes their own, and they often acquired wealth. Their sons were sent to the universities and the inns of court, and from the ranks of the yeomen great men and great names were given to England; to the class of gentry came recruits of fresh, healthy blood, quickened by new ambitions, strong in great purposes. It was good stock from which to settle a new country.

The congregation at Scrooby.

There was at Scrooby a congregation of Separatists, made up, for the most part, of people of this class; educated and enlightened enough to come to conclusions of their own upon questions of religious reformation; so stable in character as to hold firmly to convictions conscientiously formed; and endowed with enough of this world's goods to maintain their freedom of thought, even to banishment, if need be, from their native land. A body of their faith preceded them by some years, in emigrating to Holland, and, after their departure, the Scrooby people had no separate building in which to congregate for religious worship. Their usual place of meeting was the manor-house, belonging to the Archbishop of York.



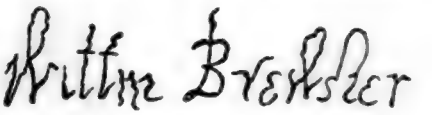
Site of Scrooby Manor.

The leading man among them was William Brewster, who after-

wards became the ruling elder of the little church.[1] Brewster held the office of postmaster — or post as it was then called — of Scrooby, a position of a good deal of importance, as it enjoined not only the charge of the mails and the dispatch of letters, but the entertainment and conveyance of travellers, in whatever direction they wished to go. The postmaster was, in one sense, an innkeeper; but an innkeeper for certain duties, by official appointment.[2] As the incumbent of such an office, Brewster occupied the largest and most important house in Scrooby, — that belonging to the archbishop. And this, notwithstanding his official relation to the state, and its dignity as an episcopal residence, he threw open, once a week, to those with whose opposition to the state and church he was in fullest sympathy.

William Brewster.

But Brewster was otherwise a man of some mark. In his youth he had spent some time at the University of Cambridge, where he had acquired a knowledge of Latin and Greek. He afterward went to court, and entered the service of a noted statesman of the time, William Davison; was with him when he was sent ambassador from Elizabeth to the Low Countries to perfect a league with the United Provinces that should enable them to maintain their independence of Spain; was still the faithful friend and follower of his master when Davison was ruined for having issued, as Secretary of State, — possibly against the orders, but certainly in accordance with the wishes of Elizabeth, — the royal writ for the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Davison's fall ended Brewster's career as a courtier; but he still possessed influence enough to secure the appointment of post at Scrooby. Davison was a Puritan. Bradford says of him that he was a "religious and godly gentleman," and that he esteemed Brewster "rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness in private, he would converse with him more like a familiar than a master."[3] Such influence must have confirmed, if it did not instill, in Brewster's mind the principles which governed his subsequent life.



Signature of William Brewster.

A society of Separatists, holding weekly meetings under such circumstances, in the house occupied by an officer of the government, and belonging to a dignitary of the established Church, would be quite likely to attract more than usual attention; their boldness may

[1] The office of the ruling elder in the early Puritan churches was to assist the teaching elder, or pastor, in overseeing and ruling the church, and to teach occasionally in the absence of the pastor. See Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, p. 455, note, for authorities on this point.

[2] See Hunter's *Founders of New Plymouth*, where the social and official position of Elder Brewster, at Scrooby, was first made clear.

[3] Bradford's *Memoir of Elder William Brewster*, in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*.

have even been construed into a defiance of the law. These people had already been called upon to suffer afflictions, when some of them were members of the church at Gainsborough under the care of John Smith, who, with many of his people, had taken refuge in Holland some years before; and also, no doubt, when upholding Richard Clifton, a clergyman at Babworth in the County of Nottingham, who had been deposed for non-conformity. But those were as "flea-bitings," it was said,[1] to the sufferings they were called upon to undergo soon after they had gathered into a distinct body at Scrooby. They were hunted and persecuted on every side; some were imprisoned; the houses of others were beset and watched till they were fain to fly, leaving homes and means of livelihood, to preserve their liberty.

Persecution of the Separatists.

Brewster soon ceased to be postmaster, — no doubt dismissed from the office he had held more than a dozen years. And he was to have been otherwise punished. He and two others of the principal members of the society, Richard Jackson and Robert Rochester, were summoned as Separatists before the Ecclesiastical Commission for the province of York to pay a fine of £20 each; and for not obeying that summons, a further fine of an equal amount was subsequently recorded against them, — recorded, but not paid, for the recusants had fled before the commissioners had time to enforce the penalties.[2]

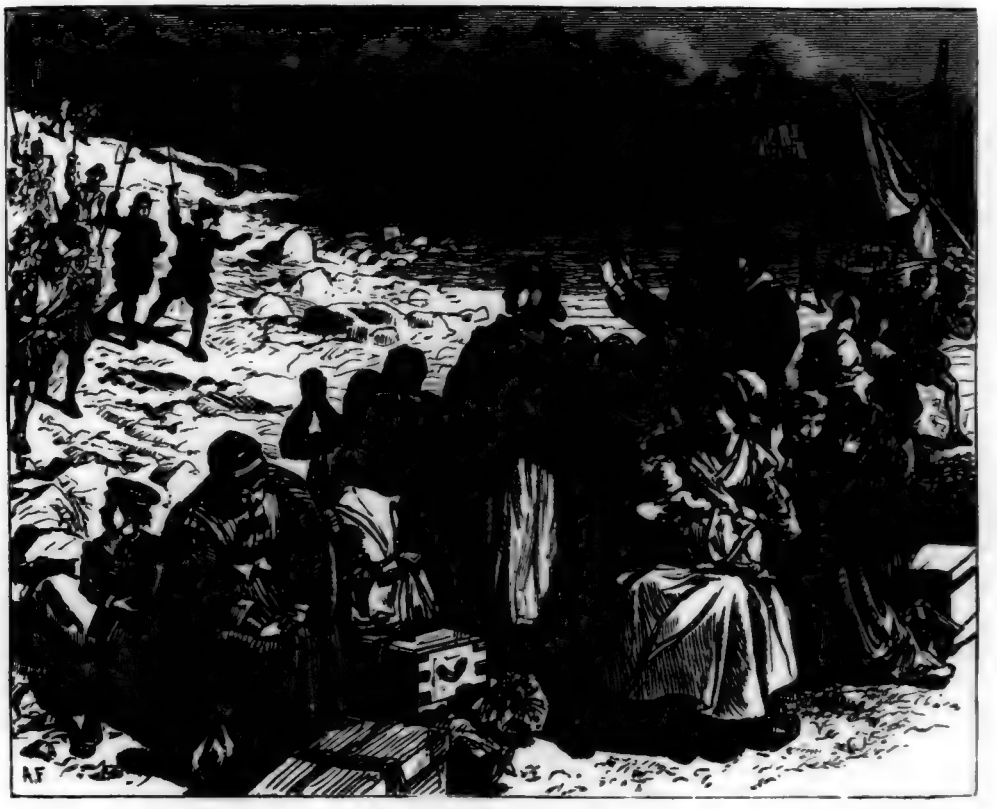
From the persecutions which these people suffered there was no escape but by exile, and they resolved, therefore, to go to the Low Countries, where they understood there was freedom of religion for all men. Though we learn only in general terms the character of the pains and penalties which they were called upon to endure, these were certainly of no light nature, — if persecution for religion's sake is ever light, — for they clearly understood the difficulties that beset the path on which they were about to enter, and which they chose as the least painful alternative. "Their desires were sett on the ways of God and to injoy his ordinances," and for these they were ready to leave their native soil, their lands and livings, their friends and familiar acquaintance, to go to a country of which they knew nothing except by hearsay, to learn a new language, to get their livings they knew not how. Nor was this all. They could not stay; neither were they permitted to go, without hindrance, for the ports were shut against them. They were oftentimes betrayed, their goods taken from them to their great trouble and expense, and their intentions defeated.[3]

It was impossible that two or three hundred people could dispose in

[1] Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation.*
[2] Hunter's *Founders of New Plymouth.*
[3] Bradford.

secret of lands and houses and other property, make the other needful preparations to emigrate in a body from a rural neighborhood, and do all this unobserved. They hoped to get away in small detachments, but even this was impossible, without encountering dangers and oftentimes defeat. At one time, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, a large party of them got safely at night on board ship. But the master was treacherous, and handed them over to the officers with whom he was in complicity; their goods were rifled and ransacked; the men were searched to their shirts for money; even the women were compelled to submit to like indignities "further than became modesty;" and thus outraged, insulted, and robbed, they were led back to the town, a spectacle and wonder to the gaping crowd that flocked from all sides to see and jeer at their sad condition. The mag-

Cruel treatment at Boston, Lincolnshire.



Attempted Flight of Puritans.

istrates were kinder than the people, and showed them such favor as they could; but the whole company were imprisoned for a month, when they were dismissed to go where they would, excepting seven of the chief among them, who were detained for trial.

These, and others with them, made a more disastrous attempt to escape some months later. A Dutch ship was engaged to take them on board at a lonely place between Hull and Grimsby, and thither

the women and children were sent in a small vessel; the men were to go by land. All arrived in due season. The ship rode at anchor some distance from the shore; the smaller vessel, with the women and children, lay aground where the ebb-tide had left her. A single boat-load of men had been taken off to the ship as the first preparation for departure, when suddenly a mob of country people, some on foot and some mounted, armed with bills and guns and other weapons, rushed down upon the beach. The frightened Dutchman "swore his country's oath, *Sacramente*," weighed anchor, hoisted sails, and with a fair wind was soon out at sea. His wretched passengers, though destitute of everything but the clothes they wore, gave no thought to their own condition as they looked back to their helpless wives and children thus abandoned to dangers which they could neither defend them from nor share. On shore, some of the men evaded the mob of assailants and dispersed; others, who remained with their own families, or to give such little protection as they could to the families of their friends carried away by the Dutchman, were taken into custody, with those who, either from age, or youth, or sex, were unable to escape. The unhappy company was at the mercy of the mob, always more cruel than the law. They were hurried from place to place, from one magistrate to another; denied even the friendly shelter of a jail; for the women and children, as they mostly were, had been guilty of, at worst, a venial crime in seeking to go with their husbands and fathers even to a foreign land. Now they had no homes to which they could be sent, for those they had recently left had passed into other hands; their present means of support must needs have been very limited and soon exhausted; what should be done with them then was a puzzling problem which each bench of magistrates tried to throw upon its fellow of the next town or parish, and which none of them thanked the over-zealous populace for thrusting upon them for solution.

Attempted flight near Hull frustrated.

So pitiable a case could hardly fail to excite compassion in any civilized community of even two hundred and fifty years ago, and help came no doubt, at last, to these poor people, from many persons as liberal in mind as in purse. For we learn from the narrative of these trials and misfortunes,[1] that "by these so public troubles, in so many eminent places, their cause became famous, and occasioned many to look into the same; and their godly carriage and Christian behavior was such as left a deep impression upon the minds of many." The scattered families and friends at length united in Holland, where the Dutch ship arrived after a tempestuous and dangerous voyage. In the course of the winter of 1607–8, and the following spring, the Puritan Church of Scrooby came together

The reunion of Puritans in Holland.

[1] Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation.*

again in Amsterdam, its members arriving in several parties, and at different times, after many perils and hardships.

These simple yeomen of Nottinghamshire, whose travels, till that winter, had seldom, if ever, probably, extended beyond the nearest market town, had come, as it were, into a new world. Instead of the green fields and pleasant hamlets of England, they saw a city risen out of the sea, its long, sluggish canals crowded with ships and spanned by hundreds of bridges. They wandered about streets of a new and strange aspect, filled with people speaking a strange and uncouth language, and clothed in strange costumes. Accustomed to the monotony of simple, rural ways and the rigid economies of country life, they were brought suddenly into places where wealth and luxury abounded, and where the sights and sounds of a vast and busy commerce met them on every side. But there were other realities before them of a sterner kind which gave them little time to observe or think of these new surroundings. The grim face of poverty confronted them, and all their energies were needed in the struggle for a bare subsistence.

Puritan churches in Amsterdam.

There were already two English Puritan churches in Amsterdam. Strife had arisen among the members, stirred up chiefly by John Smith, the pastor of the church from Gainsborough in Lincolnshire, a man of too restless and contentious a disposition to remain long at rest in any one place or in one belief. The Scrooby people had suffered enough to value tranquillity; and indeed all their history shows them to have been at all times a people who, next to purity, sought for peace. As they had abandoned the homes they loved so much, that they might live in the quiet enjoyment of their own religious faith, so now, rather than be drawn into these disputes and difficulties among the brethren of Amsterdam, they removed, about a year after their arrival, to Leyden.

The life in Holland.

This city was, for the next twelve years, their home, where they gained a sufficient livelihood by hard labor, but especially "enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster."[1] Brewster, in those years, turned his early education to account by teaching, and carried on also the business of printing, sometimes publishing religious works which were prohibited in England. Bradford, who was not more than twenty years of age when he left Nottinghamshire, learned the trade of silk-weaving, but devoted himself also to study, being particularly anxious to read God's Word in the original Hebrew, and became a leading member of the church. Other principal men among them were Carver, Cushman, and Winslow, —

[1] Bradford's *History*.

the latter, a young man of higher social position than any of the rest, who, visiting Leyden while on his travels, became acquainted with the Puritans, and embraced their faith about three years before their departure from this city of refuge.

As the old grew older, and the young attained to manhood, a serious consideration of the future pressed upon them. Though none were very poor, there were none who were very prosperous; and their circumstances were not such as to attract any large addition to their number, or to increase their material welfare. They remained strangers in a strange land, still cherishing next to religious purity their birthright as Englishmen. Some of the younger members, who had little or no recollection of their English homes, were already yielding to the influences and temptations of foreign habits and manners; and the elders feared that as they passed away, not only would the Church be scattered, and the good seed of the Gospel perish, but all the ties and associations of a precious inheritance be lost and forgotten among their children.

Dissatisfaction with their new dwelling-place.



Church at Austerfield, Bradford's Birthplace.

Whither should they go that their faith and their birthright might both be handed down to their posterity sacred and inviolate? The power of the hierarchy that had driven them from their homes, hunted them from port to port, robbed them of almost everything but liberty and the right of obedience to the dictates of their own consciences, forbade that they should go back to England. Where, then, should they seek a new resting-place?

There were divided opinions. The anxious discussion of the subject began a year or more before Raleigh returned, to lose his head, from that fatal expedition to Guinea where he had lost his son. El Dorado was still believed in; there were some among the Puritans of Leyden bold enough and imaginative enough to urge a removal to a land where in perpetual summer, upon a soil that should yield them the fruits of the earth almost without labor, and in the enjoyment of wealth that, from the abundance of gold, need have no limit, they hoped to forget the perils, the hardships, and the poverty of the past.

Some were opposed to any change. They dreaded to expose their women and the aged to the perils and privations of a long voyage, to a change of climate, and to the dangers to be encountered from a savage

people, stories of whose ferocity and cruelty "moved the very bowels of men to grate within them, and made the weak to quake and tremble." But the more sober-minded, putting aside both delusive hopes and vain fears, turned their eyes to Virginia, though not to the colony on James River, where, it was thought, they would be subjected to religious persecution quite as much as in England. Somewhere, however, within the wide domain of the Virginia Company they proposed to establish themselves as a separate and independent colony, trusting they might obtain from James the assurance that they should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of their religious convictions.

Proposal to remove to America.

They relied much on the good offices of Sir Edwin Sandys, then a member of the Council of the Virginia Company, and under whose wise management the colony on the James was soon to give its first real promise of permanence and prosperity. Sandys and Brewster had served together under William Davison thirty years before, and had probably continued in friendly relations; the former can hardly have failed to be familiar with the history of the Scrooby Puritans who had met in the house that Brewster leased, but which belonged to the Sandys family;[1] he was known, moreover, to share, in some degree, the opinions of the Puritans upon religious subjects, and to sympathize with them in the trials to which those opinions had led. None knew better than he the peculiar fitness of such a community to found a colony — men and women of blameless lives, of tenacious morality, of habits of persistent industry, inured to the evils of poverty, accustomed by years of exile to the shifts and devices with which new settlers must make themselves content and prosperous; for it was not with them as with other men, wrote Robinson and Brewster to Sandys, "whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again."

Robert Cushman and John Carver were sent in 1617 to England as a deputation from the Church to obtain, if possible, a patent from the king which should give them lands in North Virginia with the assurance under the royal seal, of religious liberty. On their part it was promised that "they would endeavour the advancement of his majesty's dominions and the enlargement of the Gospel by all due means." "It was," James said, "a good and honest motion; but what profits," he asked, "would come from such a movement?" They answered: "Fishing." "So God have my soul," was the king's reply, "'t is an honest trade: 't was the Apostles' own calling."[2] Nevertheless, the negotiations, which were continued for

Cushman and Carver sent to England.

[1] See *Founders of New Plymouth* for an account of the division of the lands of the See among his sons by Archbishop Sandys.

[2] Winslow's *Brief Relation*.

about a year and seconded by men of influence, came to nought. The king was unwilling to recognize such a colony by any public act, and it would have been inconsistent with his orders for the government of the South Virginia colony, given years before, when he had commanded that "the word and service of God should be preached and used according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." [1]

James, however, was made to understand that these people who besought his favor were not such rigid Separatists as their enemies represented them to be, and did not assume that the Christian religion was committed exclusively to their keeping. For they held communion with the Reformed Dutch and French churches, and acknowledged those of Scotland as Churches of Christ; they assented to the confession of Faith of the English Church, and were ready always to receive into fellowship its devout members, though they did not accept its Liturgy, its stated and formal prayers, and its constitution as a national church.[2] The King they acknowledged as supreme head of the State; in him was the lawful power to appoint bishops, as well as civil officers, whose authority, therefore, they honored as a part of the civil government; and they denied all power or authority in any ecclesiastical body that was not derived from the king.[3] James understood clearly enough, no doubt, the distinction the Puritans always kept in mind between civil and spiritual conformity. But he also understood that they were a harmless and godly people who used their religious freedom for the guidance of their own lives, and not for the government of others. He gave their friends in England the assurance that he would connive at their settlement in America, and should not molest them so long as they conducted themselves peaceably though he could not extend to them his royal permission and public recognition. Some of the Puritans, understanding the character of the king, were disposed to think that they had gained in this concession all that they could reasonably hope for. James, they said, "had he given them a seal as broad as the house floor," [4] would have evaded or recalled it, if at any future time he should be disposed to do so.

Negotiations with King James.

But better warrant than the mere word of the king was wanted to

[1] Stith's *History of Virginia.*

[2] There is a gleam of humor, though he may not have meant it as such, in Robinson's assertion that, "Our faith is founded upon the writings of the Prophets and Apostles in which no mention of the Church of England is made."

[3] Compare the Seven Articles sent by the Church at Leyden to the Council in England and signed by Robinson and Brewster. *New York Historical Collections,* Second Series, vol. iii., Part I. Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation;* Winslow's *Brief Relation,* in Young's *Chronicles.*

[4] Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation.*

justify them in giving up, without any certainty for the future, the security and peace they possessed in Holland. Negotiations were continued in England, Brewster going over to the assistance of Carver and Cushman. After much trouble and delay, a patent was procured from the Virginia Company, issued in the name of Mr. John Wincob, on the 9th of June, 1619.[1] Of this patent nothing further is known, and it was never used.[2] It is supposed to have made a grant of land somewhere near the mouth of the Hudson River. Perhaps the patent was not thought sufficient because it promised to give title to lands in that region. The Puritans were wary and prudent, and evidently the first condition, in their minds, of the proposed movement was that wherever they went they should carry with them a sense of absolute security and protection. The Dutch already had their trading posts on Manhattan Island and the upper waters of the Hudson; and though they had as yet made no agricultural settlements, they clearly had the best right to that region of country, both by virtue of discovery and of possession. The most obvious course, therefore, for the Puritans was to obtain from the Dutch some confirmation of title, before they moved under a patent from an English company to lands which the Dutch occupied. This, at any rate, is what they attempted to do, whatever may have been the motive. The pastor, John Robinson, proposed, on behalf of the Church, to the Amsterdam Company, that he and his people should go to New Netherland, provided the Company could assure them of protection, and establish a colony there subject to the Prince of Orange and the States General. Four hundred families, to go from Holland and from England, Robinson said, would constitute the colony.

The Puritans propose to settle in New Netherland.

The proposal seems to have been received with enthusiasm by the Amsterdam merchants, who well knew the value of such material for the settlement of a new country. Their reply was an offer of free transportation, cattle for every family, and other inducements;[3] but on the question of the indispensable guaranty of safety, they could only refer the memorial to the Prince of Orange with a prayer of their own that protection be granted. The stadtholder referred the subject, in his turn, to the States General. After much deliberation and discussion, the petition of the Amsterdam Company, in favor of Robinson's proposal, was rejected. This decision may have been influenced by the proposed establish-

Their proposal refused by the States General.

[1] The date is fixed by the journal of the London Council in Neill's *History of the Virginia Company*, where the name of the patentee is spelt Wencop, Wincopp, and Whincop. Bradford says Wincob.

[2] Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*.

[3] Winslow in Young's *Chronicles*; Bradford's *History*.

ment of the great West India Company, to which would properly belong the settlement of all Dutch possessions in the New World, and by the possible international complications that might arise from colonizing a body of Englishmen under the protection of the States-General.[1]

Nearly three years had now elapsed since negotiations were begun, and none of them had led to any practical result. Many were discouraged by these difficulties, and some in England, who had at first proposed to join in the enterprise, and others in Holland, declined to have anything more to do with it. The more zealous and persistent, who were not to be deterred by any obstacles, were convinced that the time had come to resort to positive measures and to take risks. The reso-



Leyden.

lution shaped itself into "a solemn meeting and day of humiliation to seeke the Lord for his direction," and the conclusion was that such as were disposed and could make the needful preparation should go, with Elder Brewster at their head; the rest, and the larger number, remaining with Mr. Robinson in Leyden. Those who were left behind, it was agreed, should follow when means and opportunity offered.

Among those in London who had interested themselves in the negotiations for a patent was one Thomas Weston, a merchant. He was in Leyden some time in 1620, while these delays and doubts and dis-

[1] Holland Documents, cited in Brodhead's *History of the State of New York.*

appointments were gradually bringing a portion of the Church to a determination to emigrate at all hazards. Weston's counsel was in harmony with this feeling; he advised them to rely neither upon the Dutch nor the Virginia Company; he and others, he assured them, were ready to supply ships and money for such an enterprise; and he reminded them that Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others were moving for a new patent in Northern Virginia. "Unto which," adds Bradford, "Mr. Weston, and the cheefe of them, began to incline it was best for them to goe." Thereupon a joint-stock company was formed, to continue for seven years; when all the profits of the adventure in trading, fishing, planting, or anything else, were to go for that period into a common stock, and at the end of it were to be equally divided between the adventurers and planters, — that is, those who had contributed money only to the enterprise, and those who had engaged in it personally. Every person over sixteen years of age who went was rated at ten pounds, or a single share; and if he provided his own outfit, to the amount of ten pounds, he was entitled to two shares. All the members of the colony were to be supported out of the common stock. These were the essential articles of agreement made between the London adventurers, who were chiefly to supply the means of going, and the members of the Leyden Church who were to go.[1]

A joint-stock company formed.

The conflicting rights and interests of adventurers and planters in this joint-stock company were not adjusted without a good deal of controversy and delay, the planters being especially dissatisfied that the value of the homes which they should make for themselves in the colony should, at the end of the seven years, be equally divided among all the stockholders; and that, during that period, there should not be two or three days in each week reserved to the colonists in which to labor on their own account. But, at length, all the arrangements for their departure were completed. The *Speedwell*, a vessel of sixty tons, was bought and fitted in Holland, and another, the *Mayflower*, was chartered in London, and was to receive them at Southampton.

On or about the 21st of July, 1620,[2] the church at Leyden held a day of humiliation and prayer, the pastor, Mr. Robinson, preaching a sermon "upon which," says Bradford, "he spente a good parte of the day very profitably, and suitable to their present occasion." Those that were to stay behind "feasted" those that were to go, "refreshing" them afterward with the singing of psalms, making joyful melody, for many were expert in music.[3]

The Pilgrims at Delft-Haven.

[1] Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation*, p. 45, where the articles of agreement are given.

[2] Prince's *Chronological History of New England*.

[3] Winslow in Young's *Chronicles*.

The next day — leaving "the goodly and pleasante citie," continues Bradford, "which had been their resting-place near twelve years; but they knew they were *pilgrims* and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits" — they went to the port of Delft-Haven.

Here the night was spent, not in sleep, but in friendly entertainment, and Christian discourse. On the morrow they parted with their friends, and "truly dolfull," he adds, "was the sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs, and praires did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierst each harte. . . . . But the tide (which waits for no man) calling them away, that were thus loath to departe, their Reverend pastor, falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watrie cheekes comended them with most fervente praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbraces, and many tears they tooke their leaves one of an other which proved to be the last leave of many of them."[1] Then they went forth to help lay, in the wilderness across the sea, the foundations of a Nation.



Delft-Haven.

On the 5th of August, the two ships sailed from Southampton with about one hundred and twenty passengers. In a week they were back again, putting in at Dartmouth, the *Speedwell* having sprung a leak. In a few days they again put to sea, but only to run back to Plymouth, after sailing a hundred leagues, for the *Speedwell* proved altogether unseaworthy. A month was thus wasted in attempts to get away, and it was not till the 6th of September that the *Mayflower* succeeded in making a successful departure alone, carrying, beside her crew, one hundred and two persons for the new colony.[2]

The departure of the *Mayflower*, 6th of September, 1620, Old Style, 16th September, New Style.

It was sixty-five days before they saw land again. The voyage

[1] In bidding farewell to their friends, "we gave them," says Winslow, "a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed."

[2] This was the exact number that sailed from Plymouth, and arrived at Cape Cod, there having been one birth and one death on the passage.

was tempestuous; the ship was too weak to bear much canvas; and it was a question, when they were half across the ocean, whether they should not return. On the 9th of November, they hailed with delight, as so many storm-tossed mariners had done before them, the low coast of Cape Cod. Their purpose was to find a place farther south, or indefinitely somewhere about the mouth of the Hudson River, for their proposed settlement, and for half a day, after making land, they stood



Plymouth Harbor, England.

to the southward. But they fell presently among dangerous shoals. Gosnold's Point Care and Tucker's Terror, Champlain's Cape Malebarre, stretched out into the sea and turned them back. The next day they ran along the outer coast of the cape, sailed round its extremity, and on the 11th [1] cast anchor in Cape Cod Harbor, now the Harbor of Provincetown, the only windward port within two hundred miles where the ship could have lain at anchor for the next month, unvexed by the storms which usher in a New England winter.

The anchorage in Cape Cod Harbor.

Their first act on landing, was to fall upon their knees and bless God "who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on the firme and stable earth, their proper elemente." [2] But however much cause there was for thankfulness, they were not unmindful of the serious difficulties with which they stood face to face. Among them were some persons not of the Leyden Church, but who had been taken on board, perhaps, in England, as servants of the leading and wealthier members

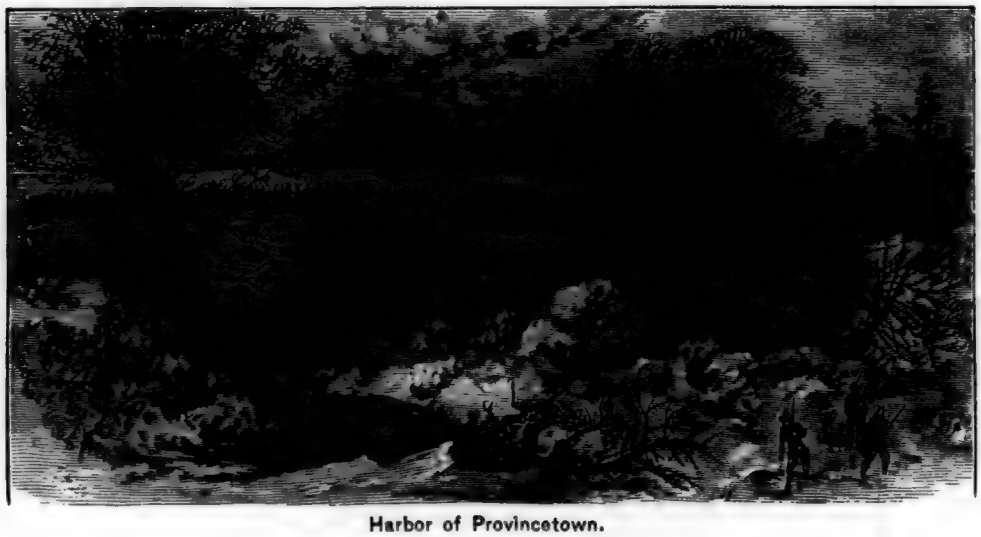
The first landing, 11th November, 1620, O. S., 21st November, N. S.

[1] The 11th of November, Old Style; the 21st of November, New Style.

[2] Bradford.

of the Company. These men had given, the day before the harbor was reached, and when the ship had been turned back from her southward course, some evidences of a discontented and mutinous spirit. If the patent from the Southern Virginia Company was not used, and a settlement was made without the jurisdiction of that Company, then these malcontents intimated they would be under no restraint of legal authority, and at liberty to do as should seem to them best. It was determined, therefore, to enter into a compact of government which should not only have the binding force of law over all persons disposed to be insubordinate, but which would be, it was thought, of as much virtue under the circumstances in which they were placed as any patent. On the day they entered Cape Cod

Compact signed on board the *Mayflower*.



Harbor of Provincetown.

harbor, therefore, all the men, excepting seven of the servants, entered into and signed this agreement:[1]—

"In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne part of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions & offices, from time

[1] We follow literally the copy in Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, recovered in full only twenty years ago, and published under the editorship of Charles Deane. This document is given in Mourt's *Relation*, and Morton's *Memorial*, with some slight and unimportant changes of phraseology.

to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11 of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth An^o^: Dom. 1620."

The promptitude and unanimity — saving only of the seven servants, who were the only members of the company it was necessary to reduce to obedience by creating a government — with which this compact was made and adopted, almost compel the belief that the colonists were quite content to find themselves without the jurisdiction of either the Dutch, or the Virginia Company. The shoals of Point Care and Tucker's Terror may have been rather a pretext than a cause for making no farther attempt to reach a port more to the southward. Nor does there seem to be any sufficient reason for believing the story, that the captain of the *Mayflower* was bribed not to take his passengers to the mouth of the Hudson River.[1] The negotiations before they left Holland, show that while the States General declined to grant them protection, apparently for political reasons, the New Netherland Company were anxious to induce them to settle in the region of country they claimed as theirs. It was the Puritans who objected to going without this guaranty of safety; not the Dutch who objected to receiving them. Weston, who represented the London adventurers on whom the church members at Leyden were to depend so largely for the means of removal, urged them, as we have already stated, not to rely upon either the Dutch or the Virginia Company, enforcing his counsel with the fact that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, had obtained from the king a patent for that part of America called New England. The Virginia Company opposed this patent; the questions raised in regard to it were carried to the House of Commons, and it was not till the next year that they were definitively disposed of. It may have been for this that the Puritans did not seek, before their departure, for a patent from the New England Company; but they sent for and obtained it, when the *Mayflower* returned to England in the spring.[2] It is quite possible that the Pilgrim Fathers

[1] Morton in his *New England's Memorial*, published in 1669, says: "Of this Plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, (the master of the *Mayflower*,) I have had late and certain Intelligence." He does not say what or whence the intelligence was, and it is more likely the story was born of the feeling that grew up against the Dutch in later years, than that it had any real foundation. There is no hint of any dissatisfaction with, or suspicion of Captain Jones in the narratives of the emigrants themselves. It has been said, also, that the *Mayflower* had run north of her intended course, because the compass was influenced by an axe, concealed purposely, or by chance, near the binnacle. One tale is hardly more improbable than the other.

[2] This was the patent to John Peirce. See the "Brief Narration" of Sir Ferdinando

were content to make their land-fall within the boundaries of New England rather than within those of the Virginia Company. The impatience of the captain of the *Mayflower* to land his passengers and return to England may have found a ready response in men who were not sorry that chance had thrown them where they had nothing to fear from the interference of others, whatever other trials there might be in store for them.

The extremity of Cape Cod now is quite a different place from that on which the passengers of the *Mayflower* landed, glad to get ashore



The Landing on Cape Cod.

anywhere after their long and anxious voyage. Where they found pleasant woods of oak and pine, of ash and walnut, and other fine trees, "open & without underwood, fit either to goe or ride in,"[1] are now only a few starved and scattered shrubs. The soil of "excellent black earth, a spit's depth," has disappeared, except here and there in swamps, and in its place are the shifting hills of yellow sand, drifting from year to year like snow before a driving storm, the Cape only saved from being blown away altogether, by the long beach-

Gorges, in *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii. Davis's notes to Morton's *Memorial*. Young's *Chronicles*. Deane's notes to Bradford's *History*.

[1] Mourt's *Relation*. Bradford gives essentially the same account.

grass which ties it down.[1] But then, as now, the waters of the bay were shallow, and the people waded ashore; the men to explore the country, the women to wash the clothes after the long sea voyage; though where fresh water was found for this purpose, can only now be guessed by the curious antiquary, who finds traces of a pond, obliterated long ago by the encroaching waters of the sea and the ever shifting sands.[2] But there was no water fit for drinking; for, some days later, the men drank their "first New England water" from springs found ten miles distant from the beach where the *Mayflower* lay at anchor.

A company of sixteen men under Captain Miles Standish, made this first reconnoissance of the land, marching through boughs and bushes which tore their armor in pieces; seeing Indians, for the first time, at a distance; crossing fields of stubble where they had grown their maize; finding the winter's store of the grain itself which the natives had buried in the sand, and filling with this a kettle — left by some former visitors, or taken perhaps, from some wrecked vessel — they returned to the ship like the men from Eshcol, with the fruits of the land, at which their brethren were "marvelusly glad & their harts encouraged."

Reconnoitring party under Miles Standish.



Signature of Miles Standish.

When the shallop, which the ship had brought, had received the repairs she needed, more extended explorations were made along the shores of the bay. These unfortunate people could not have come at a worse season, and could hardly have found a less fitting place along the whole coast, on which to plant a colony. More than a month was consumed in the search for a spot, which they could venture to believe might answer, — a longer time than it would have taken to go hundreds of miles farther south, had they wished, or had they been willing to put themselves within the jurisdiction of either the Virginia Company or the Dutch. There was nothing to invite, and everything to discourage them in the aspect and condition of the country. They were very thankful to have found corn enough in the Indian stores to answer their own needs in the coming spring for seed-corn, which they honestly paid for, when, six months later, they met with the owners; and they had good reason to congratulate themselves, that the natives of the country seemed to be but few; these were the only special blessings, but they were duly grateful. The weather was

[1] So serious is the danger of the destruction of the end of Cape Cod, as to call for remedial measures on the part of the United States Government, within a few years.

[2] See Thoreau's *Cape Cod*, and Dexter's notes to Mourt's *Relation*.

so cold that the sea-spray, as it fell upon those exposed in the open shallop, encased them, as it were, in armor of ice; the ground was frozen hard, and during much of the first month covered with snow; they rather hoped than knew that fish, which was to be their chief dependence, were plentiful, for at that season they could catch but few; and they sought painfully along the shallow shores for a harbor with water enough to float their ship, whose passengers pined to exchange their narrow cabins for even the lonely wilderness and the leafless woods, through which the winter storms swept dismally, bringing with them the roar, the smell, and the dreariness of the sea.

The ship herself was safe on good anchorage-ground, and in a land-locked port; but for her people to remain longer than was absolutely necessary, at a place where there was no fresh water to drink, and where the shore could only be reached by wading, except at the full flood of the tide, was out of the question. No pretermission of diligence, therefore, in seeking for a better spot was permitted, and at last the search was successful. On Wednesday, the 6th of December (Old Style), a party put off for a more extended search than had yet been made. Robert Coppin, the gunner of the *Mayflower*, was of this company, and he knew, he said — for he had been upon this coast before — of a good harbor, and a great navigable river in the other headland of the bay. On Wednesday and Thursday they cruised along the shore, on the west side of the cape, from Provincetown to Truro, from Truro to Wellfleet, from Wellfleet to Eastham — as the region is now divided. A sudden attack was made upon them, on Friday morning, by the natives, as they were getting ready to leave the night's camping-ground, and arquebus-shot and arrow flights were exchanged without harm to either party.

From this point they sailed along the coast for fifteen leagues, on Friday, and, seeing no good harbor, stood on in search of that which Coppin said he knew. The day was stormy; in the course of it the rudder of the boat was unshipped, and, before they made land on the other side of the bay, she carried away her mast, split her sail, and was near being lost altogether. At nightfall they reached and landed upon an island, since known as Clark's Island, because Clark, the *Mayflower's* chief mate, was the first to step ashore. The next day, the 9th, they explored the island, and on Sunday, the 10th, they rested, as men would be sure to rest who, on week-days, never forgot, under any circumstances, to ask in outspoken prayer the blessing of God upon their labors.

On Monday, December 11th,[1] they crossed the harbor, sounding it

[1] December 11, Old Style: December 21, New Style. In 1769 the "landing of the 'Pilgrim Fathers'" was first commemorated at Plymouth, and the date in New Style was errone-



THE SABBATH ON CLARK'S ISLAND.

as they went, and finding it of good depth for small vessels. Along the shore of the mainland they found several brooks of plentiful waters pouring into the bay, and here and there were cleared fields, where the Indians had planted maize, ready for the use of new comers. If not the best of places, it was, says Bradford, who was of the party, "at least the best they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept it."

The exploring party land on the mainland, December 11, O. S., December 21, N. S.

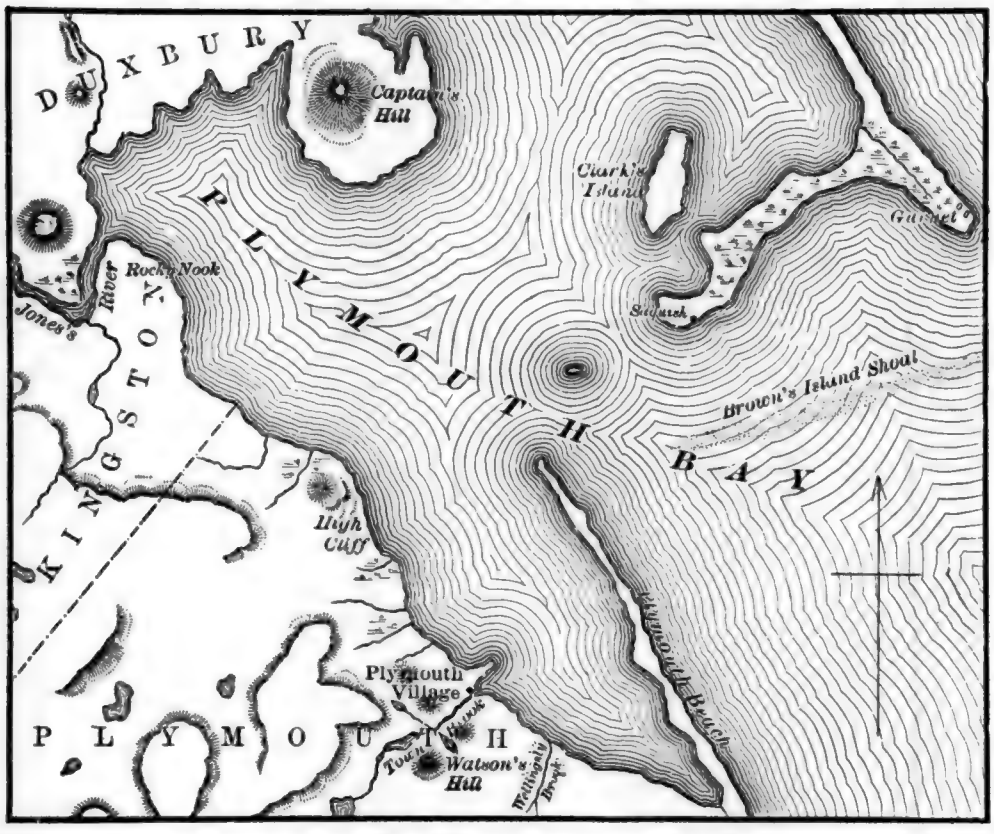
The incident in itself is commonplace enough. Seventeen rough men,[1] who, for the five previous days had been in an open boat, sleeping by night upon the bare ground, sometimes drenched with rain, sometimes half frozen with the cold, landed, as they had often done before, from their boat to seek anew a spot that would answer their purpose. History, nevertheless, has marked the act as an epoch. Nor is its significance likely to be forgotten, although confusion and misunderstanding have gathered about it and obscured its exact details. Its importance and interest are none the less because it happens to be commemorated by the descendants of the Pilgrims, wherever they are found, on the anniversary of a day when the event did not occur, and with the general supposition that on that day the people of the *Mayflower* landed from the ship upon the rock of Plymouth — which they certainly did not do till a fortnight later.

Nor is there any reason, except in the confounding of fact and tradition, for the supposition that this boat-load of explorers visited the spot where the Pilgrims afterward made their home. That is three miles from Clark's Island, while the shore of the mainland — toward which these men would naturally steer their boat at the nearest point — stretches along opposite the island within a much shorter distance. Though they "marched into the land, and found divers corn-fields

ously made the 22d, instead of the 21st. The error, which has been perpetuated ever since in the celebration of the day, arose, it has been supposed, from the addition of eleven days, instead of ten, to mark the difference between Old Style and New. The explanation is unsatisfactory, as such a blunder seems hardly likely to have occurred. The error more probably came from a mistake in punctuation, in Mourt's *Relation*, where the statement is: "And here we made our rendezvous all that day, being Saturday, 10 of December, on the Sabbath day we rested, and on Monday we sounded the harbor," etc. There should be a period after "Saturday," when it would read: "And here we made our rendezvous all that day, being Saturday. 10 of December, on the Sabbath day, we rested; and on Monday," etc. Saturday was certainly the 9th, not the 10th; but when, in 1769, in Plymouth, they turned to Mourt's *Relation*, to fix the date of this incident, and read the record with its erroneous punctuation, they of course called Monday the 12th, and, adding ten days for difference of styles, made "Forefathers' Day" the 22d.

[1] They were Miles Standish, John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Howland, Richard Warren, Steven Hopkins, Edward Doty; two seamen, John Allerton and Thomas English, hired by the colonists; of the ship's company, Clark, the first mate, Coppin, the master-gunner, and three unnamed sailors.

and litle runing brooks," they decided upon no particular site for the colony, for they "afterwards," says Bradford, "took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling." Nor could they have spent much time in a survey of the shores of the harbor, for they returned that day to their companions, at the end of Cape Cod, to report the success of the expedition — a return saddened by the news of the death of William Bradford's wife, who, during his absence, had fallen overboard and was drowned. With this voyage of the shallop no tradition seems to be connected. We have only



Map of Plymouth Harbor.

the cold, bare records of ordinary facts; the rough pioneer work of men engaged in an arduous duty, to be done at any risk of hardship, and to be done quickly. All the romantic interest that tradition lends to the landing of the Pilgrims came later with the disembarkation of the passengers of the *Mayflower*, upon the rock at Plymouth.

On the 15th of December the *Mayflower* left her harbor at Cape Cod; the next day, Saturday, the 16th, she dropped her anchor about half-way between Plymouth and Clark's Island. On Monday and Tuesday, the 18th and 19th, exploring parties, some in the shallop, and some on foot, cruised along the shore or roamed through the woods

for several miles. But it was not till Wednesday that a choice was made between two places, and it was decided that the fittest for a settlement was where a hill, overlooking the bay and the surrounding country, offered the best site for a fort and houses, and near which were fields cleared by the Indians for their own planting, and a plentiful stream of sweet water. Here some of them at once established themselves. But communication with the ship was, for the next two days, interrupted by bad weather, which permitted only of the putting off of a boat occasionally in the intervals of the storm. On Saturday those on shore felled some timber. But not till Monday, the 25th, did the passengers generally go "on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day." The actual beginning of the settlement was then made, — "to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods." [1]

The *Mayflower* in Plymouth harbor. Dec. 16, O. S Dec. 26, N. S.



Relics from the 'Mayflower,' — John Alden's Bible ; William Clark's Mug and Wallet, etc.

This was on the site of the present town of Plymouth, and at the head of one of its wharves, almost buried in the roadway, is the memorial rock, or rather what there is left of it.[2] Trustworthy tradition verifies it as that on which the passengers of the *Mayflower* landed when, for the first time, — Monday, December 25th, — they left the ship with a distinct purpose of taking possession of a new home.

The landing at Plymouth. Dec. 25, 1620, O. S. ; Jan. 4, 1621, N. S.

Only on Tuesday of the previous week was this spot fixed upon ; the ship was a mile and a half away ; in the interval of nearly a week the stormy weather had made it difficult for the shallop to take even the needed provisions to the few men on shore. Not till Monday, the 25th, was the actual work of putting up a shelter on this chosen spot begun ; and then it seems probable and natural — indeed only till then does it seem possible — that a visit was made by the company generally, men, women, and children, to their future home.

And it was made, no doubt, with recognition of the occasion as something more than an ordinary occurrence ; with emotions of mingled

[1] Bradford's *History*. Mourt's *Relation*.

[2] The upper portion of it was removed, about a hundred years ago, nearer to the centre of the town.

gladness and sorrow; with sad and tender memories of that past life, ending now as they were preparing to leave the ship that brought them from the homes they should never see again; but with sanguine hope also in the new and free life on which they were about to enter, though beginning in hardship and suffering,—visibly beginning, with almost all the calamities from which they might have asked to be delivered in no more definite and forcible prayer than that of the Litany against which they protested,—"from lightning and



Landing of John Alden and Mary Chilton.

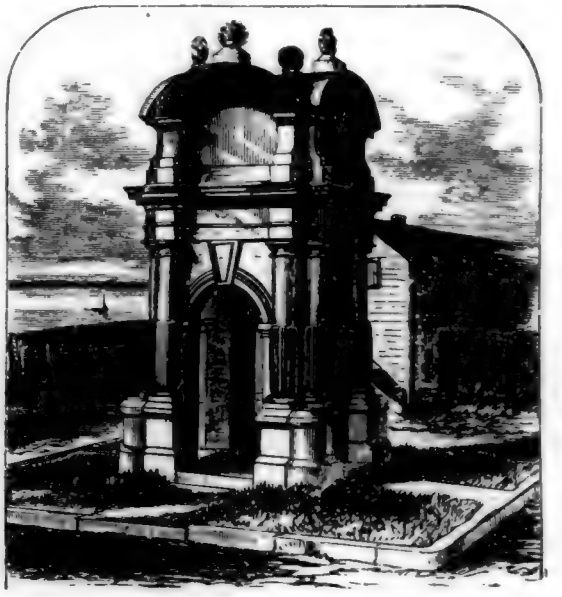
tempest; from plague, pestilence, and famine; from battle and murder, and from sudden death."

Still another tradition connects this rock with the general landing of the *Mayflower's* passengers.[1] The honor of being the first to

[1] "There is a tradition, as to the person who first leaped upon this rock, when the families came on shore, December 11, 1620." *Coll. Mass. Hist. Society*, vol. iii., Second Series, p. 174. It is such careless statements as this that have led to confusion on this subject. "The families" were on board the *Mayflower* in Provincetown harbor, twenty-five miles from Plymouth, on the 11th of December, 1620. The advance party of explorers only landed that day somewhere on the Plymouth shore.

step upon the rock is divided between John Alden and Mary Chilton.[1] Neither of these persons is named in the list, which professes to be a full one, of those who in the shallop, on the 11th of December, discovered the bay of Plymouth; and certainly no woman could have been upon such an expedition. Nor is it likely that any woman went on shore in the stormy weather, after the arrival of the *Mayflower* in the harbor on the 16th, till the general visit was made on the 25th to the selected spot. Whoever then was the first to spring to the rock, — about which there may have been, on such an occasion, some pleasant rivalry, — whether the young man or the young maiden, the leap was made, no doubt, from the first boat from the *Mayflower*, on the 25th of December — **Jan. 4th 1621, N. S.**

John Alden and Mary Chilton.



Stone Canopy over Plymouth Rock.

But even yet there was no final transfer of the colonists to land. The ship was still the home of the larger number, and probably of all the women and children, those only remaining on shore who were engaged in building or in guarding the accumulating property. On the 10th of January the common house of about twenty feet square was nearly finished; it was only then that a town of a single street was laid out, and it was agreed that each head of a family should build his own house on the lot assigned him. The building went on slowly, for the inclemency of the weather permitted of out-door work for only half the time. Some of the private houses were finished in the course of the winter, but it was not till the 21st of March that all the company went finally on shore.

Much less room was needed now, if that were one of the reasons for delay in removing from the ship. For the first two months those on shore were exposed, with little or no shelter, to the rigors of a New England winter, though that of 1620–21 was plainly one of unusual mildness; those in the ship were crowded into close and unwholesome quarters; provision was scanty and poor; the scurvy appeared and spread rapidly; other diseases, engendered

Mortality in the winter of 1620–21.

[1] *Notes on Plymouth, Mass.*, vol. iii., Second Series, and *Notes on Duxbury*, vol. x., Mass. Hist. Coll.

in want and exposure, became equally prevalent; and when the spring opened about one half the company were dead.

Some of the most eminent in character and station; many in the prime of their days and their strength, whose loss to the colony was most serious; wives, mothers, children, servants were swept away, leaving those who survived enfeebled by sickness and overwhelmed with grief, when they were most in need of all their physical and mental energies. Carver, the governor, died in April, and his wife soon followed him; the wife of William Bradford, who was Carver's successor, was drowned — as we have already said — before the *Mayflower* left Cape Cod harbor; Edward Winslow, Miles Standish, Isaac Allerton, were soon made widowers; Edward Tillie and John Tillie, who were of the crew of the shallop that discovered Plymouth Bay,

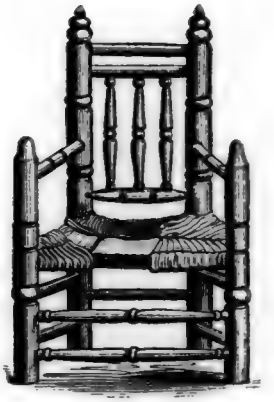


First Burial Place near the Landing.

lost their wives, and both died not long after; John Allerton and Thomas English, of the same company, soon filled graves on the shore they had helped to find; Mary Chilton, one of the first, no doubt, if not the very first, to spring to the landing-place in glad expectation of a happy future in a new home, was soon alone, both father and mother dead; others, like her, were left orphans; parents were left childless; in some cases whole families were carried off; in others there was only a single survivor. Hardly a day passed for four months that they did not bring out their dead.

So the winter passed. Little happened to break the sad monotony of intervals of work on houses which they might not live to occupy, and nursing the sick till most of them were taken to those narrow houses which they would never leave. Twice the wretched commu-

nity were in danger of being burnt out of their poor shelters on shore, the thatched roofs of their two buildings, one for the well, the other for the sick, taking fire by accident and being consumed. Lurking savages were sometimes seen in the neighborhood, but they made no attempt to molest the new comers. Precautions, however, were taken against any attack from them, and Miles Standish, who had been a soldier in the Low Countries, was entrusted with the conduct of military affairs, as he was generally with the command of all expeditions.



Governor Carver's Chair.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.

The Coming of Friendly Indians. — Samoset and Squanto. — Captain Dermer's Previous Visit to Plymouth. — Standish's Visit to Boston Harbor. — Reinforcements from England. — The First Christmas at Plymouth. — Hostile Message from the Narragansetts. — Arrival of Weston's Colonists. — Their Settlement at Wessagusset. — An Indian Conspiracy. — Standish's Expedition and the Plot defeated. — The Grief of Pastor Robinson. — Arrival of Robert Gorges. — First Allotment of Land in Plymouth. — John Peirce's Patent. — The Lyford and Oldham Conspiracy. — Their Banishment. — Breaking-up of the London Company. — The Pilgrims thrown on their own Resources. — The Fishing Station at Cape Ann. — Encounter between Captain Standish and Mr. Hewes. — The Dorchester Settlement at Cape Ann. — Conant's Charge of it, and his Removal to Naumkeag. — Settlements about Boston Harbor. — Morton of Merry-Mount. — Standish's Arrest of Morton.

New events came with the spring to the colony at Plymouth, as well as health and hope. In March a naked Indian stalked boldly in



Visit of Samoset to the Colony.

among them, and greeted them in a few English words, which he had learned from the fishermen and other voyagers on the coast of Maine,

his home being on the Pemaquid. This man's name was Samoset, but why he was so far from home is not clear. He may have been brought and left in the neighborhood by Captain Dermer, who had twice been upon this coast, making his second voyage only the previous summer. On his first voyage he visited the place, "which," he said, "in Captain Smith's map is called Plimouth. And," he adds, "I would that the first Plantation might here be seated, if there come to the number of Fifty persons, or upwards." [1]

The visit of a friendly Indian — Samoset.

From this Samoset they learned that the Indian name of the place they had settled upon was Patuxet, and that about four years before all the inhabitants had been swept off by a plague.[2] He told them who were their nearest Indian neighbors — Massasoit's people, the Wampanoags, and the Nausets on Cape Cod. It was these Nausets with whom the Pilgrims had their harmless fight soon after landing, and who were most inimical to the English because seven of their tribe were kidnapped by Hunt in 1614, the other twenty being taken from Patuxet — Plymouth.

Samoset brought to the settlement some of the friendly Indians, and among them Tisquantum or Squanto, one of those whom Weymouth took to England, fifteen years before, and gave to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It had been this man's fortune to be again kidnapped, this time by Hunt, and to fall into the hands of Dermer, who brought him home to Patuxet, — "my savage's native country," Dermer writes, where he found "all dead," nearly two years before. It was fortunate for the new-comers that their first intercourse with the Indians was through these two men, who were friendly to the English and could speak their tongue. One immediate

Tisquantum or Squanto.

[1] Bradford says of this letter that it is "a relation written by him [Dermer], and given me by a friend, bearing date June 30 Ano 1620. . . . . In which relation to his honored friend he hath these passages of this very place." Morton in the *Memorial*, copies verbatim from Bradford. "I will first begin [says the letter] with that place from whence Squanto or Tisquantum was taken away, which in Captain Smith's map is called Plimouth: and I would that Plimouth had the same commodities. I would that the first Plantation might here be seated if there come to the number of 50 persons or upward." Morton evidently mistakes in supposing this letter of June 30, 1620, referred to the visit of that spring. It was in the summer of 1619 that Dermer was at Plymouth.

[2] There can be no doubt from the concurring testimony of several of the writers of that period, that such a pestilence prevailed throughout New England a few years before the settlement of Plymouth. The story was that a party of Frenchmen, trading on the coast of Massachusetts, aroused the enmity of the natives, who fell upon and killed all but five whom they kept as servants. None of them lived long, and the last survivor predicted to the Indians, just before his death, that God was so angry with them for their bloody and cruel deed that He would destroy them all. The Indians answered that they were so many God could not kill them. The prediction, nevertheless, was fulfilled, and the more pious of the early settlers believed that the pestilence was sent as a special providence to rid the country of the heathen and make room for the coming of a Christian people.

good result followed, for the natives brought, within a few days, the most powerful Sagamore of that region, Massasoit, with whom the colonists made a treaty both offensive and defensive. They were not much impressed with the dignity of this first Indian king whom they met, for he was distinguished from his followers only by a string of white bone beads about his neck ; his face was painted of a sad red, and both face and head were well oiled so that he " looked greasily."

Squanto became at once an intimate and valued friend. He taught them how to plant maize, and to manure it with the alewives which in April came up the brook in great numbers to spawn ; and these he showed them how to take. It was a service of no slight value, for the wheat and peas, and other English seed the colonists sowed, proved almost worthless, either from defect in cultivation, or from delay in planting. Later in the season the Indian guided two ambassadors, Winslow and Hopkins, across the country to Massasoit's chief village, Pokanoket, now Warren, Rhode Island, to confirm the treaty of peace and friendship made with him at Plymouth. The pleasant weather between seed-time and harvest was wisely used in learning the character of the surrounding region, in making the acquaintance of the nearest native tribes, and in acquiring an influence over them.

Visit to Pokanoket and other places.

The cape was explored ; Boston Harbor was visited, and the sight of its islands, then covered with woods, its sheltered coves, and its navigable streams, into which fish of every kind known on that coast swarmed in their season, excited keen regret that their lines had not fallen in such pleasant places. The health of the colonists was now so completely established that ten men could be spared to go off upon some of these excursions — half, at least, of their effective force, for the whole colony, including women and children, was reduced to about fifty persons, and seven small houses held them all. Those left at home were employed in fishing and tending the few acres of the expected harvest. Of food there was abundance ; game was plentiful, especially wild turkeys, which long since disappeared from the Atlantic sea-coast, and deer, which to this day roam in the woods from Plymouth to Cape Cod.[1]

In November came the first reinforcement of thirty-five persons in the ship *Fortune*. She brought also a new patent, issued to John

[1] In the autumn of this year the Governor (says Winslow, in Mourt's *Relation*) " sent four men on fowling, that so we might after a more speciall manner rejoice together after we had gathered the fruit of our labours." This is thought to be the origin of the New England festival of Thanksgiving. But special reference to such a day by name comes the next year, at the same season, for a fruitful harvest, when, says Morton in his *Memorial*, " for which mercy, in time convenient, they also solemnized a Day of Thanksgiving unto the Lord."

Peirce and associates by the Plymouth Company, which had received its charter the November previous, and had given to the New Plymouth Puritans the first patent it granted. It was the first time the exiles had heard from England, and the letters were filled with complaints from the London adventurers that the *Mayflower*, which had returned in the spring, had come without a cargo. To such ungenerous reproaches Bradford — who was now governor — replied in terms as pathetic as they were dignified, that "it pleased God to vissite us with death daily, and with so generall a disease, that the living were scarce able to burie the dead; and the well not in any measure sufficiente to tend the sick." This second ship, however, was laden with lumber and some peltries, but unfortunately only a small part of her cargo ever reached England, as she was taken by the French on the homeward passage.

Patent granted to John Peirce.

The second winter passed without unusual hardship or sickness;

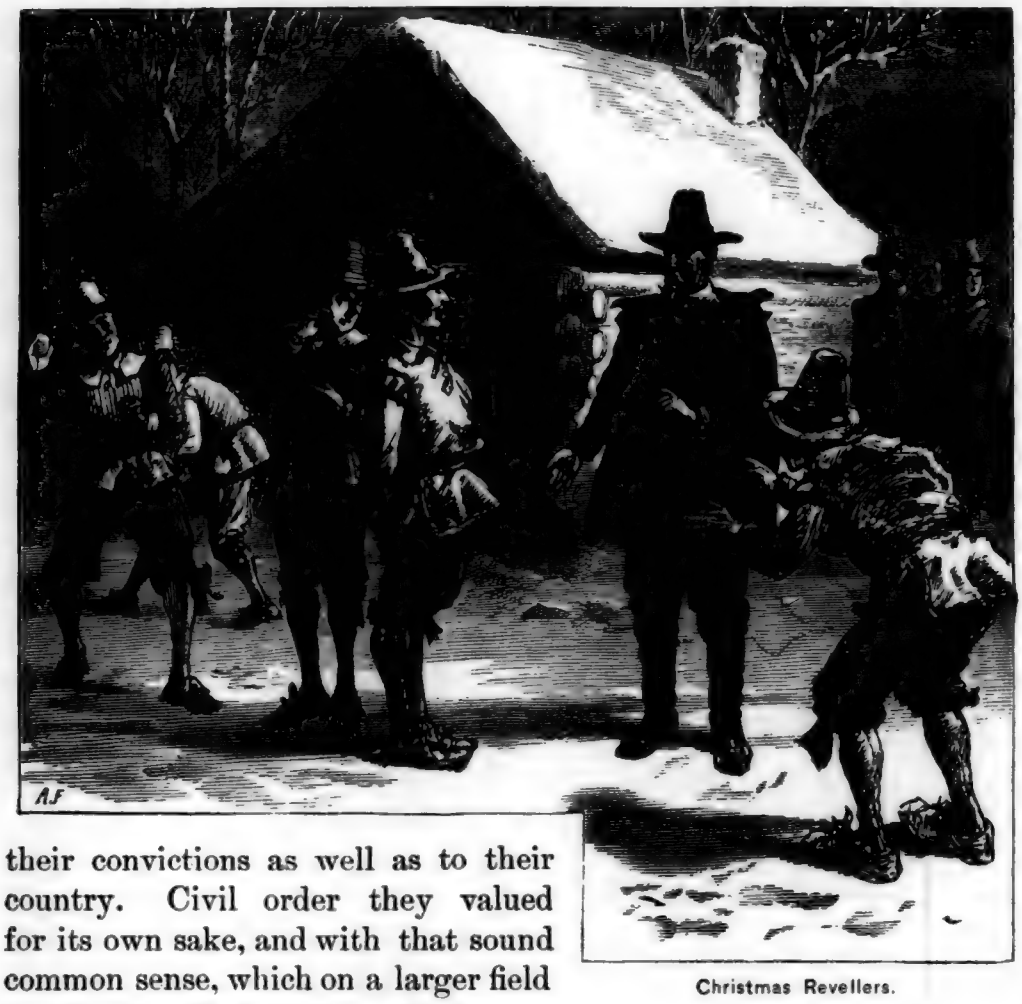
/ **In witnes** whereof the said President & Counsell haue to the one p̃t of this p̃nte Indenture sett their seales And to th'otner p̃t hereof the said John Peirce in the name of himself and his said Associat̃ haue sett to his seale geven the day and yeeres first aboue written/



Signatures to Plymouth Patent.[1]

[1] This patent is preserved at Plymouth, Mass., and is the oldest document now in existence relating to her history, as well as the first known grant made by the Plymouth Company. It is published in full in vol. ii., Fourth Series, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, from which we copy the fac-similes of the signatures of the President and Council who signed it, namely, the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

there was enough to eat; order, security, and sobriety were maintained by strict discipline, the discipline, however, of a mixed civil and military rule and not exclusively of a rigid religious conformity. The better and the larger number were heedful of their own religious walk and conversation, as became a people who for the sake of their faith had submitted to so many years of exile, and who had taken refuge, at last, in the wilderness that they might preserve their allegiance to



Christmas Revellers.

their convictions as well as to their country. Civil order they valued for its own sake, and with that sound common sense, which on a larger field would be called statesmanship, secured it by enforcing it. But that they did not deny to others the freedom of conscience which they claimed for themselves, is evident from a little incident with the relation of which Bradford closes his record of the year, and which he calls a "passage rather of mirth than of waight." On "the day called Christmas day," as he and others of the Leyden congregation went out to their usual labor, some of those who had recently arrived in the *Fortune* excused themselves, as it was, they said, against their consciences to work on that day. If it was a matter of conscience, the

Governor Bradford and the Christmas revellers.

governor assented, then they should be excused till better informed. But when on returning at noon from work these people were found playing at ball, pitching the bar, and at other games in the street, the governor, with more of humor than of that grim intolerance which is often supposed to be the ground-work of the Puritan character, sent them to their houses and their devotions, if they had any to pay, with the reasonable injunction that it was against his conscience they should play while others worked.

The courage and firmness which secured order at home, was no less sturdy in maintaining peace abroad. The Narragansett Indians sent to Plymouth, in token of enmity and of hostile intentions, a bundle of arrows tied together with the skin of a rattlesnake. This was the most numerous and most warlike tribe in New England, numbering, it is supposed, thirty thousand, of whom five thousand were warriors. The little colony, in which there were not more than fifty men capable of bearing arms, may not have known the full strength of these Narragansetts, but they knew, at least, that so numerous a people would be formidable enemies. So soon, nevertheless, as they understood from Squanto the purport of this symbolic message, the skin of the rattlesnake was stuffed with powder and ball and returned. The Indians were at no loss to comprehend both the meaning of the answer and the spirit that prompted it, and the Pilgrims were unmolested.

Defiance of the Narragansetts.

The town, of seven dwellings and two public buildings, was, however, surrounded with palisades, as a measure of precaution; the order of a military garrison, both for peace within and without, was established; all the men were enrolled in four companies, with time and place appointed for mounting guard, for drill, and for general muster; and when, in the spring of 1622, the news came of the massacre in Virginia, the building of a fort was begun within the palisades, on what is now known as "the burial-hill" of Plymouth. There were occasional alarms from the Indians; but that at first, seemingly the most serious, was a false report raised by Squanto, who, coming to entertain a mistaken notion of his own importance, attempted to enhance it by arousing the fears and jealousies of his own people and the English, which he alone was to pacify. He learned better behavior for the future, however, when Massasoit demanded his head, and his Plymouth friends pardoned and saved him.

The first difficulty that had any lasting result came through the conduct of their own countrymen. There was, indeed, a scarcity of food, in the summer of 1622, but that was relieved partly by supplies which Winslow obtained among the English fishermen on the coast of

Maine, and partly from several English vessels which, in the course of the season, visited Plymouth. Among these arrivals were two sent out by that Mr. Weston, of London, who hitherto had been an active and influential friend of their company, but had now retired from it and proposed to plant a colony of his own.

Weston's colony at Wessagusett.

The people whom Weston sent out were not Puritans. Rude and profane fellows, he himself acknowledged, many of them were; and Mr. Peirce, in whose name the new charter was taken out, wrote: "As for Mr. Weston's company, they are so base in condition, for the most part, as, in all appearance, not fit for an honest man's company." Such as they were, they were landed



Burial Hill.

at Plymouth, where they remained for some time, helping to consume the stores to which they had added nothing when they came, and did nothing to increase while they stayed. To support them was a burden; to be compelled to tolerate their idleness and evil example was a misfortune. Plymouth was happily rid of their presence when they determined to establish a separate colony at Wichaguscusset, — or Wessagusset, — now Weymouth, where a broad but shallow stream empties into the harbor, eight or nine miles south of Boston.

Little good was to be expected from such a company; and there came nothing but evil. It was not long before the complaints of the Indians were loud and bitter against them. Improvident and idle, or diligent only in stealing, they soon reached the extremity of want and suffering. Some died of hunger. Some sold their clothes and blankets to the natives for food; others rendered them the most menial services to keep off starvation. Many dispersed themselves about the woods and along the shore seeking to subsist on ground nuts and shell-fish. To the Indians they soon became objects of contempt for their weakness, and of resentment for their thefts and, perhaps, for graver wrongs; for their leader was accused — and he would not be likely, if the charge were true, to be the only offender — of making

mistresses of the Indian women. But the natives must have come at length to despise much more than they feared them, for they would snatch from between their hands the food the whites had prepared for themselves, and take from under them the blankets in which they had wrapped themselves for sleep. So far from resenting and assuming to punish these aggressions of the natives, they attempted to appease their anger by hanging one of the colonists for stealing corn.

Hanging of a colonist.

The culprit, it is related, was one of the stoutest among them — so stout, and strong, and courageous, that his fellows did not venture to arrest him openly, but secured him by some stratagem, and hanged him thus bound. According to the same narrative it was proposed and seriously considered, whether it would not be better to spare this real criminal, who was young and vigorous, and might yet be of great service, and substitute for him on the gallows one who was old, and impotent, and sickly. The project was overruled, however, not so much, apparently, from any recognition of the essential wrong which it was proposed to inflict upon the old man, as from the evident inexpediency of resorting to an artifice which would exasperate but not deceive the Indians.[1]

Discovery of an Indian conspiracy.

This pestilent colony, the Massachusetts Indians, in conjunction with others, resolved, at length, to exterminate; and as they naturally supposed such an act would be avenged by the countrymen of the Wessagusset people, at Plymouth, they also were to be fallen upon at the same time, and the country to be thus rid altogether of the English. But before the savages were ready to put this plan in execution, it happened that news came to Plymouth of the serious illness of Massasoit. Edward Winslow and John Hamden,[2] were at once sent to Pokanoket to express sym-

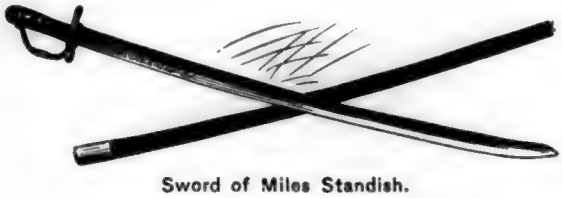
[1] The story rests on the authority of Thomas Morton (*New English Canaan*, Third Book, chap. iv.), who, however much he may have hated and misrepresented the people of Plymouth, does not appear to have borne any ill-will towards those of Wessagusset, and may, indeed, have been one of that company. His circumstantial statement does not look like an invention. Butler, in *Hudibras*, makes use of the story to throw ridicule upon the Puritans, who of course had nothing to do with the incident, if it ever occurred. He represents the culprit as a shoemaker who had slain an Indian because he was an infidel, and then adds, —

"But they maturely having weighed,
They had no more but him of the trade,
A man that served them in a double
Capacity, to teach and cobble,
Resolved to spare him; yet to do
The Indian Hoghgan Moghgan, too,
Impartial justice, in his stead did
Hang an old weaver that was bed-rid."

[2] Similarity of name has sometimes suggested that this was John Hampden, the English patriot, but the conjecture has no other foundation, and other reasons make it altogether improbable.

pathy, and if possible, render aid to one who had shown himself a firm friend and ally of the colonists. The chief was apparently in a dying condition, but Winslow by timely remedies and careful nursing, restored him in a few days to health, to the amazement of his friends and followers, who looked upon his cure as a miracle. The gratitude of Massasoit was unbounded, and he showed it by revealing to Hobbamock, Winslow's Indian guide, the plot against the colonies, in which he had been urged to take part.

An example had been given within a year in Virginia, of how sudden, stealthy, and complete, a massacre by Indians might be. The information given by Massasoit was discussed in the "yearly court-day," or town-meeting on the day of the election in March,[1] and it was determined that an expedition be sent to Wessagusset. This consisted of only eight men, commanded by Captain Standish, who thought proper to take no more, lest the suspicions of the Indians should be aroused by the appearance of a greater number. Standish found the colony in a condition quite as forlorn and wretched as had been represented, so scattered, heedless, imbecile, and unsuspicious, that they would be an easy prey to the savages when these were ready to strike the blow. Only a few of the leading men among them, when told of the designs of the Indians, could believe in the report, and to those few it was confirmed by some circumstances which they had themselves observed.



Sword of Miles Standish.

Some conference was had with the Indians, who suspected the design of Standish, laughed at, and defied him. They were too cautious to expose themselves in any large number together, and Standish seems to have recalled the advice of Massasoit, to cut off the chiefs. Getting two of them, Pecksuot and Wituwamat, with a brother of the latter in a room by themselves, the Captain ordered the door to be closed, and then with two or three of his own men, attacked the Indians. The fight was hand to hand and desperate, but after a long struggle the two chiefs were killed, and the other secured, who was afterwards hanged. Some others were killed at the same time at other places; so, also, when the alarm was spread, were several of the English, who had wandered from home. A more general battle, or rather skirmish, afterward occurred in an

Standish at Wessagusett.

[1] The annual Town-meeting — or "March-meeting day" as it was called — for the choosing of public officers and attending to the public business of the town, continued to be held, till within a few years, in March in Massachusetts. It probably originated in the "Court-day" of the Pilgrims.

open field, when the Indians fled without loss on either side. The head of Wituwamat was taken to Plymouth, and exposed as a warning to the natives. Thither Standish returned, taking a portion of the Wessagusset men with him; others going in their own pinnace to Monhegan, on the coast of Maine. The colony was thus entirely broken up.

This was the first Indian blood shed by the Pilgrims, driven thereto in self-defence by the misconduct of others. The immediate result was beneficial, whatever may have been the consequences in later times in the enmity planted in the minds of a people who never forget and never forgive an injury. For the time being, however, the energetic conduct of Standish spread terror, not only among the Massachusetts Indians, but those of other tribes engaged with them in the plot against the English. They dispersed themselves in the woods and swamps, to avoid the punishment which they feared would fall next upon them; their planting was neglected, and in the destitution of food that followed in a few months, many perished.[1]

The first Indian killed.

When the news of this affair reached Holland, Mr. Robinson, the pastor, wrote: "Concerning the killing of those poor Indians of which we heard at first by reporte, & since by more certaine relation, oh! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some before you had killed any; besids, wher bloud is one begune to be shed, it is seldome stanched of a long time after." It was certainly a humane and prophetic judgment, befitting the man and his profession, but not quite so discriminating as it might have been as to the part his own people were constrained to take in their own defence. The experience of two centuries and a half has since shown how easy it is to kill, and how hard to convert an Indian; and however deplorable the fact may be, it is unquestionably true that occasions have arisen — and this was one of them — where the choice of killing or converting was not presented. Still less just was the excellent pastor to Captain Standish in the same letter. "Let me be bould," he adds, "to exhorte you seriously to consider of the disposition of your Captaine, whom I love, and am persuaded the Lord in great mercie & for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. . . . . Ther is cause to fear that by occasion, espetially of provocation, ther may be wanting that tendernes of the life of man (made after God's image) which is meete." The brethren at Plymouth might have answered that the good pastor at Leyden, who knew nothing of the North American Indians, could hardly judge as to the proper line of duty for Captain Standish, shut up in a room with a

Mr. Robinson's rebuke.

[1] Winslow's "Relation" in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims.*

naked savage, bent upon taking his life, and armed with a long, keen, doubled-edged knife ground to a fine point.

Weston arrived not long after the dispersion of his colony. When a few months later Captain Robert Gorges, the recently appointed governor of all New England, came to Plymouth, he proposed to arrest Weston and put him upon trial to answer, among other things, for the ill conduct of his men at Wessagusset, whereby the peace of the whole country had been endangered.

Arrival of Captain Gorges.



Signature of William Bradford.

Weston's sufficient defence was, that he could not be held responsible for acts done by others in his absence. Other charges, brought then and later, he could not so easily answer. But Governor Bradford and others of the leading men at Plymouth could not forget their former relations with Weston, and the services he had rendered in the outset of their enterprise. Partly at their intercession, and partly because Gorges was at length convinced that nothing could be gained by a continued pursuit of a man bankrupt alike in fortune and character, Plymouth and New England became happily rid of that unfortunate adventurer in the course of the next winter.

The patent Robert Gorges brought with him gave him a vague title to all the mainland in New England known as Massachusetts, on the northeast side of Massachusetts Bay, with all the coast for ten miles in a straight line toward the northeast, and thirty miles into the interior for that breadth. He, nevertheless, assumed Wessagusset — on the South shore — to be within the limits assigned him, and landed his stores and built warehouses on the site that Weston had chosen. Gorges himself, however, soon returned to England; his people dispersed, in the course of the year, some going home, some to Virginia, except a few who preferred to remain at Wessagusset.

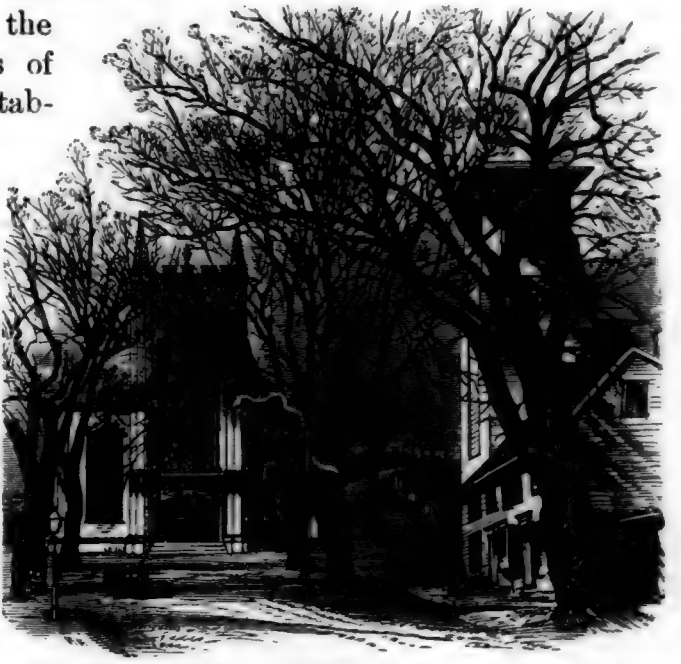
Wessagusset reoccupied and again abandoned.

The year 1623 was otherwise memorable in the annals of the Pilgrims. The laboring in common and on joint account, to which they were bound by their articles of agreement with the London adventurers, was a source of so much injustice, discontent, and confusion, and so evident a hindrance to their prosperity — almost to their continued existence — that the necessity of some modification of that arrangement was forced upon them. The most obvious evil was the radical one; there could be no true prosperity for the whole so long as there was no just proportion between the labor of the individual and the welfare it secured to him. It was proposed, therefore, as an experiment, to make allotments of lands, for one year, to each

colonist to cultivate on his own account. That there was any hesitation in resorting to so imperative a measure was partly because it was an infringement upon the jointstock agreement, and partly because it was the persuasion of the time that a colony in a new country could only exist as the dependency of a corporation, with a community of goods in anything it produced.

Allotments of land to individuals.

In Plymouth, as in Virginia, the change once made became perpetual, and from it dates the beginning of true prosperity. The right of every man, thenceforward, to ownership in the land and to the fruits of his own labor was established. The "particular planting" — or each man for himself — was at once proved to be so advantageous, that "any generall want or famine," says Bradford, writing more than twenty years afterward, "hath not been amongst them since to this day."



Site of First Church and Governor Bradford's House

And there was need enough that some way should be devised to escape from that condition of almost extreme want under which, for the first three years, the colony generally suffered. Above all people of the world, as one of them said, they had reason to pray for their daily bread, it so often happened that none knew at night where the next day's food was to come from. To get enough from day to day to keep soul and body together was their constant anxiety, and the stimulus to unceasing labor. Their chief sustenance in the summer-time was fish and clams, with sometimes a little venison — very little it must have been, for stalking deer with the clumsy musket of the period, could but be wearisome and unprofitable hunting. Those who went out by turns in their single boat to fish, would stay away five or six days rather than return empty-handed to be received with gloom and disappointment by their hungry fellows. The treasured stores were eked out in winter with ground nuts and such wild fowl as they could kill. When a ship came in with additions to their number the scant and sorry feast of

General scarcity of food for the first few years.

welcome they spread before their friends was a lobster, or a bit of fish without bread, and a cup of water. To deprive an Englishman of that period, when tea and coffee were unknown in Europe, of his beer, was to reduce him to a condition next to starvation; but the want of "a spoonful of beer," even for the sick, is recorded as among the deprivations most sorely felt in the first year's sufferings, both of Plymouth and Jamestown. "It is worthy to be observed," wrote Bradford, twenty years afterward, in allusion to the sufferings of the early times, "how the Lord doth chaing times and things; for what is now more plentiful than wine." It was not counted as among the least of the trials which these first colonists had to endure, that a cup of fair water was the only drink. When the search was made along the shores of Plymouth Bay for a fitting place for a settlement, the reason given, in addition to the lateness of the season, for the hasty decision was that: "We could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our beer."[1] And when, a few years later, a colony came over to settle at Salem, and provisions soon became scarce, "most began to repent when their strong Beere and full cups ran as small as water in a large Land."[2]

There are indications of other troubles in these early years, the cause and sometimes the character of which are not always clear. The root of them all, however, was probably in the determination on the part of some of the London adventurers to use the colony for their own selfish purposes. Thus when John Peirce, in whose name, but on behalf of the colony, the first patent from the Plymouth Company was taken out in 1621, saw that the enterprise promised within two years to be successful, he procured, in 1623, another patent on his own account, under which the Plymouth people were to be merely his tenants. Fortunately for them Peirce met with such losses in sending a ship to America that he was willing to part with this grant; but for what had cost him only £50, he compelled the company to pay him £500. Nor was the conflict of material interests the only or the most serious one. Among the adventurers in London some were Church people, and the jealousy of sect, while harder to reconcile than merely pecuniary interests, embittered and intensified all other differences. That the pastor, Robinson, and more of their friends from the Church at Leyden did not join them seems to have been because there was a determination among some of the managers in London to prevent it. There was clearly a purpose to get another class of persons than Puritans settled

John Peirce's second patent.

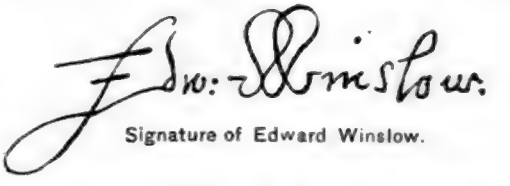
[1] Mourt's *Relation.*

[2] Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence.*

at Plymouth; and while it seems plain that those of the Puritan faith were quite ready, so far as it was possible among a people of such strong convictions and rigid lives, to tolerate those who did not agree with them, there are indications at least on the other side, of a purpose to diminish and overcome the puritanic element of the colony, and to put the management of its affairs into the hands of those who had no sympathy with it. But the Puritans were strong in the leadership of such men as Bradford, Brewster, and Winslow, who were as eminently endowed with common sense, worldly wisdom, and the governing faculty, as they were deservedly esteemed among the brethren for their soundness in the faith.

Winslow was sent to England on the business of the colony in the autumn of 1623, and brought, on his return in the spring, a report of these differences. There came with him one John Lyford, a clergyman, who, as it afterwards appeared, was an emissary of the discontented faction in the London Council, a veritable wolf in sheep's clothing among the Plymouth flock, a dissembler, mischief-maker, and spy: "The preacher we have sent," wrote Robert Cushman, "is (we hope) an honest, plain man, though none of the most eminente and rare. . . . . Mr. Winslow and my selfe gave way to his going, to give continte to some hear, and we see no hurt, but only his great charge of children." The charge of his family, which had to be supported from the public store, was the lightest burden he brought them, as the event showed. Full of protestations of humility, of admiration for the Pilgrims, of being a devout and zealous convert to their way of thinking on religious subjects, he so ingratiated himself among them, that he was soon admitted to the church, and taken by the governor into unreserved confidence.

Arrival of John Lyford from England.



Signature of Edward Winslow.

There was in the colony one John Oldham, who also had won much good repute before the coming of Lyford and was held in like esteem. These two men soon drew together and gathered about them all the discontented spirits of the colony, proposing apparently to subvert both church and state. A movement of this sort could not be carried on long in a community of less than two hundred persons, without being suspected. Lyford and Oldham were watched, and when it was found among other things that Lyford had prepared more letters to send to England by the ship in which he came out than any honest purpose would seem to warrant, Bradford felt that it was his duty as chief magistrate and to avert the ruin that such a conspiracy threatened, to intercept these letters. They

Conduct of Lyford and Oldham.

were found to contain ample evidence against both the suspected men.

Lyford, however, was not arrested till he openly held a meeting for public worship in accordance with the forms and rites of the Episcopal Church. It was impossible that the Pilgrims should see the introduction of any other form of religious observance than their own among them without a good deal of feeling, and that alone might, in some degree, warp their judgment. But the offence of Lyford was evidently not so much that he had held such a meeting, as that he should have done so without consultation with the brethren, while he had all the while professed to have abandoned the Episcopal Church, and to be in full accord with a people who, as Bradford said, "all the world knew came hither to enjoy the liberty of their conscience and the free use of God's ordinances; and for that end had ventured their lives and passed through so much hardship hitherto, and they and their friends had borne the charge of those beginnings, which was not small." But there were other grievances, though this may have been the head and front of his offending, that justified the course pursued with him as a dangerous member of society.

Oldham was at the same time brought to trial, but not till he had openly disobeyed and defied the Captain when ordered out on guard; had called him a "beggarly raskell," and had threatened him with a knife. When arraigned before the public meeting with Lyford to answer for his conduct, he loudly called, though he called in vain, upon all who were discontented and on whom they both thought they could rely, to rally around him in open mutiny. The result of the trial, however, was that Lyford publicly and humbly confessed in the church, with many tears, that he had been guilty of grievous wrong, had slandered the brethren, and plotted against their rule in the colony, and that in his pride, vain-glory, and self-love, he had hoped to carry all against them by violence and the strong hand.

A sentence of banishment was pronounced upon both, to take place some months later. This clemency was misplaced, for Lyford wrote again secretly to England, soon after, repeating and maintaining the truth of all the charges he had before made, which were chiefly intolerance among the Pilgrims of all religious opinions and forms of worship but their own; abuse by the magistrates of the civil power to the injury of all who were not of their way of thinking; injustice to those later emigrants who had no interest in the joint-stock company; and waste of the public property—charges which were all categorically met and denied.

Their trial and condemnation.

His case came at length, on this second letter, before a public meeting of the adventurers in London for consideration and decision,

where Winslow, who meantime was on another visit to England, not only met the accusations made against the good name and peace of the colony, but proved by trustworthy witnesses there present, that Lyford, while a clergyman in Ireland, had been guilty of seduction under circumstances of unusual baseness. About the same time his wife in Plymouth, "a grave matron and of good cariage," when the sentence of banishment was about to be enforced against her husband, "was so affected with his doings as she could no longer conceaill her greefe and sorrow of minde." She laid her burden before a deacon of the church and other friends, acknowledging that this reverend hypocrite had been a fornicator before their marriage and an adulterer since. Such developments were the best evidence of the true character of the man, and

Acknowledgment of Lyford's wife.



Expulsion of Oldham.

that the prosecution of him by the Puritans was on behalf of social morality, good order, and peace in the colony, and did not proceed from religious bigotry.

The case of Oldham was less complicated, and was dealt with in a more summary manner. He had the hardihood to return again to Plymouth a few months after his banishment. A coarse and open brawler, he made himself so offensive to all good citizens and so abused the forbearance of the magistrates by his open denunciations and loud-mouthed defiance, that even the

Oldham kicked out of Plymouth.

limit of their patience was at length reached. "They committed him," says Bradford, "till he was tamer, and then apointed a gard of musketers which he was to pass throw and every one was ordered to give him a thump on the brich, with the but end of his musket, and then was conveied to the water side, wher a boat was ready to cary him away. Then they bid him goe and mende his maners."

There is not much in the characters or the acts of these men to distinguish them from the ordinary and trivial incidents which necessarily mark the history of a handful of people struggling in the wilderness to retain their grasp upon existence, while laying the foundations of what may become a commonwealth, or may only be a village. But their conduct had results more serious than were involved in the punishment of two bad men, or than the anxiety they gave to the rulers of the colony, or the scandal they brought upon it. The bringing of Lyford's case before the London meeting was the culmination of the differences and difficulties which had long divided the company; differences and difficulties which had prevented Mr. Robinson and the rest of his flock in Leyden, from joining those in America; had kept alive that spirit of persecution which the Puritans hoped to escape by voluntary exile; and had so seriously interfered with the progress and prosperity of the colony.

Breaking up of the company in London.

That Lyford was really an emissary of a faction whose purpose was to take the colony out of the hands of the Puritans and reduce them to the condition of sufferance — if even that should be granted them — seemed no longer doubtful. His conviction before the world as a man of detestable character who had attempted by the most treacherous means to carry out a hostile purpose, led the majority of the London adventurers, not to drop him, but to drop the colony. They virtually made common cause with the culprit, and accepted his exposure and defeat as their own. The Company from that moment came to an end, and the Plymouth people were left, with a few friends in England, to work out for themselves their own success or their own failure as the case might be.

It was really the beginning of their success. Thrown upon their own resources, they developed new energies. Assuming in the course of the next year the entire debts and responsibilities of the Company, lands, houses, cattle and other domestic animals were equitably divided, and the people from dependent colonists became independent citizens, living in the enjoyment of the fruits of their own labor, and under laws of their own making. The whole trade of the colony was put for a limited period under the sole management of eight of the principal men, who undertook in return — and in due time discharged the obligation — to liquidate all

Independence of the colony.

debts, including that to the old Company which was the price of their freedom. Their friends at Leyden were enabled in time to join them, though the Pastor Robinson, who died in March, 1625, was never permitted to see the promised land. From that time they had none to rely upon but themselves.

When Winslow returned from England in the spring of 1624, he brought with him a grant, made to himself and Robert Cushman by Edward Lord Sheffield, of 500 acres of land, together with 30 acres in addition for each actual settler for a mile and a half along the shore of Cape Ann Bay, now Gloucester. The Cape Ann Patent.

"In my discovery of Virginia," says Captain John Smith with characteristic audacity, in the dedication to Prince Charles of his description of New England — "in my discovery of Virginia, I presumed to call two nameless Headlands after my Soveraign's heirs, Cape Henry and Cape Charles." He neither discovered Virginia nor named its capes, but to Cape Ann he did give a name which, however, it did not long retain — calling it Cape Tragabigzanda, in honor of that noble Turkish gentlewoman, Charatza Tragabigzanda, whose slave he once was, by right of purchase, and who he tells us, pined for love of him. But Prince Charles ruthlessly took from New England the perpetuation of the memory of this tender romance by changing the name to Cape Ann in honor of his mother, Anne of Denmark. Lord Sheffield's right to that portion of the country was derived partly from purchase and partly from a division of New England among the patentees of the Plymouth Company, which division, however, was never approved by the king, and was therefore null and void.[1]

Thither the ship in which Winslow came, was sent to establish a fishing station, after discharging her cargo, an important part of which was three heifers and a bull, the first cattle taken to Plymouth. But they made a poor voyage, says Bradford, — who always thought that fishing was a "thing fatal" to the colony — partly because of the lateness of the season, and partly because the master of the ship was "a drunken beast, and did nothing (in a maner) but drink and gusle, and consume away the time and his victails." The first cattle at Plymouth.

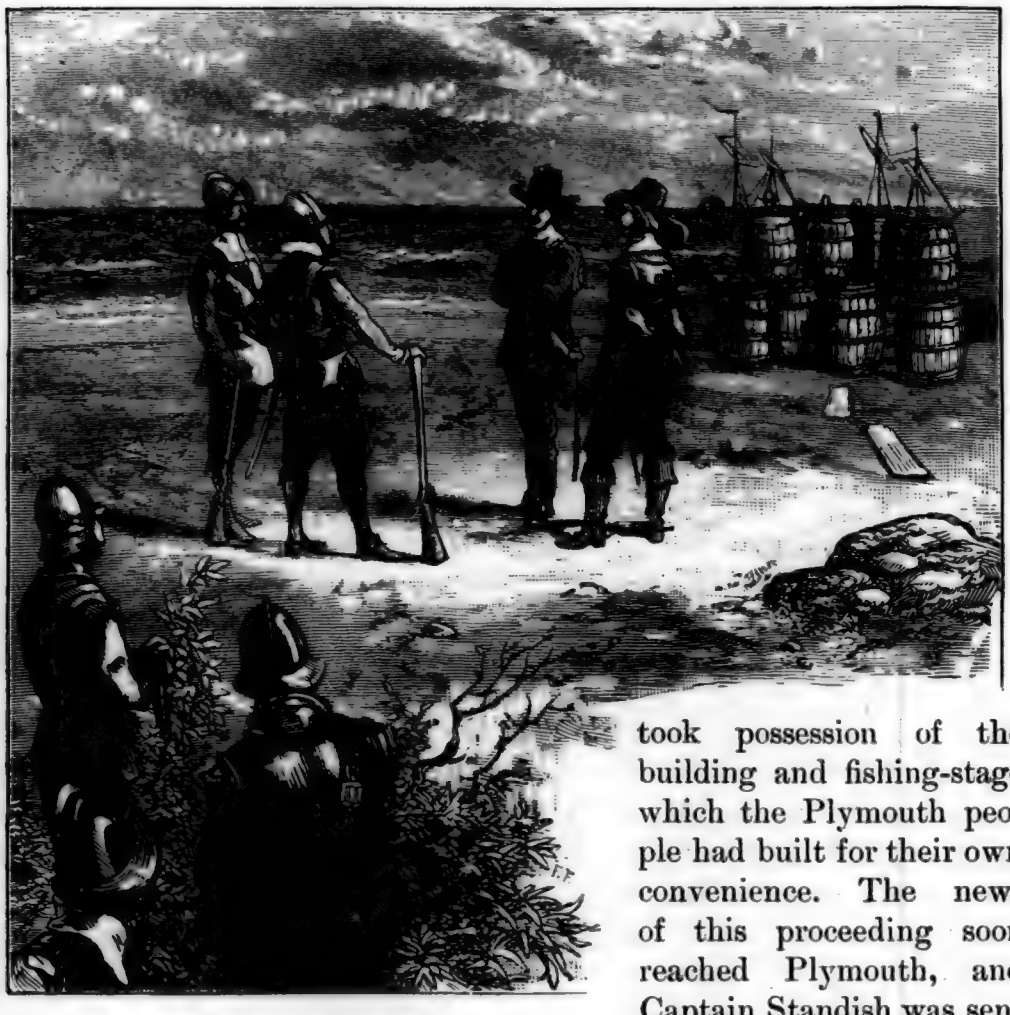
The undertaking was on the whole, disastrous, though something was made by trade in peltries. The beaver was to these first people of Massachusetts a better friend than the cod, though the cod hangs to this day in the State House at Boston as the emblem of its prosperity, while only here and there in the country lingers some dim tradition of the beaver, where an embankment across some secluded meadow suggests that a dam may once have been there. The Pilgrims, how-

[1] Smith's *General Historie*; *The Landing at Cape Anne*, by J. Wingate Thornton.

ever, built a large frame house and put up a stage for drying fish as the nucleus of a settlement. But here the Lyford trouble was to break out again and plague them.

The first result of the dissolution of the Company in London which followed his exposure was the sending out of a ship by some of the adventurers who had upheld Lyford, upon a voyage which could hardly fail to come into competition with their late associates. The vessel, under the command of one Hewes, arrived early in the season and finding this place at Cape Ann unoccupied, he

The fishing station at Cape Ann.



Barricade at Cape Ann.

took possession of the building and fishing-stage which the Plymouth people had built for their own convenience. The news of this proceeding soon reached Plymouth, and Captain Standish was sent with a company to expel the intruders. A surrender was demanded; Hewes piled up a barricade of hogsheads at the stage-head, and secure behind these with his ship in the rear, as his base of operations, defied the Captain. High words passed and might have ended in bloodshed, for as "a little chimney is soon fired, so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very little stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper."[1] But the fortifi-

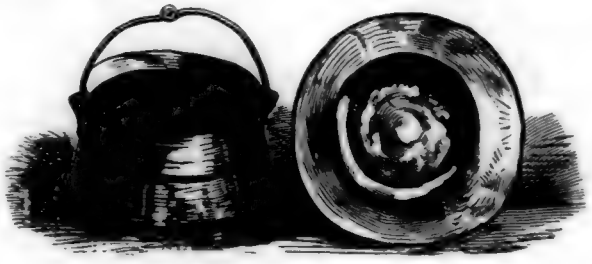
[1] Hubbard's *History of New England.*

cation was one not to be easily carried, and an attack from the open country could only be made at the greatest disadvantage.

There happened to be present, however, Captain William Peirce in a ship from Plymouth, and one Roger Conant of Nantasket, and at their intercession the anger of Standish was appeased. He was, moreover, too good a soldier not to see that an assault would be hopeless; so a compromise was made, the fishermen promising to help the Plymouth people in building another stage. The house seems to have remained in possession of its rightful owners, for a salt-maker was sent from Plymouth to put up pans for salt-boiling. But by his carelessness, in the course of the summer, house and pans were destroyed by fire, "and this," says Governor Bradford, "was the end of that chargable bussines."

This Roger Conant, who helped to assuage the hot and angry temper of the Plymouth captain, was an early member of that colony; but being a churchman, the rigid life of the Separatists was probably distasteful to him, and he removed to Nantasket. At Nantasket — now the little hamlet of Hull, though the old Indian name happily still clings to it, snugly nestling just within Boston harbor, in a valley between two great round hills, out of sight, though not out of sound of the surf which the Atlantic rolls up upon the long stretch of Nantasket beach and dashes against the ledges of Cohasset — in or near this lovely nook, Standish, on his first visit to Boston harbor, had put up a house.[1] Of this, probably a year or two later, Conant took possession, and there he, Lyford, and Oldham found refuge when the Puritans would no longer tolerate the latter.

Roger Conant of Nantasket.



Standish's "Pot and Platter."

It is not quite certain whether Conant was at this time residing at Cape Ann, or whether he was there only to be present at the apprehended struggle between the Plymouth men and the crew of Hewes's vessel, a report of which might easily have reached him at Nantasket, only a few miles distant. At Cape Ann, at any rate, was already planted that first colony of which Conant was sometime in charge, and which was the seed from which sprung the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The first Cape Ann Colony.

The merchants of the west of England had for several years sent

[1] "Something like a habitation was put up at Nantasket," says Hubbard (*General History of New England*), with reference to future traffic with Indians.

vessels to fish along the coast of New England,[1] and in 1623 it was proposed, as a saving of time and expense, that colonizing and fishing should be united. The extra men whom it was necessary to take on these voyages to catch and to cure the fish, were to be left somewhere on the coast when the fishing season was over and the vessel ready to go home, to employ themselves in building, planting, and hunting, for the rest of the year till they were needed again as fishermen. The plan, indeed, did not answer, for, — as Bradford saw so plainly and as the west country merchants proved to their great loss, — the preliminary and continuous work necessary in the planting of a colony was incompatible with the business of fishing. It was not till a later period that so many of the thrifty people of Massachusetts, small farmers, or shoemakers, or other handi-craftsmen, in the autumn and winter, found that they could profitably and healthfully spend the spring and summer months in fishing on the Grand Banks, or along the coast for cod and mackerel, and never go to sea at any other time, or for any other purpose.

The Dorchester Company.

A company, however, was formed in 1623 at Dorchester, England, of which the Rev. John White, the minister of that place, was the moving spirit, to combine planting with fishing. One vessel was sent out that year on such a voyage, and, when she was ready to return, fourteen of her crew were left, with provisions for their support, at Cape Ann to begin a colony. The next spring two ships with more men were sent; the year after, three. To the people were added cattle in 1625; but the experiment, nevertheless, was unsuccessful. The fishing proved unprofitable from several causes; the landsmen were ill-chosen and ill-governed; the colony fell into disorder, and most of the people were sent back to England, probably in 1626.[2] A few men remained in charge of cattle sent out the year before. Of these, Conant was chief, having been previously appointed — Hubbard says — the overseer or governor.[3]

[1] In 1620 there were seven or eight fishing-vessels sent out from that part of England and four years later their number was increased to fifty.

[2] *The Planters' Plea.* By Rev. John White. Hubbard's *General History of New England.*

[3] There is much incertitude about the history of this Cape Ann Colony, under the Dorchester Company. White, in *The Planters' Plea*, gives the date of its settlement as 1623; Hubbard in the *General History* says, "about 1624." White does not mention Conant, but Hubbard says that John Tylly and Thomas Gardner, were overseers "at least for one year's time, at the end of which," White and his associates "pitched upon him, the said Conant, for the managing and government of all their affairs at Cape Ann." This would be in 1625, when according to White, after a "two years and a half" experiment, the Company abandoned the attempt, and a few only of the most honest and industrious remained to take charge of the cattle. But Hubbard also says, that "together with him," — Conant — the Company invited Lyford, "to be the minister of the place," and Oldham, "to trade for them with the Indians," — which invitation Lyford accepted, but Oldham declined —

The same year, Conant, not liking the place at Cape Ann, moved to Naumkeag, or Nahumkeik, — now Salem.[1] Mr. White and some of his associates, encouraged by the fact that this little remainder of their colony still clung together, sent out more cattle, and moved anew in England to engage others in their enterprise. Some gentlemen in London added to these cattle, and there can be little doubt that emigrants also went out in the course of the year, to join Conant and his few companions. Removal to Naumkeag.

The "action" had fallen, at last, into good hands. Some gentlemen of London took hold of it with great energy, moved thereto by

all three at that time residing at Nantasket; and elsewhere he says, that these men, after leaving Plymouth, found refuge at Nantasket for themselves and their families, "for the space of a year and a few months, till a door was opened for them at Cape Ann. . . . . about the year 1625." But Lyford and Oldham were not tried at Plymouth till the summer of 1624; Lyford's banishment was not to take place till six months afterward, and Oldham's family had permission to remain in Plymouth the ensuing winter. Neither Lyford nor Oldham's family, therefore, went to Nantasket till 1625, and if they remained there a year and some months, could not have gone to Cape Ann till 1626. Bradford, moreover, though he does not mention Conant, says that Lyford went from Nantasket to Naumkeag, — Salem. The difficulty is, to reconcile Hubbard with himself; with the fixed date of the Lyford trouble at Plymouth; and with White's statement as to the beginning and duration of the colony. This difficulty is further complicated by Captain Smith, in his *General History*, published in 1624, where he says, "and by Cape Ann there is a plantation, a beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of New Plymouth, who also by them have set up a fishing worke." If the Dorchester men held of New Plymouth, it must have been under the Sheffield patent, and such "beginning" of their plantation would necessarily be in 1624, and not in 1623; for the Sheffield patent is dated January 1st, 1624, N. S. — 1623, O. S. — and the Plymouth "fishing work" we know was set up in the spring of 1624. Hubbard is supposed to have received his information directly from Conant, who lived in Salem till 1680, but as his statement about Lyford is manifestly incorrect, he is quite likely to be so in other particulars as to dates. Smith could have had only hearsay information; the assertions of both, therefore, cannot weigh against the peculiarly clear account of White, in the *Planters' Plea*. If Conant left Plymouth, as Hubbard says, with Lyford — and Conant's memory on such a point would probably be accurate; — if they went first to Nantasket, and lived there even a much shorter time than a year and a few months, they may not have gone to Cape Ann till late in 1625, Conant's "governorship" beginning the next spring, or the winter of 1625–26, when the colony was abandoned by all but himself and a few companions, and he took charge of the cattle. It seems, indeed, most likely that this act of Conant's first commended him to the favorable attention of Mr. White, who was glad to hear of so trustworthy a man on the spot, and, not being willing to give up the project, sent more cattle to his care. Meanwhile, Conant had removed to Naumkeag. He could hardly be called a governor, even as governors went in those times. The only authority for it is Hubbard, who evidently used the term indifferently and interchangeably with overseer or agent.

[1] "Of which place I have somewhere met with an odd observation, that the name of it was rather Hebrew, than Indian; for נחום, Nahum, signifies comfort, & חוף, signifies an haven; & our English not only found it an Haven of Comfort, but happened also to put an Hebrew name upon it, for they called it Salem, for the *peace* which they had & hoped in it; & *so it is called unto this day*." Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i., chap. iv.

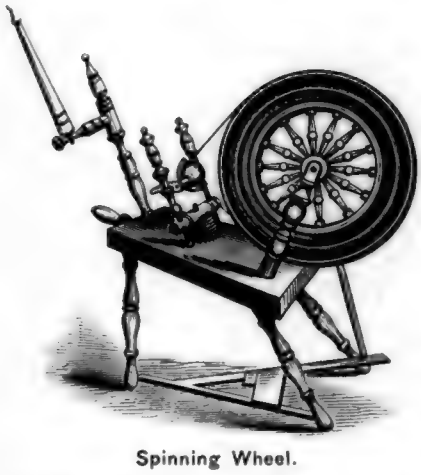
"It fals out that the name of the place, which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, proves to be perfect Hebrew being called Nahum Keike, by interpretation, *The bosome of consolation*." White's *Planters' Plea*, chap. ii.

the promise of pecuniary success and the hope of making an asylum for those who, though not such rigid Separatists as the New Plymouth people, were nevertheless Non-conformists, anxious to escape the tyranny of the prelates and from a church which they believed was on the high road to Rome. Fit men for the enterprise were sought for, and "among others they lighted at last on master Endicott, a man well knowne to divers persons of good note." In March, a patent[1] was procured from the New England Company; it granted all that tract of country from three miles south of the Charles River, to three miles north of the Merrimack, and under this Endicott was sent out as governor with a few colonists, who arrived at Naumkeag in September, 1628.

Endicott's arrival.

Endicott's people and those already at Naumkeag, numbered altogether on his arrival, fifty or sixty only. A year later, when the Rev. Francis Higginson joined them with two hundred more, he found there one hundred. How in the mean time had the number doubled? History prides itself on exactness, and undertakes to say precisely when and how events occurred, how many men were at a given time in a given place, and what they did. But much is, and must be taken upon conjecture and upon trust, in this case, and the reality may, after all, have differed much from the guesses transmitted from book to book, and from century to century.

How many men may have scattered themselves along the shores of Massachusetts Bay — indeed all along the whole coast of New England — from 1620 to 1630, is altogether uncertain. There were isolated "squatters," no doubt, in various places — temporary settlements soon forgotten and soon abandoned, or absorbed in permanent colonies afterward established with settled forms of government. Some vagabonds came then, as so many have come since, to the New World, to mingle with and add to the more staid and sober population. There was more than one place along the shores of the Bay, whence men may have gone to Endicott's colony and submitted to law and the restraints of civil society, for the sake of its advantages; men who gladly surrendered the attractions and the freedom of a half savage life, to be again among houses where women in civilized garments were busy about



Spinning Wheel.

[1] The patentees were Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcote, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whitcomb.

their household duties, where the pleasant whir of the spinning-wheel filled the air, where busy farmers sowed or reaped, where horses were driven a-field, and kine gathered into barn-yards. The sights and sounds of rural and domestic life, appealing to so many memories of early homes across the sea, in green and merry England, which they would never see again, must needs have been an irresistible attraction to many of these solitary adventurers, weary, at last, of the silence of the wilderness and the companionship of savages. Little neighborhoods that had been drawn together for mutual support and defence, would often melt away into large companies which came with the advantages of numbers and of wealth. For of these smaller plantations, it was said, "they were like the habitations of the foolish, as it is in Job, cursed before they had taken root."

Scattered settlements along the coast.

Nantasket was a place of refuge for Conant, Lyford, and Oldham. The rough house which Standish put up there before Plymouth was a year old, was open to all comers, — like the "Humane Houses" of the present day scattered along the coast, places of entertainment for shipwrecked men — and perhaps had often sheltered some outcasts whom the rigid righteousness of the Puritans would not tolerate. Thompson's Island, in Boston Harbor, so called to this day, was granted early to David Thompson, whom we know of as living at one time at Piscataway; and there are trustworthy intimations that he and others were living on the island at one time and another. When Gorges's colony was broken up at Wessagusset, some few remained behind, and either they or others were still on that river some years later. William Blaxton lived where Boston now stands. Maverick was on Noddle's Island in Boston Harbor. At Mount Wollaston, a colony was planted in 1625, which may have become so attractive to all indolent and shiftless vagrants, as to be a nursery of vagabonds, and an asylum to discontented fishermen and sailors who ran away from their ships.

Mount Wollaston and Thomas Morton.

Mount Wollaston — still bearing the same name — is in the present town of Quincy, about five miles south of Boston, and was so named from one Captain Wollaston, who came out from England in 1625, with thirty others, the larger part of whom were persons bound to service. These were not profitable emigrants to take to New England, and Captain Wollaston soon carried some of his servants to a better market in Virginia. Having sold the first importation, he wrote to his partner to come on with more, and to leave a Mr. Fitchter in charge of the colony at Mount Wollaston till further orders. Among the colonists was one Thomas Morton, by profession a lawyer, but by choice a roving and reckless adventurer, impatient of any steady labor and of all serious duties, given to much

drinking, fond of public sports, deriding always the sobriety of the Puritans and the severity of their lives — just the jolly vagabond to lead other vagabonds into any mischief. "In the month of June, Anno Salutis, 1622," he says, "it was my good chance to arrive in the parts of New England." He must, in that case, have been at Plymouth, where he could have found no more congenial companions — for he, too, professed to be a good church-man — than among those whose scrupulous consciences forbade them to chop wood on Christmas day, but permitted them to play at bowls; and he may have gone to Wessagusset that year with Weston's people, for no brain of that company would have been more likely to conceive that remarkable "Embrion" — his own narrative is the sole authority for its birth — which suggested the vicarious hanging of an old, sickly, and useless member of the community, in place of a young and lusty culprit.

At any rate, this troublesome adventurer was at Mount Wollaston; Mare Mount he named it, which the Puritans, ignorantly or ironically, changed to Merry Mount, and Endicott altered again to Mount Dagon. And here, when Fitchter was left in command, he made a characteristic proposal, when his commander happened to be out of the way. He told his companions that as some of their company had already been taken to Virginia and sold for their terms of service, so would the rest be when Wollaston was next heard from. But if they chose, he said, to depose Fitchter and banish him from the colony, he — Morton — and they would henceforth live together as copartners and equals, and they be released from service altogether. He hardly needed to have made the crew about him drunk — as it is intimated he did — to secure the acceptance of this tempting proposal. Fitchter was deposed and driven forth, and thenceforward not liberty only, but license held high revel at Mount Wollaston.

The May-pole at Merry Mount.

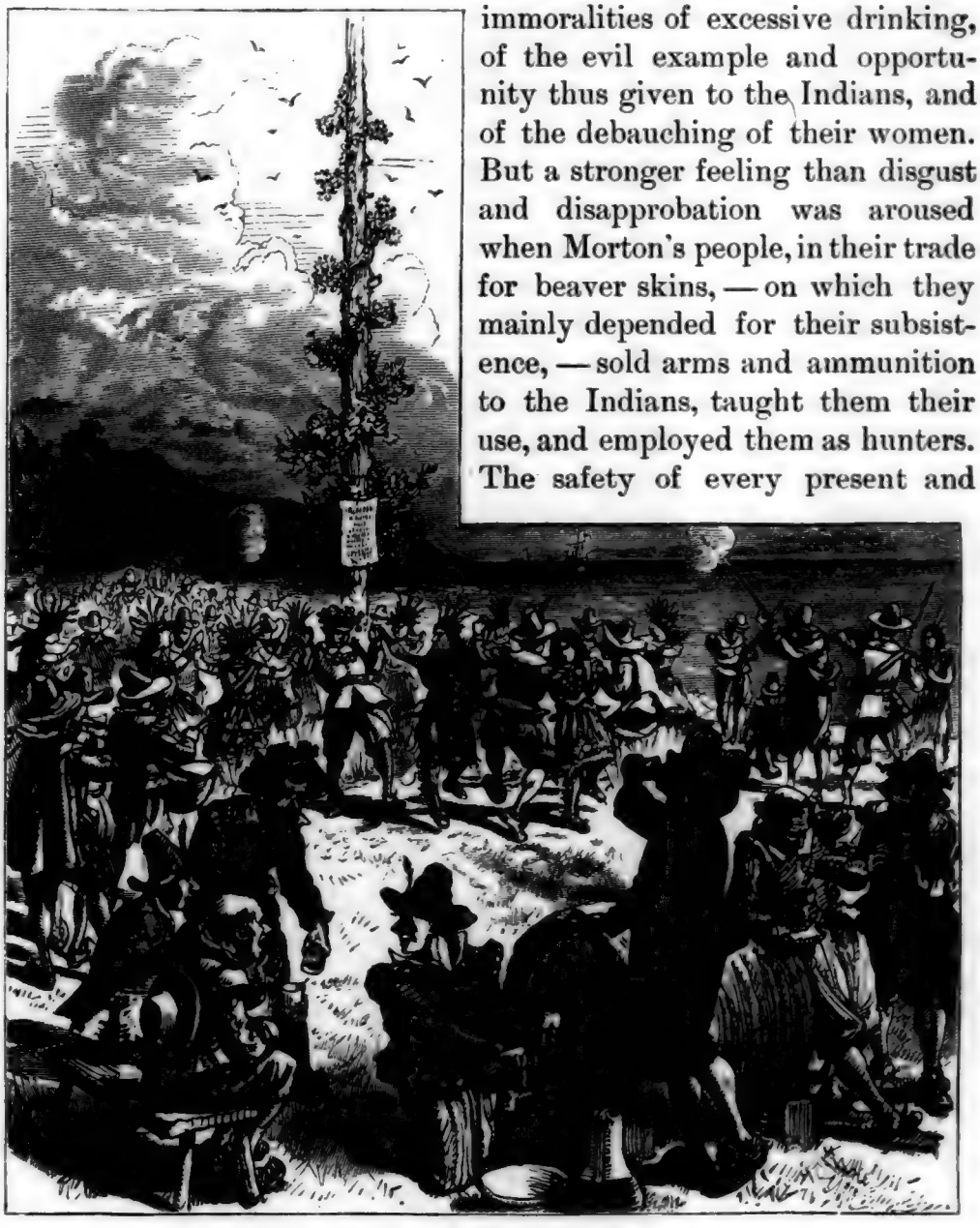
Upon the top of the hill was set up, on May-day, a May-pole, eighty feet high, visible for miles around, "a faire sea-marke for directions," says Morton, "how to finde out the way to mine Host of Ma-re Mount." A pair of buck-horns adorned the top; a poem of Morton's own composing was nailed at a convenient height to be read of all comers, few of whom could read and fewer still could understand any more of its labored enigma than that Cith-area pointed to land at last: —

> "With proclamation that the first of May,
> At Ma-re Mount shall be kept hollyday."

A barrel of beer was broached upon the green, and bottles of stronger drink provided for those who wanted it; all the drums, guns, and pistols that the settlement possessed were called into use for the noise

indispensable to a public rejoicing; roaring a song of Morton's in praise of drink and "Indian lasses in beaver coats," the hilarious crew danced about the May-pole, with Indian women for partners in the absence of ladies with more clothes on.

The sober Puritans would have been shocked by such festivities, even had they been free from the immoralities of excessive drinking, of the evil example and opportunity thus given to the Indians, and of the debauching of their women. But a stronger feeling than disgust and disapprobation was aroused when Morton's people, in their trade for beaver skins, — on which they mainly depended for their subsistence, — sold arms and ammunition to the Indians, taught them their use, and employed them as hunters. The safety of every present and



Festivities at Merry Mount.

future colony was put in jeopardy if the savages were to have such means of mischief. There could no longer be a silent submission to these dangerous proceedings at Mount Wollaston. Morton was deaf to remonstrance, and other remedies had to be resorted to by the com-

mon consent of those at Plymouth and others living at different places about the bay and on the Piscataqua River. Captain Standish — Captain Shrimp, Morton calls him in his "New Canaan," where he gives ludicrous names to all who condemned his conduct — was sure to come to the front in such an emergency, and he, in command of a few men, was accordingly sent to Mount Wollaston, by common consent, to arrest the offender. Morton says they found him at Wessagusset, where, it seems, there still remained a small colony. They took him, he declares, by surprise; but he warily permitted them to eat and drink to satiety while he was carefully abstemious; when they, overcome by their indulgence, slept, he, vigilant and wide-awake, escaped by night to his own stronghold three miles distant.

Expedition of Standish to arrest Morton.

Thither Standish and his men followed him. Bradford in his "History," says nothing of Wessagusset, but his and Morton's narrative agree that at Mount Wollaston Morton closed his doors and prepared to receive the assailants. Means for defence were ample. There were four men in a sort of log fortress with loop-holes; on a table they laid out three pounds of well-dried powder, four guns, and three hundred bullets, and then they fortified themselves with "good aqua solis." The enemy were only nine strong, and the approach to the building was without cover. Standish and his men advanced steadily and in good order, "coming within danger," says Morton, "like a flocke of wild geese, as if they had bin tayled one to another as colts to be sold at a faire," and much blood would have flowed "if mine Host (Morton) should have played upon them out at his ports holes." But he chose not to play upon them. The "sonne of a souldier" contented himself with boasting that had he only had more men he "would have given Captaine Shrimpe (a quondam Drummer) such a wellcome, as would have made him wish for a Drume as bigg as Diogenes' tubb that he might have crept into it out of sight." He nevertheless surrendered without firing a shot. The only blood shed was from the nose of one of the defenders, who, from too much "aqua solis," stumbled against the sword of one of Standish's men. The son of a soldier seems to have been a coward as well as a braggart.

Morton sent to England.

After this almost bloodless victory, Morton was taken to Plymouth and sent thence to England in the custody of John Oldham, who, repenting of his former misdeeds, had been taken again into favor. For the time Morton escaped further punishment, and was permitted to return again to New England to plague the Puritans for years to come. He afterward fell into the hands, however, of Endicott — whom he nicknamed Captain Littleworth — who not only sent him a second time to England, but, before he went, set him in

the stocks, and confiscated his goods at Mount Wollaston. He had previously burnt his house, and cut down the Maypole.[1]

Meanwhile, during all these later years of the first decade of the Plymouth Colony, "it pleased the Lord to give the plantation peace and health and contented minds." The Dutch of New Netherland sent pompous letters addressed "to the noble, worshipful, wise, and prudent Lords, the Governor and Councillors residing in New Plymouth" — "over high titles," said Bradford in his reply, "more than belongs to us, or is meete for us to receive;" and an ambassador was sent — the secretary Rasierres — "with a noyse of trumpeters and some other attendants." But good fellowship was thereby established between the two colonies, and this was followed by profitable trade, especially in wampum. This native currency the Indians of the East soon learned to value, though, as its manufacture by the tribes of Long Island from the shells of the quahaug and the periwinkle was practically unlimited, it soon produced such an inflation of values that, from being rated at first by the penny worth, it came at last to be sold by the fathom, and then to be prohibited altogether by colonial law.

Extension of trade and territory.

But as the Pilgrims increased their trade, and grew in prosperity, they enlarged their borders. In 1628 they procured from the Plymouth Company a patent for lands on the Kennebec, and a settlement near the present town of Augusta, Maine, became a valuable dependency. In 1630 a new patent was granted to William Bradford and his associates, which, for the first time, defined the limits of the New Plymouth Colony, making its eastern boundary the ocean, from Cohasset River to Narragansett River; its western, a line drawn from the mouths of these rivers and meeting at the extreme western border of the Indian country, known as the Pokanoket country, which was the southeastern portion of the State of Massachusetts. And this patent also approved the grant on the Kennebec, defining it to be fifteen miles on each bank of that river.

Charter of 1630.

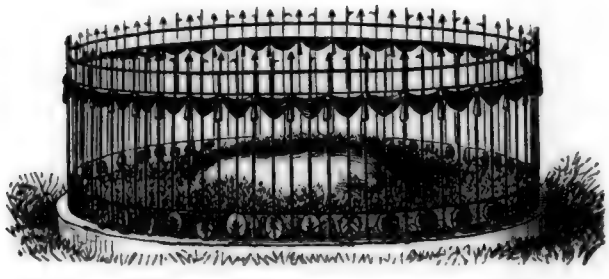
The colony, however, never procured the royal signature to this charter from the Plymouth Company. Their powers of government were derived from the compact signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the day after her arrival in Cape Cod Harbor, and from the discipline of the church. In the censure of the brethren, and the authority drawn from the general assembly of the people, the law found sufficient and

[1] Morton was accused of cruelty to the Indians and other crimes, and was arrested by Endicott on a writ from England. He continued his active hostility to the Puritans till his death in 1645 or 1646, having meanwhile been punished with a year's imprisonment in Boston for his libellous book, *The New English Canaan*, in which he had attacked, with a good deal of scurrilous humor, all the principal men of the colonies.

unquestioned authority.[1] The exigencies of their own condition, the maintenance of social order and of mutual rights, the suggestions of common sense, and the dictates of their own consciences, made the body of the law. Not till the first serious crime was committed among them — the murder of a fellow-colonist by one John Billington — was it thought necessary to seek for counsel, for precedent and sanction in English law. The advice of Governor Winthrop and other leading men of Massachusetts Bay was asked, as to what should be done under such novel and distressing circumstances, and the conclusion of the united council was that the man should die, and the land be purged of blood.

Execution of John Billington.

[1] See *Historical Memoir of the County of New Plymouth*, pp. 227, 228, by Francis Baylies.



Fragment of the Rock at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.



Amsterdam.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROGRESS OF DUTCH COLONIZATION.

THE ORDER OF PATROONS ESTABLISHED IN NEW NETHERLAND. — DIVISION AND MONOPOLY OF LANDS. — THE COMPANY OVERREACHED BY THE PATROONS. — MASSACRE OF THE COLONISTS OF SWAANENDAEL. — WOUTER VAN TWILLER APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — WEAKNESS AND ABSURDITIES OF HIS ADMINISTRATION. — SUPERSEDED BY WILLIAM KIEFT. — POPULAR MEASURES OF THE COUNCIL AT AMSTERDAM. — PURCHASE OF LANDS FROM PATROONS. — INCREASE OF IMMIGRATION. — PROMISE OF PROSPERITY TO THE COLONY. — PORTENTS OF COMING CALAMITIES. — A COUNCIL OF TWELVE APPOINTED.

WITH the short-sighted selfishness that belongs to every great monopoly, the West India Company attempted to assure the growth and prosperity of their colony by means the least likely to secure that end. In the Netherlands the feudal system had gradually given way, as everywhere else in Europe, with the increasing intelligence of the people. Titles of nobility still existed, but they had come to be held in little esteem; and wherever great manorial privileges were still tolerated, it was rather as the right of landlords than of chiefs. But this system a great Netherland commercial company now proposed to reëstablish upon the virgin soil

Policy of West India Company.

of a new continent, where that pretence of right, which centuries of endurance were supposed to give it in the Old World, had no existence.

The plan of the directors at Amsterdam was to establish seigniories in the hands of a few great proprietors, whose wealth and ambition would make them lords of people as well as of lands. To the Company, would be saved by this course, they argued, all the enormous cost and care of emigration, the necessity of supporting a small army of officers, and much of the expense of carrying on a government. The colony would increase in wealth and numbers through the labors of the great proprietors, while the chief function of the Company would be to absorb the growing trade and commerce, and to wax fat in opulence and power.



Seal of New Netherland.

The "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions," issued by the West India Company's College of Nineteen on June 7, 1629, provided that any person, a member of this Company (for to this restriction the College adhered even in their new measure), who should purchase of the Indians and found in any part of New Netherland except Manhattan, a colony of fifty persons over fifteen years of age, should be in all respects the feudal lord or patroon of the territory of which he should thus take possession. Not only should he have a full and inheritable title and proprietorship, but the power to establish officers and magistrates in all towns and cities on his lands; to hold manorial courts, from which in higher cases the only appeal was to the director-general of New Netherland; to possess the "lower jurisdictions, fishing, fowling and grinding, to the exclusion of all others;" to make use of all "lands, rivers, and woods, lying contiguous to his own;" in short, to hold and govern his great manors with as absolute rule as any baron of the Middle Ages, with the added advantage of distance from all other constituted authority except that of the corporation of which he was himself a member. The lands which such proprietors could take under these conditions might have a frontage of sixteen miles on one bank, or eight miles on each bank, of any navigable river; with the privilege of extending the estates "so far into the country as the situation of the occupiers would permit." The patroons could trade along the American coast within the Company's nominal jurisdiction, if they brought the goods obtained to the headquarters at Manhattan and paid a tariff of five per cent.; they could engage in the fur trade where the Company itself had

Proprietary privileges.

no factories, on much the same conditions; and avail themselves of the sea-fisheries on paying three guilders a ton for what they caught. Their power over their people was almost unlimited; for no "man or woman, son or daughter, man-servant or maid-servant" could leave a patroon's service during the time they had agreed to remain, except by his written consent; and this rule held in spite of any and all abuses or breaches of contract on the patroon's part. The Company promised to protect and defend the proprietors in the exercise of all these privileges, requiring in return only that each should make an annual report of the condition of his colony. The only privilege that attached to tenants under the patroons was their exemption for ten years from all taxation; though a certain temporary aid was granted to them by the Company's promise to furnish for their assistance "as many blacks (slaves) as they conveniently could." The patroons could bring over their goods on the payment of five per cent. to the Company; cattle and agricultural implements came without cost; but they must pay the passage of "their people." Certain minor rules with regard to the continued importation of provisions in the Company's ships were also inserted in the charter, but they were in every way favorable to the great proprietors.

Condition of laborers and tenants under the charter.



Dutch Costumes.

This creation of a monopoly within a monopoly, had some immediate results that might have been foreseen. The same principle which the Company was carrying out against the rest of the world, its richer and shrewder members enforced against their less fortunate fellow-shareholders. Before the charter was published some of the directors in the Amsterdam Council had their preparations fully made to seize upon the benefits they knew to be in prospect. No sooner were the "privileges and exemptions" actually made law, than Samuel Godyn, a director, informed his colleagues that he and his fellow-director, Samuel Blommaert, had already perfected their arrangements to oc-

Results of the monopoly.

The first patroons.

cupy "the Bay of the South River," and had secured their title and privileges as patroons by purchase of that region, and by due notice to Minuit, at Manhattan. So prompt had been their action that the purchase had been made two days before even the first passage of the charter; but of course it was decided to come within its rules, and the first patroon's patent was duly delivered during the next year.[1]

Other Amsterdam directors had also availed themselves of their position to forestall the ordinary stockholders, and were but little behind Godyn and Blommaert. In the spring of 1630, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, a wealthy dealer and worker in precious stones, bought from the Indians, through Krol, the Company's commissary at Fort Orange, an immense tract of land on the west side of the North River. It extended from Barren (originally Beeren, or Bear's) Island, about twelve miles below Albany, to Smack's Island, and two days' journey inland; and to this he added later in the year, and after beginning its colonization, another territory to the northward, carrying his boundaries nearly to the confluence of the Mohawk. On the east side of the river he bought, in August, a third tract with a river front extending from Castle Island to Fort Orange, and from "Poetanock, the Mill Creek, northwards to Negagonce." Michael Pauw, another director, had meanwhile acquired the territory opposite Manhattan Island, on the west bank, which still bears, in the name Hoboken, a part of its old title "Hobokan-Hacking;" he soon after secured the whole of Staten (then Staaten) Island; and later still the region where Jersey City now stands, and all its neighborhood. While Van Rensselaer called his estate simply Rensselaerswyck (or Manor), Pauw bestowed upon his the more sonorous latinized title of "Pavonia." Fort Orange, reserved for the Company in the north, stood isolated in the midst of Van Rensselaer's vast domain, while the post at Manhattan lay opposite the long river-front of Pauw's possessions. The land of both patroons far exceeded the terms of even the liberal charter, absorbing some of the Company's most profitable trading-regions. Van Rensselaer's purchases were ratified at Fort Amsterdam on the very day on which the charter was first officially proclaimed there; and Pauw's final purchase but three months after.

Lands acquired by patroons.

When the action of these enterprising capitalists was revealed to

[1] July 15, 1630. "It was the first European title, by purchase from the aborigines, within the limits of the present State of Delaware; and it bears date two years before the charter of Maryland, granted to Lord Baltimore by Charles I." — Brodhead, vol. i., p. 200. Mr. Brodhead found the original patent at Amsterdam, in 1841. It has the names of both proprietors, but the English version among old Delaware documents, has only Godyn's. Compare O'Callaghan, vol. i., p. 122, note; and Moulton.

their fellow-members in the Netherlands, they were indignantly denounced as having used "the cunning tricks of merchants." So strong was the feeling against Van Rensselaer and the rest, that they were required by the College of Nineteen to take several partners into the different proprietorships. But they easily evaded the purpose of that order, for Van Rensselaer took Godyn and Blommaert into his partnership, with John de Laet, Bissels, and Moussart, other Amsterdam directors, and kept for himself two of the fifths into which he divided the estate. Godyn and Blommaert, in turn took Van Rensselaer and de Laet into association with them, with Captain de Vries, and several others, also directors. By this convenient arrangement the new partners gained little, and the first holders merely exchanged one property for another.

The occupation of the new estates was nearly as speedy as their purchase. Van Rensselaer had begun the colonization of his lands almost as soon as he had acquired the first great tract, sending out settlers, cattle, and farming tools in his ship the *Eendragt* (Unity), to a point near Fort Orange. Godyn and Blommaert, with their new partners, hastened to follow his example with their lands at the South River; and Pieter Heyes, acting in the service of Captain de Vries, took out in the *Walvis* (Whale), some thirty emigrants to the bay now called Delaware, and early in 1631 founded the colony of Swaanendael, the Valley of Swans, on the shore of the Horekill, a stream near the present town of Lewiston, Delaware. At the same time Heyes crossed over to Cape May, and bought from the Indians for his employers, another great tract of land, stretching twelve miles northward along the coast, and twelve miles inland. Then running up to Manhattan, without stopping to try the profitable whale-fishery which was said to exist near the South River, and had formed one great hope of profit with Godyn, he applied to Minuit to register his purchases.

Colonization of their estates.

In spite of the jealousy which the "cunning tricks" of these earliest patroons had excited among the members of the West India Company at home, it is probable that the animosity would have died away, and no open quarrel have arisen, had the new proprietors kept quietly to the management of colonies which soon grew to be prosperous. But they were not content to confine themselves to agriculture. The lands of which they had taken possession covered some of the most profitable trading ground that had sent its wealth of costly furs to the Company's Manhattan warehouses. All along the river the Indians had brought their peltries to the shore, to meet the little fleet of trading-yachts which now sailed up and down through the region that Hudson had opened; and the exports to

Holland, which in 1626 had been valued at forty-six thousand guilders, had rapidly increased, within the few years following, to more than three times that amount. It was hardly to be expected that the enormous power now put into the hands of the patroons should not be used to acquire a part of this profitable traffic. With so loose a regulation as that imposed upon them by the clause in the "Privileges," which permitted them to trade "where the Company had no factories," it was easy for them to take an ell instead of the inch it had been meant to grant; to regard only the immediate vicinity of Fort Orange and Manhattan as covered by those posts, and to quietly absorb the traffic of the great intermediate region.

The patroons seek to monopolize the fur trade.



Trading for Furs.

This infringement upon the rights of the Company, however, proved a little more than the directors in the Netherlands would bear, and the first attempts at it provoked a storm. The Company's monopoly was attacked at its strongest point, and its authorities rose in a protest so energetic that it might have put an end to the patroons' power altogether, had this not already been suffered to grow so formidable. The directors drew up an order forbidding all private persons, patroons or otherwise, from dealing in peltries, maize, or wampum, and sent out officers to see to its enforcement. The angry complaints of the proprietors were overruled, but the great corporation saw too late the folly of which it had been guilty. Violent disputes occurred before it gained even a partial suc-

Energetic protest of the West India Company.

cess, and the difficulties thus begun not only seriously hindered its own plans, but for several years stood in the way of the whole progress of New Netherland, its colonization, agriculture, and every condition of its growth.

Toward the end of the summer of 1631, the ship *Eendragt* arrived at Fort Amsterdam, bringing letters ordering the recall of Minuit, who was held to have been far too complaisant in confirming the purchases and privileges of the patroons. An officer of the Company, one Conrad Notelman, brought out the order, at the same time that he was instructed to supersede Minuit's Schout, Lampo, in his office; and in the spring of 1632 the discomfited director-general resigned his authority to the council, with the secretary, Van Remund, at its head, and sailed for home in the vessel that had brought the order of his recall. His voyage was an eventful one, for bad weather compelling the *Eendragt* to seek refuge in the English harbor of Plymouth, she was seized there on the ground that she had traded within the limits of the English possessions, and thus a new discussion arose as to the Dutch right to their territory in New Netherland. Like the former disputes, it ended in nothing definite. Both England and the Netherlands renewed their declarations of ownership more positively than before, but after a long correspondence with the Dutch ambassadors the English government let the *Eendragt* pursue her voyage in peace.

Peter Minuit recalled by the Company. 1631.

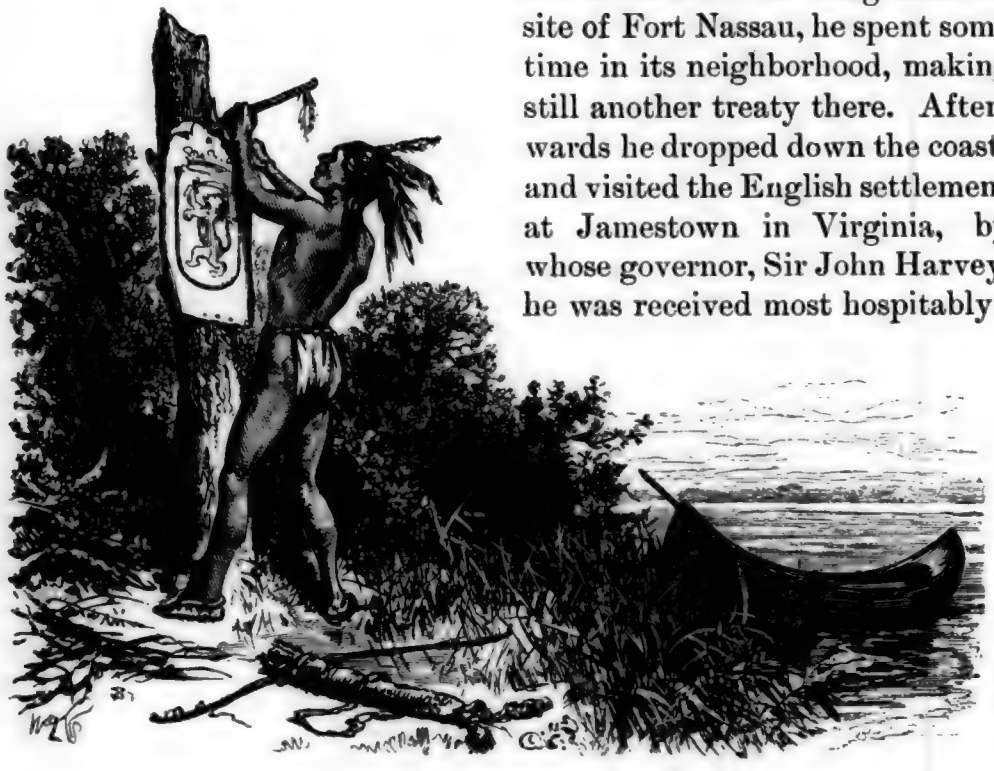
While the colonies on the Hudson were suffering from these disputes and intrigues, a much more terrible calamity suddenly ended the existence of the settlement at Swaanendael. It arose from one of those arbitrary acts common enough in the intercourse of civilized with savage peoples, — acts which the Dutch, however, had hitherto been wise enough to avoid. Heyes, when he had founded the Swaanendael colony for De Vries, had set up a pillar bearing the arms of Holland, in token of possession; but an Indian chief, attracted by the glitter of the tin plate on which the arms were engraved, and not in the least understanding the importance which the whites attached to the symbol of sovereignty, had taken off the metal and made it into shining tobacco pipes, which he carried away in great delight. Gillis Hossett, the Dutch officer left in charge of the new post, was indignant at this irreverent treatment of the Holland escutcheon, and expressed himself so angrily that the comrades of the erring chief, thinking to conciliate the Dutch, put their fellow to death, and came triumphantly to report the fact to the white commander. He explained too late that he only desired to reprimand the culprit. The Indians were enraged to find that their costly sacrifice had been a useless one, and soon after a band of them ap-

End of the colony at Swaanendael.

proached the settlement under the guise of friendship, fell upon and murdered every person at the post, destroyed the fort, and left only the ruins of the burned houses of the whites to mark the site of Heyes's colony.

De Vries visits his estates in America.

De Vries was about to leave Amsterdam to assume the place of patroon at the new settlement, when Minuit brought to Europe the news of this massacre. He did not abandon his voyage, but on arriving at the place where his countrymen were murdered he thought it wiser to make a treaty of peace with the Indians than to attempt to avenge the murder. Going on up the South River to the long-deserted site of Fort Nassau, he spent some time in its neighborhood, making still another treaty there. Afterwards he dropped down the coast, and visited the English settlement at Jamestown in Virginia, by whose governor, Sir John Harvey, he was received most hospitably;



Indian taking down the Arms of Holland

and the neighborhood of the two colonies was amicably discussed without any serious dispute as to the rival rights of Dutch and English.

Wouter Van Twiller, fourth governor. 1633.

It was now the spring of 1633; and while De Vries was cruising to the southward, the Company's ship *Soutberg* was on its way from Amsterdam, bringing out a fourth director-general for New Netherland. For a year after Minuit's departure, at a time when it most needed the guidance of a strong and steady hand, the colony had been left without a ruler; and the new officer who now arrived was anything but fitted for his post. Bred in the service of the Company at Amsterdam, Wouter Van Twiller was little more than a clerk at the time of his appointment, with

only the narrow experience of the Company's routine business at home, and apparently without a single quality to fit him for great responsibilities. But he had married a niece of Van Rensselaer, the chief of the patroons, and the very influence there was most cause to dread, seems to have thrust him into the place which a strong man might have made respectable, but which he could only belittle.

He had barely arrived at Fort Amsterdam, in April, when he was overwhelmed by difficulties which soon showed the weakness of his administration. On the 18th of the month an English vessel, the *William*, entered the harbor, whose supercargo was Jacob Eelkens, the Company's former commandant at Fort Orange. He had entered the English service when dismissed from that of his own countrymen, and, either through pure malice or from hope of gain, now guided his new masters into the richest possessions of the old. The *William* anchored for a few days in the bay, and Van Twiller, with De Vries, who had arrived from Virginia a short time before, dined with the English captain. But the mask of frienship was soon thrown off, and Eelkens boldly declared his intention to go up the river, the Englishman proposing to trade with the Indians on his own account and to see for himself the land that "belonged to the English," having been discovered by "Hudson, who was an Englishman." [1]

An English ship in the harbor of New Amsterdam.



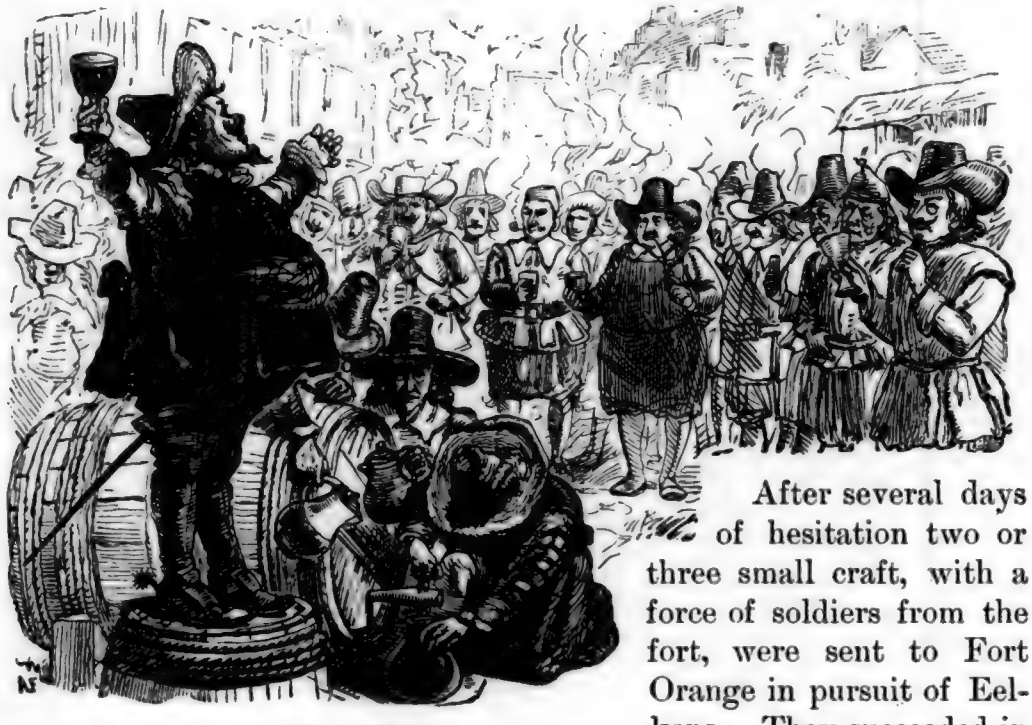
De Vries.

Van Twiller caused the flag of Orange to be raised over the fort and saluted with three guns, the doughtiest defiance of the stranger's purpose which seemed to occur to him; Eelkens and his captain as promptly ran up the English flag on board the *William* with a like ceremony. The director strode furiously up and down his ramparts; but when the Englishman actually weighed his anchor, and sailed away up the stream without the fear of the Company or the Prince of Orange before his eyes, Van Twiller was beside himself at such audacity. He "collected all his people in the fort before his door," and ordering a barrel of wine to be brought and opened, stoutly drank bumper after bumper and cried, "Those who love the Prince of Orange and me, emulate me in this, and assist

Bold conduct of the English captain.

[1] Voyages of De Vries, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 255.

me in repelling the violence committed by that Englishman!" Then he retired to his quarters, and the *William* quietly sailed out of sight and proceeded to Fort Orange without hindrance. "This commander Van Twiller," says the downright De Vries, who was greatly disgusted at such cowardly conduct — "this commander Van Twiller, who came to his office from a clerkship — an amusing case!" Later in the day De Vries dined with the director, and gave him his opinion very freely. "I spoke then as if it had been my own case, and told him that I would have made him go from the fort by the persuasion of some *iron beans* sent him by our guns, and would not have allowed him to go up the river. I told him that we did not put up with those things in the East Indies. There we taught them how to behave."[1]



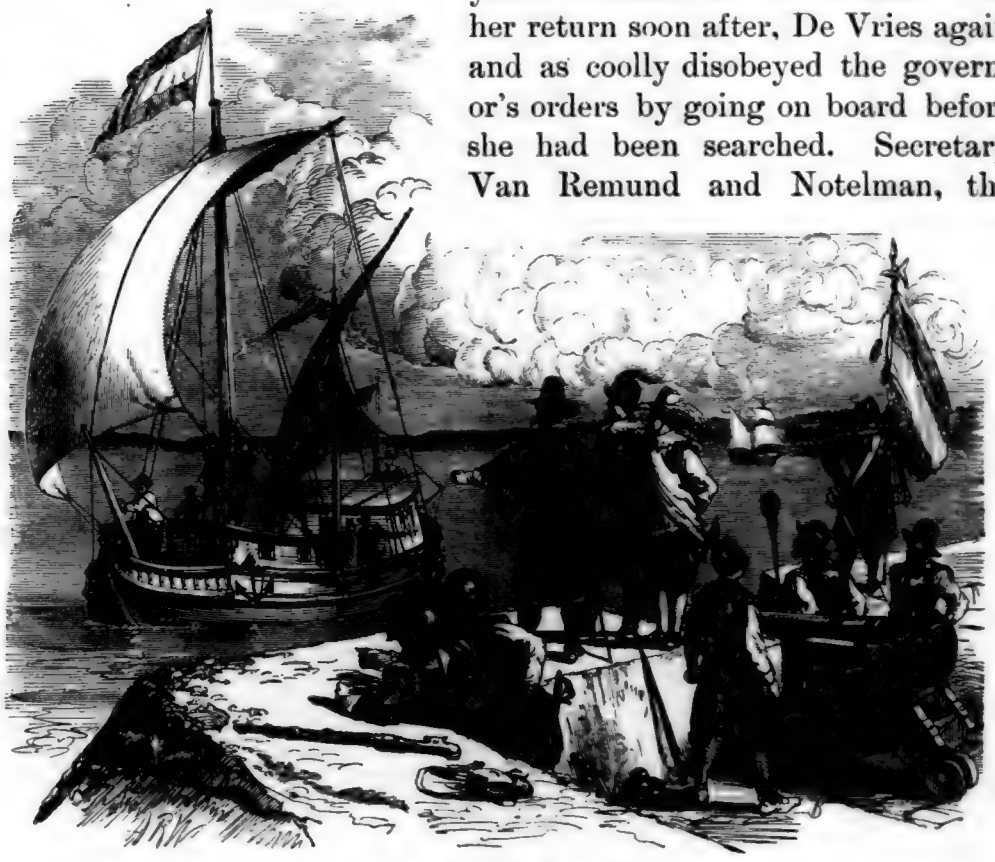
Van Twiller's Defiance.

After several days of hesitation two or three small craft, with a force of soldiers from the fort, were sent to Fort Orange in pursuit of Eelkens. They succeeded in compelling him to return, and the *William* was then ordered to leave the harbor; but this tardy triumph came much too late to help the governor's reputation. What little was left he lost in a quarrel with De Vries a short time after, when the patroon sent his yacht *The Squirrel* through Hellgate, in spite of Van Twiller's prohibition. The latter threatened in this case to take more energetic measures than before, for he pointed the guns in an angle of the fort at De Vries' vessel, and declared that he would fire. But as he stood with some of his council on the rampart deliberating when he should have been acting,

Quarrel with De Vries

[1] De Vries' *Voyages*.

De Vries himself scornfully approached the group, and rated them in his usual plain-spoken fashion: "It seems that the country is full of fools," he said. "If they must needs fire at something why did they not," he asked, "fire at the Englishman who violated the rights of the river?" This taunt, it is recorded, "made them desist from firing;" and they contented themselves, as the patroon's vessel sailed away on her trading voyage along the eastern and northeastern coast, with sending a yacht to watch her movements. On her return soon after, De Vries again and as coolly disobeyed the governor's orders by going on board before she had been searched. Secretary Van Remund and Notelman, the



De Vries in East River.

schout or sheriff, were sent to the vessel to demand that her furs should be entered at the fort; but Notelman, who was "somewhat of a *bouser*," devoted his visit to a continual clamor for wine, caring little for the business in hand, and only protesting that "he was dry, and would go to the cabin;" as for the secretary, the patroon openly defied him. Both officials were finally sent ashore with the assurance from De Vries that he was "astonished that the West India Company should send such fools to the colonies, who knew nothing but how to drink themselves drunk."

Such was the character of Van Twiller's government at home. Abroad, where events were independent of his personal interference, results were not always ridiculous though generally weak. By the di-

rection of the Company, Arendt Corssen, a commissary, bought from the Indians, during the summer of 1633, a tract of land on the Schuylkill, within the limits of the present State of Pennsylvania. Here he established a trading post, as some compensation for the abandonment of the posts on and near the South River. But by far the most important measure of the year was the first formal attempt made by New Netherland to extend its possessions to the eastward. In the valley of the Fresh or Connecticut River were now living a great number of the former neighbors of the Dutch, the Mohicans, who a few years back had occupied the region opposite Fort Orange. Conquered by the Mohawks, and driven away from their old home in 1628, they had settled in the pleasant country to the east, where they were again defeated by the Pequods, and reduced to the condition of a tributary tribe. Though beaten, they were restless under the yoke, and at different times had sought the aid of the whites to restore their old power; but neither the Dutch to the westward, nor the English on Massachusetts Bay, would interfere in their dispute. At this early day little attention had been paid to their country as desirable for colonization; but the Dutch had pushed into it in search of peltries, and had found the valley rich trading ground. The traders had already bought lands on both sides of the river; and the arms of the States General had been affixed to a tree on Kievit's Hoeck (Saybrook Point), at the mouth of the stream, in 1632.

Purchase of lands on the Schuylkill.

The Dutch on the Connecticut River.

Commissary Van Curler was sent to the Connecticut with directions to make a further purchase and establishment on account of the Company. Sailing up the stream to the mouth of Little River (the site of Hartford), he bought tracts there on both sides of the broad channel, and set about founding a post to be called *Het Huys de Hoop* — "the House of Hope," or Fort Good Hope. It was finished, in spite of the protests of the nearest English colony that it was in violation of their rights. The Plymouth people came to build a trading-house a mile and a half above, and found this rival post, which was to be the cause of long and tedious disputes, in full possession of the Dutch. The fields about it were under tillage; but there was little or no attempt to settle the larger tracts Van Curler had purchased. The questions which the occupation of this outpost raised, gave to Van Twiller ample opportunity for protests and diplomatic correspondence; but as there was no more forcible assertion of the assumed rights of the Dutch, there was little to retard the inevitable fate of "The House of Hope."

Indeed, the frontiers of New Netherland seemed beset, at this moment, with difficulties brought about by the English. Within two

years of this settlement at Hartford, the Netherland territory seemed likely to suffer indirectly from the dispute between the English of Maryland and Virginia. Harvey had just been deposed in Virginia; and the friends of Maryland's old enemy, Clayborne, finding themselves in power, which they had little hope of retaining long, conceived the idea of establishing a post on the Delaware to make up for their loss of trading privileges through the Maryland charter. They knew, through De Vries' visit to Harvey, of the Dutch Fort Nassau; and acting Governor West sent out a party of men under a Virginian, George Holmes, to take possession of the now abandoned post. For once, however, Van Twiller, to whom an English deserter carried news of the attempt, was induced to act promptly. A force was sent to the Delaware, and the English invaders were captured, brought to Manhattan, and finally returned to Virginia by De Vries' vessel.

The disputes referred to the Home Governments.

It is probable that some of the difficulties with the English might have been avoided, or at least their recurrence prevented, had an excellent suggestion made by the Company to the States General been heeded. The *William*, the English vessel under Eelkens's charge, had made complaint and demand for damages, on its return to England, the object of its voyage having been defeated by the action of the Dutch. The application was denied, the Company claiming that damages should rather be paid to them for Eelkens's serious interference with their Indian trade. The controversy, however, necessarily raised the question of the Dutch title to New Netherland, and it was proposed by the Company to submit the whole question to the arbitration of Boswell, the English ambassador at the Hague, and Joachimi, one of the Dutch ambassadors in England, who should establish a boundary line between the English and Dutch possessions in America. Had this suggestion been acted upon, New Netherland would have had a different history; but like former questions with England, this was suffered to slip out of sight, and in a few months the matter had been practically dismissed by both governments.

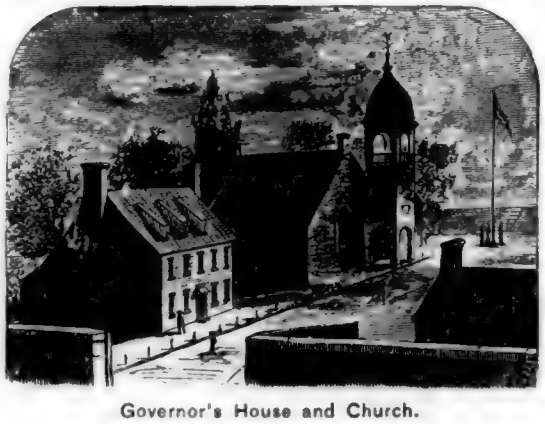
While all these things were passing, the settlement at Manhattan, though twenty years had passed since it was begun, was still little else than a mere trading-post. It very slowly acquired any of the features of a colonial village, in which industries were springing up, new settlers constantly acquiring fresh interests, the customs and life of a little town growing into form. Its people were the Company's people, with the occasional addition of small bodies of emigrants from Holland; and as yet it had hardly grown to have an interest of its own. Its history thus far had been only the monotonous record of the Company's trade, except for these difficulties with the English,

and the measures connected with them, which kept the little band of officials in continual perplexity. The place had, however, prospered and increased in some degree. New houses had been built of good quality, some of them of brick. The governor had erected three wind-mills, and quarters had been arranged for about one hundred soldiers which Van Twiller had brought over with him. A church had taken the place of the rough loft in which the few early settlers had worshipped; and here Domine Everardus Bogardus, who had succeeded Jonas Michaelius (the first minister sent out in 1628), preached on Sundays the doctrines of the Reformed religion. The trading vessels of the Company passed and repassed the fort, or lay at anchor in the upper bay; the smith, the cooper, brewer, and joiner, had established rough shops near the fort; and on the north side of this a farm or bouwerie had been laid out for the Company's use, and was industriously cultivated. The "staple right," or right to impose duties on passing vessels, had been granted to the settlement, and added to its importance, and every ship entering the river was stopped before Fort Amsterdam, and made to pay the impost, or land its cargo. Across the river, opposite Manhattan, Patroon Pauw's commander or superintendent, Van Voorst, had built his house; and the early colonists of Pavonia had already begun to gather about it, when the Company succeeded in buying back both that region and Staten Island from their owner, in the summer of 1637. Nearly two years before, they had regained, by a similar purchase, the territory of Swaanendael; but to compensate for this return of property into the corporation's hands, Van Rensselaer had added still further to his already enormous estates, which were prospering and growing valuable under his able manager, Arendt Van Curler; while numerous less important proprietors, among them Van Twiller himself and other official persons, who did not fail

Growth of New Amsterdam.



Dutch Windmill.



Governor's House and Church.

to take good care of their own interests, had acquired lands about Manhattan, and on the western end of Long Island.

Thus affairs stood at the end of the fourth year of Van Twiller's administration. The incompetent governor had grown more and more imbecile in his conduct of home affairs, and he was regarded only with contempt by the few sensible men about him. Irritable and consequential as he was weak, he was constantly involved in petty quarrels with his associates. Domine Bogardus, who does not seem to have had all that forbearance and gentleness which usually belong to clergymen, is known to have called him, on one occasion, "a child of the devil," and to have declared that he would give him "such a shake from the pulpit, on the next Sunday, as

Unpopularity of Wouter van Twiller.



The Obstinate Trumpeter.

would make him shudder." No doubt the governor deserved it, for he often brought disgrace upon himself and his office by brawling over his wine with the drunken superintendents or captains among whom he found congenial companionship. With such a head, the discipline among minor officers was naturally lax enough; and the gravity of the few records of the time is occasionally enlivened by narratives which might almost seem exaggerations in the pages of Diedrich Knickerbocker. Such was a quarrel between certain officers of the fort and the fort's trumpeter, Corlaer, because the latter persisted in trumpeting in the midst of a leisurely banquet which the others were enjoying with their friends at a corner of the ramparts. The sturdy musician had the best of it, in spite of the number against him, for having given each of the company a "drubbing," he retired in good

order. Nor did their going for their swords, and venting their wrath in vows to "eat" the trumpeter, have any disastrous result,[1] for, says the faithful chronicler, when in the morning the wine was evaporated, "their courage was somewhat lowered and they did not endeavor much to find the trumpeter."

Recall of Van Twiller.

It is not to be wondered at that an administration conducted in so slipshod and absurd a fashion should receive the sharp censure of the few capable men about the governor; and it was through Van Twiller's treatment of one of these, Van Dincklagen, the schout who now occupied Notelman's place, that the government was suddenly checked in the midst of its abuses. For Van Dincklagen, having ventured to express his contempt too openly, was sent back to Holland with large arrears of salary unpaid, and in a condition giving him a decided right to complain, which he did not hesitate to do. To such purpose did he represent the governor's conduct before the board of Amsterdam directors, that they determined at once upon Van Twiller's recall, especially as the schout's account was almost immediately confirmed on the return of De Vries from one of his frequent voyages. In the summer of 1637, the indignant Van Twiller received notice of his removal. If his official career, however, had brought him nothing else, it had brought him wealth. He was now one of the richest among the private citizens of the colony, owning, with other large tracts of land, several islands in the East River, one of which was Nutten — now Governor's — Island, at its mouth.

William Kieft the fifth governor.

William Kieft of Amsterdam, the fifth director-general or governor of New Netherland, was almost as singular a selection on the part of the directors as his predecessor. His record, in so far as it has been preserved, did not show a mere routine experience, like that of Van Twiller, but it had worse elements in another way. He had been an unsuccessful merchant, his business career ending in bankruptcy, for which in accordance with the custom of the time and place, his portrait was nailed to the gibbet. A still worse crime was laid to his charge; for he was accused of having left in captivity in Turkey some unhappy prisoners he was sent to ransom, while he embezzled the money their friends had provided for their release.[2] But he had been strongly recommended to the Company's College of Nineteen, and his appointment was secured by friends at Amsterdam. On the 28th of March, 1638, he reached his post at Manhattan; and while Van Twiller retired to enjoy the comfortable prosperity which he had secured by the thrifty use of his official opportunities,[3] his suc-

[1] De Vries, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 259.

[2] De Vries; and authorities in Brodhead, vol. i., p. 274.

[3] There is a partial inventory of the large property Van Twiller accumulated in the Albany Records, vol. i., pp. 89, 91, 101. O'Callaghan, vol. i, p. 183.

cessor entered upon his duties with a vigor that at least promised well. Kieft's tendencies were decidedly despotic; he organized a council with a single member, besides himself, who had but one vote to the governor's two. Furthermore, he immediately issued various decrees which restricted all the powers of the post to a few officers who were little more than his tools; but in spite of this his early measures were generally wise and beneficial.

Condition of the colony on Kieft's arrival.

It was indeed a wretched condition of affairs that greeted him on his arrival; and his first act was to have a formal affidavit made by certain officers and men as to the state of the Company's property at Manhattan; and to embody this in a report to Holland. Van Twiller's zeal for improvements and building had completely died away during the last part of his rule; and all the repairs and new houses upon which he at first lavished the Company's money, had been suffered to fall into decay. The walls of the fort had fallen on all sides; the guns were without carriages; the houses, the mills, the work-shops, both within and without the fort, were in a dilapidated condition; none of the vessels, except the yacht *Prince William*, was fit to be put under sail; it was difficult even to find the site where the magazine or public store once stood; the Company's farms were without tenants, and the land turned into common.[1] It was not only matters of property that were in disorder; the moral condition of the post and its discipline in regard to trade were equally out of joint. The crews that visited the port and the traders who made it their headquarters were a rough and lawless set, and small and poor as the Manhattan settlement was at this time, most of the elaborate forms of smuggling, cheating, and adulteration of goods appear from Kieft's documents to have flourished among its people.

Energetic measures of Kieft.

He took these abuses in hand at once, and a series of arbitrary but needed measures, port regulations, excise laws, and disciplinary rules extending to the smallest details, marked the beginning of his administration. The attempts to enforce them were not always successful, nor could they put a stop to the constant petty thefts of the Company's goods by its minor officers, or the abuse of their official opportunities by which they were fast growing rich. In spite of Kieft's energy, the change of Manhattan Island from a disorderly trading-post to anything like a peaceful and prosperous colony, was only to be brought about by influences quite outside of his control; and it was most fortunate for all New Netherland that such influences were at last to make themselves felt, even about the council-board of the selfish and short-sighted directors at Amsterdam.

[1] The deposition in full is in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 279.

The patroon difficulties had been partly settled — or at least so the directors hoped — by the Company's buying back Pavonia and Swaanendael, thus opening new fields for their trade. But though the Company was rid of a few competitors by this means, Van Rensselaer and his fellows, among whom were some new proprietors, had been growing stronger and more prosperous while the affairs of the corporation were mismanaged. Taking advantage of their own strength and the Company's weakness, they proposed a remedy of their own for the troubles and abuses which the directors were striving to cure. This was that their already enormous privileges should be largely increased, and their irresponsible jurisdiction be still more extended.

New demands for power from the patroons.

This extraordinary request was promptly refused; but it was evident that something must be done, if the Company would save itself from the horns of a very awkward dilemma. It had not power enough to assume a high tone with the patroons unless the States aided it; and they on the other hand would not aid it unless it showed itself capable of the better government of its colony. In this crisis the chamber at Amsterdam, with the assent of the Council of Nineteen, adopted a measure which in some degree redeemed its former folly, and solved the question, so far as could be done by half measures. It resolved to do what should have been done long before, and in a proclamation, in the fall of 1638, it opened the New Netherland trade to virtually free competition. People of the United Provinces, and their "allies and friends" of whatever nation, might convey any cattle, merchandise, or goods to New Netherland in the Company's ships, and receive "whatever returns they or their agents might be able to obtain in those quarters therefor," subject to a duty of ten per cent. on imports and fifteen per cent. on exports. "And whereas," said the proclamation further, "it is the intention of the Company to people the lands there more and more, and to bring them into a proper state of cultivation, the director and council there shall be instructed to accommodate every one, according to his condition and means, with as much land as he, by him and his family, can properly cultivate;" such lands to become the absolute property of the possessor, on payment of a quitrent of one tenth of the produce to the Company. Any colonist taking advantage of this provision had only to promise to submit to the laws in force in New Netherland; and even further privileges, such as free passages, and aid in bringing over stock for their prospective farms, were granted by the Amsterdam directors to desirable emigrants.

Action of the West India Company.

This wise and timely act placed New Netherland where it had never been before — on an equality, so far, with the English colonies

about it. The change the measure wrought in its condition was great and immediate. Emigration from Holland began in the very autumn after the issue of the proclamation, De Vries, who had bought land on Staten Island, being one of the first to carry out colonists to the plantation. During the next summer ship after ship brought emigrants, people of all conditions, from substantial burghers to the laborers whom they had employed at home. From an unprofitable trading-post New Netherland suddenly became, in the eyes of Hollanders, a very land of promise. Those who emigrated to it wrote to their friends at home of the prosperity which

Increased emigration from Holland.



Landing of Dutch Colony on Staten Island.

began to spring up about them; rich men, like Melyn of Antwerp, who came "to see the country," sent back for their families and servants to join them. Nor was the immigration from the Netherlands only; men who had long been restless under the severity of Puritan rule began to seek new homes among the tolerant Dutch; "whole settlements," says the record, removed to Dutch territory to avail themselves of the new freedom offered there, and "to escape from the insupportable government of New England."[1] Many came from Virginia also, who had been bound to masters there, and had served out their time.

[1] The phrase of the *Journael Van Nieuw Nederlant*, 1647. See, also, O'Callaghan, vol. i., p. 208.

The main current of this sudden immigration set toward Manhattan Island and the region about it, though the colonies farther up the river and on Staten Island also benefited by it. On Manhattan itself, where the "town of New Amsterdam" was now first becoming worthy of such a name, thirty well-stocked bouweries [farms] had taken the place, in the summer of 1639, of the few neglected ones noticed in Kieft's first report, and there were applications for grants of land for a hundred more. Kieft had bought from the Indians, in view of the growing demand, nearly all the land that now forms Queen's County, and part of that in southern Westchester, and this began to be peopled. A part of the shore of the bay, north of the entrance to the Kill van Kull, was also purchased, besides private tracts in different places. Prosperity seemed to follow every enterprise of the new comers, and many of the old abuses vanished with the coming of a better class of people. The Virginians brought cherry and peach trees, which were soon abundant in the island bouweries; and they introduced from the south their better method of tobacco-culture. Far up the river, close by Fort Orange, the little village of Beverswyck, which had grown up on the lands of Van Rensselaer and was the central point of his manor, shared in the new immigration. The only one of the original patroonships that had succeeded, its prosperity well maintained under the capable Van Curler, attracted many, and the persistent efforts of its owner sent still more. Its fertile farms and excellent houses gave the appearance of more rapid growth than was visible at Manhattan, but its feudal restrictions nevertheless were a serious drawback to its progress, which was less real than that at the river's mouth. In 1640 the restless De Vries made a voyage up the Hudson, of which he gives an elaborate account in his journal; and though he appreciated all the material prosperity of Rensselaerswyck, his quick eye did not fail to note that the patroons had "very much embellished" their property, at the cost of the Company, "and that they had well known how to turn things to their own advantage." Their policy, like the earlier policy of the Company itself, was too selfish for the permanent success of their colonies in any large and popular sense.

The town of New Amsterdam.

Journey of De Vries up the Hudson.

In this same year, 1640, the College of Nineteen passed an ordinance materially changing the charter of Privileges and Exemptions, and limiting the lands of future patroons to a water front of one mile, and a depth of two miles; it left them their feudal privileges, but put disputes between them under the jurisdiction of the governor of Manhattan. Furthermore, it recognized any one, who should take five settlers to the colony, as a "master," entitled to two hundred acres of

land, and such "masters or colonists" might form themselves into towns or villages with municipal privileges; it established a second class of patroons, restricting them to one mile of water-front, and whoever chose might trade at New Netherland in the Company's ships, by the payment of certain imposts. It was a great improvement upon the old charter, curtailed the powers of the old patroons and extended their privileges to the people at large.

Progress of the colony.

This removal of the restrictions upon free emigration, upon the possession of land, and upon the freedom of trade, increased at once and largely the prosperity of the colony. The emigrant naturally preferred to hold his lands directly from the Company, rather than from a manorial proprietor and master, and the possibility of doing so was an inducement to remove to a new country. He was a free man, not a serf. This fundamental change in the colonial policy made all the difference between a community possessing the elements of success, and one so bound and crippled by its laws, that to escape from, not to seek it, was an instinctive impulse.

New difficulties and dangers.

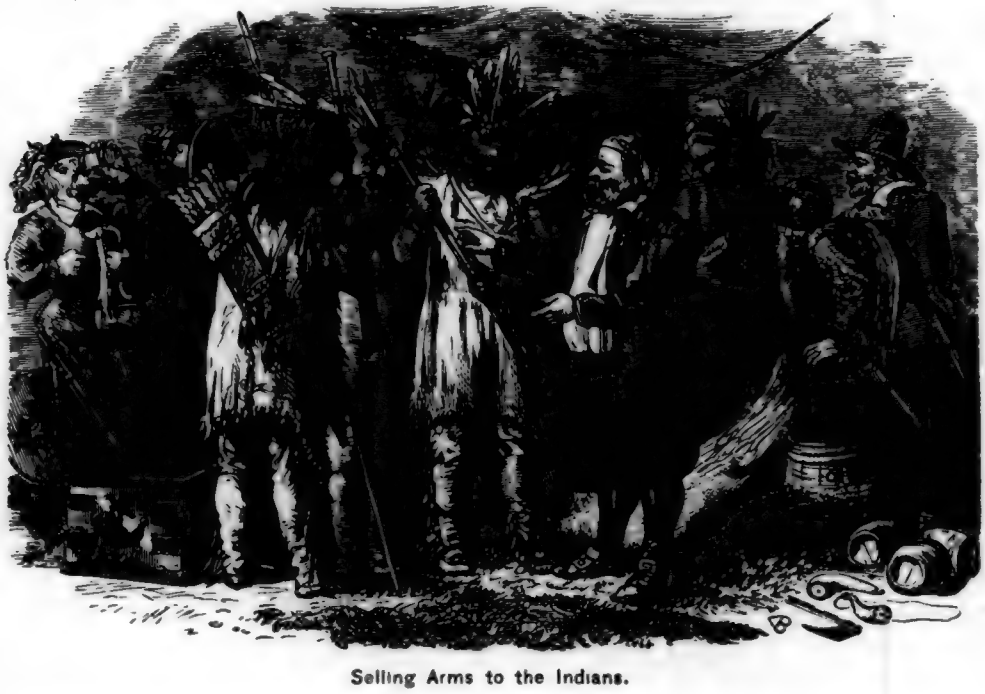
A healthy and rapid progress might now be looked for, but there were dangers and difficulties to be encountered from without. On the one hand were the encroachments of the English upon territory claimed by the Dutch which had to be met; on the other the more serious and more alarming peril of Indian hostilities.

CHAPTER XVII.

WAR WITH THE INDIANS. — THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

CHANGE OF POLICY TOWARD THE INDIANS. — KIEFT'S CRUEL AND STUPID OBSTINACY. — MASSACRE OF INDIANS BY THE DUTCH AT PAVONIA. — RETALIATIONS BY THE NATIVES. — MURDER OF THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY AT ANNIE'S HOECK. — DISASTROUS CONDITION OF THE COLONY. — APPEAL OF THE PEOPLE OF NEW AMSTERDAM TO THE STATES GENERAL. — END OF THE WAR. — KIEFT REMOVED FROM OFFICE. — TERRITORIAL ENCROACHMENTS OF RIVAL COLONIES. — THE ENGLISH AT THE EAST. — A SWEDISH SETTLEMENT ON THE DELAWARE. — FORT CHRISTINA. — THE SWEDISH GOVERNOR, JOHN PRINTZ.

THE wisdom and justice which the Dutch had hitherto shown in their treatment of the savages gradually disappeared under Kieft's administration. The agents of the Company, in their intercourse with the Indians, had been governed by a uniform practice; but when



Selling Arms to the Indians.

trade was made free and competition grew with its increase, fraud and oppression followed among Indian traders, who had little regard — then as now — for any rules but the rules of addition and multiplication. This reckless love of gain sowed the seeds of future trouble in

supplying to the savages those arms which could alone make them very formidable enemies, by putting into their hands the means of avenging the wrongs which they both suffered and imagined. In spite of all laws and all the dictates of common prudence, guns and ammunition were sold to the Indians at enormous prices by the selfish traders along the Upper Hudson, and even at Manhattan whenever the police could be evaded. The Mohawks bought enough to arm four hundred men, not only rendering them formidable to the Dutch, but arousing the enmity of other tribes along the river, who bitterly complained of the superiority thus given to their enemies. Kieft, though he tried to put a stop to this traffic, added fuel to the flame of hatred now rapidly rising about the settlements, by a series of ill-judged measures. An attempt in 1640, to exact tribute of corn, wampum, and furs from the Indians near Manhattan, raised the anger of the savages to the highest pitch, and an attack made by his orders on the Raritans, in revenge for an alleged theft on Staten Island — an act really committed by some white traders, — was enough to bring about an open war.

Indian hostilities.

For two years the evils that resulted from these acts hung over New Netherland. When the Raritans, in the spring of 1641, attacked and destroyed the settlement De Vries had made on Staten Island, Kieft in retaliation offered a bounty for every head of a Raritan Indian that should be brought to him. Later in the year a young Weckquasgeek, whose uncle had been murdered by a white man, years before when Fort Amsterdam was building, fell upon and killed, in mere desire of blood for blood, a quiet settler, one Smits, who lived by the East River; and when Kieft demanded the murderer, his tribe refused to give him up. Popular opinion at New Amsterdam, which had been from the first openly hostile to the director's arbitrary treatment of the Indians, compelled him to delay till the next spring any attempt to punish them; and even then the expedition which he sent against them lost its way in the forest, and came back unsuccessful. The Weckquasgeeks were sufficiently alarmed to make a treaty promising that the murderer should be surrendered; but it was never done. In the winter of 1642–43 another Indian, maddened by drink and by the hostility that had now been awakened everywhere among his race, killed an innocent white man at a new colony at Hackensack; and again the tribe refused to give him up, but sought to compromise by paying an indemnity of wampum. About the same time the Indians of Connecticut were aroused against English and Dutch alike. There was enmity on every hand. The New Netherland people shared with their English neighbors the dread of a general Indian war.

All the worst traits of Kieft's nature seem to have been called out by these difficulties with the savages. But though he raged against the Indians, and talked of some general and bloody punishment, the community at large were not in the least disposed to second his desperate purposes. He was openly accused, even, of a want of sincerity; his object was said to be, not so much to punish the Indians as to swell the sum total of his balance-sheet in his accounts with the Company; and it was declared that he was too ready to send others into dangers where he did not dare to lead. When he proposed to send out an expedition against the Weckquaesgeeks to revenge the murder of Smits, the popular feeling against the measure was so strong that he was constrained to call a public meeting for its consideration. The result was the appointment of "Twelve Select Men" who should aid him in coming to a wise decision. The Twelve were cautious in giving advice. The murderer, they thought, should be punished, but his surrender was to be again and again demanded, and any general difficulty with his tribe was to be avoided as long as possible. And they were very decidedly of the opinion that inasmuch as the "Honorable Director is as well the ruler as he is the commander of the soldiery," he ought, "to prevent confusion, to lead the van," their place being "to follow his steps and obey his commands." The Honorable Director no doubt recognized the grim humor of these solemn burghers. He sometime afterward issued a proclamation in which he thanked them for their advice, but forbade any further calling of popular meetings, as they tended to dangerous consequences, and to the injury of the country and his own authority.

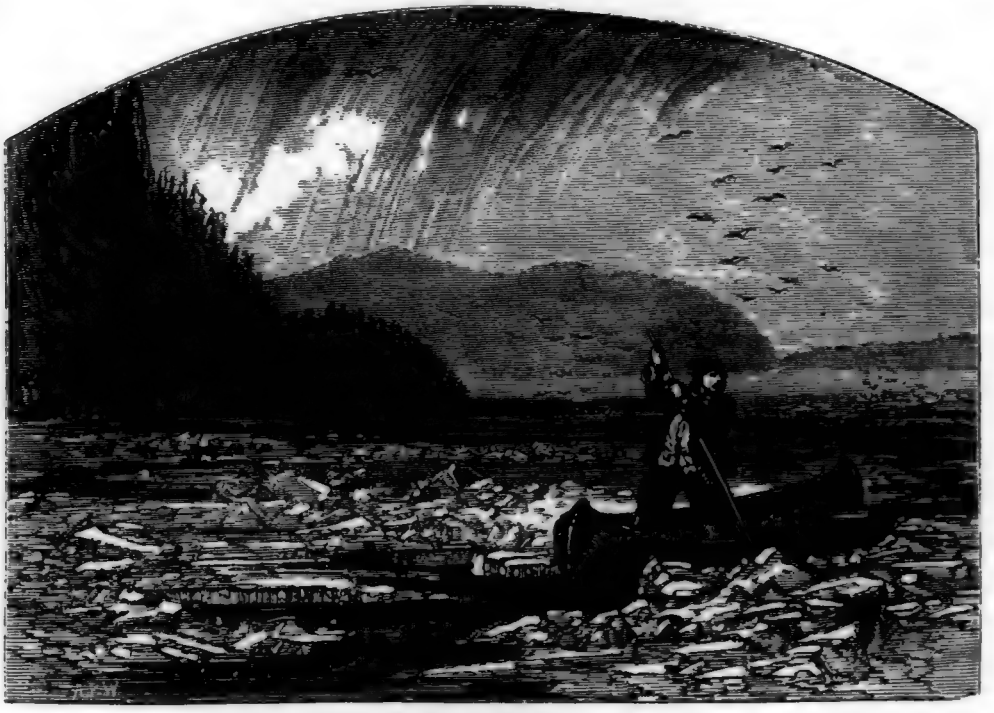
Meanwhile events were stronger than either director or council, and all that either could do was to turn them to a wise or unwise account, as the case might be. The unhappy tribes on the lower reaches of the river were a prey to others beside their white neighbors; and

War among the savages.

in the middle of the winter, when the river was full of ice and the savages were collected in their winter camps, a war-party from the powerful Mohawks at the north came sweeping down upon them, armed with the guns the Dutch had furnished, and driving before them far greater numbers — whole settlements, indeed — of the Algonquins. Without making a stand against their formidable and always dreaded enemies, the southern Indians, the Weckquasgeeks, the Tappans, and others from the rivers' banks, fled through the woods. Many sought refuge with the white men towards whom they had just before been so hostile; and they were received with kindness, some at Manhattan itself, some at a colony which De Vries, always the friend of the savages, had begun by the Tappan Sea, and called Vriesendael. At the latter place, indeed, the refugees were so

many that the patroon was anxious about the safety of his goods, and paddled a canoe down to Manhattan to ask that a guard might be sent him from the fort.

He was full of friendship and sympathy for the persecuted river tribes, though he could not interfere for their protection against the Mohawks; and when he had brought his canoe safely through the ice floes and landed at New Amsterdam, his presence was a great gain to the strong party there, who were urging upon the governor that the



De Vries in the Ice.

time had come when all the old hostility might be removed by a little kindly treatment of the savages in their distress. Policy and humanity alike suggested that they should be at least suffered to find a temporary asylum with the whites. But there were a few in the settlement who were ready to aid the director in his plans, and while the rest debated, these resorted to a device worthy of politicians of a later period. The Twelve Men had been disbanded some time before; but two or three who had belonged to their number now reassumed their power as popular representatives, and authorized an act which the whole body would have rejected in an instant. At a dinner at the house of Jansen Dam, one of the Twelve, he and two others, by previous arrangement, presented to the director a petition purporting to come from the community at large, in which they asked that active hostilities should be begun against the natives. "Let us attack them," said they; and the defenceless con-

Policy adopted toward the Indians.

dition of the Indians was urged as an argument for a sudden and merciless onslaught.

Kieft acted at once on this pretended popular approval of his own determination. In vain did De Vries, dining with him two days after, point out the folly of such a course. "Consider, sir," he said, "what good it will do — knowing that we lost our settlements by mere jangling with the Indians at Swaanendael in the Hoeren Creek, in 1630, when thirty-two of our men were murdered; and now lately, in 1640, at Staaten Island, where my people were murdered, occasioned by your petty contrivances of killing the Indians

Counsel of De Vries.



Dinner at Van Dam's.

of Raritan, and mangling the body of their chief for mere bagatelle."[1] But the director had determined, as he said, "to make these savages wipe their chops." He knew as well as De Vries — who was president of the Board of Twelve, when it had any legal existence, — that the action at Dam's house was a transparent fraud which could deceive nobody short of Holland. He was not influenced in the least by the wise counsel of De Vries.

Night attack on Indian camp at Pavonia.

Across the river, at Pavonia, the frightened Indians had made their chief camp, many hundreds of them collecting there with the Hackensacks, who numbered perhaps a thousand. Upon this encampment Kieft had resolved to make his first

[1] De Vries, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., pp. 268, 899.

attack, and on the afternoon of the day of De Vries' remonstrance, the soldiers were collected near the fort to prepare for the crossing, which was to happen on the following day. De Vries again protested, as he saw the troops. "You will go," he said, "to break the Indians' heads; but it is our nation that you are going to murder. Nobody in the country knows anything of it. My family will be murdered again, and everything destroyed." The remonstrance was, of course, useless, though Domine Bogardus and other men of influence joined in it. The night was occupied in preparation; and at evening of the next



Indian Fugitives from Pavonia.

day the soldiers under Sergeant Rodolf, going out, as Kieft falsely said, "in the name of the Commonalty," were carried across the river to Pavonia.

De Vries sat that night in the great kitchen at the director's, by the fire. Just at midnight, the winter's night being cold and still, he heard loud shrieks from beyond the river. Hurrying out to the ramparts of the fort, he looked in the direction of Pavonia. "I saw nothing," he says in his brief journal, "but the flash of the guns, and heard nothing more of the yells and clamour of the Indians, who were butchered during their sleep." As he sat down again by the fire, thinking of the bloody work going on so near him,

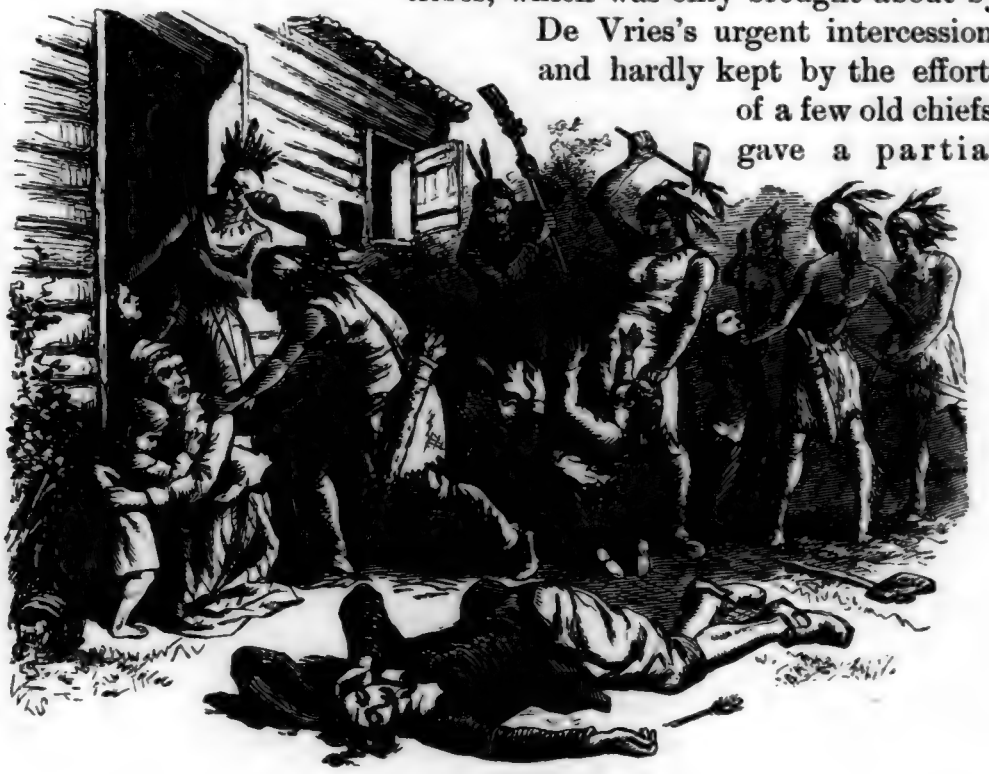
Massacre of the Indians.

there came in an Indian man and woman whom he knew, fleeing for their lives from the Pavonia camp; saying "that the Indians of Fort Orange had surprised them, and that they came there for shelter." De Vries gave them their first knowledge of the truth — that the fort was the worst refuge to which they could come, "and that it was not the savages of Fort Orange who were murdering those of Pavonia, but it was the Swannekins, the Dutch themselves." And with this warning the good patroon took the pair to a side gate of the fort where "no sentry stood," and aided them to hide themselves again in the darkness. Eighty Indians were killed at Pavonia, and forty at Corlaer's Hook that night, with horrible barbarities that might have given the savages themselves a lesson in the art of torture. "And this was the feat worthy of the heroes of old Rome!" — says De Vries, in bitter allusion to a grandiloquent boast that Kieft had made; — "to massacre a parcel of Indians in their sleep, to take the children from the breasts of their mothers, and to butcher them in the presence of their parents, and throw their mangled limbs into the fire or water! Other sucklings had been fastened to little boards, and in this position they were cut in pieces! Some were thrown into the river, and when the parents rushed in to save them, the soldiers prevented their landing, and let parents and children drown. Children of five and six years old were murdered, and some aged decrepit men cut to pieces. Those who had escaped these horrors, and found shelter in bushes and reeds, making in the morning their appearance to beg some food or warm themselves, were killed in cold blood, or thrown into the fire or water." "Some," he adds, "came running to them in the country," mangled and mutilated too terribly to be described; "and these miserable wretches, as well as some of our people, did not know but they had been attacked by the Maquas of Fort Orange." The troops came back to the fort in the morning with prisoners and various bloody tokens of their "victory;" and Director Kieft welcomed them exultantly, as men who had done a noble deed of arms in behalf of the colony and of their homes. They had simply thrown away the chief advantage that the Dutch colony had hitherto held over its energetic and more restless rivals. The chief guaranty of safety and prosperity was lost to a people who had little of the military prowess of their neighbors to stand them in stead.

Terrible results of Kieft's policy.

When the facts of the Pavonia and Corlaer's Hook massacres became known, the results were more terrible than even De Vries, with all his foresight, had looked for. All about the lower river and the bay, and on Long Island (where petty plundering expeditions, soon after the more important events, drove the tribes into common cause with their mainland neighbors), the Al-

gonquin people rose furiously against the whites. The terrors of an Indian war broke forth with a suddenness which appalled the colonists; and every swamp and wood from the country of the Hackensacks to the Connecticut, seemed all at once to swarm with hostile savages. The outlying bouweries and plantations were laid waste, their men killed, and their women and children made prisoners; people from the farms crowded to Fort Amsterdam; even Vriesendael was besieged, and only relieved at the intercession of the Indian who had come to De Vries by the director's fire on the night of the great massacre, and whom he now pointed out as "the good Swannekin chief." A hollow and but half-satisfactory peace with some of the tribes, which was only brought about by De Vries's urgent intercession, and hardly kept by the efforts of a few old chiefs, gave a partial



Massacre of Ann Hutchinson.

respite, from March until midsummer. But the war broke out again in August, with renewed fierceness, among the tribes above the Hudson Highlands. Early in the month they attacked and plundered trading-boats upon the river, murdering many of the crews. By September the conflict was raging with full force. In the south a band of savages fell upon the quiet home of Ann Hutchinson, at "Annie's Hoeck," now known as Pelham Neck, near New Rochelle, and she and her family, excepting one granddaughter who was carried away captive, were murdered. Other plantations near at hand and on Long Island shared this fate; the Hackensacks and Navesincks fell upon the settle-

ments to the westward of Manhattan; even at the outposts of Fort Amsterdam men were wounded by the shots of the lurking savages, who might, had they known their own power, have exterminated the whites, who, in the universal terror, were almost incapable of resistance.

It may be imagined that during all this terrible retribution Kieft's vindictive rashness had brought upon the wretched colony, his life was not a pleasant one. The terror-stricken people, who crowded with their families within the dilapidated and insufficient ramparts of the fort, thronged about him with imprecations and threats. He tried in vain to shift the responsibility to the shoulders of the Twelve Men. "You would not let them meet," was angrily answered; "how then could they have done this?" Even the three who had presented him the pretended petition at Dam's house deserted him, and attempted to repudiate their share of responsibility for the calamity they had helped to bring upon the colony. One of them — Adriaensen — stalked into Kieft's presence and threatened to take his life if he did not stop his "devilish lies." Indeed, his servant attempted it, and fired at the director, but he was instantly shot down by a sentinel, and his head was afterwards exposed upon the gibbet. Adriaensen was arrested and sent to Holland for trial; but the feeling of the people remained unchanged, nor did the proclamation of a solemn fast, and the remorseful acknowledgment that these things were "doubtless owing to their sins," persuade anybody that it was the Almighty and not the director who was the author of all their woes.

Unpopularity of Kieft.

Kieft again called the people together in September, 1643, just after the attack upon the trading-boats had shown the general and vindictive nature of the war, and begged them to choose a new council from among themselves, to consult as the former one had done, on the terrible crisis that was upon them. Eight citizens were selected, who seized the reins of government much more firmly and confidently than their predecessors had done. New provisions were made, which the exigency of the times demanded, among them especially the equipment of a large force of soldiers, of whom fifty were English settlers under John Underhill, lately a Massachusetts captain who had fought against the Pequods. Confidence was in some measure restored to the terrified town; and the refusal of an application to New Haven for aid — the New England colonies being pledged to each other not to enter separately into war, and New Haven, moreover, doubting whether the Dutch could be justified in the course they had pursued towards the Indians — aroused the energies of the New Netherlanders, who saw that they must save themselves or perish.

He calls an assembly of the people.

The Eight Men, however, did something more than use the scanty resources at their command within the colony. On the twenty-fourth of October they addressed to the College of Nineteen at Amsterdam, and on the third of November to the States General themselves, then in session in the Binnenhof[1] at the Hague, the first documents ever sent from the people of New Netherland to their government at home. Two letters of direct appeal were sent from the suffering citizens, couched in simple terms to which their hard condition lent convincing eloquence.

A council of eight men.



The Binnenhof.

They set forth how "Almighty God had finally, through his righteous judgment, kindled the fire of war" around the "poor inhabitants of New Netherland;" and they painted a pitiable picture of their woes, their women and children starving, their homes destroyed, "matters, in fine, in such a state, that it will be with us according to the words of the prophet: 'Who draws the sword shall perish of hunger and cold.'" To the States General they wrote that the "wretched people must skulk, with wives and little ones that still are left, by and around the fort on the Manhattes, where we are not one hour safe." They humbly prayed for such assistance "as their High Mightinesses should deem most proper, that they might not be left a prey "to these cruel heathens."

A terrible winter, and one full of sad forebodings, followed the sending out of these earnest letters of appeal. The suffering people, crowded at the southern end of the beleaguered island, and dreading the Indian arrows even at the doors of the little huts that clustered about Fort Amsterdam, could see no hope of better days in the future; and the many who could find pas-

Desperate condition of the colony. 1643.

[1] Then the meeting-place of the States General; now used as the repository of the archives of the Netherlands.

sage in the vessels going to Holland in the autumn, felt that they were leaving a colony that could never rise again. In this anxious and forlorn crowd was Roger Williams, who was at Manhattan to take ship for Europe, the Boston Puritans not tolerating his presence among them long enough for him to get a fair wind and go to sea. "Their townes," he says, "were in flames . . . . mine eyes saw the flames at their towns, and their flights and hurries of men, women, and children, the present removal of all that could for Holland."[1] It was only with the really desperate straits of midwinter, when all attempts to gain aid from their English neighbors had failed, that the spirit of the Eight Men and of the people rose, as man's courage does in extremities, to energetic measures against the enemy; and even then, the first attempts at offensive warfare had but little result. An expedition sent to Staten Island in December accomplished nothing but the capture of some grain, the Indians pursuing their usual tactics of keeping away from a large body of organized troops. Another sally towards Greenwich and Stamford, called thither by a petty skirmish, surprised a little Indian village, and killed its warriors, embittering, rather than aiding to end, the general conflict.

Capture of Indian towns.

It was only with the beginning of 1644 that any real success came to the colonial arms. Certain English families, who had removed from Stamford to Heemstede [Hempstead] on Long Island, called the attention of Kieft to the dangers to which they were exposed from the Canarsees, the tribe nearest them; and begged that an expedition should be sent to protect them from attack. The director and the Eight Men sent a hundred and twenty men in answer to this appeal. Two Indian villages were surprised and sacked; more than a hundred warriors were killed; and two were brought back to Manhattan, where they were put to death before the governor with such atrocious tortures that Indian women standing by cried "shame," and declared that the Dutch had shown them new methods of torture.

Underhill's expedition.

This success was soon followed by another and a greater. For Underhill and his force of Dutch and English, having carefully examined the main position of the Connecticut Indians near Greenwich and Stamford, undertook an expedition of a more decisive character against their principal village. A night march through the February snows brought the little army of a hundred and fifty men to the outskirts of the Indian town, which they had hoped to find unprepared for their approach, though the moonlight was so clear and strong that "many winter's days were not brighter." But the savages were warned, and stood upon their guard, nearly seven hundred strong,

[1] *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii., p. 155.

and having their rude fortifications to protect them. The Dutch line advanced steadily, unbroken by the arrows or attempted sorties of the Indians, and nearly two hundred of the besieged warriors fell in the endeavor to drive it back. Underhill succeeded at last in firing the village; and the flame and the moonlight lit up a slaughter beside which the massacre at Pavonia seemed insignificant. Eight only of the savages escaped. The Dutch, with fifteen wounded, made their way back to Stamford; and a few days afterward a thanksgiving was



March against the Indians in Connecticut.

celebrated on their arrival at Manhattan, after a victory which effectually humbled the eastern tribes.

It was only about Manhattan and on the river that many of the tribes continued hostile after this decisive blow; and the Eight Men counselled that vigorous measures should now be taken against these nearer and more dangerous neighbors; more especially as the arrival of a vessel from the Company's colony at Curaçoa had supplied New Netherland with a fresh force of one hundred and thirty soldiers, whom Peter Stuyvesant, the Curaçoa governor, had sent away because he

had no use for them. It was an addition of military strength to Manhattan which it was sorely in need of, and warmly welcomed, though how the soldiers were to be fed and clothed it was not easy to see. The treasury was empty; Kieft's last bill of exchange had come back from Amsterdam protested, for the Company was bankrupt. His only resource was taxation. The best, the most obvious thing to tax was beer. But a tax on his beer was precisely that to which a Dutchman would not submit. So the director blundered through the summer of 1644, without one wise or energetic measure. He was as inert and imbecile now as he had before been violent. He wasted his time in petty disputes and jealousies over petty measures. Still more of the men on whom the colony depended for protection, experienced soldiers and energetic settlers, returned to Holland. In spite of a palisade built across the island nearly on a line with the present *Wall* Street, the Indians continued to skulk almost under the walls of the fort, and to kill and plunder almost without the show of resistance.

Complaints against Kieft.

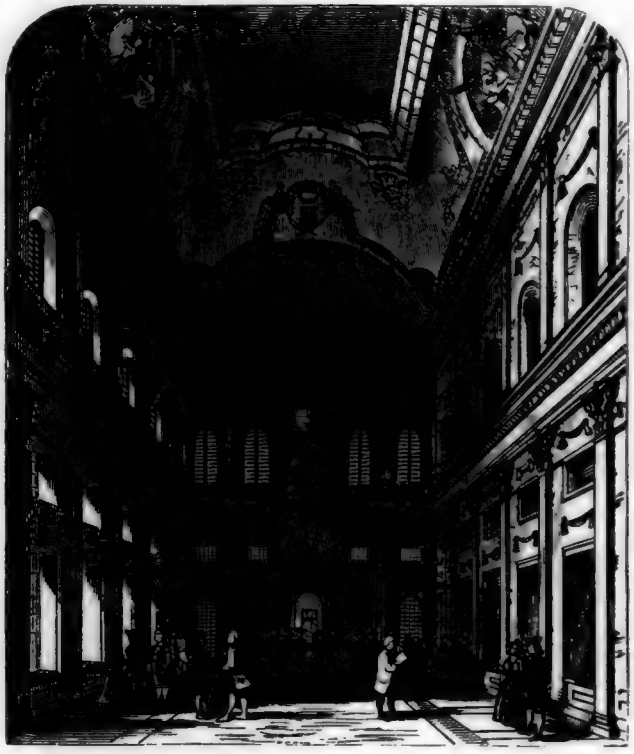
All through the summer the Eight Men bore with this condition of affairs, but in October they wrote again to the College of Nineteen, and this time with a bold and definite statement of the reforms they believed to be needed, and the changes they demanded. They again detailed the terrible state in which the unhappy colonists found themselves, and pointed to Kieft's acts as the source of all their troubles; they complained of his arrogance, and his neglect of all measures for public good, while he cared only for his own arbitrary power. It was impossible, they said, to settle the affairs of the country without a different and more popular form of government; and they asked permission for the people to elect local officers who in turn might send deputies to confer with the governor and council. If their High Mightinesses would send them a ruler empowered to encourage such a system, — "a governor with a beloved peace," — all, they believed, would yet be well.

This second appeal from New Netherland reached the College of Nineteen, while they were in the midst of the discussion of the former one, and of a great number of complaints received from other sources with regard to the suffering and unprofitable colony. The States General, when they had received the letter of 1643, had peremptorily ordered that the Company should take measures to relieve their people beyond the sea; but the bankrupt and powerless corporation, now seeking to merge itself in its great and successful fellow company of the East, could do little toward obeying the order.

Kieft's recall to Holland.

As usual, however, a definite demand had far more influence than a general complaint, however eloquent, as it suggested something that could be done at once. The immediate pur-

pose of the Eight Men was gained: Kieft's recall was determined upon, and decreed on the tenth of December. A provisional appointment of Van Dincklagen, the former sheriff, as his successor, was revoked in May, in favor of Peter Stuyvesant, the commander at Curaçoa, who had come home for surgical treatment, having lost a leg in an attack on the Portuguese at their Island of St. Martin. The Chamber of Accounts, to whom the matter was referred, reported in favor of the political changes recommended by the Eight Men, and against Kieft's conduct of the Indian war, and his earlier advice that the savages be exterminated. They suggested a great number of advantageous changes in the administration of New Netherland, and for the first time, taught by hard experience, admitted that a colony could not be made successful if managed solely for the immediate and selfish ends which had hitherto been sought by the Company in America, without regard to permanence or to the popular good.



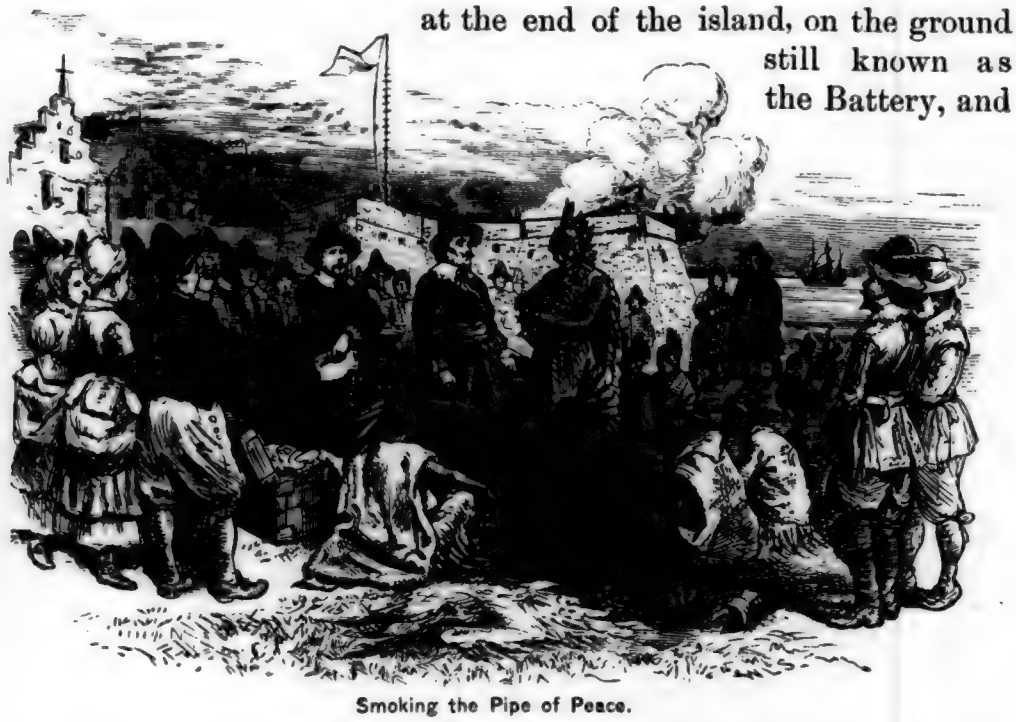
Hall of the States General.

There was a delay, nevertheless, of a year between determination and execution; but in the mean time the assurance of what was intended was enough greatly to encourage the anxious colonists at Manhattan. Kieft had a hard life now that it was known how soon he would be powerless to trouble them; and he only aroused more bitter opposition by attempting to repress by summary trials the boldness of those who now denounced him openly. A happier event, however, than even the recall of the hated director, soon rejoiced the colony, and gave promise of the better days that were believed to be in store.

With the spring of 1645, the Indians themselves began to show a wish for peace, and as early as April the colonists were glad to conclude a treaty with some of the tribes about them, Kieft willingly consenting, in the hope, perhaps, of still retrieving his

Treaties with the Indians.

reputation with the Amsterdam directors. One treaty followed another. In May the mediation of an Indian ally secured a lasting peace with the tribes along Long Island Sound; and in July, Kieft, aided by the patroon's men at Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck, brought about a similar agreement with the Mohawks and their neighbors on the upper river. Only the tribes immediately about Manhattan remained, and with these, who also wanted quiet that they might go back to planting and trading, and escape the vengeance which Underhill's victory showed was in store for them sooner or later, negotiations were equally successful. On the 30th of August, 1645, the citizens of New Amsterdam assembled at the end of the island, on the ground still known as the Battery, and



Smoking the Pipe of Peace.

witnessed the smoking of the pipe of peace, and the conclusion of a general treaty with all the hostile tribes. On the 6th of September New Netherland held a day of thanksgiving for the ending of the long and terrible Indian war. Throughout the desolated colonies about Manhattan, proprietors and laborers began to rebuild and to cultivate again with renewed courage; but the country had received a check from which it revived but slowly.

Sixteen hundred of the savages, indeed, had been killed; but there was not a single Dutch settlement, except that at Rensselaerswyck and the military post on South River, that had not been attacked and generally destroyed. Besides a few traders there were left upon Manhattan Island scarcely a hundred people, and throughout the whole province not more than three hundred men capable of bearing arms could have been mustered.

The year and more which yet remained of Kieft's administration, was a time of petty quarrels between him and his officers and the popular representatives. The Domine Bogardus denounced the governor from the pulpit, — as he had done his predecessor, — as a vessel of wrath and a fountain of woe and trouble. Kieft retorted by having cannon fired, drums beaten, and all kinds of noisy games carried on about the church on Sunday. His officers and soldiers were by no means reluctant to give implicit obedience in a warfare of this sort, and for a time the town was kept, between the domine and the governor, in a state of unusual liveliness. Military disaster and civil misrule had brought affairs to such a pass that in the order of nature a change must come, either of reconstruction or absolute dissolution. The "beloved peace" which the new governor was to bring must have wings broad enough to stretch over army, state, and church.

Meanwhile affairs on the frontiers of New Netherland were in nearly, if not quite, as bad a state as on the island of Manhattan. The steady aggression of the New Englanders had left the Dutch but the merest nominal foothold in Connecticut and eastern Long Island; and the serious attempt that had been made in 1641–1642, to settle the question of rights and boundaries, had resulted only in the usual empty talk about an arbitration which never came. The Dutch settlement at little Fort Good Hope was more a source of amusement than apprehension to the authorities of the thriving town of Hartford, the Dutchmen listening sometimes to remonstrances and reproaches, and sometimes submitting to outrages they could not resist. Dutch control in the Connecticut Valley was gone. On the southern borders of their possessions, however, events of a more positive character had occupied the years of Kieft's unhappy rule. Fort Nassau, reoccupied a few years before, held undisputed control of the beautiful region of the South River; the old importance of the district as an Indian trading-ground had been reëstablished, and the English had ceased to molest the Dutch in this part of their territory, when about the time of Kieft's arrival at Manhattan a new nation appeared on that river. These colonies were to have a brief life, but to leave a lasting impress upon the region where they were established.

William Usselincx, of Antwerp, who had first proposed and had succeeded in establishing the Dutch West India Company, visited Sweden, in 1624, and urged upon the king the great value which the founding of colonies in America, and the trade that would spring from them, must certainly be to his kingdom and people. The wise and liberal Gustavus Adolphus was fully capable of comprehending the broad views of the Holland merchant, and entertained them warmly. Usselincx set forth the advantages of his plan in a religious, political, and

commercial aspect. He showed that the establishment of a Swedish West India Company would benefit the state, in the spread of the Christian religion; in adding to the power and splendor of the sovereign; and in the decrease of taxes, while it augmented the general commercial prosperity of the people. Reward would surely come to a state aiding the cause of Christ; the state itself would have "another eye;" by reason of the increased revenue "every industrious man would thrive;" and it would greatly tend, said Usselincx, in conclusion, "to the honor of God, to man's eternal welfare, to his majesty's service, and to the good of the kingdom." The project was accepted by the king and the Diet, and accompanied with the most favorable conditions for Usselincx himself, who was to share largely in the profits.

A Swedish West India Company formed.

Gustavus Adolphus fell at Lützen, in 1632, before the absorbing importance of his great campaigns had permitted him to take any practical steps toward the carrying out of the plan; but he had it constantly at heart, and just before his death had drawn up a proclamation in which he called the project "the jewel of his kingdom." Fortunately, it was left in worthy hands. The chancellor Oxenstiern, who appreciated its importance as fully as the king, published the proclamation, urged on the undertaking with energy and wisdom, and in December, 1634, secured the passage of a full and definite charter for the Swedish West India Company. But, as in the case of the similar Company in the Netherlands, it was several years before the corporation was ready to act.

The hope of profitable employment from this Company led to Sweden the discharged director of the New Netherland colony, Peter Minuit. He pointed out to Oxenstiern how useful his experience might be to the Swedes. When the Company was fully organized he was put in command of its first expedition.

Swedish colony under Peter Minuit. 1637.

In the autumn of 1637, Minuit set sail from Gottenburg in the *Key of Calmar*, accompanied by a tender called the *Griffin*, with about fifty emigrants. The neighborhood of the South River was the region upon which he had fixed for his settlement. The two vessels entered Delaware Bay in April, 1638, and sailed up the river as far as the "Minqua's Kill," as it was then called by the Dutch. To this stream the Swedes gave the name of their queen, Christina, — since corrupted into Christiana, — and here Minuit made a treaty with the Indian sachem of the region, buying, for a kettle and some trifling wares, all the land on the west side of the South River, from Cape Henlopen to the falls near Santickan (now Trenton), and "as much inwards from it in breadth as they might want."[1] The spot they chose for their

[1] Acrelius' *Hist. of New Sweden*, translated in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 409; Hudde's Report on the Swedish Colony, ib., 439.



LANDING OF THE SWEDES AT PARADISE POINT.

trading-house and fort — Fort Christina — was about two miles from the mouth of the creek, and near the site of the present town of Wilmington, Delaware.

The Swedes, leaving the winter bleakness of their own country, and coming to the beautiful banks of the South River in the freshness of the warm spring, found in the new land even more than the fulfillment of their hopes; yet these had been raised by the most glowing descriptions at home.[1] A point just above Cape Henlopen they named as they passed "Paradise Point," and as they lay at anchor in the broad stream by their newly-purchased territory, they were eager to begin a "plantation." Fort Nassau was only fifteen miles above, and it needed but little time for rumors to reach the Dutch garrison there, of the arrival of two foreign ships within the limits of New Netherland, and the mysterious movements of their passengers upon the shore. Messengers were dispatched to Minuit to ascertain his intentions; he had only come, he said, for wood and water, and would soon pursue his voyage to the West Indies. The story was distrusted from the first, and when the Swedes began to make "a small garden" near the bank — an operation which was clearly not a part of a West India voyage — their commander was compelled gradually to disclose his true purpose. The *Griffin* even made a trading voyage as far as Fort Nassau, where, though forced to put about, her captain refused to show his commission at the demand of the Dutch. But he announced that the Swedes meant also to build a fort on the river, and that their right to do so was quite as good as that of the Dutch Company.

Their arrival in the South River.



Costume of Swedes.

The people at Fort Nassau sent intelligence of the matter to Kieft at Manhattan. The director, with great promptness, brought to bear upon the Swedes a sounding proclamation, asserting the right of the West India Company to the banks of the South River, and warning Minuit, in most solemn and weighty terms, not to attempt intrusion, assuring him that the Nether-

Dismay of the Dutch, and proclamation of Kieft. May, 1638.

[1] See the *Argonautica Gustaviana*, quoted by Bancroft, vol. ii., p. 284.

lands would protect their rights "in a manner that should appear most advisable." [1]

Building of the Swedish Fort.

Minuit, himself a Dutchman, and late the director of the Company at New Amsterdam, knew the exact weight of metal which this sort of ordnance carried. He went on with the building of a fort and trading-house, and when he had finished them and had seen trade with the Indians fairly established, he placed a garrison of twenty-four men in possession, well supplied and armed, and then, without the least regard to the continued protests of the Dutch, sent the vessels home well laden, to return with farther additions to the little colony.[2] The valor and firmness displayed by Kieft in proclamation and letter were admirable, but he was careful not to send anybody to disturb the well-fortified Swedes. Nor was he less loud in his complaints to the Directors in Holland; but these passed almost unheeded, for any design of Sweden at home or abroad was not to be lightly meddled with. For more than a year all went well with the colony at Fort Christina; its trade prospered so that it did "thirty thousand florins injury" to that of New Netherland,[3] and the little plantation about the fort began to have the appearance of prosperity and permanence. It was only with the winter of 1639–40, when supplies had begun to run low, and no aid had been sent from home, that their first trials came upon the Swedish settlers. To such straits were they brought, that they at one time determined to give up their enterprise, and go to the Dutch at Manhattan to seek homes or a passage to their fatherland. But the spring brought help.

Accessions to the new colony.

This came not only from their own people, but from the Netherlands also. Those who had returned in the vessels had spread far and wide the praises of the beautiful region they had visited, its fitness for colonization, and the promise for the future to those who should be its first possessors. Recruits came with the summer of 1639, from different parts of Sweden and Finland; several shrewd Netherlanders, to whom the confused state of the colony at Manhattan was anything but attractive, gained permission to take out parties to the South River under Swedish protection. The opening of New Netherland, just at this time, to greater freedom of trade, caused some of these to change their minds, but enough persevered to make a small Dutch colony, which the Swedish government decreed must be at least four or five German miles from Fort Christina.

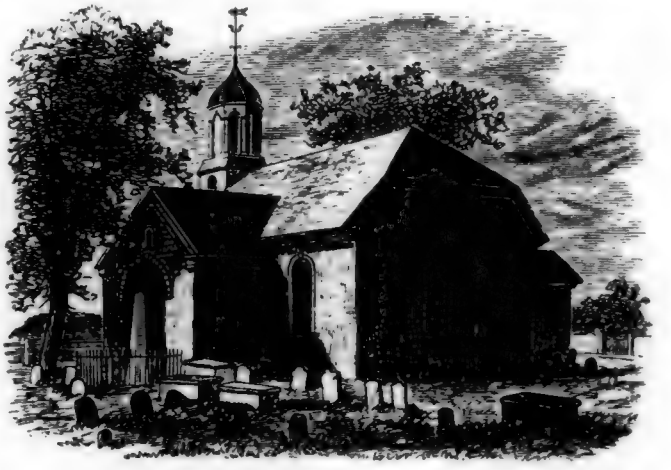
[1] Acrelius, as cited, p. 409; O'Callaghan, vol. i., p. 191.

[2] An ambiguous passage in a letter of Kieft, dated in July of this year, has led some writers to believe that Minuit himself went back at this time, but it is clear that he did not. Compare Acrelius, as cited, p. 410.

[3] Brodhead, vol. i., p. 319.

The new emigrants — the Dutch being under the command of one Joost de Bogaerdt, who drew a salary from the Swedish government — sailed for America late in the winter. Their arrival was hailed with delight. Abundant supplies, a great addition to their numbers, and news from home, where they had almost believed their undertaking had fallen into complete neglect, dispelled in a moment the despair of the colonists at Fort Christina. Everything took on the appearance of prosperity; the Dutch settlers, establishing themselves a little to the south of the Swedes, began to build dwellings and plant their crops in the pleasant valley, a happier contrast than they knew to their countrymen at Manhattan, whose mistaken government was at this moment bringing upon them a desolating war. The summer passed away without a check to their progress; the Indian trade on the South River passed almost entirely into their hands; their crops were good, and the fort was not molested by the New Netherlanders, Kieft having concluded to raise the siege of proclamations and treat them with neighborly civility. In the autumn a new band of colonists arrived at the fort with further supplies, tools, and conveniences, under the charge of Peter Hollaendare. Later still in the season came two or three more vessels, each crowded with passengers; while many who wished to leave Sweden had been unable to come for want of room, and were waiting for other ships to sail. The third winter at the new colony passed away without bringing the suffering that had been felt in those before it; with the next spring and summer emigrants continued to join the growing settlement. During this summer (1641) Minuit died at the fort he had founded, regretted by the Swedes, whom he had served most faithfully, and whose enterprise he had made successful where one of less experience would probably have failed. Hollaendare, a Swede, succeeded him in the governorship.

Prosperity at Fort Christina.



Early Swedish Church.

Even the presence of two claimants in the valley of the South River could not protect it long from the interference of the English, who, De Vries said long before, "thought everything belonged to them." As early as 1640 a New England captain is reported to have

bought some land on the South River from the Indians, who were often ready to sell the same lands to as many people as possible.[1] Early the next spring a number of New England colonists, under the command of Robert Cogswell, sailed from Connecticut for the South River, seeking a less rigorous climate and more fertile soil, in a region of whose beauties they had heard so much. At Manhattan, where they lay for a few days on their way, one of Kieft's proclamations was aimed point-blank at them, warning them against encroaching upon New Netherland territory. With a vague assurance that he meant only to settle upon unclaimed lands, the New Englander sailed on, and had no trouble in finding Indians ready to sell him land. The English made quick work with this, as with other settlements within Dutch limits; and before the end of the summer they had planted corn and built trading-posts on Varcken's Kill (now Salem Creek, in New Jersey), and on the Schuylkill, near its mouth. Both posts prospered, and New Haven took them under special protection, as colonies connected with the town. By the time Kieft fully realized what had been done, it was too late in the year for action.

The English on the South River.

The coming of the English was not less disagreeable to the Swedes than to the Dutch; and when, in the spring of 1642, Kieft instructed Jansen, the commissary at Fort Nassau, to expel the intruders, and to maintain on the South River "the reputation of their High Mightinesses," the people at Fort Christina gave them their energetic aid. The English for once yielded without resistance, were taken as prisoners to Manhattan, and thence despatched to their homes. Their appeals for damages, and their request that the New Haven authorities should retaliate, were alike disregarded.

The English driven from the South River.

During the spring of 1643, there arrived at Fort Christina an officer who was to play a distinguished part in the Swedish colony. Hollaendare had retired from his post as governor, and John Printz, a cavalry lieutenant in the Swedish service, was sent out to succeed him. De Vries gives a concise description of this burly officer, by saying that he was a man "of brave size," weighing somewhat more than four hundred pounds, and he "doubted not" that the Swede drank three drinks at every meal.[2]

Arrival of Governor Printz at Fort Christina.

He was evidently looked upon as a somewhat formidable person, and was endowed with a violence of temper quite in keeping with his physical proportions and his free mode of living. Two Swedish war-vessels, the *Swan* and the *Charitas*, and a merchant ship, the

[1] Brodhead, vol. i., p. 321, cites authorities for this report; its truth is by no means certain. See O'Callaghan, vol. i., p. 232.

[2] De Vries, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 273.

Fama, accompanied him to New Sweden, as the colony was now called; they brought out a large number of colonists; and the new administration began with something of the dignity and ceremony of an older government. Printz established himself at the island of Tenacong (the present Tinicum, about twelve miles below Philadelphia), built a fort there — the "New Gottenburg" — and a house of no mean pretensions for the time and place, which he called "Printz Hall." A part of the colonists remained at Fort Christina; the rest clustered about the new fort and the governor's mansion; and at both points prosperous farms and orchards were soon in flourishing condition. According to the instructions to Printz, amicable relations were, if possible, to be kept up with the Dutch, both at Fort Nassau and elsewhere; but he was to monopolize the Indian trade of the river as far as he could, and his fort was to be so built as to command the stream, and be able to stop all passing vessels.

Administration of Printz.

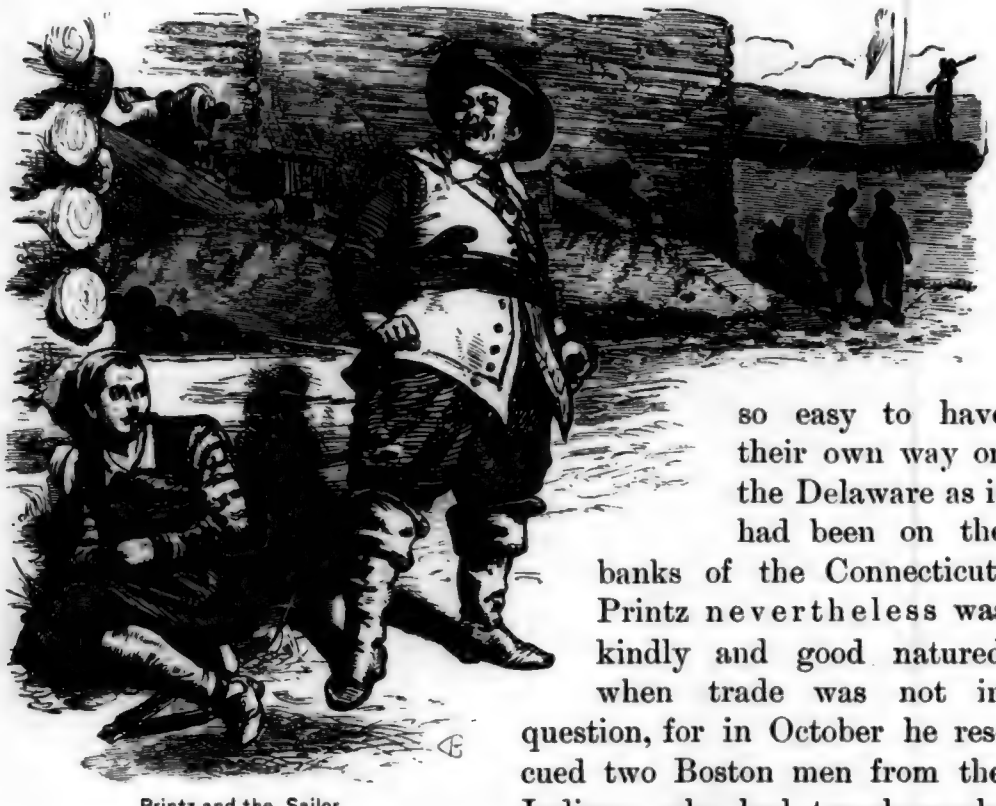
The home government had made a very large appropriation (about two million rix dollars annually) for the support of the colony, and agreed to furnish it with soldiers for protection;[1] the settlers had ample resources and were energetic and industrious; and they had chosen one of the best positions on the coast. The material prosperity of the people was unquestionable and for a pioneer colony exceptional. Their neighbors, however, found some fault with its moral condition, for De Vries records that "neither there nor in Virginia was intoxication or incontinence punished with whipping;" but this lenity does not seem to have led to any grave disorders, and probably the motley population of Manhattan would not have appeared to advantage in a comparison with the peaceful Swedes. Swedish interests on the river were at any rate cared for in a way that must have fully satisfied Printz's superiors. His fort at Tinicum compelled every vessel, of whatever nationality, to strike her colors as she passed, and no trade was permitted that did not pay due tribute.

Energetic measures of Printz.

Notwithstanding affairs were conducted in this high-handed way by the new comers, the Dutch hesitated to oppose them except by the usual protests and empty threats. Printz was not a man likely to be daunted by these. When George Lamberton, the New Haven Englishman who had sent out Cogswell's unsuccessful expedition to the South River, persisted in trading there, the Swedish governor induced him to come ashore at Tinicum, and imprisoned him and two of his crew. He tried to persuade or bribe one of the sailors to accuse the captain of inciting the Indians to attack the Swedes. When the sailor refused, Printz put him in

[1] Hazard, *Annal. Penn.*, apud Brodhead, vol. i., p. 379.

irons, and stamped up and down the fort, "a man very furious and passionate, cursing and swearing, and also reviling the English of New Haven as runagates."[1] When called upon by the New Englanders, after Lamberton's release, to give satisfaction for these "foul injuries" and "damages," he sent a letter to Massachusetts denying the whole story. This was in the autumn of 1643. When another New England vessel (a pinnace sent out from Boston), came to the Delaware in the spring of the next year, the Swedes and the Dutch at Fort Nassau united in refusing to permit her to trade in the river, and sent each a boat to prevent it. The English soon learned that it was not



Printz and the Sailor.

so easy to have their own way on the Delaware as it had been on the banks of the Connecticut. Printz nevertheless was kindly and good natured when trade was not in question, for in October he rescued two Boston men from the Indians, who had treacherously boarded an English vessel that entered the bay and killed or captured all her crew. The rescued men he sent to New Haven.

In 1645, Jan Jansen, long the commissary at the Dutch Fort Nassau, was peremptorily removed by Kieft, because of well-sustained accusations of dishonesty and incompetence, and one Andreas Hudde was appointed in his place. It is very possible that a part of Jansen's neglect of duty lay in his easy submission to the Swedes; at all events, his successor seems to have understood his obligations to protect the river-trade, as binding him to take a different course. An opportunity to make issue with the rival governor was not long wanting.

[1] Winthrop, vol. ii., p. 130, sqq.

In the summer of 1646, a New Amsterdam trading vessel, approaching the right bank of the mouth of the Schuylkill, was sharply ordered off by the Swedish officer of the post near by, and was forced to obey. The captain of the vessel appealed to Hudde; but when that officer came in person to investigate the complaint, he was commanded to "leave the territory of the queen" with as little ceremony as had been used in the first case. He retired to Fort Nassau in great indignation, and an angry interchange of messages and letters followed, during which Printz requested Hudde to define precisely the rights which the Dutch believed they had in the neighboring region. Hudde replied rather vaguely to the Swedish messengers; and Printz, who had none of the patience of a diplomat, wrote decisively to the captain of the Manhattan vessel that he must leave the river or lose ship and cargo, conveying his threat, however, in courteous language, and laying all the blame on the Fort Nassau commissary.[1] The captain wisely obeyed, and sailed away.

Disputes between Swedes and Dutch.

This dispute, however, was only the prelude to further difficulties. Later in the summer Hudde found himself prevented from going to the falls at Sankikan (Trenton), whither he had been ordered by Kieft on an exploring expedition. Printz had persuaded the Indians to stop him, making them believe that the Dutch designed to attack the tribes of that region, and build a fort upon their land. The Dutch commissary was furious but discreet, and gave up his expedition. Nor did the interference of Printz cease here. When Hudde, at Kieft's command, attempted to begin a new settlement on some land he had bought near the present site of Philadelphia, a Dutch mile or more to the north of Fort Nassau, on the west shore of the river, Printz sent a deputy to prevent it; the officer tore down the Dutch arms, and used "in an insolent and hostile manner these threatening words: 'that although it had been the colors of the Prince of Orange that were hoisted there, he would have thrown these too under his feet;' besides many bloody menaces."[2] This was followed up by a formal letter from Printz, demanding that Hudde should at once "discontinue the injuries of which he had been guilty against the Royal Majesty in Sweden" — injuries which he had committed "without showing the least respect to Her Royal Majesty's magnificence, reputation, and highness;" and the document so belabored the commissary with protests against his "gross violence" and "gross conduct," that it is plain to see the choleric Swede believed himself to be a most patient, innocent, and abused governor.

Further difficulties.

Hudde was naturally enough astonished at the tone of this despatch.

[1] Hudde's report, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. ii., p. 431.

[2] Hudde's report.

He returned an answer in the most exaggerated form of Dutch courtesy, to "the Noble Governor De Heer John Printz," addressing him as "Sir Governor." Yet the letter was not without firmness, and contained a great deal of excellent counsel. After protesting that he had done everything in his power to promote "a good correspondence and mutual harmony," he appealed to the Swede to do likewise. "I confide that it is your Honour's intention to act in the same manner — at least from the consideration that we who are Christians will not place ourselves as a stumbling-block or laughing-stock to those savage heathens."

The good sense and moderation of this answer were of no avail. When the sergeant by whom Hudde sent it approached the Swedish governor, who stood before the door of "Printz Hall," with several servants and others about him, the burly officer paid no heed to the messenger's courteous "good morning," but took Hudde's despatch from his hand without ceremony, and threw it unopened toward one of his attendants, telling him to "take care of it." Turning away he went to meet some Englishmen just arrived from New England, paying no further attention to the sergeant or his letter. The Dutch soldier waited patiently for a considerable time, and then humbly asked for an answer; whereupon the governor became furiously angry, and seizing the unfortunate sergeant with all the strength of his huge frame, threw him violently out of doors, afterward "taking a gun in his hand from the wall, to shoot him, as he imagined."

After this positive breach of friendly relations, nothing but hostility could exist between the Dutch and Swedes on the South River. During the short time that was left of Kieft's administration at Manhattan, petty acts of enmity and retaliation marked all the intercourse between the settlements of the two nations. "John Printz leaves nothing untried to render us suspected," wrote Hudde a little later, "as well among the savages as among the Christians — yea, often is conniving when the subjects of the Company, as well freemen as servants, when arriving at the place where he resides, are in most unreasonable manner abused, so that they are often, on returning home, bloody and bruised." The Dutch trade with the Indians had passed almost entirely out of their control; the English were kept away with an energy they would never have experienced at the hands of the Fort Nassau garrison. At the moment when Kieft gave up his misused power into the hands of his successor at Manhattan, the Swedes were in all respects the lords of the South River valley; and as the power of their rivals declined, they prospered and grew strong. Large reinforcements of settlers and sol-

Prosperity of New Sweden.

diers came out to them; convicts and malefactors, some of whom had at first been sent out as servants to the colonists, gave way to the better class, under whose control they did good work on farms and buildings;[1] the little town at Tinicum, with its manor-house and its church where the Reverend John Campanius preached on Sundays, had an appearance very different from that of the now desolated and unfortunate New Amsterdam. When New Netherland was at its lowest point of misfortune and mismanagement, New Sweden had reached a height of prosperity which was, however, to disappear in its turn in the advance of a stronger race.

[1] Thomas Campanius Holm's *Short Description*, already cited, p. 73. The statement made in the same place about the sending back of subsequent bands of convicts is, like many of this author's statements, very improbable. His translator admits a considerable mingling of fable in Holm's work, and his account is only trustworthy where confirmed by others.

CHAPTER XVIII.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

JEALOUSY OF JAMES I. OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY. — EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON ELECTED TREASURER. — PROGRESS OF THE COLONY. — MASSACRE OF 1622. — DISSENSIONS IN THE LONDON COUNCIL. — CHARTER OF THE COMPANY TAKEN AWAY. — RAPID SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS OF THE COLONY. — LORD BALTIMORE, AND HIS VISIT TO VIRGINIA. — CHARTER OF MARYLAND. — CECIL CALVERT'S COLONY. — ITS LANDING IN MARYLAND. — THE FIRST TOWN. — ST. MARY'S BLUFF. — PURCHASE FROM THE INDIANS. — THE FIRST CATHOLIC CHAPEL. — FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS.

WHEN the regular meeting for the election of officers of the Virginia Company was held in 1620, a message was received from the king naming four persons, one of whom he wished to be chosen its treasurer for the ensuing year. It was a despotic act, not easy to enforce, on the one hand; hard to obey, and difficult to evade on the other. Its own charter, not the royal wish, was the law for the Company.

James I. and the Virginia Company.

But James sincerely believed that the Council of the Virginia adventurers was a nursery of sedition, and, in a measure, he was unquestionably right. Among the many persons who were busy with schemes for peopling the new country, the larger number were moved, some by selfish motives, others by broad commercial and patriotic purposes. But besides these, the thinking men of the time, — those who valued religious and civil freedom ; who contended and meant to contend against tyranny at home, so long as the struggle was of any avail ; who looked to the future of England with apprehension, and were sustained by the hope that a new England might arise across the sea — all these by a common impulse engaged in some scheme of American colonization. The conviction of the king was neither a prejudice nor a mistake, but an instinct. However much it might please him to be busy about the government of a colony, he watched with jealous eyes any body of men accustomed to congregate together, lest treason against the royal prerogative should be hatched among them. The Council of the Virginia Company attended to its own affairs; but there were men at that board whose influence, in Parliament and out of it, James dreaded, not without reason. The nominations he now made were only the beginning of more serious aggressions.

The Company was happy to effect a compromise. The king consented not to insist upon the election of one of his own candidates; the Company so far gratified his wish as to quietly drop the man whom he held to be the most obnoxious. "Choose the devil if you will," said James, "but not Sir Edwin Sandys." [1] The treasurer elected was the Earl of Southampton — a choice hardly more acceptable to James than that of Sandys himself, but quite as advantageous to the interests of the Company. For the policy which for the two previous years had been so successfully pursued, Southampton continued; nor was the active management of the affairs of the colony by Sandys lost to it; he still remained a member of the Council, and frequently acted as treasurer — always virtually the governor — by Southampton's appointment.

The Earl of Southampton elected treasurer.

So vigorous was that management that the number of colonists sent to Virginia during the years 1619, 1620, and 1621, was three thousand five hundred and seventy, more than half of the whole number sent by the Council to the colony since Newport landed the first company at Jamestown in 1607. During the same period fifty patents were granted to individuals for private plantations, and these transported at their own charges and for their own use many servants and cattle in addition to those sent on the company's account. It was not the fault of the London Council that the establishment of a more prosperous community did not follow their large expenditure of labor, of care, and of money. Had there been nothing in the character of the emigrants, a large proportion of whom were persons whose expulsion from an old country was much more desirable than their acquisition in a new, to stand in the way of the progress and prosperity of the colony, there was reason enough in the want of any diversity of industry and the enforced labor of bound servants in one direction, to check any healthy and vigorous growth. All the energies of the people continued to be devoted to the cultivation of the one great staple, tobacco, and neither the constant and earnest remonstrance of the Council in London, nor the evidence of their own short-sightedness in the constant threat of scarcity of food, and often of famine, could induce the colonists to adopt a wiser system. The colony was fourteen years old when the governor wrote to the Council in London — "as to barley, oats and the best peas there is either none, or a very small quantity of any of them in the country."

So long as the colony was in the hands of the Council their efforts to check this evil were never pretermitted, but were never completely successful. The law to regulate the planting of tobacco was made more stringent, but seems to have continued, for the

Cultivation of tobacco.

[1] Neill's *History of the Virginia Company*, note p. 185.

most part, a dead letter, if even there were any attempt to enforce it. Provision was made for the introduction of other industries, but their growth, if they had any at all, was feeble. The soil of Virginia, it was thought, was peculiarly suited to the vine; cuttings, accordingly, were procured from time to time in large quantities from France, and sent over with French vine-dressers, to attend to their cultivation. Wine, it was hoped, might be manufactured in large quantities; it was certainly begun, for in the minutes of the proceedings of the Council in London, a single pipe is spoken of as having been sent over, but which, unfortunately, soured on the passage. Mulberry trees and silk-worms were introduced, and everything done to encourage their growth. The Council were sanguine, and one of their letters enjoined the colonial government to tolerate no costly apparel except such silks as should be of their own manufacture. This early application of the principle of protection to home industries the colonial officers rather resented as an insult to the rags of the ordinary colonial wear. The silk making was no more flourishing than the manufacture of wine. Glass-works also were established, with skilled workmen from Italy. Iron-works were started. Ship-building and salt-making were encouraged. Dutch workmen were sent out to put up saw-mills; — there was not even a grist-mill in the colony till 1622.

Other industries encouraged.

The first mill.

But neither the exhortations of the Council, the diligence of the colonial authorities, nor the amount of capital employed, could bring the culture of any of these products into successful competition with the growing of tobacco, where the promise of speedy wealth, especially with those who had the means to buy the cheap labor of men bound to service for a term of years, was so much greater. Whatever the prosperity which the cultivation of this single staple brought to the colony in after times, or brought rather to a single class, it is evident that its earlier struggles were greatly prolonged by this concentration of its energies in a single direction.

Sir George Yeardley, who, with Sandys, had given to the colony, in 1619, a fresh start and a new chance of success, retired from the governorship in 1622, and was succeeded by Sir Francis Wyat. The Earl of Southampton was reëlected treasurer from year to year till the Company lost its charter. With such officers the colony would have continued slowly to improve, notwithstanding all drawbacks and mistakes, but for a sudden calamity which, in the spring of 1622, well-nigh ruined it.

The massacre of 1622.

For several years there had been almost unbroken peace with the Indians. So little fear was there of any interruption of this tranquillity that the English had heedlessly scattered themselves about the

country upon isolated farms, or in small settlements, as interest or inclination led them, neglecting all precautions of armed security, permitting the natives to come and go familiarly among them without question and without thought of danger. It proved a fatal confidence in a people who reckon dissimulation as among the virtues, and the infliction of vengeance as the noblest use of courage.

Since the death of Powhatan, his younger brother, Opechancanough, had become the most powerful chief in Virginia. His hatred of the English had never slept, though carefully hidden under the guise of friendship and submission. It was enough to keep alive his anger and his desire for vengeance that these stranger people still remained in a country to which he considered his race had an exclusive right. But he had other provocations in the memory of past wrongs, which the English had forgotten, or which they believed to be condoned for in treaties, in the interchange of many acts of good fellowship, and the long maintenance of kindly and familiar relations. His proposal and attempt to massacre the whole colony was, indeed, preceded by the recent killing of a chief by two boys whose master he had murdered; but as this brave was well known not to be a favorite of Opechancanough, though popular with the tribe, his death was the pretext rather than the cause of the fearful vengeance which fell upon the whites on the 22d of March, 1622.

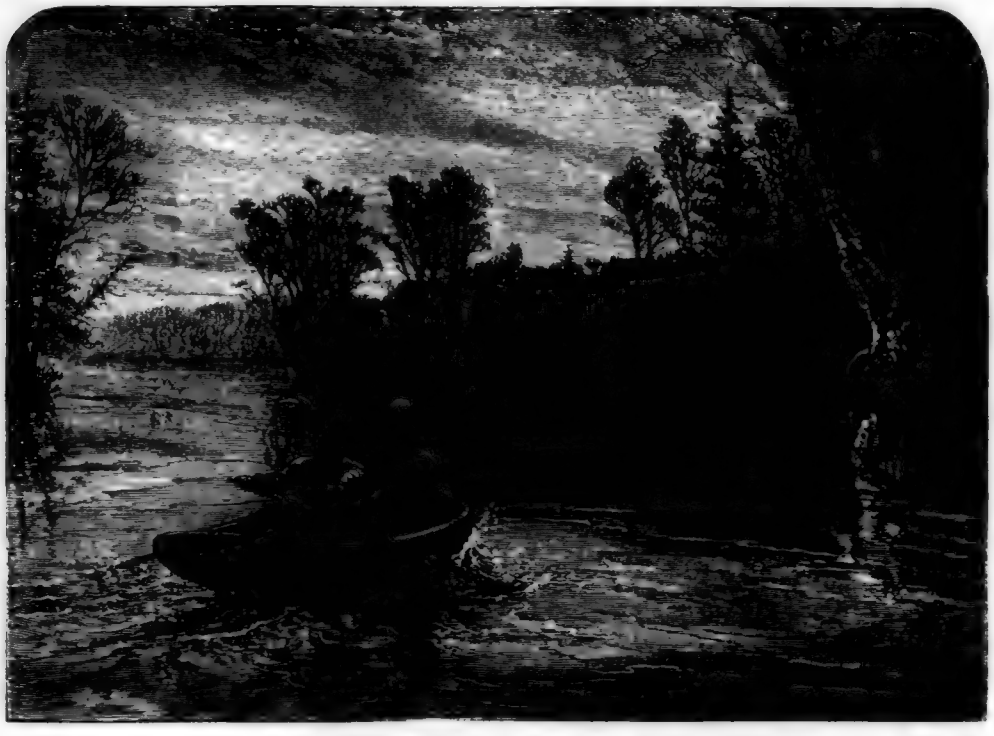
There was no intimation and no suspicion of the intentions of the savages. Not one of the thousands who dispersed themselves about the country to visit the unsuspecting English with sudden death, was moved by any grateful remembrance of favors or of friendship to warn any of the intended victims of the swift calamity which was about to overtake them. On the appointed morning, everywhere, in places wide apart, the savages, sometimes idly loitering, seemingly in friendly mood, into the houses of the whites, sometimes creeping stealthily unseen and unheard into fields where men were busily at work, fell upon them with a suddenness and a vigor that gave no time for defence, or prayer, or warning. They spared neither age nor sex, but slaughtered indiscriminately men and women, parents and children, in a riot of atrocity and cruelty to which the North American Indian never so completely abandons himself, and never so fully delights in, as when his victim is utterly defenceless and entirely at his mercy. It was not enough merely to take life, sometimes even at the table where bread had just been given them to eat. With a horrid pleasure they mutilated and disfigured the bodies they had already put beyond help or harm, — wreaking their unspent rage upon the dead as a wild beast cries over and tears the creature he has just killed and seeks to find life in it that he may kill again.

Its suddenness and atrocities.

When this cruel work was finished, the savages turned to the possessions of those they had murdered. Horses, cattle, and swine were destroyed; houses and barns set on fire. Hatred and the love of vengeance made them prodigal of things which at any other time would have been most precious possessions. They left nothing pertaining to the whites that was capable of destruction.

The attack was chiefly upon those who were at a distance from Jamestown; but there, fortunately, the people were put upon their guard. The night before the massacre a converted Indian was told by his brother of the proposed extermination of the English, and was urged to do his part toward it by the murder of his master. It was the single instance so far as there is any distinct record in which the tie of blood was forgotten, and the obli-

The colonists warned.



Taking Warning to Jamestown.

gation of kindly relations from benefits received remembered. The Indian revealed to his master what was to happen on this morning. The planter, whose place was opposite Jamestown, hurried across the river before daylight, and gave warning to the authorities of the town. The people were put under arms; word was sent to all the plantations within timely reach; and the larger part of the colonists were thereby saved, for the Indians made no attack where they found they were to encounter an armed resistance. Where they did strike, however, the blow was effectual. The number killed, probably within an hour, was about three hundred and fifty.

In the inevitable hostilities which followed, the people were compelled to gather into the larger towns for mutual defence. The smaller places, like Henrico and Charles City, were abandoned; the scattered plantations were deserted; the iron-works and the glass-works, where the men had been killed, were given up; vineyards were destroyed; cultivation of land or industry of any sort was out of the question, except in the immediate vicinity of the larger bodies of population, where there were enough for constant vigilance and armed defence. Discouragement and almost despair, for a time, paralysed the unfortunate colony.

There was the more leisure for retaliation. "We must advise you," wrote the Council from London, "to root out from being any longer a people so cursed, a nation ungrateful to all benefits, and uncapable of all goodness." "A sharp revenge," they said in another letter, "upon the bloody miscreants, even to the measure that they intended against us, the rooting them out for being longer a people upon the face of the earth." The advice was not needed. "We have anticipated your desires," answered the governor and council of Virginia, "by setting upon the Indians in all places." To the Council's reproaches that they may have brought this calamity upon themselves, in some measure, by their want of watchfulness, and too much trust in the savages, they pointedly replied by reminding them in London how, from the beginning, they had been exhorted to be tender with the Indians, to win their good-will by familiar intercourse, to entertain them kindly in their homes, and induce them to become members of their families. They bettered, if that were possible, the new instruction. They destroyed the towns, the crops, the fishing-weirs of the natives; shot them, as they would shoot wild beasts, wherever they were found; tracked them with bloodhounds to their hiding-places in the forests, and trained their mastiffs to tear them to pieces.[1]

Extermination of the Indians urged.

The Company in England was in no condition to bear the panic which the news of the massacre produced. Its differences with the king, and the struggle between the two factions, led on the one side by Southampton and Sandys, on the other by the Earl of Warwick and the friends of Sir Thomas Smith, the former treasurer of the Company, were pressing hard upon it. The king's jealousy of those members of the "country party" who belonged to the Council — a jealousy nursed by Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, whose influence over James was so important an element in the politics of the times, — the controversy in regard to the importation of tobacco, in which was involved the prosperity of the col-

Dissensions in the London Council.

[1] See minutes of the Council, in Neill's *History of the Virginia Company*.

ony, the revenue of the crown, and the good-will of Spain; the still unsettled accounts of Sir Thomas Smith, and the peculations of which he was suspected; the steady disregard of the Company, year after year, of the wishes of the king in the choice of its officers; the appeals of the Council to Parliament for protection, the only result of which was to enrage James, and to prompt him to new and more arbitrary measures; — all these for the next two years threatened the existence of the Company, and at length destroyed it.

Proclivity of the colony.

One of the measures to which the Smith faction resorted to get possession of power, was to procure the sending of a commission by the Lords of the Privy Council to Virginia to look into the affairs of the colony. The attempt was altogether a failure, for the colonists both privately and through their General Assembly vigorously protested, and supported their protest with weighty facts, against putting affairs back again into the hands from which they had been happily rescued when Sir Thomas Smith was deposed from the treasuryship. The king was only the more exasperated that he, and those who were acting in accordance with his wishes, should be thus baffled.

Dissolution of the Virginia Company.

If possession of the Company could not be gained, at least the Company itself could be destroyed. A movement was made to procure a voluntary surrender of its charter, but this was successfully resisted. The Privy Council, by order of the king, again interfered, and the officers of the Company appealed to Parliament for protection. The matter, James said, was already in the hands of his Council; the House was warned to let it alone. The case was taken to the Court of King's Bench, and on the 16th of June, 1624, the patent was declared by the chief justice to be null and void. The government of the colony was put into the hands of a commission, at the head of which was Sir Thomas Smith. Whether there was any real obscurity or not about his long unsettled accounts, they were liquidated, probably, on whichever side the balance was, by his return to power.

The decision of the court[1] was, of course, perfectly arbitrary, and no better law or reason for it could be given than would have been equally applicable to the Plymouth Company, at the head of which was the Earl of Warwick. But it suited the king to take from Southampton and Sandys a power which he was willing to leave in the hands of Warwick and Gorges. There was, however, no such complication

[1] For authorities as to this final disposition of the Charter of the Virginia Company — which differs from Stith's account of it — see Neill's *History of the Virginia Company in London*. Also notes to *The Aspinwall Papers*, vol. iv., *Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.*, Fourth Series, p. 71.

of interests — as of the tobacco question; the accounts of Smith; the unadjudicated charges against Argall — in the one case as in the other, and happily James I. was dead before the colony of Puritans at New Plymouth was thought worthy of much notice, or that of Massachusetts Bay had an existence.

Meanwhile the colony in Virginia recovered, in a measure, but very slowly, from the calamities which followed the massacre, the famine consequent upon the inability to produce a sufficient crop in the summer of 1622, and the sickness and mortality which attended the crowding of so many people into narrow quarters. They counted it as chief among the blessings of this period that the Lord delivered into their hands a great number of the In-

Slow recovery of the colony from its misfortunes.



Deserted Settlement.

dians; that they were able to destroy many of their villages and their crops; to take from them large quantities of corn which not only served to satisfy their own necessities, but the want of it starved their savage enemies. These hostilities continued almost without intermission, and the whole community lived for years in a state of perpetual panic.

The reëstablishment of industry and security, therefore, was of slow growth, and it was long before the colonists ventured to return to their plantations, or ceased to rely solely for safety upon the presence of numbers. In the progress of this gradual recovery from misfortune it was of little moment to them which faction was in the as-

cendancy in the London Council. They worked out as well as they could their own salvation, and it was years before the transfer of the colony from the control of a corporation to that of the king, made much change in their condition.

Death of James I.

James died in March, 1625, and his son had little leisure, and perhaps little inclination at the outset of his reign, to think of a distant colony which had for him none of that absorbing interest it had possessed in many respects for his father. Wyat still remained as governor for a year or more after the abrogation of the charter, and then retiring, at his own request, was succeeded by Yeardley, whose fitness for the post had been proved in former years. The colony during this period seems to have been left almost entirely under the control of its own council and general assembly, and when in 1627 Yeardley died, the former body elected Francis West, one of their own number and a brother of Lord Delaware, to succeed him. He probably retired in the course of the year, and Dr. John Potts, who was in the hardly less important post of physician to the colony, was chosen its chief magistrate in West's place.[1] The administration of Potts was put an end to, the year after his election, by the arrival of the first royal governor, Sir John Harvey, who, though a resident of Virginia, seems to have been prevented by absence in England from assuming the office earlier. He entered upon its duties under a load of unpopularity, acquired as one of James's commissioners in 1624, which, so long as his administration lasted, he did nothing to diminish.

The first royal governor.

Potts's term, however, had not expired when Lord Baltimore arrived at Jamestown from Newfoundland, where he had a colony called Ferryland. His coming opened a new chapter in Virginia history. The governor and council inquired — not, apparently, in any inhospitable mood, but with an entirely natural desire to learn — the intention of so distinguished a visitor, who, they probably knew, had not come to Virginia from mere idle curiosity. Baltimore's plan was to found a colony, having already petitioned the king to make a grant of lands to him somewhere in Virginia. But as he seems to have been disposed to remain for a time at Jamestown with his family, the government tendered to him the usual oath of supremacy and allegiance. They knew, no doubt, he was a Catholic; they felt that, in all their tribulations and misfortunes, in one thing, at least, they had been happy — to use their own words — "in the freedom of our religion which we have enjoyed, and that no Papists have been suffered to settle their abode amongst us."[2] They did

Visit of Lord Baltimore to Jamestown.

[1] Burk's *History of Virginia*, vol. ii., p. 23.

[2] See Memorial to the Lords of the Privy Council, in Neill's *English Colonization of America*, from Sainsbury's *Collection of State Papers*.



GEORGE CALVERT, LORD BALTIMORE.

(From a copy of the original portrait by Daniel Mytens.)

not mean to forego, if they could help it, so great a blessing. If this distinguished Catholic nobleman — who, should he settle among them, would bring other papists with him — objected to taking the oath, then, they may have reflected, they would be happily rid of him. Their oath he declined to take, though not unwilling to subscribe to one of his own composing, which he thought would answer the purpose quite as well. Their answer was a request that he would take shipping for England by the earliest opportunity. He complied so far as to quit the colony, but before returning to England he made a voyage of observation to Chesapeake

Baltimore declines to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy.



Scenery in the Chesapeake.

Bay, where Lady Baltimore had made a visit the year before.[1] His family he left behind him at Jamestown; and that he returned there afterward from England to take them away there is this interesting bit of evidence in the colonial records of Virginia: "Thomas Tindall to be pilloried two hours for giving my Lord Baltimore the lie and threatening to knock him down."[2]

George Calvert, created baron of Baltimore a few weeks only before the death of James I., was not a stranger to the Virginia Colony. He had been a member of the London Council; through him, as secretary of state, the wishes of the king were conveyed when he sent to that body a list of persons, one of whom he desired should be chosen treasurer in place of Sandys. As a devoted servant of his

[1] Note to *The Aspinwall Papers*. Bozman's *History of Maryland*. McSherry's *History of Maryland*. Neill, in his *English Colonization*, says, that this lady was not Lord Baltimore's wife, but gives no authority for the assertion.

[2] *Hening's Statutes*, cited by Neill.

royal master, he probably upheld with a hearty good will all the measures of the party hostile to the management of Southampton and Sandys. When in 1624 the charter was taken away from the Company, Calvert was one of the commissioners appointed to take charge of the affairs of the colony. It is not improbable that these facts were remembered against him when he appeared in Jamestown, and Governor Potts tendered to him and his companions the oath of allegiance and supremacy. A man who had been the principal secretary of state to James for the last five or six years of his life; who had done all he could to further the most despotic acts of the king; who was rightfully supposed to have been active in the efforts to bring about the marriage of Prince Charles with the Spanish infanta; who had become a Catholic, and who now proposed to plant a Catholic colony in Virginia, was not likely to be popular with the colonists.

Lord Baltimore's colony in Newfoundland.

His interest in American colonization, however, was older than his conversion to the religious faith to which he was now attached. That dated from the first settlement of Virginia. Some years before the death of James, Calvert had obtained a grant of lands in the southeastern part of Newfoundland, to which he gave the name of Avalon. The colony he there established and called Ferryland, was about twenty-five miles north of Cape Race. It was a Protestant colony, its people sent out by Calvert, till he, in 1627, as the Catholic Lord Baltimore, whose political career in England was ended, conceived the idea of making it an asylum for himself and others of his religious faith. He visited Ferryland that and the following year, taking with him, on his second voyage, his own family and forty other papists. The country did not answer his expectations. Discouraged, in a few months' residence, by the severity of the climate, the barrenness of the soil, and the sickness which carried off about one fifth of his company, he sailed for Virginia, probably in the spring of 1629.[1]

He had already written to the king to ask for a grant of land in that region. This request he continued to urge on his return to England, only with a more definite purpose. His visit to Chesapeake Bay had revealed to him a country in wonderful and charming contrast with the bleak shores of Avalon, and he asked of the king, — who was undoubtedly friendly to him, although he discouraged him from engaging in enterprises which involved a necessity of much labor and an exposure to hardship which the condition of Lord Baltimore's health did not justify, — a patent which should include all that region.

[1] Authorities differ on this point, but a comparison of events renders it most probable that the spring of 1629 was the time when Lord Baltimore first visited Virginia.

His suit was successful, though he did not live to take advantage of it.

Lord Baltimore died in April, 1632, but so far matured were all his plans, that the patent was issued in June to his son Cecilius. The father had, indeed, secured a grant more than a year before of lands lying south of James River, but the opposition to this from some of the old Virginians was so great that it was abandoned.[1] He then asked that the country northward might be given him; here, he thought, he and his Catholic brethren might plant themselves and live in peace, unmolested by their neighbors on the James. He proposed to Charles to call the colony Crescentia, assuring the king that he should have been glad to have given his name to it, but that another province was already known as Carolana. The king proposed Mariana, in honor of the queen. But this was objected to as the name of a Spanish historian. Then, said Charles, let it be *Terra Mariæ*. And Maryland — the Land of Mary — it was henceforth called.[2]



Henrietta Maria.

The Charter of Maryland gave to Cecilius, Baron of Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, as its "true and absolute lords and proprietaries," all the country lying in the irregular triangle formed by the fortieth degree of latitude, the Potomac River, and Chesapeake Bay; as well as "all that part of the peninsula or *Chersonese* lying . . . . between the ocean on the east and the bay of Chesapeake on the west, divided from the residue thereof by a right line drawn from the promontory or headland called Watkins's Point." Briefly, the limits of the Province were like those of the State to-day, save that they included the territory afterward set apart as Delaware, and extended a third of a degree farther to the north than now. Thus the region which the patent conferred was taken entirely from what was then known as Virginia; but the conditions and privileges which the Maryland grant went on to enumerate differed from any that had been given in the case of any previous American colony.

The charter of Maryland.

[1] The Duke of Norfolk had proposed a settlement on the south banks of James River in 1629, — possibly the very lands granted to Baltimore two years later, — and the colonial assembly decreed that a county should be named for him. The same year the patent to Sir Robert Heath, which included the whole coast from Albemarle Sound to St. Augustine, was granted under the name of the Province of Carolana, in honor of Charles. Neill's *English Colonization*, pp. 213, 214.

[2] Neill.

Rights of the lord-proprietor.

The Lords Baltimore then and in future were to be absolute lords of their province, in as full a sense as such power could ever be conferred; that is, "saving always the faith and allegiance and sovereign dominion" due to the king. They held their rights by fealty only, — the annual payment of "two Indian arrows of those parts," and the requirement that they should deliver a fifth of any gold or silver that might be found, being prescribed as formal considerations of their tenure. No article of the grant required them to render account of their administration to the king; none provided for the interference of the crown with the colonial government, or defined occasions for it; none even prescribed means for the investigation of abuse of the powers conferred. It was especially stated that the new province should not thenceforth be a part of the land of Virginia, or of any other colony, but should enjoy entire independence.

Political rights secured to the colonists.

But the charter was still more noteworthy in the rights which it secured to the colonists — the people. It provided that the freemen of the province should be called together to take part in framing the laws which were to govern them; but in cases of emergency, when it should not be convenient to call together such an assembly of the people, the legislative power was given to Lord Baltimore and the magistrates, provided that such laws as they might enact did not infringe upon the rights of the citizens, "in member, life, freehold, goods or chattels." Further, the liberties thus strongly secured in Maryland were open to all subjects of the English crown; no restrictions were placed on emigration to the province; and all colonists and their descendants were placed on the footing of native Englishmen. Last, but by no means least as an attraction to free settlers, — even though it was granted rather as a gift to the proprietaries than as a direct privilege to the people, — the charter added perpetual exemption from all taxation by the crown. The proprietaries and the provincial assemblies could regulate their own taxation, but the charter left this to them alone.

Clause in the charter relating to religion.

There was only one article in the charter even distantly relating to religious matters — that which gave to the proprietaries the patronages and advowsons of all churches which should be built and which must be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England. There was no discrimination in favor of or against any sect within the limits of Christianity. Without trace of bigotry, with unprecedented guaranties of liberty to the settler, with the promise of freedom from financial burdens, the charter of Maryland might in very truth be said, as one of its paragraphs affirmed, to "eminently distinguish" the new province "above all other regions of that territory," and to so provide that the new colony

might "happily increase by a multitude of people resorting thither," and that English subjects might undertake the emigration to it "with a ready and a cheerful mind."

Cecilius Calvert, now Lord Baltimore, intended to go himself as leader of the first expedition, but being, for some reason, detained in England, he delegated the command to his younger brother Leonard; Jerome Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis, "two worthy and able gentlemen," being appointed his councillors or assistants.



Cecil Calvert

It has been a disputed question, whether the majority of those taking part in this first voyage to Maryland were "gentlemen" or laborers, but the larger portion of the emigrants undoubtedly belonged to the latter class. The expedition, moreover, was in every sense under Roman Catholic leadership. Maryland was to be an asylum for the then persecuted Romanists, and of those who came to share in the new venture the leading men were some twenty gentlemen "of very good fashion," men of influence and often of wealth, who hoped to find a quiet resort beyond the sea. Among these adventurers, their presence and leadership lending to the voyage something of the aspect and fervor of a religious pilgrimage, were the Jesuit priests Father Andrew White and Father John Altham, two men whose earnestness, self-sacrifice, and simple piety, have compelled kindly recognition from historians of every sect and opinion. Father White became the annalist of the expedition, and from his quaint and picturesque "Narrative," written in Latin and having its description interspersed with many pious reflections and devout thanksgivings, the most vivid idea of the voyage and settlement is gained.[1]

Character of the colonists.

[1] *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam* (Narrative of a Voyage to Maryland). The manuscript of this valuable narrative was discovered among the archives of the "Donnes professa" of the Society of Jesus in Rome, by the Rev. William McSherry, of that order, about 1832. Father McSherry at once copied it carefully, and deposited the copy in the library of the Roman Catholic College at Georgetown, whence it was afterward removed to that of Loyola College at Baltimore. It has been twice translated, — first in 1847 by Dr. N. C. Brooks (the translation which appears in Force's *Hist. Tracts*, vol. iv.). Our

Departure of the Maryland colony. 1633.

The whole number of assembled emigrants, including servants and laborers, was nearly or quite three hundred. On Friday, November 22, 1633, they sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, in a ship, *The Ark*, accompanied by a pinnace, *The Dove*, and, "and after committing the principal parts of the ship to the protection of God especially, and of His most Holy Mother, and St. Ignatius, and all the guardian angels of Maryland, they put to sea, "with a gentle east wind blowing."



Cowes in the Isle of Wight.

The voyage.

The voyage was long, for the vessels followed the circuitous southern course by the Azores and the West Indies; and at St. Christopher's and Barbadoes they made a considerable stay. The first part of the passage was full of danger; a terrible tempest on the 25th of November, separated the pinnace from the ship, nor did the smaller vessel reappear till six weeks later, when she overtook *The Ark* far on in her course, and the devout emigrants offered up a hearty thanksgiving for their reunion with the friends they had long given up for lost. Fears of pirates haunted them throughout the voyage; they narrowly escaped falling into the hands of a Spanish fleet which lay along the Cape de Verd islands; and only the timely discovery of a plot among the slaves at Barbadoes, prevented their finding that island given up to anarchy and massacre, amid which they would have

quotations are made from the later and more accurate translation, edited for the Maryland Historical Society in 1874, by the Rev. E. A. Dalrymple of Baltimore, and accompanied by the Latin text.

run some risk of being murdered for the sake of their ship and cargo. Storms were frequent, nor were they always saved from danger by monitory "sun-fish swimming with great efforts against the course of the sun," which Father White believed to be "a very sure sign of a terrible storm," and which once, at least, led them to take prompt precautions. Beset with perils as they were, the emigrants nevertheless made their voyage in safety, and at last, on February 24, 1634, they sighted Point Comfort, in Virginia.

Their reception by the Virginian governor.

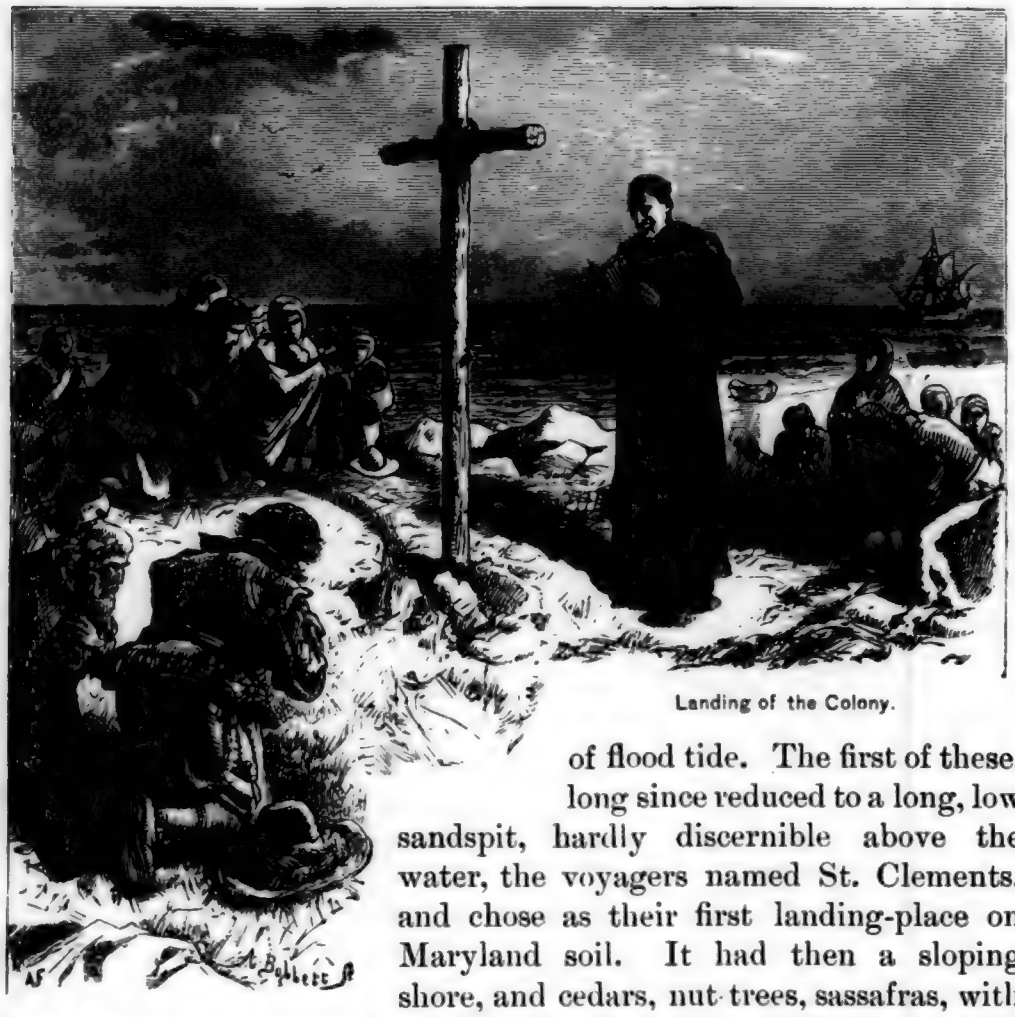
Glad as they were to be so near the end of their tedious voyage, the new-comers had some cause to fear for their reception among the colonists along the James, where the hostility excited by the granting of Lord Baltimore's patent was now at its height. But Governor Harvey, anxious to gain favor with the king, and personally friendly to Baltimore's purposes, was able to prevent any disagreeable manifestation of the popular feeling. He met the settlers, fortified as they were with royal letters to him, most hospitably, and treated them kindly during their stay of more than a week. On the third of March they again set sail, and were soon within those boundaries, on the shore of the beautiful bay, which were to mark their future home. Right gladly did they see the pleasant region that awaited them, for few emigrants to North America had been greeted by a more genial climate or more beautiful lands than these; and in the pride of possession they "began to give names to places,"[1] calling the southern point at the Potomac's mouth, now Smith Point, by the name of St. Gregory, and the northern one St. Michael's, now Point Lookout.

The entrance to the great river, as Father White described it with enthusiastic admiration, presented nearly the same appearance as in our own day. "It is not," he remarked, "disfigured with any swamps, but has firm land on each side. Fine groves of trees appear, not choked with briers or bushes and undergrowth, but growing at intervals as if planted by the hand of man, so that you can drive a four-horse carriage wherever you chose among the trees." To the right and left opened the mouths of broad estuaries, — tributary streams with low shores, behind which rose gentle hills, covered with plentiful, yet not dense forests. "Never have I beheld a larger or more beautiful river," wrote the priest; "the Thames seems a mere rivulet in comparison with it." The *Ark* and the *Dove* sailed up the broad stream, while the shores at night blazed with the camp-fires of the Indians; and the daylight revealed to the emigrants armed bands

[1] *A Relation of Maryland, together with a Map of the Country, etc.*, London, 1635. Sabin's reprint, edited by Hawks, New York, 1865. This contemporary record is second to Father White's in value as regards details. Its author is unknown.

hurrying to and fro, the tribes they believed mustering to resist their landing.

Somewhat more than thirty miles from the river's mouth lay a group of islands, called the Herons' Islands, from the great number of those birds that flocked about them. They are known now as the Blackstone Islands, and in the two centuries that have elapsed, almost all of them have been washed away, a few only rising above the level



Landing of the Colony.

of flood tide. The first of these, long since reduced to a long, low sandspit, hardly discernible above the water, the voyagers named St. Clements, and chose as their first landing-place on Maryland soil. It had then a sloping shore, and cedars, nut-trees, sassafras, with flowers and herbs, covered the four hundred acres of dry land which have now so nearly disappeared. On March 25, the "day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary," — an omen which the pious emigrants did not fail to note, — they took possession of the country with solemn ceremonies. After celebrating mass upon the beach,[1] they followed their governor in reverent procession to the highest part of the island, where they planted a great cross of

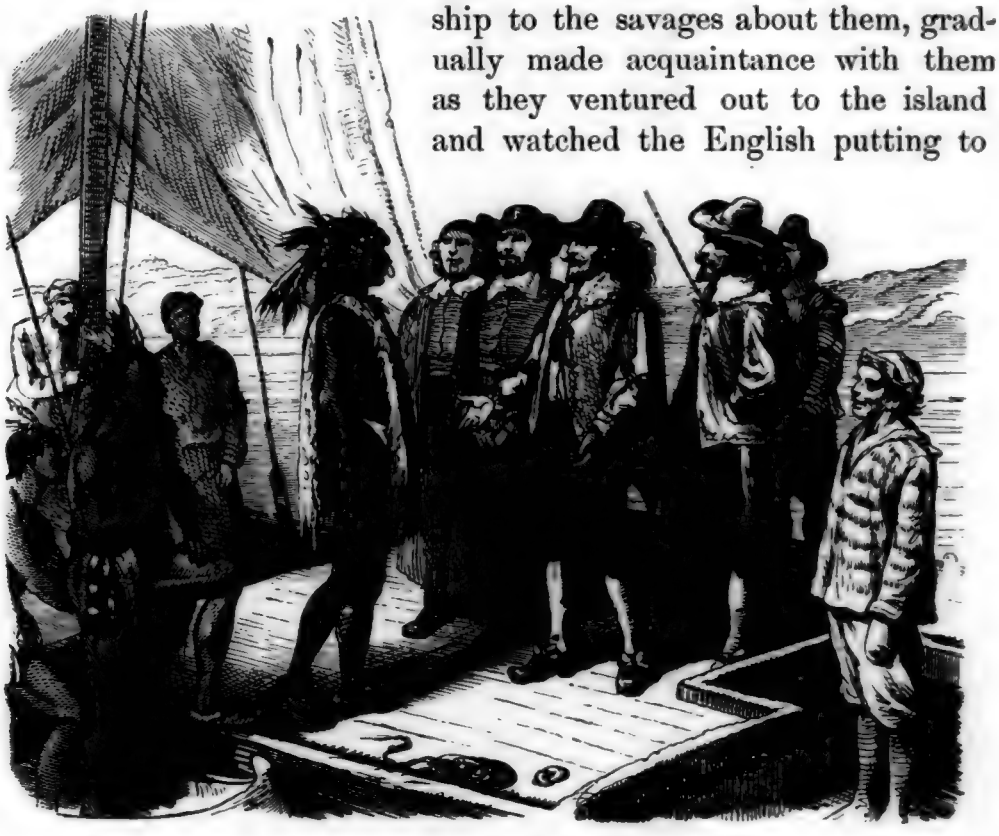
Ceremonies on landing.

[1] After speaking of the celebration of mass, Father White adds, "this had never been done before in this part of the world." He was not aware of the Jesuit mission on the banks of the Rappahanock, sixty years earlier. See p. 221 of this volume.

wood and knelt around it, while the litany was read. Then Leonard Calvert solemnly proclaimed their right to the beautiful region about them, and took possession of it "for our Saviour and for our Soveraigne Lord the King of England."

Two days were spent in explorations by the governor, who went up the river in the *Dove*, taking with him another pinnace brought from Virginia; the greater part of the colonists remaining on board the *Ark* meanwhile, as she lay at anchor in the river at St. Clement's, watched by a crowd of curious Indians upon the shore. The chief object of Calvert's excursions was to treat with the leaders of the tribes, and seek to do away with any hostility with which they might look upon the new settlement. The people left behind in the *Ark*, by signs of friendship to the savages about them, gradually made acquaintance with them as they ventured out to the island and watched the English putting to

Calvert's journey up the Potomac.



Governor Calvert and the Indian Chief

gether a little vessel, the parts of which they had brought with them. They wondered where a tree could have grown large enough to be hollowed for the hull of the *Ark;* and were amazed at all the tools and arms of the English. Little by little they became convinced of the perfect friendliness of the strangers; nor was Calvert less successful in establishing good relations with the chiefs. At an Indian town near the mouth of Acquia Creek, where the werowance, or chief, was a

child, and his uncle Archihau held the regency, the English were gladly welcomed, and established a lasting friendship; and still further up the Potomac, at Piscataway, they had a somewhat similar, though more cautious reception. Here they found a Captain Henry Fleet, who had traded for some time among these Indians for furs, and used his influence over the chief to induce him to go on board the pinnace for an interview with Calvert. The friendliness of his bearing soon banished the suspicions of the chief and his followers, who had gathered on the shore fearing treachery; and the parley was highly successful. The definite question was put by the Governor, whether the chief "would be content that he and his people should set down in his country, in case he should find a place convenient for him;" the werowance gave the cautious but friendly answer that he "would not bid him go, neither would he bid him stay, but that he might use his own discretion."

This Captain Fleet was familiar with the Potomac and the neighboring country, where he had long carried on a profitable trade in peltries. He had, at one time, been held as a prisoner for several years among the Nacostines or Anacostans, a tribe whose principal village was on the site of the present city of Washington, where their name is still preserved in a corrupted form in the island Analostan in the Potomac, and in a little post-office station, Anacostia, near the city limits. His relations with the neighboring Indians at the time of Calvert's arrival were friendly, and he was, at least, in no fear from his old enemies. He was a roving adventurer, sailing to New England, or to Jamestown, or returning to England, wherever a trade in corn or beaver offered the most inducement; but his long imprisonment among the Anacostans had made him most familiar with the resources along almost the whole course of the Potomac. He was not permitted, however, to enjoy the advantages of this trade undisputed. To conceal its source was impossible; others followed him from Jamestown, and he was at length arrested by order of the authorities there for trading without a license. Two years before he had been taken to Jamestown and put upon trial, but the difficulty seems to have been compounded by his admitting others to a share in his ventures, the profits probably being increased by the employment of larger capital.

The Anacostan Indians.

Fleet was no doubt aware that a charter had been granted to Lord Baltimore, and may have seen something of the excitement caused at Jamestown when the news was received that a Catholic colony would soon be planted in such disagreeable proximity, and in a country which the Virginians believed was rightfully theirs. He either did not share the religious prejudices of the colonists, or was ready for

other reasons to welcome the new-comers. Welcome them, at any rate, he did; became afterward one of their number as a man of some mark and influence, and when finally the colony was established, was a member of its General Assembly.[1]

Under the guidance of the man thus fortunately met with, the *Ark* and the pinnace now dropped down the river to the mouth of a stream



St. George's Island.

flowing into the Potomac, Calvert deciding not to make his first settlement so far from the sea. This stream they named the St. George; one of the "two harbors" formed at its mouth[2] received the name St. Mary's, which has become the modern name of the whole river, though a wooded island near at hand still preserves the older title. Sandy points, doubtless higher then than now, and different in form from those left by the wearing tides of two centuries, marked the entrance through which Fleet guided them toward his favorite village of Yaocomico;[3] but a little way back from the banks, the land rose in gentle undulations, and in the further distance into hills of moderate height.

The river itself was rather a series of broad bays or lakes than a stream of regular width and rapid current. Passing up through several of these, to one which they named "the bay of St. Ignatius," the settlers anchored and prepared to land. At the end of the broad harbor a low promontory extended from the eastern shore, ending in a sandy beach, the present Chancellor's Point; and on this, as we understand Father White's description, the Maryland colonists

[1] A narrative of Fleet's voyages to the Potomac was first published in Neill's *English Colonization*.

[2] Concerning the probable condition of these bays and their shores, and their difference from their present form, see the elaborate note K to White's *Narrative*, p. 107 of Dr. Dalrymple's edition.

[3] The name Yaocomico is now given to a village on the Virginia side of the Potomac, nearly opposite St. Mary's River; but this is an entirely modern transfer of the title from the site to which it properly belonged, — the territory of King Yaocomico, on the St. Mary's.

first set foot. Walking on through the woods and along the bank for a mile or more, they came upon a region whose beauty and fitness satisfied them that here was a proper site for their future town. The river-bank was higher here than it was farther down the stream, while behind it, at a distance of about a half mile from the water-side, lay a gently sloping valley, on the further side of which, again, was higher land gradually rising to the inland hills. In this valley springs were then as now abundant; and scattered through it were groves of nut trees and oaks. Here the Indians had

Site chosen for their town.

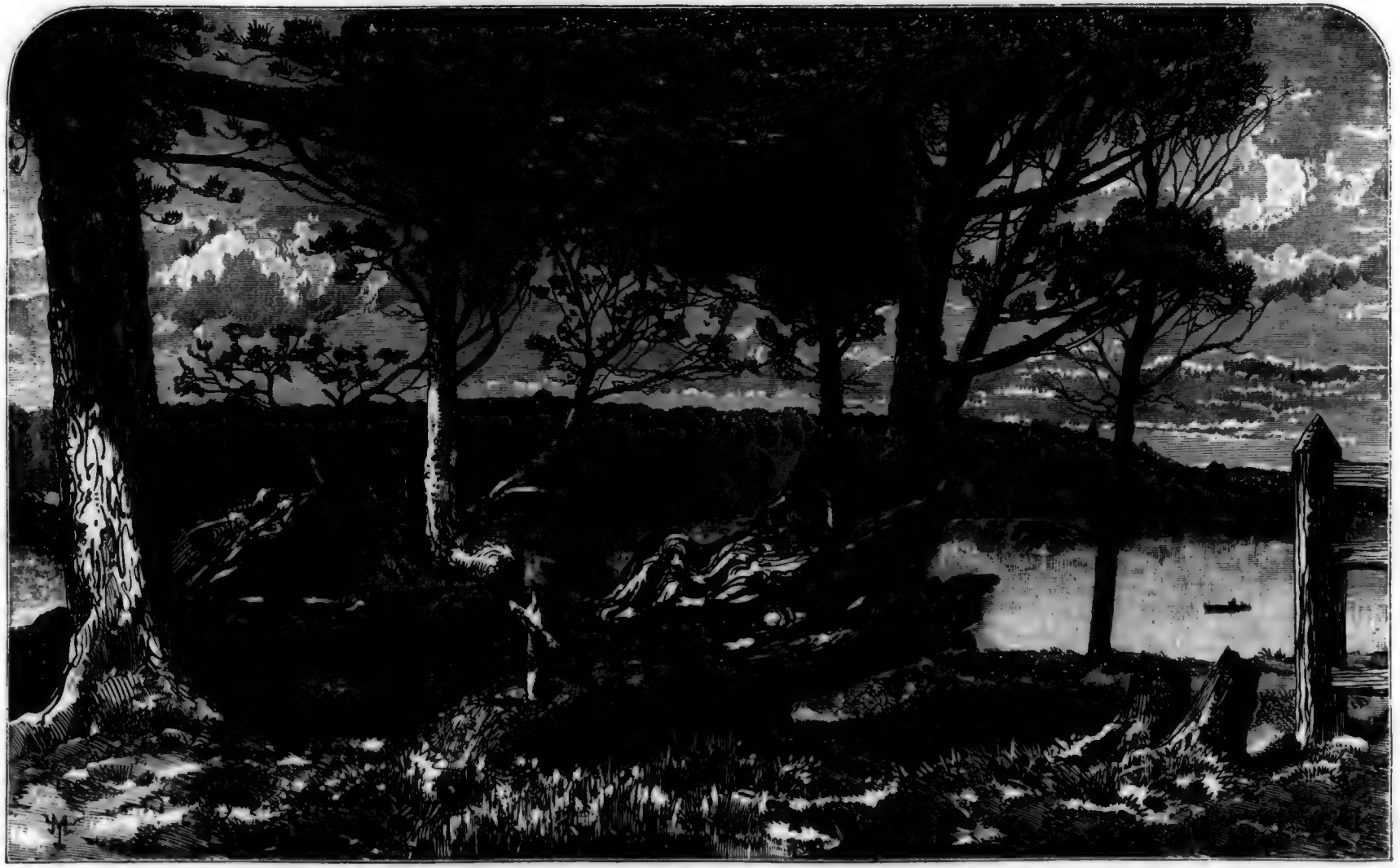


The Bluff at St. Mary's.

their village; and where it approached the water's edge the bank rose into a bold bluff between two broad expanses of the river, similar to those below. The soil was fertile; the neighboring woods, Father White declares, were free from dangerous animals; the place seemed well-nigh perfect for their purpose.

On the highest part of the bluff stood a mulberry tree, large enough even then to throw a broad shade about it, and to be visible for a long distance up and down the river. For more than two hundred years afterward its mass of foliage still crowned the promontory; and its decayed and blackened trunk, lying where it fell but a few years ago, yet marks the place of its growth, but nearer to the edge of the bank than it was when the settlers first stood around it, for the river has changed and reduced the sandy cape. Under this tree, according to well-authenticated tradition, Leonard Calvert made a treaty with the Indians of the village. For a certain payment in cloth, tools, and trinkets the tribe of Yaocomico consented that the strangers should share their town with them through the harvest, and then should purchase all the site, while the easily-contented savages removed their dwelling elsewhere. The fre-

The purchase of the Indian village and lands.



THE MULBERRY TREE AT ST MARY'S POINT.

quent raids of the Susquehannahs from the north had already inclined them to this step; and they were the more glad if by so doing they could win the powerful alliance of the Englishmen. They "made mutual promises to each other, to live friendly and peaceably together, and if any injury should happen to be done on either part, that satisfaction should be made for the same." On the 27th of March the governor took possession, and named the first village of Maryland Saint Mary's. The colonists set about their building and planting at once; and the compact with the Indians was kept with scrupulous fidelity. Through the spring and early summer the whites and savages worked side by side, the Indians teaching the English to make bread and "pone" of Indian corn, or helping them in the hunt; the settlers giving them of their trinkets and tools in return.



Return from a Hunt.

Naturally, Father White and his fellow-priests made haste to fit up a temporary chapel in the Indian cabin falling to their share; but it was not long before they established themselves in a more fitting place for worship. Even before the Indians had retired, according to the terms of their agreement, the new houses which the colonists were building on every hand were ready for occupation. A little town of comparatively comfortable dwellings clustered in the valley, while nearer the river bank, and especially on the bluff, preparations were made for what were to be the public buildings of the colony. On the gradual slope from the inland hills toward the valley, and less than half a mile to the eastward of the promon-

Building of the Catholic Chapel.

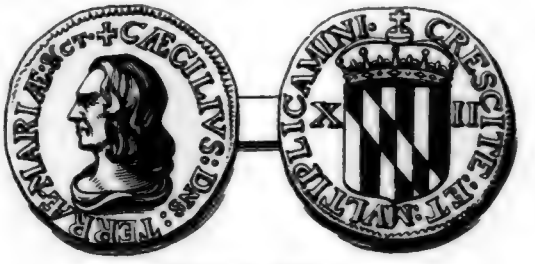
tory, the first church was built — a small building, as is shown by the still visible hollow in which its foundations rested, but decorated with all the skill that the rough tools of the colonists permitted. Over the altar was a rudely-carved representation of a mass of clouds, from which rough wooden points descending represented the tongues of flame at Pentecost. In the Roman Catholic College at Georgetown two fragments of this rude altar-piece still remain, plainly showing the simplicity and roughness of the whole.

CHAPTER XIX.

MARYLAND UNDER LEONARD CALVERT.

THE COLONY FIRMLY PLANTED. — HOSTILITY OF THE VIRGINIANS. — DISPUTE WITH CLAYBORNE. — ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN CLAYBORNE AND CORNWALLIS. — GOVERNOR HARVEY DEPOSED AND SENT TO ENGLAND. — MEETINGS OF THE MARYLAND ASSEMBLY. — TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS. — DISSENSIONS BETWEEN PAPISTS AND PURITANS. — REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND. - A PARLIAMENTARY SHIP SEIZED IN MARYLAND. — CLAYBORNE'S RECOVERY OF KENT ISLAND. — HIS RULE IN MARYLAND. — RESTORATION OF BALTIMORE. — DEATH OF GOVERNOR CALVERT. — MISTRESS MARGARET BRENT.

BEFORE the winter set in the Maryland colonists were all comfortably sheltered in houses gathered close about the chapel. In that soft and genial climate there was no hardship in living out of doors during the summer, and their wise treatment of the natives had given them entire freedom from fear of the hostilities which they had most dreaded. Their first trouble came from their own countrymen. The indignation with which the Virginians heard of the new colony was natural enough, however unreasonable. It was not a question of room, for that the country was large enough no one could dispute; but how many it could support was a serious consideration. The Virginians were jealous of even a single man who should encroach upon the trade in peltries; that jealousy grew to open enmity when the intruders were numerous enough to absorb completely all the trade with Indians in the country about them. The advantages that must follow from an increase in the population of civilized people, the cultivation of the soil, the growth of commerce, were less immediate and obvious than the disadvantages so plainly seen and felt at once as a scarcity of beaver skins and corn, and higher prices for these Indian staples. These intruders on the Potomac, moreover, though coming under a royal charter, were settling within the domain which the Virginians had long been accustomed to consider their own, and to the loss of



Maryland Shilling.

which, by the abrogation of their charter, they were by no means reconciled.

On the other hand the Marylanders were quite secure in their rights under the patent from the king, and resented, no doubt, with some bitterness, the feeling they knew to exist against them in Jamestown because of their religion. In such a state of feeling, any encounter between the colonists would be likely to lead to trouble.

Among others who had traded within the limits of Baltimore's patent for some years past was William Clayborne, the secretary of Virginia under Governor Harvey, and a member of the Virginia Council. He had done more than trade, — which he did under royal licenses of different dates authorizing him to explore from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of latitude, — he had established on Kent Island, in Chesapeake Bay, and within the limits of the Maryland grant, a small trading post, with a storehouse and a few permanent settlers whom he employed in the traffic with the Indians of that vicinity. His trade-permits were not indeed grants of territory, but it may fairly be questioned whether actual settlement in the wilderness of America was not as good title as a royal patent. At any rate, Clayborne put forward a claim to proprietorship, refused to acknowledge the government of the Maryland proprietary, and used his influence so vigorously in urging this view upon the Virginian authorities that he succeeded in gaining a majority of the council to the support of his pretensions.



Clayborne's Trading-post on Kent Island.

Just before the setting out of the colonists from England, in 1633, the planters of Virginia had presented a remonstrance to the king against the Maryland patent; but the Privy Council had only advised an amicable settlement, and had finally decided "that the Lord Baltimore should be left to his patent, and the other parties to the course of law;" while both colonies were ordered to permit entire freedom of trade between them, to harbor no fugitives one from the other, and to preserve a fitting general amity in all their relations. This reasserted conclusively the rights of Maryland; yet so far from ending the pretensions of the Virginian trader, it was followed by a long course of resistance to the new jurisdiction.

His bitter hostility to the new colonists had shown itself from the very moment of their landing in America. He had met Leonard Calvert and his emigrants at Jamestown, seeking to discourage them at the outset by stories that the Indians along the Potomac were arming to resist their coming. Their actual landing and settlement excited him to measures for which there is not a word of defence in any view of the case. He attempted to turn against the new-comers the friendly tribes with whom, on a visit soon after their arrival, Harvey found them peacefully associated. He seems to have had influence enough over Fleet at one time to induce him to persuade the Indians that the Maryland colonists were Spaniards, enemies of the Virginians, who meant to drive out the tribes about them as soon as they should be strong enough to spoil their villages and take their lands. So well did he succeed, that even in the tribe with whom they had lived at St. Mary's, jealousies and suspicious conduct had begun to alarm the colonists, who hastened to build a block house for a refuge in emergency. Yet constant and unbroken kindness proved stronger than Clayborne's efforts; gradually, the savages became convinced of the sincerity of the peaceful settlers; harmony was restored, and when the Indians withdrew from the village according to their promise, they did so with assurances of continued friendship.

But Clayborne's energy and persistency in behalf of his claims made him a truly formidable opponent. Easily evading capture by the Marylanders, whom Lord Baltimore had ordered to seize him if they could, he spent the last months of the year in restlessly urging his plans upon the influential men of Virginia, and in preparing to carry out the intention which he had announced, of maintaining his alleged rights even by the use of force. The majority of the Virginians sustained him; the assembly advised Clayborne that they knew no reason why he or they should surrender the Isle of Kent to the new province. Governor Harvey alone was on the side of the Maryland people, and for his good offices Lord Baltimore subsequently procured him a letter of thanks from the king.[1]

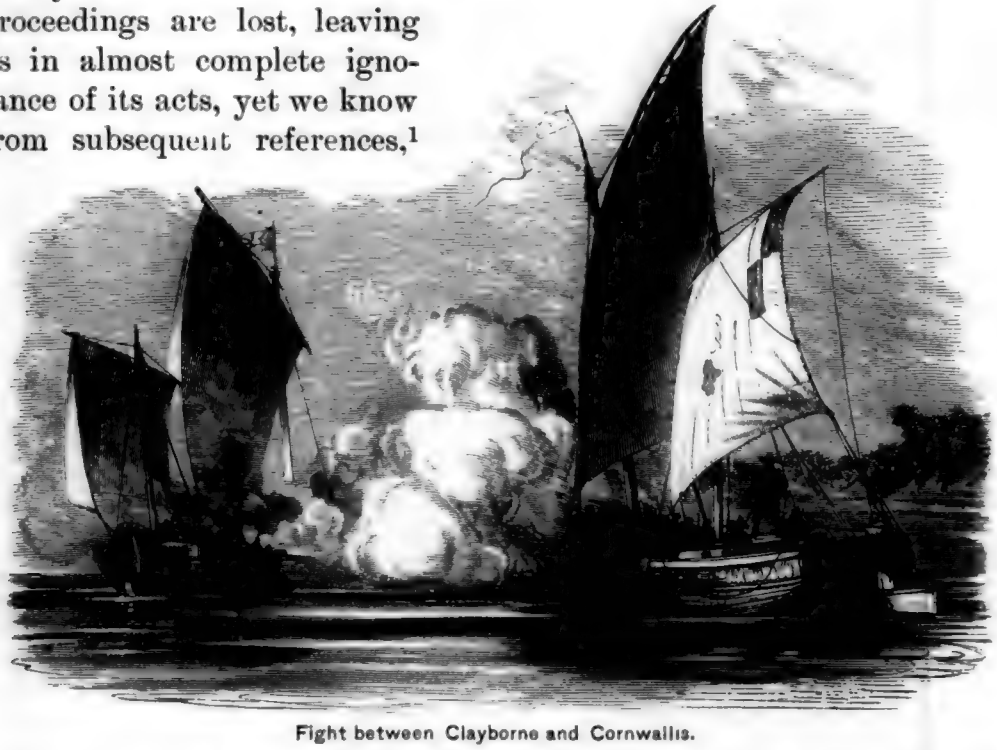
In the early spring of 1635, when Clayborne despatched a small vessel, the *Long Tail*, determined to carry out his usual trading voyage in spite of resistance, there were few in Virginia disposed to hinder him. But the Marylanders were prepared, having sent out two armed pinnaces under their commissioner or councillor, Cornwallis, to watch for any illegal traders within the charter boundaries. They seized the *Long Tail* on the 23d of April; and when Clayborne sent an armed boat under the command of one Ratcliff Warren to recapture her or seize any

Fight between armed boats of Clayborne and the Maryland colony.

[1] Letter to Windebank, quoted in Neill's *English Colonization of America*, p. 242.

Maryland vessels he might encounter, Cornwallis met her with one of his pinnaces in the harbor of Wighcomoco on May 10th, and took her after a fight in which Warren and two men of the Virginians were killed, with one of Cornwallis's own crew. The chief of the surviving Virginians seem to have been held by the Maryland officers for trial; the captured boat to have been carried to St. Mary's.

This open conflict between the two colonies (for Clayborne was so generally sustained as to give it virtually that importance), caused the most intense excitement, especially when it was followed by a demand on the part of Maryland. The first Assembly of that province had been convened just before the attack upon Clayborne, and though nearly all the records of its proceedings are lost, leaving us in almost complete ignorance of its acts, yet we know from subsequent references,[1]



Fight between Clayborne and Cornwallis.

that it decreed "that offenders, in all murders and felonies, shall suffer the same pains and forfeitures as for the same crimes in England." In the eyes of the Maryland authorities Clayborne's act was a felony; and they sent messengers to Governor Harvey, requiring that he should deliver up to them the man who according to their understanding of the matter, had rebelled against the terms of the king's charter, and had used force against their government. Harvey, it is true, did not venture to comply with this demand, but he insisted that Clayborne should go to England to justify himself before the home government.

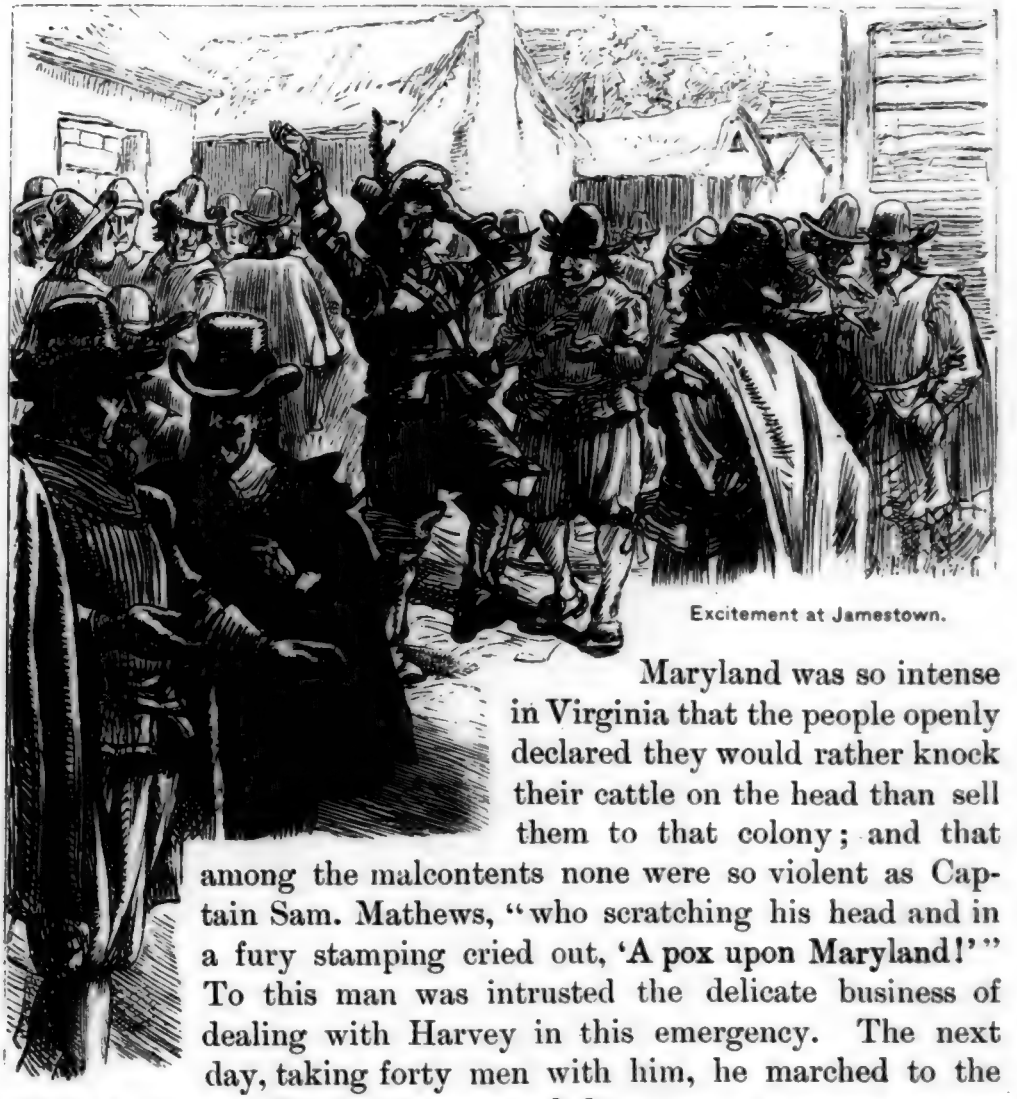
The Virginia governor had from various causes become exceedingly

[1] Chalmers *Annals*. See Bozman, vol. ii., p. 34, and note.

unpopular, and this support on his part of the Marylanders led to absolute revolution. The news of the seizure of Clayborne's vessel and the killing of his men was received at Jamestown with the utmost indignation. The people insisted that Harvey should at once demand the surrender of the captured pinnace, the recognition of Clayborne's claim to Kent's Island, and that he should add his protest to that of the colonists generally against the patent of Baltimore and the conduct of his people. Harvey refused with a firmness creditable to his courage if not to his judgment. Affairs came at once to a crisis; a public meeting was called to meet at the house of William Barrene, the speaker of the Assembly. There was the utmost excitement, but the utmost unanimity. Some months before, Harvey had written to England that the feeling against

Excitement at Jamestown.

Gov. Harvey deposed.



Excitement at Jamestown.

Maryland was so intense in Virginia that the people openly declared they would rather knock their cattle on the head than sell them to that colony; and that among the malcontents none were so violent as Captain Sam. Mathews, "who scratching his head and in a fury stamping cried out, '**A pox upon Maryland!**'" To this man was intrusted the delicate business of dealing with Harvey in this emergency. The next day, taking forty men with him, he marched to the governor's house. This being surrounded, to prevent escape, a member of the council, John Uty, entered and arrested Harvey on a charge

of treason. A few days later the General Assembly met and elected John West as governor and sent Harvey to England for trial. Clayborne went also to England to get the redress which Virginia, however good her will was, was powerless to give him, but was discouraged by Charles declaring that the act of the Virginians, in arresting and sending home a governor, was an intolerable assumption of sovereignty; that Harvey should go back though it were only for a day.[1]

Some years of peace and prosperity followed in Maryland. From time to time the colony was reinforced by the accession of new emigrants. So large had been the yield from their corn, even during the first season's planting, that they had sent a thousand bushels to New England "to provide them some salt-fish, and other commodities which they wanted;" their cattle and poultry, brought from Virginia, had increased "to a great stock, sufficient to serve the colonie very plentifully."

The settlement had assumed much more of the aspect of a town than any other English colony had gained in so short a time after its foundation. It had been built from the beginning with no war or disturbance to interrupt its progress, or to make its people fear for its permanence. Bricks and other materials had been brought from England in large quantities, and substantial dwellings had almost immediately succeeded to the Indian cabins. Private buildings of course came first; and the earlier assemblies of the province seem to have met at a manor belonging to Governor Calvert, called St. John's, and situated farther inland. But the commanding bluff, overlooking all the neighborhood, was sure, sooner or later, to become the site of the capitol of the colony; and after the lapse of several years a government building or state-house was erected there, in the form of an irregular cross, some fifty feet in length and more than thirty across the shorter arms.[2] It stood but a short distance — a little more than thirty yards — in the rear of the mulberry tree, and the rough cruciform hollow where its foundations were laid may still be seen, filled with a dense undergrowth of weeds and bushes, that spring here and there from the fragments of broken masonry. On the mulberry tree before it, probably then the only large tree upon the bluff, were nailed the proclamations of Calvert and his successors, the notices of punishments and fines, the inventories of

St. John's manor.

[1] Neill.

[2] It is impossible to fix with certainty the exact date of the building of the state-house, or of any of the other principal buildings; but they belonged, at all events, to the earliest part of the history of the settlement. To Dr. Brome, the present owner of St. Mary's Manor, a large estate covering the site and whole neighborhood of old St. Mary's, who has carefully preserved many local traditions, we are indebted for many interesting facts relating to the early settlers.

debtors whose goods were to be sold, and all notices calling for the public attention. Even of late years, curious relic-hunters have dug from the decaying trunk the rude nails which thus held the forgotten state papers of two centuries ago.

The top of the bluff, according to tradition, must once have formed a broad square before the state-house doors, where the people assembled, and the little force mustered which was detailed for defence; where punishments were inflicted, and proclamations read before being posted. But the ceaseless wear of the river has crumbled away a great part of the point, and only a small space now lies between the building-site and the water. A church, built in the last century, stands a little farther back, and the churchyard extends over all that is left of the plateau; the ground where the Maryland Pilgrims were called together, is occupied by the graves of their descendants.

The Governor's House.

In the valley, still further up the inland slope than the Jesuit fathers' church, stood the principal private house,[1] owned by Calvert or one of the leaders in the colony, a well-built structure indeed for a new settlement, for its walls were partly standing within the memory of men now living. In the middle, two stout chimneys gave outlet for vast fire-places in the large rooms which formed the ground floor and basement, the latter paved with square red tiles. The house was of red brick, ornamented here and there with black; its general shape was square; and about it, giving a fortress-like look to the place, rose a stout brick wall with but few openings. Near by was a sudden hollow in the level of the field, from the bottom of which a spring gave the settlement its purest water. Still farther inland lay a little ravine, where the first burial-ground of the colony was made, and the Jesuit fathers piously planted the black cross at the head of every Christian grave.

It was not only at St. Mary's, however, that the rapidly increasing colony began to take on this appearance of prosperity. Up and down the east bank of the river were farms and plantations; and even the opposite shore began to be taken up. In 1635, Lord Baltimore seems to have established certain terms for the granting of land to settlers: a thousand acres, "erected into a Manor," but subject to a quitrent of a pound a year, to every man who should transport to the colony five able men properly provided; a hundred acres, subject to a quitrent of two shillings, for every man who should pay his own transportation, and the same for each servant

Land grants made to settlers.

[1] Local traditions agree in calling this site, on which even men of middle age remember the ruins, "the Governor's House." It is not improbable, however, that it may have been the brick house built by Cornwallis in 1640, which is especially noticed in the records because of its superiority to its neighbors. It was very possibly occupied by later governors on this account.

he should bring, if their number were less than five; for every married man a hundred acres each for himself and his wife, and fifty for each child — all subject to a quitrent of a shilling for every fifty acres. In 1636, while these conditions were retained for all future emigrants, still further grants were made to those who had taken part in the original voyage in 1633, and even slight additions to the lands of all who had settled in the colony before the end of 1635; so that the pioneers of the province became a favored class, especially as those who held manors were permitted the feudal privileges of holding courts-leet and courts-baron. The conditions differed, however, in one very essential point, from the feudal element introduced by the Dutch into New Netherlands, the smaller land-holders having as absolute a title from the government as the larger; the estate of each was held in fee simple, to the owner and his heirs forever; there was no opportunity for the abuses of the feudal class of tenures.

By the end of 1637, the region about St. Mary's is referred to in documents as the "county" of that name; while enough colonists had settled over on the west bank of St. George's (St. Mary's) River to entitle them to form one of the "hundreds" into which the county had been divided. Several mills had been built both at St. Mary's and on out-lying farms; the crops had been successful year after year, and the cattle and poultry brought from Virginia had increased so as to give the whole colony a plentiful supply.

Difference between the people and the lord proprietor.

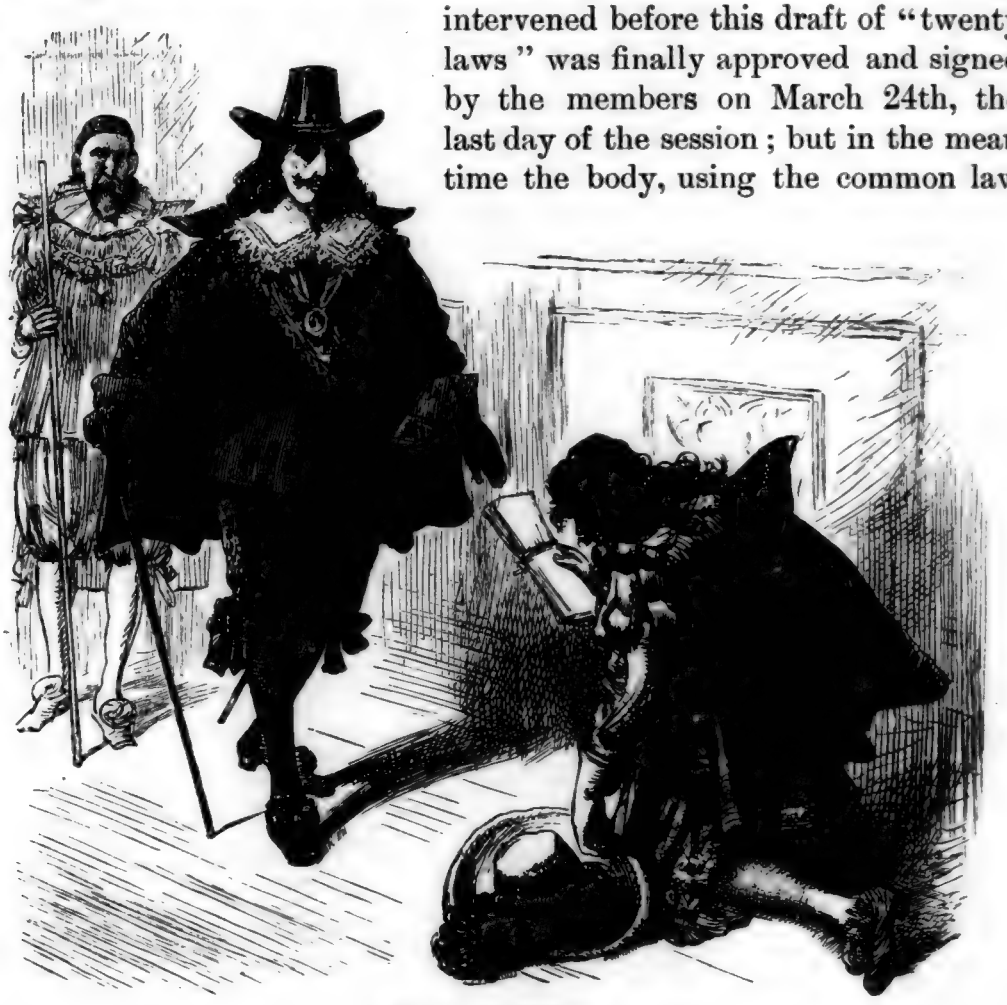
The inhabitants had now become so numerous that a more complete code of laws was necessary for their government. The Assembly of 1635 had proposed a series of regulations for the colony, but they were not acceptable to the proprietary, who refused his assent to them. Two years later Lord Baltimore sent out suggestions for enactments in place of those he had thus rejected; and to consider these suggestions the second Assembly of the province was summoned to meet on the 25th of January, 1638.

The freemen duly came together on that day, some appearing in person, nearly as many by proxy; but they manifested anything but that passive acquiescence which had been expected in the proposals of their ruler. When these were "put to the question, whether they should be received as laws or not,"[1] only Leonard Calvert and John Lewger, with the twelve proxies they held, voted for them; against them there were "thirty-seven voices." Lord Baltimore's proposals have not been preserved, but it is probable that this resistance to his will was rather to the construction of the charter that should limit to the proprietary the right of initiating laws, than a dislike for any

[1] Transcription from the original record of Assembly Proceedings, 1637–58, in Bozman, vol. ii., p. 55.

special provision.[1] This belief seems sustained by the recorded fact, that when the Assembly immediately afterward proposed "to agree upon some laws till [they] could hear from England again," the President (Calvert) denied "any such power to be in the house;" a decision which was warmly contested, and finally overruled, committees being appointed to prepare a draft to be submitted to Lord Baltimore.

Long delays followed, and several adjournments of the Assembly intervened before this draft of "twenty laws" was finally approved and signed by the members on March 24th, the last day of the session; but in the mean time the body, using the common law



Clayborne's Petition.

of England and the English methods of procedure in default of a code of its own, busied itself with matters quite as pressing. An inquiry was ordered into the fight between the pinnaces, three years before at Wighcomoco. The result of this was the acquittal of all the Marylanders, the formal indictment of Clayborne, and a bill of attainder passed against him; while Thomas Smith, next in rank after Ratcliff

[1] This reasonable belief is adopted by Grahame, Bacon, MacSherry, Bozman, Bancroft and others; but taken in conjunction with other acts and circumstances of the time, needs no authority to justify it.

Warren on the Virginian vessel, was brought to the bar, tried, and sentenced to be hanged, without benefit of clergy.[1]

Clayborne's intrigues in England.

Clayborne himself, meanwhile, busily at work in England, had come near to turning the tables on his Maryland antagonists. On his arrival he had presented to the king a petition, setting forth his "wrongs and injuries," citing the licenses under which he had acted in making his settlement on Kent Island, and pleading his cause with such address, that he very nearly gained not only the end he had first sought, but an enormous grant besides. The king, to whom he had held out hopes of a direct gain from the rents he would pay for what he should receive, favored him, though not in any very definite way; but the lords commissioners for plantations finally decided sharply against him, declaring "that the lands in question absolutely belonged to Lord Baltimore, and that no plantation, or trade with the Indians, ought to be allowed within the limits of his patent, without his permission. And that with regard to violences complained of, no cause for any relief appeared, but that both parties should be left to the ordinary course of justice."[2] Clayborne went back to Virginia, his immediate end defeated, but his purpose as positive as ever; and for a longer time than before, though he struggled against the restraints upon him, he was compelled to leave his enemies in peace.

Clayborne defeated.

The triumph of the Assembly.

The Maryland Assembly of 1638 was not more fortunate than that of three years before, in securing the assent of Lord Baltimore to the code of laws which it proposed; but it won a much greater victory in gaining at least a qualified acknowledgment of the principle at issue. For the proprietary, immediately after receiving the report of the session at St. Mary's, wrote a letter to his brother the governor, in which, while reserving his right of dissent, he virtually yielded to the freemen the right for which they had contended. That the letter was thus interpreted is evident, from the fact that the next Assembly regarded the question as settled in their favor, and did not again discuss it.

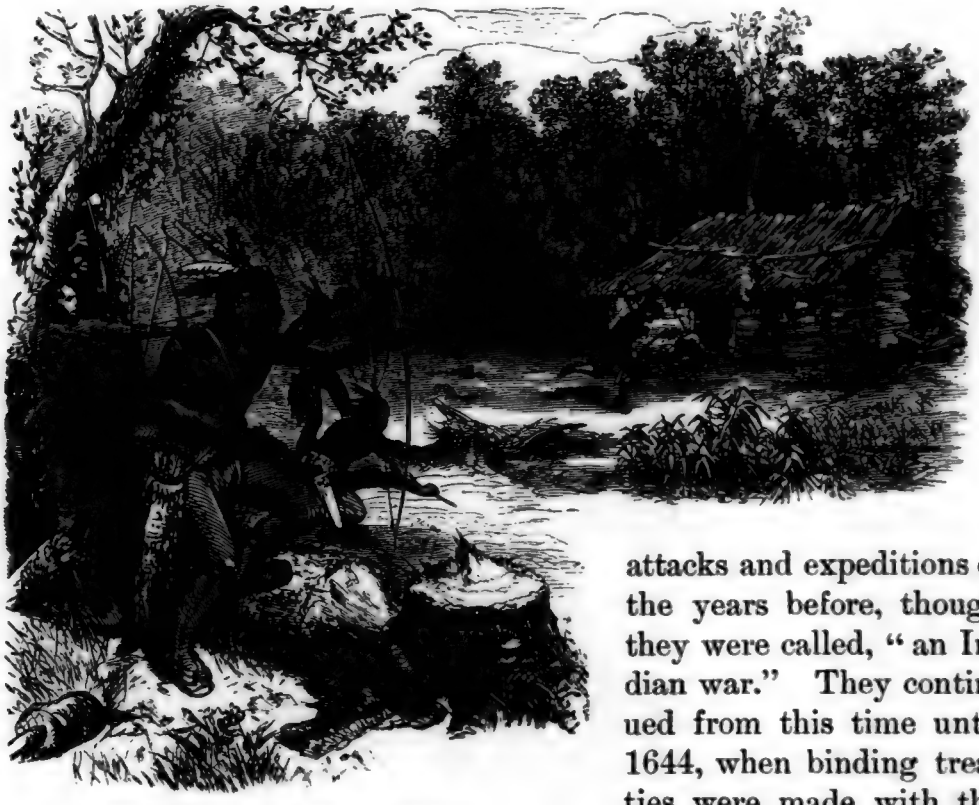
The colony was ere long disturbed by the enmity of the Susquehannah Indians, who, jealous, perhaps, of the favor shown to other tribes, attacked scattered parties of colonists, and the outlying plantations. These hostilities, however, assumed no very formidable aspect, until 1642. Bands of the provincial militia were then carefully organized,

[1] "Then did the prisoner demand his clergy; but it was answered by the President that clergy could not be allowed in his crime, and if it might, yet now it was demanded too late after judgment." *Assembly Proceedings, etc.*

[2] Report of the Lords Commissioners, etc., quoted by Hazard, *Collections*, i. p. 130; by Bozman, ii., note xi., p. 584; by MacSherry, p. 46, and elsewhere, with slight variations. Comments by Bozman, ii. 587.

and occasionally sent out to make retaliation; but the Assembly of July, in the year just named, — there had been others in 1640, 1641, and March, 1642, but their acts were of little moment, — was the first which appeared actually to recognize a state of warfare as existing; and in September, the governor formally proclaimed "that the Susquihanowes, Wicomeses and Nanticoque Indians are enemies of this province, and as such are to be reputed and proceeded against by all persons." Even then the fighting seems to have differed little from the occasional

Slight disturbance from Indians.



Indian Attack on an Outlying Plantation.

attacks and expeditions of the years before, though they were called, "an Indian war." They continued from this time until 1644, when binding treaties were made with the hostile tribes. All that the colonists suffered from these hostilities, however, was the annoyance and danger inevitable anywhere in the neighborhood of savages, rather than such a devastating and terrible calamity as almost always attended a war with the Indians in most of the colonies. Even at the height of the hostile feeling, no such universal measures of defence or of retaliation were necessary, as had been called for in the early days of Virginia, Massachusetts, and New Netherland.

The first really serious shock to the tranquillity of Maryland came from within the State itself. The earnest, yet unusually tolerant Roman Catholics, under whose leadership the settlement had been begun, no longer ruled, when it was a few years old, over an harmonious

people agreeing alike in politics and in religion. As Maryland had grown and prospered, the privileges of its generous land-grants and liberal charter had been shared with men of all shades of conviction.

Religious toleration of the colony.

There had been Protestants and even Puritans in the colony from its very foundation, though at first they were very few. The toleration with which they had been treated and the pains taken to protect them in their rights were from the beginning remarkable. In 1638, for instance, it is recorded that the Catholic governor and council severely fined an overseer for speaking abusively of a book of sermons by an English Puritan ("the silver-tongued Smith," a preacher of much note), which certain of his subordinates were reading; and similar examples of an impartial spirit appear elsewhere in the early annals. Protestants had been members of the Assembly and members of the council; nor does there seem to be any indication of disagreement, in the first few years, between them and their fellows on public questions. But as time went on, and its advantages were better understood, Maryland became a very asylum for the persecuted of other provinces. Puritans who had been harshly treated in Virginia removed across the Maryland line, gladly accepting so near a refuge; and to those in Massachusetts who should be persecuted for any independent opinions, Calvert sent a special invitation to make their homes under his government. The self-interest of the proprietary, and a desire to hurry on the growth of the colony, doubtless had much to do with this; yet it is impossible not to acknowledge the broad spirit of such a course; it would have been wise statesmanship had it not been a little beyond the appreciation of many who profited by it.

Differences between the two parties were inevitable, and these widened into an impassable breach as the conflict between king and Parliament grew more and more intense in England, and the growing power of the Parliament at home stimulated its adherents through all the colonies.

Effect of the Revolution in England on Maryland.

The outbreak of hostilities in England, in 1642, hastened the crisis of these discontents. Lord Baltimore was a supporter of the king, though he seems to have tried, and at first with more success than many others, to keep on fair terms with the Parliament also; and this especially in matters relating to his American grant, for the very existence of which he had cause to fear in case of the Parliament's victory. As the power of that body appeared more formidable, the greatest care was needed in the government of the province itself, lest the complaints of the discontented Puritans should grow loud enough to attract parliamentary attention to the colony's affairs; — attention which would be fatal to the pro-

prietor, if the English Commons should think fit to interfere in favor of their Maryland adherents, and support them in an attempt to gain control. It was necessary to conciliate, and probably for this purpose the proprietary wrote particularly in 1642, that "no ecclesiastic in the province ought to expect, nor is Lord Baltimore, nor any of his officers, although they are Roman Catholics, obliged in conscience to allow to such ecclesiastics any more or other privileges . . . . than is allowed by his majesty or officers to like persons in England." [1] This and similar declarations may have produced an effect at home; but in the province itself the parties were too strongly divided to admit of concession or compromise. Puzzled by the various and contradictory demands of the time, Leonard Calvert sailed for England in April, 1643, to consult in person with his brother, leaving Giles Brent, a councillor, to govern as his deputy.

Clayborne's opportunity for retaliation.

While affairs were thus confused, Clayborne, quiet for a while, and holding a life-appointment as treasurer of Virginia, which he had obtained by favoring the king when hostilities first broke out, seized his opportunity of retaliation against Maryland by stirring up the parliamentary faction in Maryland to a rebellion against the government of Baltimore. His designs were aided by an unforeseen event. In 1643, the king, then at Oxford, commissioned Lord Baltimore, through his colonial officers, to seize any ships from London or belonging to the parliament party, on which his people might be able to lay hands. About the beginning of the next year such a seizure was actually made by order of Calvert's deputy, Brent, the vessel of one Richard Ingle being captured on its arrival at St. Mary's, though its commander escaped and made his way to England. Brent issued a proclamation requiring him to appear and answer a charge of treason; and endeavored to exact from the captured crew an oath against Parliament, and a promise to take the ship to Bristol, which the king then held.

Seizure of a Parliamentary vessel.

Clayborne regains possession of Kent Island.

Amid the intense excitement which followed this step, Clayborne took advantage of the always hostile disposition of the people of the Isle of Kent. He seems to have had no difficulty in again possessing himself of that disputed region. When Calvert returned in 1644 he found the province in a state of anarchy, the factions almost at open war, the Puritan party in unconcealed rebellion against his government, and the old and dreaded enemy of the colony in possession of his claims within her borders. Moreover, he had hardly reached Maryland when Ingle arrived from England in the ship *Reformation*, commanded by him under a letter of marque from the Parliament, — prepared to venture again, as his petition to

[1] Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, p. 107.

that body declared he had done before, "his life and fortune in . . . . assisting the well-affected Protestants against the tyrannical government." All the parliament party in the province rose to the aid of him and of Clayborne; and the governor and council, with the chief of their supporters, were driven from the colony and forced to take refuge in Virginia. Captain Edward Hill, a Virginian, was made governor; but the control of the conquered province was virtually in the hands of the two leaders of the insurrection.

Their position, however, was not strong enough to be a comfortable one. History and tradition alike speak of their rule as turbulent, though all but its mere outline is unrecorded. The Catholics, among whom their bitterest opponents were of course to be found, still formed a considerable part of the population; and the hope which they doubtless nourished of a speedy restoration of the proprietary, was fostered by the oppressive acts of Clayborne's government. It is probable, though it cannot

Turbulent rule in the formerly peaceful province.



Chancellor's Point from St. Inigoe's.

be fully decided by the scanty evidence tradition furnishes, that the Catholic priests, long so powerful a class at St. Mary's, withdrew at this time from the town, and established the Jesuit mission farther from the stormy centre of affairs, where interference, if not confiscation of their lands, was daily to be feared.

At the lower end of the bay of St. Ignatius (of whose name St. Inigoe is an old and once common corruption), was a bluff much like that at St. Mary's, though lower and less picturesque. From it, looking to the north across the bay, could be seen the point of first landing (Chancellor's Point); and to the south the view extended to the mouth of St. Mary's River. It was a commanding site; and on it, though whether before or just after this period is not certain, Governor Calvert erected a fort which effectually guarded the approach to the town above. Near or within the fort stood a mill, and about it a few scattered buildings. No ruins of fort or houses remain, save a few

scattered bricks and hewn stones; but several cannon, perhaps placed on the ramparts in the time of Calvert himself, have been drawn from the river, where the washing away of the sandy bluff had left them.

It is to this point that the Jesuits perhaps removed their chief station during Clayborne's usurpation. They are found there but a few years later; and from the time of these events St. Inigoe's and not St. Mary's appears as their headquarters. Here they built a chapel on a site still pointed out; and a new churchyard, to which the Catholic dead of the colony seem to have been carried after this change, still makes green a broad field of wheat near by. A Jesuit mission is still kept up at St. Inigoe's, and the traditions of the place make the present chapel the third in order from that of the early settlers.

Jesuit mission at St. Inigoe's.



Church near the Site of the First Jesuit Chapel.

The rule of Clayborne's governor and his supporters was, however, to be of short duration. During the winter following his flight, Calvert collected his adherents on the Virginia border, and though his force was small, he so skilfully surprised St. Mary's in April, while Clayborne was at Kent Island and Ingle probably in England,[1] that he captured the place with but little resistance or bloodshed,[2] and was reinstated in the governorship as suddenly as he had been displaced. A period of disorder and partial anarchy followed, which left the colony at Calvert's return, exhausted and impoverished; even the malcontents doubtless were glad to be again under the quieter government of the proprietary. The victorious governor's first care seems to have been to go in person to Kent Island, attend to its complete subjection, and put over it a deputy of his own appointment, one Robert Vaughan, a Protestant. Clayborne

The proprietary government reinstated.

[1] Neill, *Terra Mariæ*, p. 112.

[2] It is evident that there was some fighting, at least, from the expressions in a subsequent correspondence between Governor Greene and Sir Wm Berkeley, quoted at length by Bozman, vol. ii., note lvii., pp. 637, 899.

appears to have escaped to Virginia, and Ingle to have remained in England, where three years later he preferred charges before the Parliament against Lord Baltimore's administration of Maryland affairs, but without any definite result. All but these two and their immediate followers doubtless acquiesced quietly enough in the rule of the apparently lenient Calvert, for no records of attempted punishment appear in connection with the governor's return, and three years later an act of general amnesty was passed. Only one person connected with the matter adopted a course that calls for special mention. Captain Hill, who had acted as governor while Calvert was deposed, had the audacity, some time after the restoration of peace, to claim a salary and other compensation for his services in the office, on the ground that he had occupied it as Calvert's representative, the council having power to nominate such a one in case of the governor's absence. In a long "petition" he contradicted himself by calling Calvert's return an "invasion," represented himself as still entitled to his office, and put together a strange tissue of absurdities which were promptly rejected by the governor's successor; for the correspondence did not take place until death had put a sudden end to Calvert's long and able rule.

Death of Governor Calvert.

The governor died on the ninth of June, 1647, after an illness that seems to have seized him on his return from the Isle of Kent. "Lying upon his death-bed, yet in perfect memory," he appointed Thomas Green, one of his council, to be his successor, and Mistress Margaret Brent, an unmarried sister of that Giles Brent who had once acted as his deputy, to be his administratrix.[1] It is possible, as has been suggested in comments on this appointment,[2] that the Brent family were related to the Calverts; at all events, they stood around the dying governor's bed when his last wishes were expressed; and Mistress Brent subsequently proved herself worthy of the trust reposed in her, if not by her judgment, at least by her remarkable strength of will and almost masculine energy and understanding in business.

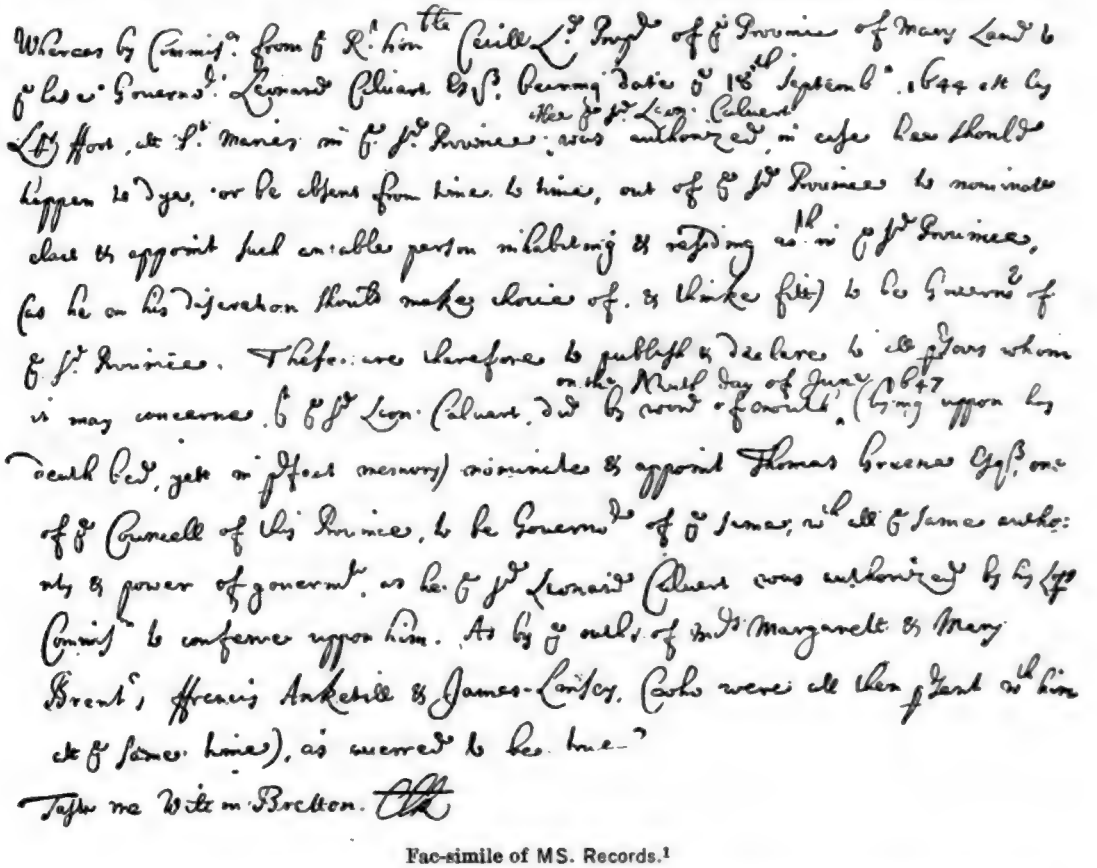
Dearth of early Maryland authorities.

With Calvert's administration ends that earliest period of Maryland's history, which the loss of records and the absence of personal narratives render somewhat more dim and vague than the busy beginnings of its sister colonies. The great outlines of its growth remain, but we must fill them out by inference rather than by knowledge. Nothing of that abundance of picturesque detail, of quaintly told personal experience, of description of the everyday life of the settlers, which gives its vividness to the early history

[1] Kilty's *Landholder's Assistant*, p. 104, in Bozman, vol. ii., p. 315; and Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, 112, and 113 note.

[2] Bozman, vol. ii., p. 307, note.

of Virginia and New England, had come down to us from the quieter Catholic province. The Jesuit Father White's simple and beautiful



Fac-simile of MS. Records.[1]

[1] For many years the MS. records of Maryland, to which Bozman and others writing in the early part of this century appear to have had access, have been lost. In December, 1875, a box of old papers, supposed to be worthless, was to be sold from the record office at Annapolis, when, on a careful examination of its contents, a portion of the MS. covering a considerable period subsequent to Calvert's death was discovered, in an almost complete state of preservation. Without disclosing any new facts of moment, it bears witness to the correctness of Bozman's transcripts. In the text a fac-simile is given of a part of the page bearing Clerk Bretton's record of Calvert's death-bed appointment of Green. It runs as follows: —

Whereas by Commiso^{n} from ye R^{t} Honble Cecill, Ld Prop^{r} of ye Province of Mary Land to ye late Gouerno^{r} Leonard Caluart Esqre bearing date ye 18th Septemb^{r} 1644 att his Lps [Lordship's] Fort att St Maries in ye s^{d} Province Hee ye s^{d} Leon. Calvert was authorized, in case hee should happen to dye, or be absent from time to time, out of ye s^{d} Province to nominate elect & appoint such an able person inhabiting & residing wthin ye s^{d} Province (as he on his discretion should make choice of, & thinke fitt) to be Governo^{r} of ye s^{d} Province. These are therefore to publish & declare to all those whom it may concerne y^{t} ye s^{d} Leon. Calvert did by word of mouth on the Ninth day of June 1647 (lying uppon his death bed, yett in perfect memory) nominate & appoint Thomas Greene Esqr one of ye Counsell of this Province, to be Governo^{r} of ye same, wth all ye same authority & power of governm^{t} as he ye s^{d} Leonard Calvert was authorized by his Lps Commis^{n} to conferre uppon him. As by ye oaths of Mr^{s} Margaret & Mary Brent, Francis Ankesill & James Linsey (who were all then present wth him att ye same time) is averred to be true.

Teste me Willm Bretton, Clk.

journal throws a pleasant light upon the settlement's earliest days; but the story of his own and his companions' journeys among the Indians along the Potomac, of their pious devotion and endurance, their hardships and bloodless victories, hardly belongs to the annals of the State itself, but rather to the history of that remarkable priesthood whose adventures read like passages of a romance.

Enough remains of the annals of Lord Baltimore's colony, however, to show most plainly those distinctive features which separated its founders sharply from all the other strongly-marked types from which the varying races of the future nation sprang. Here were men trained in a different school from New Englanders or Virginians; men with a singular mixture of religious enthusiasm, culture, practical shrewdness, and liberal statesmanship; far enough in advance of their age to take warning from the errors of others, and while they founded a province in which were mingled feudal and popular, despotic and constitutional institutions, to administer it with such prudence that it grew strong and gained permanence more quickly and tranquilly than any of its predecessors.



Shawmut.

CHAPTER XX.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

FRESH EMIGRATION TO MASSACHUSETTS. — A NEW CHARTER. — ARRIVAL OF HIGGINSON AND SKELTON. — THE FIRST CHURCH AT SALEM. — THE CASE OF JOHN AND SAMUEL BROWNE. — THEY ARE ORDERED BACK TO ENGLAND BY ENDICOTT. — THE COUNCIL'S REBUKE. — PROPOSED TRANSFER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COLONY TO NEW ENGLAND. — PROBABLE MOTIVES OF THE COUNCIL IN PROCURING THE PATENT. — THE CAMBRIDGE CONFERENCE. — WINTHROP CHOSEN GOVERNOR. — DEPARTURE FOR NEW ENGLAND. — HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS TO ENGLISH CHURCHMEN. — OLDHAM AND BRERETON'S PATENTS. — SETTLEMENTS IN AND ABOUT BOSTON. — OLD SETTLERS ABOUT THE BAY. — THE COMING OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

IN June, 1629, three vessels entered the harbor of Salem, followed a few days later by three others. They carried, besides their crews, four hundred and six men, women, and children, one hundred and forty head of cattle, forty goats, a large stock of provisions, of tools, of arms, of all things necessary to plant a a colony.[1] No enterprise so well appointed as this at the start had heretofore been sent to North America.

Arrival of new colonists at Salem.

With the exception of the Plymouth people, all the colonies hitherto had been commercial adventures, managed in an office in London. Indeed, Plymouth even was not without this purely trading purpose,

[1] This is Prince's statement — in the *Chronology* — on the authority of the colonial records, and according to the warrant of the lord-treasurer, for the transportation. Dudley, in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln (vol. ii. Force's *Historical Tracts* and Young's *Chronicles*), says, "about 300 people;" Francis Higginson, in his *New England's Plantation*, says, "we brought with us about two hundred passengers," but he refers doubtless to the first three ships only.

which, however necessary to its making a beginning, was not its impelling motive, while the shrewd men who governed there soon saw that it must be rendered subsidiary to the interests of the colonists themselves, who were men and not machinery. In Virginia, already for twenty years, the experiment — presently to be repeated in Maryland — of founding a commonwealth upon the labor of bondsmen and the production of one great staple of trade, had proved to be successful, so far as it was successful at all, only in spite of its inherent viciousness. New Netherland was a great Dutch trading-post, where patroons took the place of tobacco-planters; Dutch boors served instead of servants for a term of years, sometimes taken from the English jails, or scraped together from the most wretched of the English poor. Just so far as this trading spirit was subordinated to some higher purpose; just so far as men were held higher than merchandise and the poor man's chance as of greater value than the rich man's opportunity, there these early colonies struck deepest root, and became the soonest strong and prosperous.

Character and causes of the new Puritan emigration.

Charles I. had been king only about four years, but there were already signs in England, significant enough to those who were wise, of coming trouble. Influences and events were gradually preparing men for a stormy future, and the number of those who sought to escape from it was rapidly increasing. These persons were not like the Pilgrims, bound together as with hooks of steel, by years of exile and poverty, but they, nevertheless were Puritans, earnest Protestants against the corruptions and formalities of the established church; some even Non-conformists; and all turning their faces wistfully toward the new land, where perhaps distance and obscurity might secure to them religious and political freedom — at least would take them out of the thick of the evils which they knew could not be escaped much longer at home.

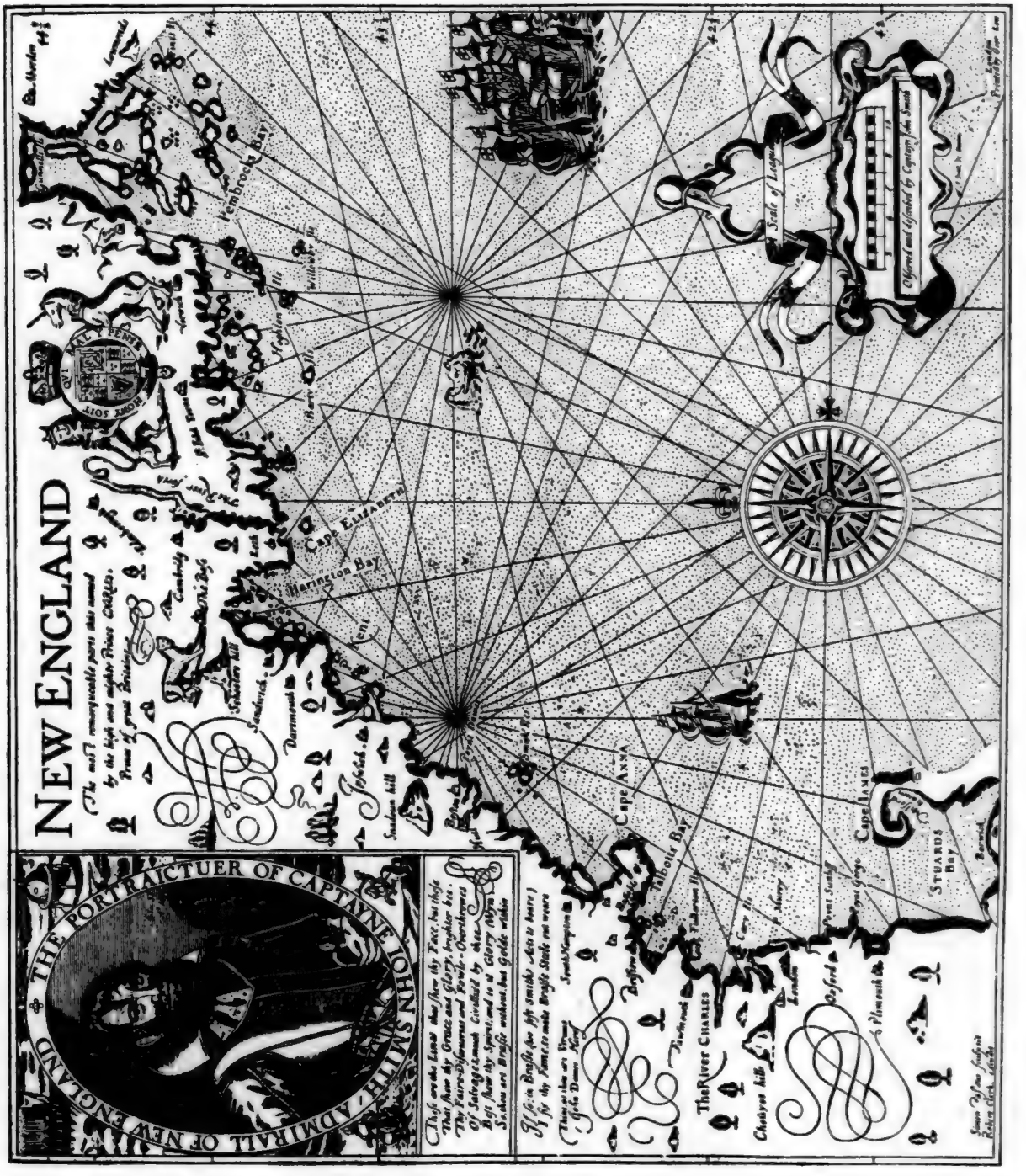
The Massachusetts Bay Company.

The movement, begun at Dorchester by the Rev. Mr. White, with no more ambitious purpose than to plant a colony of fishermen at Cape Ann; growing then to the larger project under Endicott with a grant of lands from the Plymouth Company, had assumed other proportions under a royal patent. The new corporation was styled "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."[1]

Of this company Matthew Cradock,[2] a London merchant, was the

[1] By Massachusetts Bay was understood, at that time, what is now called Boston Harbor, from Nahant to Point Alderton. *Winthrop's History of New England*, by James Savage, vol. i., p. 27.

[2] Endicott's wife was a cousin of Cradock's. The exposure and hardships of the first winter were a sore affliction to Endicott's people, and among those who died, it is supposed, was Mrs. Endicott. Dr. Fuller, the physician at New Plymouth, was sent by Gov.



FAC-SIMILE FROM SMITH'S GENERAL HISTORY.

governor in England. These six ships — one was the *Mayflower*, which, nine years before, had carried the Pilgrims to Plymouth — arriving in June, at Salem, with this well-appointed colony, were sent out by the new company. The grant made by its patent was from the Merrimack to the Charles River. Endicott was confirmed by the directors in London as the governor of the colony already planted at Salem. "The propagating of the Gospel," he was told in the first letter of instructions, "is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this Plantation." Certainly to no more zealous hands than Endicott's could such a work be entrusted. There was neither weakness nor hesitation in his method of propagandism, and none who stood in his way need expect mercy.

John Endicott made Governor.



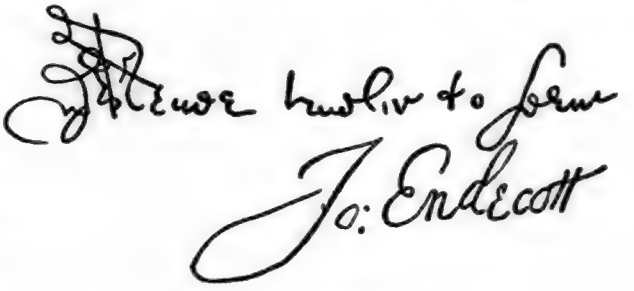
Endicott.

He was to be aided, his instructions told him, by "a plentiful provision of godly ministers." There were four in the fleet, three of whom were appointed to be members of the Council. The fourth, the Reverend Ralph Smith, was rather permitted to go than encouraged, as it was found that there was a "difference in judgment in some things" between him and the other ministers. What that difference was they do not choose to say, but it was only that Smith was a pronounced Separatist in England, and the others were not till they were on the other side of the ocean. "Unless he will be conformable to our government," was the order of the letter of instructions, "suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant." Mr. Smith was clearly not needed, and, whether sent thither or not, we next hear of him living with his family, in destitution apparently, at Nantasket. Some of the Plymouth people found him there, and moved with pity, took him home with them, and for several years he was their minister. If there was any fault in the Rev. Mr. Smith it was probably an excess of stupidity, for in zeal he seems to have made himself in no way offensive. He is not heard of again for several years, when "partly by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire, and by the persuasion of others," — says the truthful Bradford, but with more

ernor Bradford to minister to the Salem people in their distress. The scurrilous Morton of Merry Mount, who spared nobody, calls Fuller "Dr. Noddy," who, he says, "did a great cure for Captain Littleworth [Endicott]. He cured him of a disease called a wife."

of euphemism than he often used, — he resigned his place of minister.

Apparently it was not Mr. Smith's doctrines, but his acting up to them by separation, that made the London Council cautious. And caution was no doubt, wise, for Archbishop Laud was watchful, and Charles easily offended. There was no hesitation, however, when once the colonists were in their new home, in showing how they construed the Council's advice to propagate the gospel. The State was to rest on the Church, and the church they chose to establish was not the Church of England. "Touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship," — Endicott wrote to Governor Bradford, a month before the arrival of the ministers, who were to be of his council, and with whom came the instructions from London — "it is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed Himself unto me."[1] When the ministers arrived he and they acted in accordance with this avowal.



Signature of Endicott.

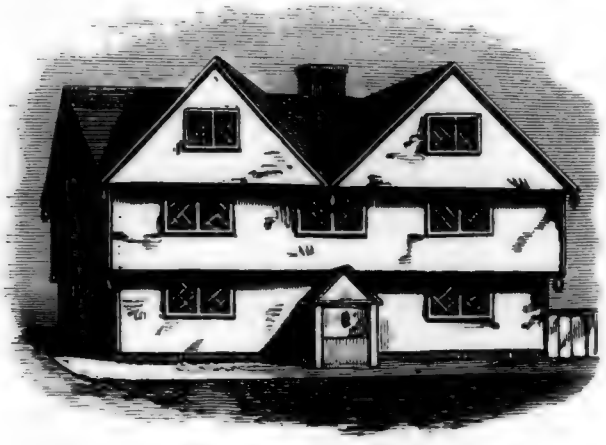
Two of them, Messrs. Skelton and Higginson, were not Separatists, but, for the distinction was carefully preserved, Non-Conformists. The third, Mr. Bright, was neither, but still a Conformist. Before six weeks had passed the religious character of the colony was determined; a day of fasting and prayer was held; Skelton was chosen pastor and Higginson teacher; the Plymouth Church was invited to send delegates to the installation, and Bradford and some others "gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success to such good beginnings." A Confession of Faith and Covenant, according to the Holy Scriptures — one article of which was upon the Duty and Power of Magistrates in matters of Religion — was adopted; the book of Common Prayer was discarded; the rite of baptism and the Lord's Supper were administered without the ceremonies prescribed in the ritual; admission to the church was regulated in accordance with the judgment of the elders, and the life and conversation of men were subjects of discipline. They were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists, they said; it was not the Church of England, nor its ordinances that they abandoned, but its corruptions and disorders; and being now where they had their liberty,

Religion and politics in the new colony.

[1] Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 265.

they neither could nor would submit to them because "they judged the imposition of those things to be sinful corruptions in the word of God."[1]

This was the understanding of Endicott and his friends as to the best and true method of "propagating the Gospel" in the new plantation. The London Council was wary and slow; the colonists were free, and the archbishop's arm was not long enough to reach across the Atlantic.



The Old Planter's House.[2]

To these proceedings the Rev. Mr. Bright gave no countenance. He quietly withdrew to Charlestown; but there also the mother church was without a shelter, and in the course of the year he returned to England. This silent protest seems to have satisfied his sense of duty. But there were others of a more aggressive, if not a more earnest spirit.

Dissent and protest of John and Samuel Browne.

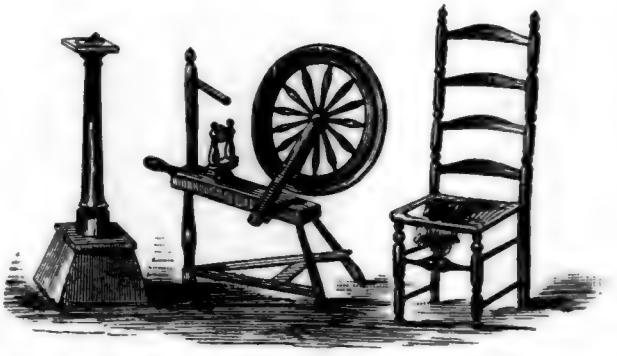
These were two brothers, John and Samuel Browne, the first a lawyer, the other a merchant, "men of estates and men of parts and port," says Morton. Both were appointed in London to be members of the council of thirteen to assist Endicott in the government of the colony, and both were commended to his consideration and confidence by Cradock. They belonged to and believed in the Church of England, and would have nothing to do with this "Reformed Congregation," created by the governor and the two clergymen. Nor was theirs merely a negative protest; calling about them the few whose views and feelings were in sympathy with their own, they held separate meetings and worshipped God according to the ritual. But the liberty which the Salem Nonconformists loved for themselves was not broad enough to include toleration for others. Endicott summoned the Brownes before him. Their course was a "disturbance" to the peace of the colony, and they were put upon their defence.

[1] Morton's *Memorial*, where the fullest account is given of the incidents attending the formation of the first church in Salem.

[2] The old Planter's House was originally built at Cape Ann by the Dorchester people. One Richard Brackenbury testifies in 1680 that the London Company having bought out the Dorchester Company, sent a party to Cape Ann to pull down the house and remove it to Salem for Endicott's use. It was accordingly removed to Salem. In 1792 it was altered, but the above cut shows it as originally built.

Their defence was an accusation. The ministers, they said, had departed from the order of the Church of England; they could hardly have failed to remind them that in the formation of the Company and in the procuring of the charter from the king, there was no open assertion — whatever secret purpose there may have been — that there was to be such departure; much less that those should be proscribed who still held to the rites and ordained form of worship of the Established Church. The logic of the situation was on their side. Those who for conscience' sake had suffered from intolerance, should have too much conscience to be intolerant of others. Did freedom to worship God mean that those who fled from a persecuting church should straightway form themselves into a church that persecuted?

The ministers answered as best they could. They met rather than made accusations, and denied that they were Separatists or Anabaptists; they were Non-conformists only because the prayer-book and the ceremonies were of man and not of God, and covered sinful corruption in the Church. They had suffered much and had fled from persecution; and it was plain that thereafter they and the Church could not dwell together. That the liberty they had contended for and gained was a liberty cherished for themselves and not for others was clear enough. That evidently was their limitation; the gain was one too precious to be imperilled by being shared. They only remembered that they had escaped from a persecuting church, and for its visible signs among them they had no toleration, though those signs were in innocent hands. The practical dealing with the question they left to Endicott, who was stronger than logic. He told the Brownes "that New England was no place for such as they,"[1] and sent them back to England with the returning fleet.



Endicott's Sun Dial and other Colonial Relics.

The Brownes sent back to England.

The first six weeks had determined the policy and the history of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. "There are lately arrived here," wrote the Company to the ministers in October, "being sent from the governor, Mr. Endicott, as men factious and evil conditioned, John and Samuel Browne, being brothers; who, since their arrival have raised rumors, (as we hear) of divers scandalous and intemperate speeches

[1] Morton's *Memorial*.

passed from one or both of you in your public sermons or prayers in New England as also of some innovations attempted by you." Exhorting them, then, to clear themselves, if innocent, of these charges, or to repent if otherwise, as the Council must "disallow any such passages," they add "we are tender of the least aspersion, which either directly or obliquely, may be cast upon the state here."[1] And in a letter to the governor they are still more cautious, but explicit. "Yet for that we do consider," they write, "that you are in a government newly founded, and want that assistance which the weight of such a business doth require, we may have leave to think that it is possible some undigested counsels have too suddenly been put in execution, which may have ill construction with the State here, and make us obnoxious to the adversary. Let it therefore seem good unto you to be very sparing in introducing any laws or commands which may render yourself or us distasteful to the State here to which (as we ought) we must and will have an obsequious eye."[2] It was clearly to the suddenness and rashness of the thing, and the influence it might have upon the Company's fortunes, rather than to the thing itself, that the Council in London objected. The letters were signed by men, — Winthrop and others, — who were later the leading men in Massachusetts. It was not the last time they and the impetuous Endicott disagreed. With him, if anything was to be done it was well to do it quickly.

Of the Brownes we hear little more. Their case was referred to a committee, — and slept there. "Though they breathed out threatenings," says Morton, "both against the Governor and the ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it." They had played their part in fixing the character of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. There was no remedy for the proceedings of Endicott and the ministers.

There could have been no backward step, even had there been the disposition; but there was none. Cautious as the Company were not to offend the state, they had a definite aim and purpose, and the expulsion of the Brownes was directly in the line of it. They meant that the control of the colony should be transferred from England to America; that it should be governed, not by a council in London, under the watchful and jealous eyes of the church and the court, but by its own members, within its own house. In the same month that Endicott and the ministers were gathering the people together under a new confession of faith and covenant, into a visible Reformed Con-

[1] The Company's Letter to the Ministers. Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 287 *et seq.*

[2] The Company's letter to Gov. Endicott, in Young, pp. 290, 291.

gregation, Mr. Cradock submitted to the London Council a proposition for this transfer of government. It would be, it was said, for the advantage of the colony, and an inducement to persons of worth and position to transport themselves and their families thither.[1] When first proposed in July, the members were asked to consider the matter privately, — "to carry this business secretly, that the same be not divulged," — lest the design should be interfered with. It was a serious question whether, under the patent, any such removal of the control of the Company would be legal; but there was no question at all that a precarious asylum only was opened to those who aimed to escape the growing despotism at home, unless that asylum could be relieved in some degree from the fear of interference.

The government transferred to the colony.



Seal of Massachusetts Bay Company.

The subject was carefully considered; eminent lawyers were consulted upon the legality of such a step, who pronounced in its favor; and in the course of a few weeks it was decided by general consent that the change be made. A partial control in regard to trade was to remain with the Council in London, but the exclusive government of persons was to go with those who should be in authority in the colony itself.

That a company should thus voluntarily strip itself of power has sometimes been considered as difficult of explanation; but there is nothing remarkable about it if the fact was that they only possessed themselves of that power to make precisely this disposition of it. The men engaged in this enterprise were men who had a common sympathy in their way of thinking upon politics and religion, and some of them also certain personal relations. It was natural, in the circumstances of the times, that they should be drawn together by a common purpose, to secure somewhere an asylum for those who could no longer submit to the oppression to which they were subjected both in church and state, which was rapidly growing intolerable. To obtain a patent for lands in America on any such plea would, of course, have been impossible; but to procure such a grant from the king on the usual plea, of planting colonies and opening new sources of trade, was neither a suspicious nor a difficult thing to do. Within five months, however, of the time of securing the patent, the real object seems to make itself manifest. The proposition is presented to the

[1] See Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in Young's *Chronicles*.

Council to put the essential government of the colony in the hands of the colonists, but with the exhortation to its members to keep the matter quiet. When the action of Endicott and the ministers in regard to the Brownes was known in London, those zealous persons were rebuked, not for the formation of a reformed church, nor for the expulsion of those who were obnoxious to the new establishment, but for want of prudence lest the state should be alarmed and offended.

Meanwhile the plans of the Council were pushed to a conclusion, and in October the necessary change was made in the board of officers which invested the government of the colony in its resident members. That the precedent thus established was in after years followed even with the royal sanction, and without raising the doubts which had troubled the Council of Massachusetts Bay, is no evidence that their apprehensions then of being interfered with were not well founded. Happily they were permitted to carry out their plan without molestation, and they planted the seed of a vigorous republic instead of a feeble and dependent commercial colony.

John Winthrop made governor.

A reorganization of the court was required by the change now resolved upon, and accordingly a new governor, and some new councillors were elected. This governor was John Winthrop. It is noteworthy that two days after Cradock had made his proposition to the Council in August, a meeting of twelve gentlemen was held at Cambridge, all of whom pledged themselves to the prosecution of this work of a plantation in New England, and to go thither with their families, within six months, provided that before another month had passed, "the whole government, together with the patent for the said plantation, be first, by an order of court, legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said plantation." Six of the men who signed this agreement already belonged to the Council, and were re-chosen upon the new board; and as the pledge at Cambridge and the proposition at London were made within two days of each other, there was, without doubt, a common understanding in Conference and Council. An accession was gained of material strength, for some of the new men were men of wealth and position; the moral gain was still greater, for all of them were of that class whose discontent with the condition of affairs in England was so great that they preferred exile to submission.

John Winthrop, now in his forty-third year, was a man of good social position, by profession a lawyer, as his father and grandfather had been before him, with a yearly income of £700, which in the money value of our time would be about $18,000. It was a hard thing, no doubt, for a man of his gentle culture to dispose of his

estate, to sacrifice all the associations clinging to an English home of several generations, and to accept in exchange the rough hardships of pioneer life in the wilderness. At a farewell dinner which his friends gave him on the eve of his departure, he essayed to speak, but a sudden access of tenderness broke down his self-control, and tears were the last tribute he paid to his country. Not that the fibre of his character lacked firmness, but underneath a stern devotion to his sense of duty was the tenderness of a woman. In his last letter to his wife he reminded her of every recurring Monday and Friday, for at a fixed hour on those days they had engaged to commune with heaven, and with each other in spirit, in mutual prayer.



The winter of 1629–30 was spent in active preparation. On the 30th of March, four ships of a fleet of eleven were at Yarmouth waiting for a wind. The admiral ship of the fleet was the *Arbella*,[1] on board which was Winthrop. Here he and some of his associates drew up a farewell address, which they called "The Humble Request of His Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone to New England; to the Rest of the Brethren in and of the Church of England." "We beseech you," said the address, "by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, to consider us as your brethren, standing in very great need of your help [that is, their prayers and blessings], and earnestly imploring it." They esteemed it, they said, "our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and can-

Winthrop's farewell address.

[1] The ship's name was the *Eagle*, but was changed to *Arbella*, in compliment to Lady Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and the wife of Isaac Johnson, one of the Council. Both he and his wife were on board the vessel. The Lady Arbella died a few weeks after their arrival at Salem, and her husband soon after followed her. Mather, in the *Magnalia*, says: —

" . . . . . He try'd
To live without her, lik'd it not, and dy'd."

The lines have since been a favorite epitaph in New England burial-grounds, altered to suit circumstances, in the case of bereaved husbands or wives, where one has not long survived the death of the other.

not part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not therefore as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus." They entreated that they should not be forgotten in the prayers of ministers and of brethren, even of those who through want of intelligence of their course could not so well conceive of their way as they could desire. And they deprecated any want of charity toward them from any false report of their intentions, or from the disaffection or indiscretion of some who were of them, or rather among them ;[1] — an allusion, perhaps, to the gathering of the Church, the year before, at Salem, and the summary proceedings of Endicott in the case of the Brownes.

No doubt they were sincere in these protestations of their love to the mother church, of their tender memory of her as she once was, of their devotion to her as they thought she ought to be ; but they were not quite frank, if in the allusion to "disaffection or indiscretion of some of us, or rather among us," they referred to the church at Salem, whose example they were about to follow in complete unconformity to the Episcopal ceremonial.

Higginson's farewell to England.

Equally sincere was Higginson when, hardly a year before, as the shores of England grew dim and shadowy upon the horizon, he called his children and other passengers to the stern of the ship to take their last look of the land of their birth, and exclaimed: "We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome!' but we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell the Church of God in England, and all Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it, but we go to practise the positive part of church reformation and propagate the gospel in America."[2] Yet hardly had they a roof over their heads in Salem ere it was made a penal offence to read the Episcopal service in public. Every league of the Atlantic gave vigor and courage

[1] Mather's *Magnalia*, Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, where "The Request," is given in full.

[2] Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i., p. 362.

to his spiritual mind as to his material body. He soon cast off the habits, the indulgences, and the garments of an invalid, and with equal readiness dropped his timid non-conformity and his weak protestations, and put on a frank and manly separatism. "A sip of New England's air," he said, "is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale." The new atmosphere was as good for him in church matters as in everything else.

Nor was it otherwise with Winthrop and his people. Within one or two years' time, writes Mather, there were seven churches in the neighborhood of Boston, all of them "golden candlesticks;" all of them mindful of what "the spirit in the Scripture said unto them;" thoroughly weaned from, if not loathing the "breasts" of that "dear mother," the English Church; caring little now for that nice distinction between the Church invisible and pure, and the Church visible and corrupt.

The *Arbella* arrived at Salem on the 12th of June, 1630. The condition of things was not encouraging. During the winter just passed eighty people had died, which must have been nearly a fourth of the whole number. Their provisions were nearly exhausted, and but for this reinforcement, still greater suffering would inevitably have followed. It seemed impossible for any of the early colonies to escape these initiative disasters, notwithstanding the precautions which experience taught them. No better fortune was to attend these new-comers. In the course of the summer seventeen ships arrived — among them the faithful *Mayflower* — bringing altogether about a thousand persons. Some of them had made long passages, and the scurvy broke out among the passengers. Much sickness prevailed in all the settlements during the following year, due more probably to want of proper shelter than any other cause.

Arrival of the colonists under Winthrop. June 12, 1630, O. S.

These settlements were to be made at different places, but Charlestown was a sort of starting-point for most of them, that being the one plantation belonging to the company inside of the Bay. This beginning was made there a year or two before by three brothers named Sprague, who went from Salem. One of the immediate duties urged upon Endicott, after the Company obtained its charter, was the speedy occupation of some point within the bay between Nahant and Point Alderton. The patent which Captain Robert Gorges had received from the Plymouth Company had descended to his brother John, and he had sold to a Sir William Brereton and John Oldham — the acquaintance of the latter we have already made at Plymouth — all the country from Charles River to Nahant and twenty miles inland. The grant made by the Plymouth Company to the Massachusetts Company, and the royal patent to the

Settlement of Charlestown.

Massachusetts Bay Company, included all this region. Neither Brereton nor Oldham were disposed to yield their claims, and had failed to come to any agreement with the Council of the Massachusetts Bay Company, in regard to them. The question was a frequent subject at the meetings of the Council in London, and Cradock — who spoke of Oldham as a man obstinate and violent in his opinions — wrote to Endicott to send "forty or fifty persons to Massachusetts Bay to inhabit there . . . . with all speed . . . . whereby the better to strengthen our possession there against all or any that shall intrude upon us." This



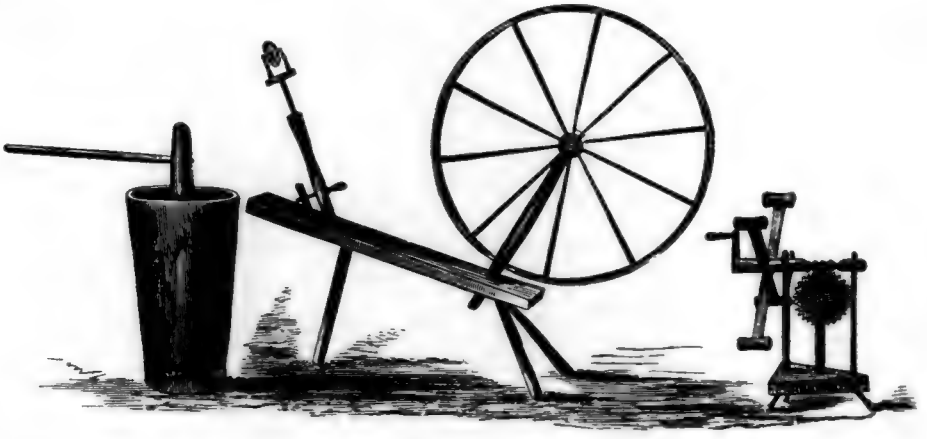
Colonial Furniture.

was aimed at the rival claimants, Brereton and Oldham, whose title the Company believed, would not hold good in law against their own, but was coupled with a caution not to molest such other Englishmen as had there planted, and who were willing to live under the government of the new Company.

Some of these we have spoken of in a previous chapter — Maverick, on Noddle's Island, now East Boston; Thompson, on Thomp-

son's Island; Blaxton, or Blackstone, living at this time near the foot of what is now Boston Common, but who removed some years later to the banks of the river since known by his name — the Blackstone — in the southwestern part of the State of Massachusetts. There was one man, also, Thomas Walford, a blacksmith, living at Charlestown, then called Mishawan, by the Indians, meaning Great Spring. Thither, where the Spragues had gone before, about a hundred of those who came with Higginson in 1629, went in obedience to the injunction of the company to strengthen their possession. There on the 17th of June stood John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts, on the hill that on another 17th of June, nearly a century and a half later, was to be made more memorable.

Old settlers on Boston Bay.



Colonial Relics.

One of the first of the fleet to arrive was the *Mary & John*, whose captain, either misunderstanding his instructions, or over-anxious to return, landed his one hundred and forty passengers at Nantasket. Among these were John Wareham, and John Maverick, clergymen; Roger Ludlow, and Edward Rossiter, men of substance and position. As they could not remain where they had been landed, against their will, several of their number, with an old planter for interpreter, took a boat, and loading it with goods went in search of a place that should better answer their purpose. They touched first at Charlestown, and were there advised to proceed up the river. This they did till the water shoaled near the place where the United States Arsenal at Watertown now stands. A number of Indians in the neighborhood alarmed this little band, but when the old planter requested them not to approach the camp that night, they considerately abstained. On the next day they sent one of their number with a bass, as token of amity and welcome. The English sent a man with a biscuit, and in this economical fashion the intercourse began. The In-

dians "supplied us with bass, exchanging a bass for a bisket-cake, and were very friendly unto us." These fish no longer run in that river, but the Charles was then a natural fish-way as far up as the first rapids, near which the Indians had erected a basket-weir.

Here the explorers remained but a few days, for hearing that there was at Mattapan a neck of land with good pasturage, where they might fence in their cattle, the whole company were taken to that place. They gave to it the name of Dorchester, perhaps in honor of the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, England, who seems to have had a special interest in this company. They had held a day of fasting at Plymouth before sailing, and Mr. White was there with them, advising, sympathising, and preaching. They suffered many privations through the first winter at Dorchester, eking out their scanty stores with corn bought from the Indians, subsisting sometimes upon shell-fish, which even the women went out to dig upon the mud-flats off the neck.[1]

Settlement at Dorchester Neck.

The *Mary and John* arrived in May. From that time to October the ships were dropping in, one after another, through the summer, their passengers scattering about Boston Bay at various points. Some went up the Mystic; some up the Charles; beginnings of towns were made at Medford, Watertown, Cambridge, Roxbury, Lynn, and elsewhere, and the "golden candlesticks" were gradually lighted. Some moved within a few weeks from Charlestown to Shawmut Point, the first party being one of young people — a ship's boat-load — who landed about where the Charlestown bridge now crosses the river. Boston was actually begun in a frolic. Anne Pollard, a lively young girl, was the first person, amid some pleasant contention, to spring ashore — the first white woman who ever stepped upon that spot.[2]

Other towns begun.

Shawmut was first called Trimountain, not because of the three highest hills that overtopped the peninsula, but because of three eminences that then crowned one of them, Beacon Hill, where the State House now stands.

The water at Charlestown, in spite of its name — Mishawan, Great Spring — seems not to have been good, and Blackstone invited Winthrop and his people to pitch their tents by his fountain of sweet waters, which welled up somewhere at the bottom of the present Common.[3] The settlement was fairly begun before the first of September, and on the 7th of that month

Settlement at Boston.

[1] *Memoir of Robert Clap.* Young's *Chronicles*, chap. xviii. The place was called Dorchester Neck, till early in the present century, when it was annexed to Boston, and has ever since been called South Boston.

[2] *Old Landmarks of Boston*, by S. G. Drake.

[3] Ibid.

it was ordered at a court held at Charlestown, that the place should be called Boston, from the old home of many of these people in Lincolnshire, England.

Blackstone claimed to own the whole peninsula, as he was the first white man who had ever occupied it. But title of occupation was held not to be good against title by grant from the king of England. The Company, however, was not disposed to deal ungenerously with him, and before he pushed out again into the wilderness, annoyed by too crowded a population, they allowed him about one sixth of the territory, and afterward bought it of him for thirty pounds. Blackstone was an Episcopalian in faith, as well as a man "of a particular humor." He would not accept fellowship in the church of the Puritans, frankly saying: "I came from England because I did not like the lord-bishops; but I can't join with you, because I would not be under the lord-brethren."[1] Walford, the blacksmith, on the other side of the Charles, was swept away in a more summary fashion by the advancing wave of civilization. In less than a year, it is recorded that he was fined by the court, and banished with his wife beyond the limits of the patent.[2] He was too free in his talk.



Old Houses, Boston, England.

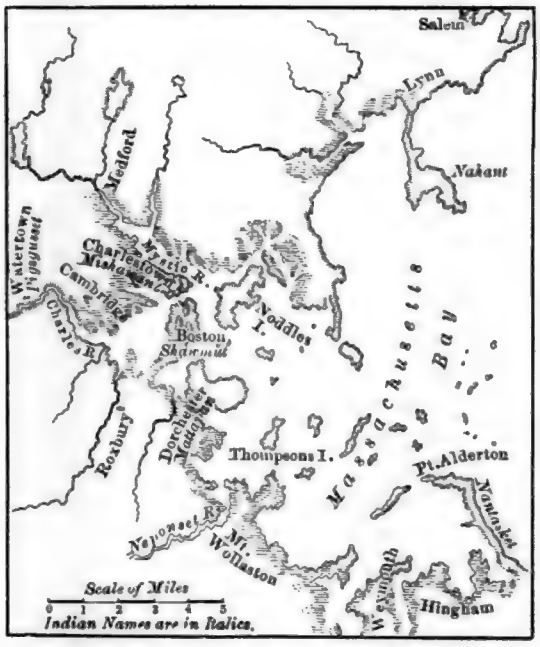
In February, 1631, was a notable arrival. Sickness and want were at that time universal; even the governor's stores were almost exhausted; others of smaller means were on the scantiest allowance, and a day of fasting and prayer — the fasting an easy duty — was proclaimed. But before the day arrived, the ship *Lion*, commanded by the good Captain William Peirce, who so often appeared at precisely the right moment both at Plymouth and Boston, was reported at Nantasket. She was deeply laden with provisions, and the day of humiliation and supplication was changed to one of thanksgiving and praise, for the people felt that, like the children of Israel, they were the chosen of the Lord, and that he had sent them succor. Possibly the fervor of the thanksgiving would have been moderated could they have foreseen what else the ship brought them in the person of Roger Williams, who, with his newly married wife, was a passenger on board the *Lion*.

Arrival of Roger Williams.

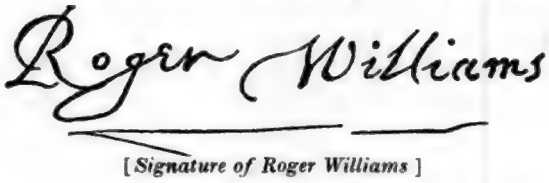
[1] Lyford's *Plain Dealing*. Mather's *Magnalia*.

[2] See Young's *Chronicles*, note, p. 374, for various authorities.

Winthrop boarded the ship in the lower harbor, anxious about the quality and quantity of her cargo, of so much importance to the hungry colonists. The interview between him and Williams was probably cordial, although the latter, while travelling the same road as the Puritans, had travelled faster and further; and the course he had taken in his short career — he was not much over thirty — in regard to the Established Church, was a rebuke to the cautious prudence shown by Winthrop and his associates before they left England. It is not likely, however, that it occurred to the governor, when they first met, that here in New England, where both were alike separated from the old order of things, any difference could divide them. Among the passengers of the *Lion*, the governor says, was Mr. Williams, "a godly minister."



But they were, nevertheless, speedily and completely divided in their public relations, if not in their private friendship. Williams was at first so well received in Boston, that he was unanimously elected, according to his own statement, the teacher of the church. But the call was refused because, he says, "I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be."[1] That a controversy arose between him and the church at Boston, and that he refused to join it, because as Winthrop says, "they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of Eng-



[*Signature of Roger Williams*]

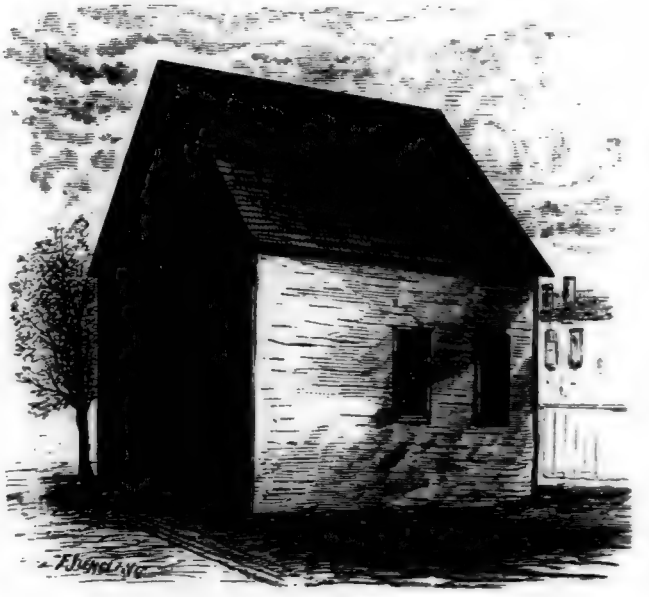
Controversy with the church of Boston.

[1] A MS. letter of Williams to the younger Cotton, in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and quoted by Palfrey, vol. i., p. 406, note, is the authority for this statement. The assertion of the writer that he was elected teacher of the Boston church is a sufficient and clear explanation of how the position of that church — hitherto unexplained — came to be a subject of controversy between it and Williams. As Dr. Palfrey says, it is hard to suppose that Williams's memory had failed him when he wrote the letter, and extraordinary that the fact is not mentioned in any record of the time. But as the fact of the controversy is given without any clue as to how it arose, and as Williams's statement supplies a rational origin for that controversy, the positive evidence of his correctness is greater than the negative evidence of his being mistaken.

land," [1] is noticed by contemporary writers. But this was not the only offence of the recusant minister. He declared that the civil magistrate had no right to punish a breach of the Sabbath, or any offence that was a breach of the first four commandments of the decalogue. The difficulty was insuperable. The church in Boston was clearly no place for a man avowing such doctrines, whether as teacher or member. In a few weeks he removed to Salem.

Whether it was the church in Boston that refused to accept Mr. Williams, or Mr. Williams who refused to accept the church, the State now stepped in to bring the young clergyman into due subjection. The Salem church called him as its teacher, Mr. Higginson having died about six months before. When Winthrop heard of this, the subject was brought up in a court held at Boston, and Endicott was written to, that "they marvelled they [at Salem] would choose him without advising with the council," and requesting that the church should proceed no further till there had been some conference.[2] The church paid no heed to this admonition, and Williams was settled as the minister. It was only for a few months, however; the council gave no peace to the church till the offender was driven out from among them to find a refuge at Plymouth, where, as the assistant of the Rev. Mr. Smith, he remained for the next two years.

Williams settled at Salem.



First Church in Salem.

Removal to Plymouth.

He was now where the council of Massachusetts Bay could not reach him, and among a people to many of whom his doctrines and ministrations were acceptable. Independent as he was as a thinker, and fearless in avowing his convictions when occasion called for it, he does not seem to have entered upon his career in New England by thrusting forward either them or himself offensively. The worst doctrine he was accused of promulgating while at Plymouth was that the country on which the English had intruded belonged to those they found there, and that the pretended title of James I. was mere usur-

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 53.

[2] Savage's *Winthrop*.

pation. Some novelties of doctrine seem, at last, to have shocked the good elder Brewster, but Bradford speaks of him in terms of high commendation. But, for a time, his ministrations were entirely without offence. Winthrop and Mr. Wilson, the Boston minister, were at Plymouth in the course of the next year — walking thither from Weymouth — partook of the sacrament on the Lord's day with Mr. Williams, and afterward discussed some question propounded by him, according to the custom of that church; — an amicable and godly discussion, apparently, Mr. Williams refraining from using the opportunity to advance any of his heretical views, either civil or religious. For a while, evidently, he ceased to be a troubler in Israel.

Enforcement of law.

Meanwhile no time was lost in bringing the settlers in their several communities under the regulation of both civil and ecclesiastical polity. Meetings of the court were frequent, and stringent laws were passed and applied with rigor. Thus, one man was fined ten pounds, in September, for selling a gun to an Indian, and it was decreed that not even corn should be sold to the natives without leave. Sir Richard Saltonstall, an assistant, and a man of mark, was fined for whipping two persons when no other assistant was present, as the law prescribed in such cases. An irreverent sportsman was whipped for fowling on Sunday; a hungry one for stealing a loaf of bread. The first quack in the colony was fined five pounds for pretending to cure the scurvy with a worthless water, for which he charged an exorbitant price, and he was warned against any such practice in future.[1] This austere virtue is now lost, even in Massachusetts. Malicious reflections upon the government and the church at Salem cost an offender his ears. The man who got drunk was held to be disorderly and fined for a breach of the peace. Adultery was punished with death. There was no lack of watchfulness over the morals and the manners, as well as the safety of the colonists. Even the ex-governor, Endicott, was fined forty shillings in a case of assault and battery on one goodman Dexter. In a letter to Winthrop he acknowledged that he was wrong in such violence, as unbecoming in a justice of the peace. But in reply to Dexter's threat that, if he could not get justice he would "try it out at blows," Endicott said, that if that were lawful and "he, Dexter, were a fit man for me to deal with, you should not hear me complain;" then adding piously and penitently, though the natural Adam was evidently very strong within him, "I hope the Lord hath brought me off from that course."

But more important than all other enactments was one passed at the first General Court for elections in the spring of 1631, by which it was declared that no man should be admitted to the body politic

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., cited in Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. i., pp. 321 *et seq.*

who was not a member of some church within its limits. Nothing could so clearly show the character of the people. The test of citizenship was piety; and the test of piety was membership in the Reformed Church. No surer way could have been devised of excluding all but Puritans, and Puritans of a certain way of thinking, from any share in the government of the colony. But these people had fled from ecclesiastical tyranny at home, and they believed that their only safety lay in a close ecclesiastical corporation of their own, a body corporate in which the adversary could gain no foothold either in the church or in the state. Narrow and illiberal as the policy is, when tried by the standard of later times, it was meant to be a peaceful solution of the problem of that age, the working out of which soon cost England a revolution and the king his head.

Condition of citizenship.

These men had come into the wilderness to build up a theocracy, and made no pretensions of securing liberty for anybody but themselves. They were quite as intolerant of opinions that were not their own as the most inexorable persecutor that ever "peppered" a Puritan. The question is even not yet quite settled in all minds whether intolerance is more lovely and safe in the hands of men who only mean to use it to the glory of God, than in the hands of men who plainly persecute the righteous for unrighteous ends. The line where disinterested devotion fades into worldly motives and the indulgence of the most selfish passions, is so exceedingly fine and so easily passed, that they must needs be much more than common men who can be trusted with intolerance only as a divine attribute.

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

LAWS, ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL. — JOHN ELIOT'S WORK AMONG THE INDIANS. — JOHN COTTON ARRIVES IN BOSTON. — THE RED CROSS IN THE KING'S BANNER. — PERSECUTION AND BANISHMENT OF ROGER WILLIAMS. — THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND. — SETTLERS FROM PLYMOUTH ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER. — JOHN WINTHROP, JR., FIRST GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT. — HOOKER'S EMIGRATION TO HARTFORD. — ANNE HUTCHINSON AND HER DOCTRINES. — MURDER OF JOHN OLDHAM. — BEGINNING OF THE PEQUOD WAR.

THE accounts that went home for the first year or two from Massachusetts Bay were discouraging, and for a while more returned to England than joined the colony. Yet the progress was steady in spite of all discouragements and hardships; the settlements grew into towns; the towns grew into a consolidated commonwealth. Local affairs soon came to be entrusted to a few select men from a community, though any freeman who chose could assist at their deliberations. The system — which for convenience' sake, as numbers increased, took the place of a meeting of all the freemen, when any question arose, such as the making of roads, or the division of lands — begun in one place soon extended to others, till in the course of four or five years town-governments were recognized as the established order. The next step was natural and easy; representatives were sent to the General Court, first to consult with the assistants, and to regulate taxation; next to enact laws, and to take part in the general management of the colony. Step by step the colony grew into a commonwealth — a government of the people.

Gradual progress of the colony.

There was no interference with them from the home government. Men of some influence who had been in the country and left it, voluntarily or involuntarily, from various motives, sometimes good and sometimes bad, united to break down the colony. They were so far listened to that the king and the Privy Council looked into the matter, but found nothing which was considered worthy of reprehension. It was considered, apparently, that there was nothing dangerous in Puritanism when so far away; and it is not at all unlikely that Charles felt a generous interest in the first colony established under a patent signed by his

Ineffectual attempt in England to injure the colony.

own hand, and in a country to which he had given a name. There was controversy between them and Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others about patents; the Brownes did not readily forget the first cause of complaint they had against Endicott, and the church at Salem. Morton remembered the prostrate May-pole at Merry Mount, and the stocks in Boston, a mysterious Sir Christopher Gardiner — who travelled about the country among the Indians, having with him a pretty young woman, confessedly not his wife, and who was suspected of being a Catholic, with sinister designs on the Western Hemisphere — railed at the tyranny of Winthrop, who had dismissed him without ceremony from Massachusetts; but all these united, with any others who had, or thought they had grievances, availed nothing in England to provoke interference. The colony was happily left to its own devices.

There the most potent influence was the clergy. Though ministers were debarred from holding civil offices, they nevertheless, in large measure through the church controlled the State. The franchise of citizenship could only belong to the church-member; but church-membership was under the control of the ministers. This ecclesiastical government suited the Puritans of Massachusetts and was of their own creation; but the influence of the bishops in England, though exercised in a different way, was never more potent than that of the minister of the parish in New England, who continued for a century and a half to be looked up to by his parishioners with almost as much reverence as is rendered to the Pope, long after the rule of the bishops had ceased to exist.

Influence of the clergy.

Not all of them, however, cared for political influence, or were most devoted even to theological questions. Chief among those who had other aims was the Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury, who was made the pastor of its first church, in 1632. His life was largely devoted to converting the Indians to Christianity, and to that end he studied their language with great assiduity.[1] Some years later, when he had mastered their difficult tongue, he preached his first sermon to a small company of Indians, in a wigwam at Nonantum near Watertown. The presence of Waban, an Indian chief, suggested the text, which was from Ezekiel xxxvii. 9, 10: "Then said he unto them, Prophesy unto the wind;" — Waban, the chief's name, meaning wind. The sermon was effectual, and Waban became a Christian. A sect grew up, among whom he was a man

The "Apostle" Eliot.

The Praying Indians.

[1] Elliot's *Indian Bible* — a few copies of which are still in existence and sell at almost fabulous sums, though in a now unknown tongue — was published in 1663. *The Psalms in Metre*, the first book published in America — 1640 — was composed partly by him and partly by his colleague, Weld, and by Richard Mather.

of influence, called the "Praying Indians," and who became so obnoxious to the unconverted savage that, at a later period in time of war, it was necessary to place them upon an island in the harbor, for protection, although their own town, Natick — "the place of hills" — was well fortified.[1]

But Eliot's heroic work was beset with monstrous difficulties. The Indian's ethical condition was derived from the exigencies of the wilderness, and seldom rose above them into a nobler behavior. This spiritual condition was limited to a vague reference to an overruling Manito, a decided belief in *Hobomock*, the Evil Spirit, and an unfaltering trust in the medicine-man. Into this structure of natural theology he soon learned to infuse a love of rum so strong that it confused his perception of the white man's religion, as it well might do. When the Bible and the puncheon came over to him in the same ship, the remark of one of their chiefs was not irrelevant: "Let me see that your religion makes you better than us and then we may try it." This keen appreciation of the difference between the Englishman's preaching and his practice; the love of fighting which can hardly be assuaged in the breast of an Indian; the thirst for the new liquors; the reluctance to form settled towns and to labor, were formidable obstacles in Eliot's way; while the lukewarmness of the colonists, who thought the converts were poor for Christians and spoiled for Indians, constantly dogged his manly and courageous steps as he went to and fro with incessant ministering of religious truths and inculcation of the arts of civilization to the people whose darkness he so commiserated.

Difficulties in Eliot's way.

There were other clergymen not less identified, though in a different way, with the infancy of the Commonwealth. In 1633 large additions were made to the colony, and among them came John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone. Hooker and Stone went to Newtown as pastor and teacher; Cotton remained in Boston as teacher over the church of which Wilson was pastor. The Rev. William Phillips of Watertown had already labored to mould the churches into that form of Congregationalism which afterwards prevailed, but the work was completed by Cotton. He had, it is said, "such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching, that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric;" and such was

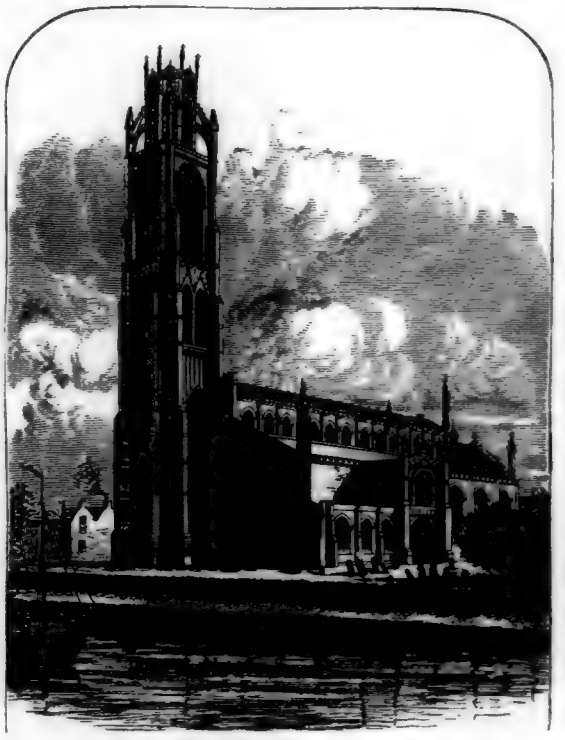
Arrival of Cotton, Hooker, and Stone.



Signature of John Cotton.

[1] Some of the converts were made magistrates and constables in the towns of Praying Indians. Here is a warrant addressed to a constable: "1. I, Hidondi. 2. You, Peter Waterman. 3. Jeremy Wicket. 4. Quick you take him. 5. Fast you hold him. 6. Straight you bring him. 7. Before me, Hidondi." *The New England History*, by Charles W. Elliot, vol. i., p. 326.

his authority "that whatever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an order of court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."[1] He was an able and a learned man, already distinguished before coming to New England, as rector of St. Botolph's church in Boston, Lincolnshire, where his non-conforming opinions were too boldly and ably expressed to escape the notice of the authorities. The hostile attention of Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury, was directed toward him, and he was suspected of an intention to emigrate so soon as an attempt should be made to deal with him for non-conformity. He and Hooker were closely watched. Cotton lay concealed in London for some time, and they only got out of the kingdom by the feint of embarking at the Isle of Wight and going on board in the Downs.



St. Botolph's Church, Boston, Eng.

Within a month of these arrivals, Roger Williams returned from Plymouth to Salem, and returned not to peace but to much tribulation. Some controversy had at length arisen between him and the church at Plymouth, his views savoring, Elder Brewster thought, of Anabaptism; he falling, Bradford said, "into strange opinions, and from opinions to practice." Some were desirous of retaining him, but he asked a dismission, and they let him go with a warning to the church at Salem, some of the Plymouth people, however, going with him.

Roger Williams returns to Salem.

But the church at Salem would heed no warning, and welcomed him back. For months he exercised his gift "by way of prophecy," — a desultory preacher without special charge. But he prophesied so much to the satisfaction of the Salem people, that when Mr. Skelton died the next summer, Williams was called to his place. He was, no doubt, watched narrowly, even before his settlement; but for a while his utterances were so void of offence, that the governor and assistants took up for consideration the treatise he had written while in

[1] Hubbard's *History*, pp. 175, 182.

Plymouth in relation to the Indian title to the country. The offender was notified to appear at the next General Court for censure.[1] He appeared accordingly, and made due submission, asserting that the treatise was written for the private satisfaction of the governor and others at Plymouth, and that there would have been an end of it had not Mr. Winthrop sent to him for a copy. The anxiety to find cause of complaint against him must have been great, when a private manuscript written outside of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and thus obtained, could be made the pretext of an accusation against the writer. Indeed the governor and council seem to have become a little ashamed of it, for they were gracious enough subsequently to pass the matter over, after consultation with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cotton, and on consideration that the Indian essay was obscure in meaning, that Mr. Williams had disavowed any evil intent in writing it, and had taken the oath of allegiance.

He is called before the council.

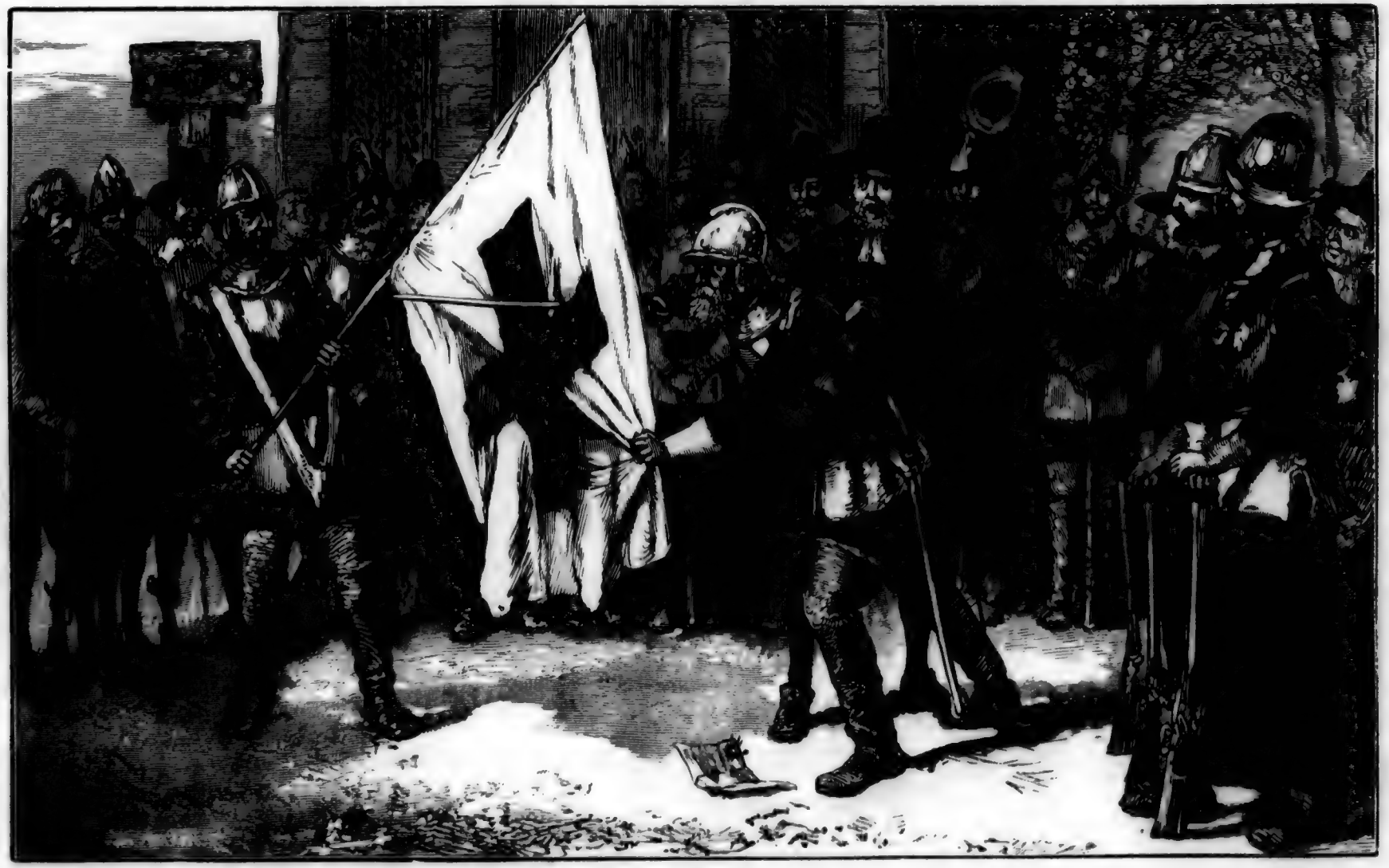
But offences were sure to come. It was impossible for Mr. Williams to keep quiet; equally impossible, for the Council to let him alone. As a sort of preliminary of what was to come the colony was presently in a buzz, for he had persuaded the women of Salem that modesty required they should go veiled in public. Here was heresy. Cotton hastened to Salem to refute it, and his "insinuating and melting way" brought down every veil in the parish between the Sunday services. It was an exhaustive discourse, if we may trust Hubbard's report of it, and proved to the women of Salem that the Scriptural reasons were not applicable in their case; for many were wives and not virgins; none were like Tamar; and none needed like Ruth, to hold up her veil before Boaz for a measure of barley. Not a woman's face was hidden on Sunday afternoon after this morning's discourse. It was a great triumph over Roger Williams, and so pleased was Mr. Cotton with his success, that he carried the subject into the "Boston Lecture." But here Endicott met him in fierce debate, and so hot did it grow that the governor interfered to put an end to it.[2]

The question of veils at Salem.

Williams had no more devoted follower than Endicott, whose zeal was of the kind that out-runs discretion. At home and abroad he was, for a time, ready to uphold his pastor at any cost, and would, no doubt, had not the governor stopped him, have maintained against Cotton, rather than admit that there was any defect in the doctrine

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 122.

[2] Such sermons, however, were not uncommon. Eliot and Chauncy, President of Harvard College, preached long and learned discourses on Wigs. *Life of Williams*, Sparks's *Biography*, vol. xiv. All the magistrates in 1649, signed a solemn protest against men wearing long hair, and commended the subject to the attention of the ministers. Hutchinson's *History*.



ENDICOTT CUTTING THE CROSS FROM THE KING'S BANNER.

in regard to veils, that every woman in Boston was like Tamar and should hide her face. The Council of Massachusetts were far more tender of him than of the minister, though he did not always escape punishment.

His zeal, and the influence of his pastor's teaching were made manifest in an act of more moment than whether the women should go uncovered. The preaching of Williams was of the searching kind and the application of his principles of undefiled religion, knew no limit. There was in him no fear of principalities or powers; for the Church of England he had only abhorrence; for those who reverenced her, rebuke if not denunciation. He looked everywhere for the signs of anti-Christ, and at any relic of superstition he pointed an unswerving finger. In the red cross of St. George he saw only a remnant of Popery, not an ensign of victory. This fervid flame of pure spiritual doctrine caught up Endicott and he blazed into fury. When next the flag of England fluttered over him in the streets of Salem he seized its folds and cut out the cross in which his pastor saw an emblem of submission to Rome. Some of the soldiers refused to follow the mutilated colors; the grave offence demanded the attention of the General Court; he was rebuked for indiscretion, and dismissed for a time from his seat as an assistant at the Council. It was only because all were persuaded that the act was done out of tenderness of conscience and not out of an evil mind that he was visited with no heavier penalty[1]; and, besides, there were a good many people who sympathized with the act itself.

Endicott cuts out the Cross.

But Williams had not long been settled, against the expostulations if not the direct order of the Council, when the people of Salem asked that a tract of land at Marblehead be granted them. The court refused. So palpable and flagrant an act of injustice stirred the church to further resistance; the other churches where the magistrates were members, were written to and urged to admonish them for this gross intolerance toward Salem. There was no other way of appealing to public opinion, and public opinion was the only influence that could be brought to bear upon the magistrates. The appeal was useless; the clergy made no response, and of their position, no doubt the magistrates were quite assured beforehand. The protest led to fresh penalties; the Salem deputies were deprived of their seats in the court; Endicott, as chief and of the most importance, was imprisoned until a satisfactory apology was made for such a spirit of insubordination. It was a complete establishment of the civil authority. Williams asked his people to separate from these subservient churches.

Salem asks a grant of land and is refused.

An appeal to the other churches punished.

[1] Hubbard.

But his own church was already subdued, and the request was refused. Salem and Endicott submitted at last to a power inexorable and too strong for them, and the pastor was left helpless and at the mercy of the court.

The accusations against Williams.

And the court was without mercy, as Williams was without any spirit of compromise. He was summoned to Boston to answer for his dangerous heresies, and he appeared, well knowing that there was hardly a magistrate or a minister in the little commonwealth that had not prejudged him. The accusations against him convey an inadequate notion of how serious an offence his doctrines were among the Puritans. He was charged with maintaining that the magistrate should not punish a breach of the first four commandments, except where the result was a breach of the peace; that he should not tender an oath to an unregenerate man, and that no one should pray with such a person, though he be one's nearest relative; and that thanks should not be given either after meat or after the sacrament.[1] But out of these propositions he deduced the plain doctrine, that the magistrate had no right to meddle with any man's conscience or religious opinions, and that the state exceeded its just power when it assumed to have jurisdiction over any other relations of the citizen than those of person and property. He meant this, and magistrates and ministers understood that he meant it, and in a community where no man was a citizen except he was a church-member, and no man was a church-member except with the minister's permission, such doctrine was dangerous and intolerable.

His trial and sentence.

But he was not to be moved. Cotton and Hooker went to Salem to labor with him, and he withstood them. The court had him up for trial — had him up, that is, for a public polemical debate. They failed to convict him of error, as he failed to convict them of injustice. He was sent back to Salem with permission to take time to repent, and a warning to prepare for sentence at the next meeting of the General Court, unless ready then to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

The fruits were not forthcoming. He was stiff-necked and would not bend, and sentence of banishment was pronounced upon him. He "hath broached and divulged" said the act, "divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates; as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here;" and therefore he was ordered to depart out of that jurisdiction within six weeks and not return without license from the court. To this sentence there was only one dissenting voice.[2]

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*. Hubbard. Mather's *Magnalia*.
[2] Savage's *Winthrop*.

There was more than one dissenting voice however, outside of the General Court, and especially in Salem. A staunch minority stood by the persecuted minister, and no doubt there was some clamor everywhere. Perhaps for this reason notice was given him that he might remain till spring. Williams accepted the clemency and went on preaching, but preached precisely as he had done before. He abated not one jot of his dangerous opinions; gave full measure of his doctrines of Christian democracy. When the church was closed against him by the timid or the prudent, he called together in his own house such as would listen to him, and quietly but firmly testified to the truth as it was in him.

The magistrates were exasperated and summoned him again before them. They had heard he intended to plant a colony on Narragansett Bay, "from whence," says Winthrop, "the infection would easily spread into these churches, the people being many of them much taken with the apprehension of his godliness." He refused to appear again before the court, but alleged ill health as a reason. It was, no doubt, a good and sufficient excuse, but he may, perhaps, have felt also that it was not worth while to be tried a second time for the same offence. At any rate the court was not satisfied, and Captain Underhill was sent at once to Salem in a shallop with orders to take him and put him on board a ship about to sail for England. When Underhill arrived he was gone; some kind friends had given him information of the proposed arrest, and he fled alone out into the night and the wilderness.



Roger Williams's House. Salem.

Attempted arrest of Williams.

Winthrop was not, this year, the governor of Massachusetts, and may have felt that release from official duty permitted the indulgence of a feeling of personal friendship and sympathy. In a letter written thirty-five years afterward, Williams says, "that ever honored governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay and Indians for many high and heavenly and public ends, encouraging me from the freeness of place from any English claims or patents."[1] To Narragansett Bay, accordingly, he steered

[1] Letter from Roger Williams to Major Mason, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., Fourth Series. The letters of Williams to Winthrop during the years immediately succeeding his

his course, "though in winter snow which I feel yet," he adds, parenthetically, for it was in January.

The flight of Williams.

But he was not without friends in the wilderness into which he threw himself. His essay on the rights of the Indian to the soil, — which had been construed into an attack upon the patent and upon the king, and made matter of accusation against him — was not merely an idle, abstract argument with him, but a living truth. His belief in their rights was wider and more earnest than the belief of those about him, though they were not disposed to be unjust to the natives. But to him they were a people to be tenderly used and gently led out of the darkness of Heathenism, and the intercourse he had had with them, while living in Plymouth, was infused with this feeling, and had led to the most kindly relations.



Roger Williams building his House.

Massasoit, the old friend of the Pilgrims, was his friend also, and with him the wanderer at last found rest at Mount Hope.

The chief gave him land on the Seekonk River, and there in the

banishment (see *Rhode Island Hist. Soc.*, vol. i., Appendix, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., Third Series, and vol. vi., Fourth Series) show the existence of cordial and even affectionate relations between them.

early spring he began to build himself a house.[1] Here five persons from Salem joined him, but they all soon removed to the other side of the river by the advice of Governor Winslow, of Plymouth. He wrote to Williams that he and his party were within the bounds of the Plymouth grant, and it was best to avoid all possibility of dispute by moving a few miles farther west. The advice was wise and fortunate. Dropping down the Seekonk River in a canoe, and round into the broad harbor below, they landed at the foot of a hill whose seeming advantages attracted them. In following the advice of Winthrop and Winslow, Williams thought he was led by a divine guidance, and therefore, and — to use his own words — "for many other Providences of the most holy and only wise," he called the place Providence. Here, in June, 1636, the exile and his five companions planted the seed of another New England State.

Williams settles at Providence.

This, however, was not the first offshoot from the parent colonies that had taken root along the southern shores of New England. As early as 1631, Wahginnacut, a Sagamore from "the river Quonchtacut, which lies West of Naragancet," had visited Boston and offered the Governor inducements, in a promised tribute of corn and beaver-skins, to send some Englishmen to settle in his country, which he said was fruitful. The proposition was refused, as the chief, it was thought, only wanted English aid in a war in which he was then engaged with the Pequots; but the suggestion did not fall upon deaf ears. The Dutch from New Netherland had already penetrated the Connecticut valley, and had purchased lands of the Indians on the banks of the river. In 1633, the Commissary, Van Curler, had begun to build the Fort Good Hope, — now Hartford — on the tract thus bought, and the Dutch West India Company claimed the whole valley as theirs, by right of possession and purchase.

Settlements in the valley of the Connecticut.

Fort Good Hope built.

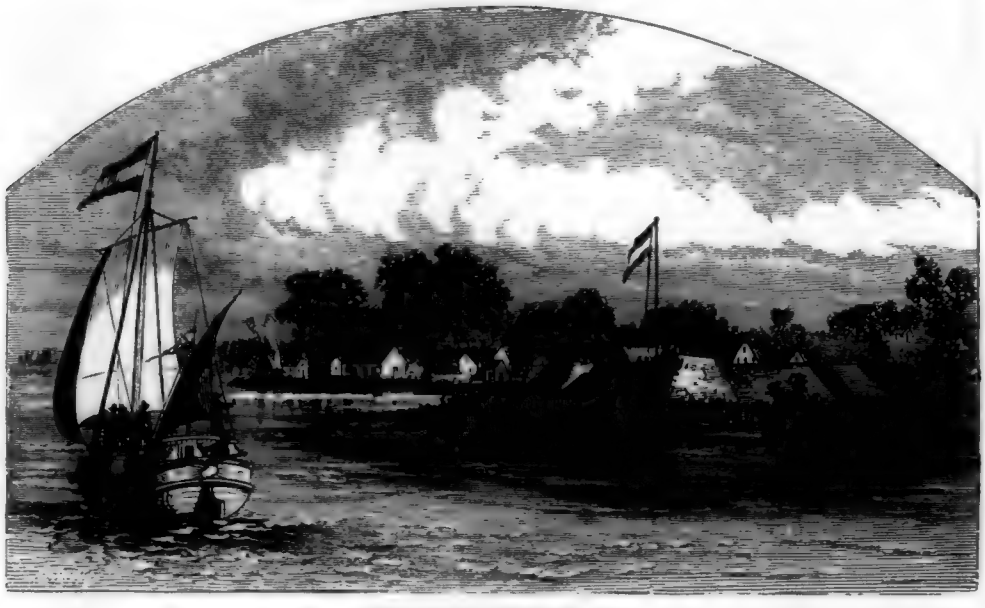
Friendly relations had been established between the Dutch and the Plymouth people, and these learned from the former something of the rich trade and fertile soil they had found on the Fresh — or Connecticut — River. It was welcome intelligence to the Pilgrims, whose trading-post on the Penobscot had already been robbed by the French, and who, probably, had little hope of much more profitable trade in that quarter. Overtures were made by Bradford and Winslow to Winthrop to anticipate the Dutch in their proposed occupation at Fort Good Hope. But the government at Boston "thought not fit to meddle with it," as the neighborhood of a large body of Indians and

[1] The spot is now known as "Manton's Cove," a short distance above a bridge in a bend of the river, directly eastward of Providence. Gammell's *Life of Roger Williams*, in Sparks's *American Biography*.

the shallowness of the river made it a poor place for a plantation.

The Pilgrims on the Connecticut.

The Plymouth people were not discouraged by this refusal, but in the autumn of 1633 sent William Holmes round by sea to the Connecticut, having on board his vessel the frame of a house already prepared for building. The Dutch threatened to fire upon them as they passed by Fort Good Hope, but Holmes showed his commission from the Governor of Plymouth, and insisted that he must obey orders, and going on, put up his house upon the site of the



Site of Fort Good Hope.

present town of Windsor, about six miles above the Dutch fort.[1] Governor Van Twiller the next year sent troops from New Amsterdam — who, however, were not employed — to oust the intruders upon the territory which, he claimed, not without reason, belonged to the West India Company. But the sturdy Pilgrims, under Holmes, held their own, and entered into successful trade with the Indians.

This firm footing on the Connecticut was made, when the next spring a petition was presented to the General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay from the people of Newtown, asking that they might be permitted "to look out either for enlargement or removal." The ministers Hooker and Stone were at the head of this movement, but, though the petition was at first granted, when the intention was avowed of going to the Connecticut, it met with warm opposition. In the autumn the subject again came up for discussion in the General Court, when it was urged, that so large an emigration would be a great injury to the colony; the emigrants themselves would be exposed to great dangers both from the Indians and

The Newtown people ask leave to remove to the Connecticut.

[1] Trumbull's *History of Connecticut.*

the Dutch; it was doubtful if the king would assent to a company settling upon lands to which they had no patent, and there was no good reason for removing so far, when there was ample room within the limits of the Company's patent which they might occupy. On the main question a majority of the deputies from the towns were in favor of granting permission to the petitioners to remove to the Connecticut; but a majority of the assistants voted against it.

Conflict of power in the General Court.

Thereupon arose an important conflict as to the rights of these two classes of representatives — whether the assistants who represented the magistracy, though smaller in number, should not outweigh by their vote the larger number of deputies who represented the people. Neither party was disposed to yield, and a day of fasting and prayer was appointed to get light upon the subject, aided by a sermon from Mr. John Cotton. The result was at least peace for the present, though the question as to the conflicting claim of assistants and representatives remained undetermined, and the Newtown people, before Mr. Cotton's sermon was preached, consented to accept an enlargement of their borders.

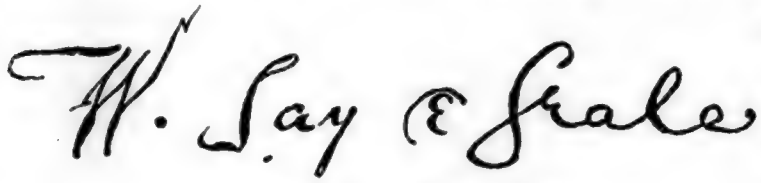
Emigration to the Connecticut.

The wish to remove to the rich lands of the Connecticut Valley was not confined to the church at Newtown. Others of Watertown, Dorchester, and Roxbury, were equally uneasy, and as no permission could be obtained to go beyond the limits of the Massachusetts patent, a good many resolved to go without. A few men from Watertown began the settlement of Wethersfield in the winter of 1635, and more of their townsmen followed them in the spring; others went from Dorchester and settled themselves about the Plymouth people at Windsor in the summer of that year. In November, a still larger party, gathered probably from various places, started for the new country. It was composed of whole families, men, women, and children, and they took with them their horses, cattle, and swine. It was a perilous journey through the woods at that season, and winter was upon them before it was over. The river was frozen by the middle of the month, and the vessels which were bringing their household goods and provisions were unable to get to them. Two of these were wrecked on the way. The emigrants were put to almost the extreme of suffering, and seventy of them, going down the river, in the hope of meeting with their own vessels, were happily rescued by another, and carried back to Massachusetts, miserable and repentant. Those who went to Windsor were complained of by the Plymouth people for intruding on their lands.

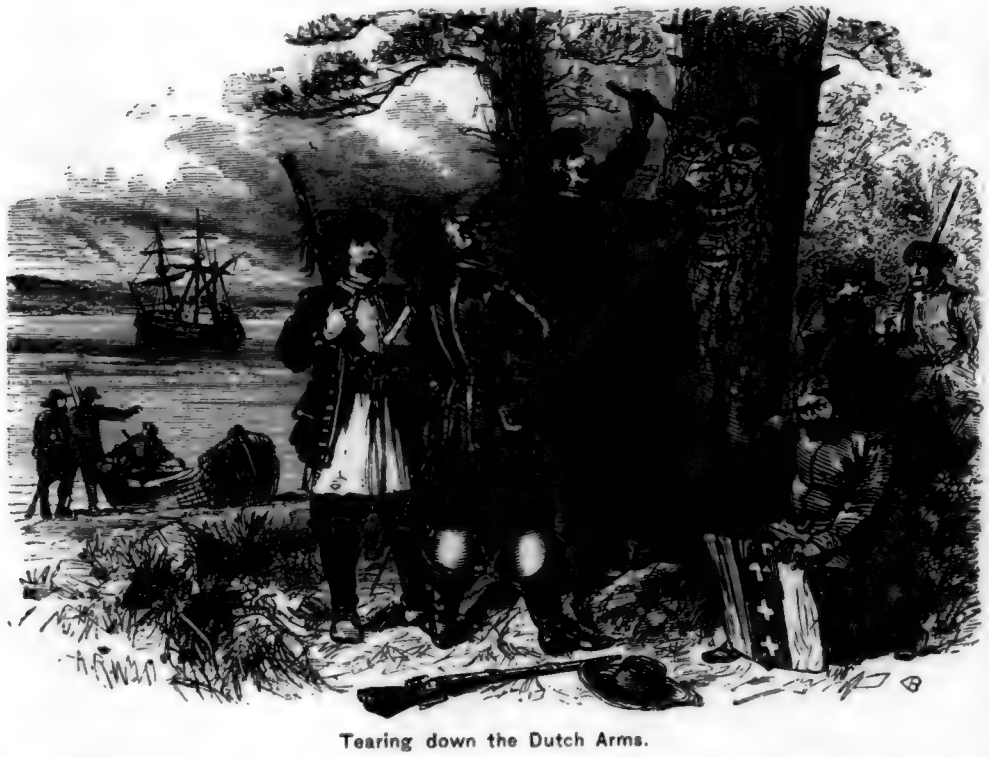
These irregular attempts at settlement, more or less successful, were followed by one which laid the foundation of a stable colony. In the

autumn of this year, John Winthrop, a son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, came out from England, bringing with him a commission to be governor of Connecticut, under the patent of Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and others, which covered that region of country. He brought with him men, ordnance, and ammunition, and had orders to erect a fort at the mouth of the river. Hearing that the Dutch had despatched a vessel on the same errand, he immediately sent a small vessel from Boston with twenty men to take possession, and when the Dutchman arrived a battery of two cannon confronted him, which was enough to prevent his landing. When the Dutch purchased the country three years before, of the Indians, they had affixed to a tree

John Winthrop, the younger.



Signature of Lord Say and Seal.



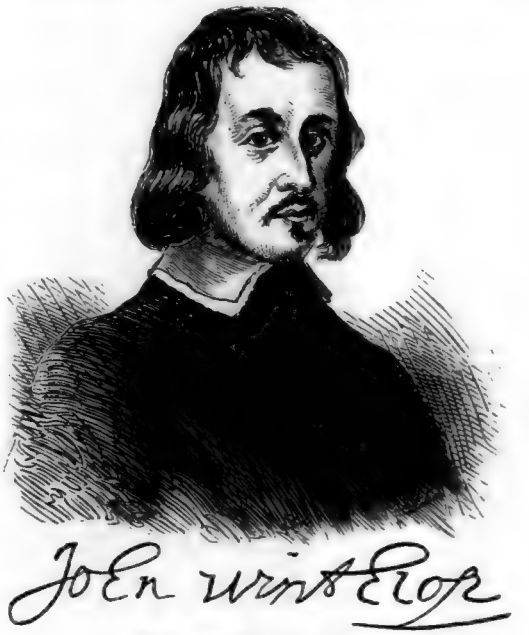
Tearing down the Dutch Arms.

at Kievit's Hook the arms of the State's General in token of possession. The Englishmen contemptuously tore down this shield, and carved a grinning face in its stead.[1] The place was named Saybrook, in honor of the Lords Say and Brook, the patentees, a strong fort was soon built, and the only evidence left in the valley of the presence of the Dutch was the feeble post of Fort Good Hope.

[1] Brodhead's *History of New York.*

Between the English settlers at Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor and the new governor, it was easy to come to an amicable arrangement. And others soon followed from Massachusetts. The Newtown people, notwithstanding "they had been carried captive after the triumphant chariot of Mr. Cotton's rhetoric," and had accepted the offer of more lands which the General Court had offered them; and notwithstanding the painful experience of some of those who had sought there new homes, still longed for the fresh fields and green meadows of the Connecticut. "Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker," says Hubbard, "both of the same magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb." It is not impossible that there may have been some jealousy between two such eminent men in a small community, where there was no influence so potent as that of the clergyman, and where of two the most distinguished only one could be first. Whether Hooker had any such feeling or not, the chief reason he gave for desiring a removal was that it was already too crowded in Massachusetts, and that the policy of the Company in planting settlements so near each other was a mistake.

The Hooker emigration.

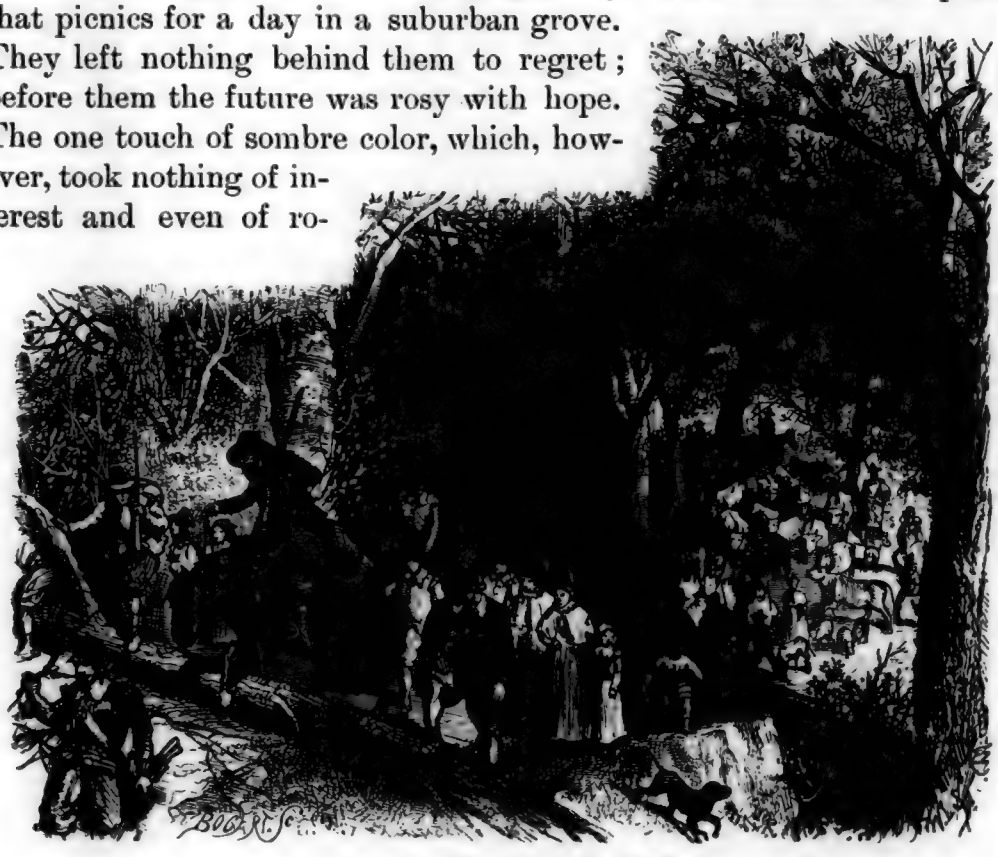


John Winthrop, the younger.

The accession of members to the colony during the year 1635, no doubt helped to strengthen this conviction, for there came, that year, about three thousand persons from England. Some must go farther into the interior, and the Newtown people resumed their determination. They disposed of their houses and lands to a body of newcomers, and prepared for removal.

In June, 1636, the whole church of Newtown, numbering about a hundred, with Hooker and Stone, the ministers, at their head, started on their journey. They were about ten days in the woods, travelling in that time something less than a hundred miles. They drove before them a hundred and sixty cattle; wagons carried the old and feeble; these and tents were a sufficient shelter at night. The forest was beautiful with the abundant flowers of June and with the tender foliage of the young summer; the woods were vocal with the music of birds,

in that month always in clearest and fullest song; the rains of spring had passed; the heats of the later season had not come; and so, without hardship, almost without fatigue, the emigrants traversed the wilderness, as happy, in their ten days' journey, as a modern church-party that picnics for a day in a suburban grove. They left nothing behind them to regret; before them the future was rosy with hope. The one touch of sombre color, which, however, took nothing of interest and even of romance from the scene, was the figure of Mrs. Hooker, who, feeble from illness, was carried in a litter.



Hooker's Emigration to Connecticut.

Hartford was the end of this pleasant journey; then so named in honor of the Rev. Mr. Stone, who was a native of Hartford in England. Wethersfield, and Windsor also, received their names this summer, as sufficient numbers followed in the path of the Newtown people, to make them worthy of special designation; and higher up the river, Pynchon, one of the earliest of the planters, and a member of the original Council in London, began a settlement, with a few others, which soon came to be called Springfield. At the end of the year there were about eight hundred people in the valley of the Connecticut, which, though governed at first by commissioners from Massachusetts, was soon an established autonomy.

Towns named in Connecticut.

But this swarming of the hive was by no means the most agitating experience of Massachusetts during this period. A theological dis-

pensation was visited upon it which shook its very soul, and it is not impossible that the interest raised by this was so absorbing that the authorities saw with indifference, or did not notice at all, that the people were leaving the colony with as little hesitation as if no permission had ever been asked, and refused of the General Court.

Arrival of Mrs. Hutchinson.

In 1634 there arrived a Mrs. Ann Hutchinson from Atford, near Boston, England. With her came her husband, a rather insignificant person, and her brother-in-law, the Rev. John Wheelwright. John Cotton, who came over the year before, was her favorite among all the ministers in England, and she seems to have followed him to this country, for she declared that no church in England suited her. She was a woman of superior intelligence, bright, witty, good at a fencing match of tongues, versed in Scripture and theological literature, never so happy as when descanting on her views. Her temper was resolute; she ruled her weak husband, and had a taste for ruling; to be an influential centre of opinion was her ambition, which she took no trouble to conceal. Moreover she was skilful in sickness, and knew how to treat the travails and troubles of her sex. She soon became highly popular, only Winthrop, Wilson, and a few others did not admire her.

Mrs. Hutchinson's adherents.

John Cotton, of course, was her adherent. So also was Sir Henry Vane, who was governor for one of the three years of his residence in the colony and during the continuance of this controversy; a Puritan of the Puritans, and delighting in theological subtleties, he warmly supported Mrs. Hutchinson. The views which she maintained were of the kind called Antinomian; that is, the Law was not a school-master to bring men to Christ, the Person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person and becomes his justification; no sanctification can help to testify to a man that he is justified, or of him, because it may be assumed. The clergy objected that as the Holy Ghost was the Third Person of the Trinity he could not be indwelling. But she declared that made no difficulty. They disliked the distinction which she and her brother-in-law strenuously maintained between a covenant of grace and a covenant of works, and she offended by rallying them for their austerity.



Henry Vane.

It was her custom to hold lectures twice a week, to which the

women flocked, from eighty to one hundred attending to hear her repeat from memory the sermons she heard, and comment upon them with piquancy. She had Scripture for these novel gatherings of women, for Titus says that the aged women may teach the young ones. "Come along with me," says a writer of the period, "I 'll bring you to a woman that preaches better Gospell than any of your black-coats that have been at the Ninnyversity, a woman of an other kind of spirit, who hath had many revelations of things to come, and for my part I had rather hear such a one that speaks from the meere motion of the spirit, without any study at all, then any of your learned Scollers, although they may be fuller of Scripture."

Mrs. Hutchinson's lectures.

Only four or five members of the Boston Church held out against her; the country churches were mainly opposed to her teachings. The feeling began to grow bitter when Mrs. Hutchinson obtrusively left the meeting-house whenever Wilson rose to speak. Winthrop and Wilson succeeded with difficulty in preventing the election of Wheelwright to an associate place with the teacher and pastor. Their success was provoking and increased the alienations among old friends and fellow-workers. When people began to call each other hard names, to brand this one as under a covenant of works, and that one as superior, being under grace, the General Court took up the matter as becoming dangerous to the State. Wheelwright was pronounced guilty of sedition and contempt because he employed the occasion of a general Fast to preach a discourse in which he called persons living in a covenant of works Anti-Christs and stirred up the people against them. The sentence proved so unpopular, even Winthrop signing a petition against it, that the court went out of Boston and held its sittings at Newtown.

Her success in Boston.

Interference of the General Court.

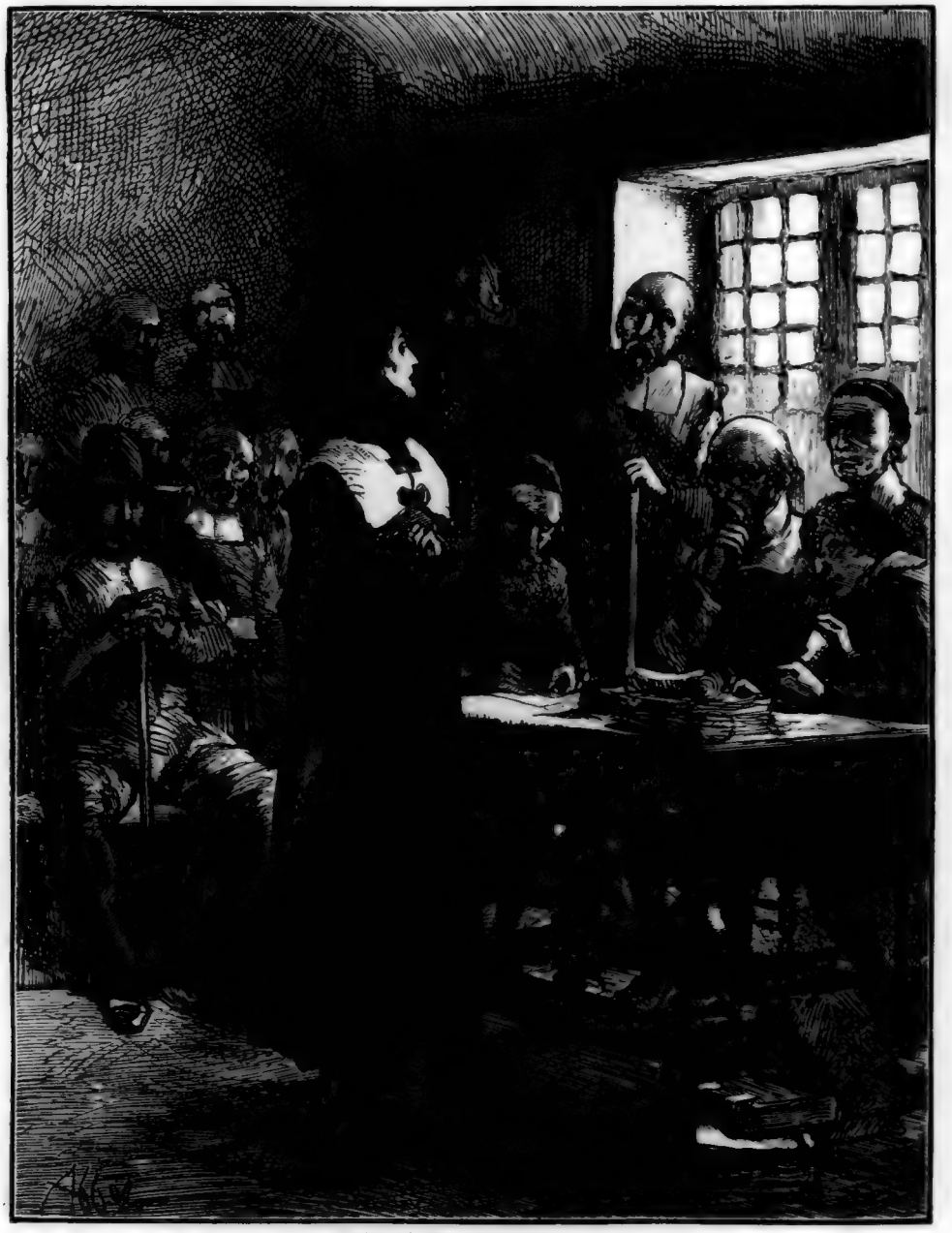
In May, 1637, the confusion was at its height. At the General Court a quarrel arose upon the presentation of a petition from Boston. The Court would not allow it to be read till after the usual election of magistrates. Vane resisted, and refused with his supporters to take part; but Winthrop, who was deputy, persisted in voting, and the election resulted in restoring Winthrop and Dudley to power: Endicott was made a magistrate for life; but all the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson were left out. The excitement in Newtown was intense, and people came into violent collision. "In the height of the fray, Wilson climbed a tree and made a speech, the meeting being held in the open air."[1] Winthrop was coldly received in Boston and subjected to studied insults.

A synod of ministers and magistrates which was held in August at Newtown, and condemned the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheel-

[1] Hutchinson.

wright did not pacify dissension. The two parties were irreconcilable. Now the General Court began to deal with the principal offenders: some were disfranchised, Wheelwright was banished, and eventually went to the Piscataqua. Mrs. Hutchinson was brought to trial for not discontinuing her meetings at the order of the late synod. It is probable that the agitations of the years had affected her temper and somewhat impaired her judg-

Mrs. Hutchinson and Wheelwright brought to trial.



Trial of Mrs. Hutchinson.

ment. She was intemperate enough to claim to be inspired, and that it had been revealed to her that she would come to New England to be

persecuted, but that God would ruin the colony for her sake. She narrowly escaped procuring the verification of her own prediction, for her quarrel of opinion rent the State when it divided the churches. So intense was the feeling aroused against her, that it was believed the Almighty testified His disapprobation of her heresies by producing monstrous births among women who had accepted her teachings; and even she herself was suspected of having been the subject of such a dispensation. The Court banished her, but considerately left her to stay out the bitter winter at a private house. Powder and arms were carried out of Boston, and the principal disaffected persons, to the number of seventy-six, were summoned to surrender their arms, which they did. Mrs. Hutchinson then removed to Rhode Island, and afterward to New York, where, as has already been told in a previous chapter, she was killed some years after by the Indians.[1]

Her banishment.

One of the reasons which the General Court of Massachusetts had given for not acceding to the requests for permission to remove to the Connecticut Valley was the danger from the Indians. It was no doubt sincere, and it certainly was not without reason. The Indians were far more numerous in that part of the country than along the sea-coast, where the epidemic of years before had more than decimated them. They saw with jealousy and fear the whites intruding upon their territory. With the Dutch hitherto they had kept upon good terms, for the Dutch were traders only, and not settlers upon the Connecticut. But the English were evidently coming with another purpose than mere traffic, and the Indians were alarmed accordingly.

Aggressions were begun, continued, and grew more frequent. What the Indians did we know; what was done to them we do not know. Sometimes they robbed the whites, and sometimes they murdered them; plunder, no doubt, was often their object; quite as often, perhaps, revenge. When, in 1634, they went on board the schooner of a Captain Stone, somewhere near Fort Good Hope, and murdered all hands, it was probably because there was much they wanted to steal on board the vessel, just in from the West Indies. But when, two years later, Captain Oldham met the same fate at their hands, it is not in the least improbable that there may have been some provocation which led to the deed.

Indian hostilities.

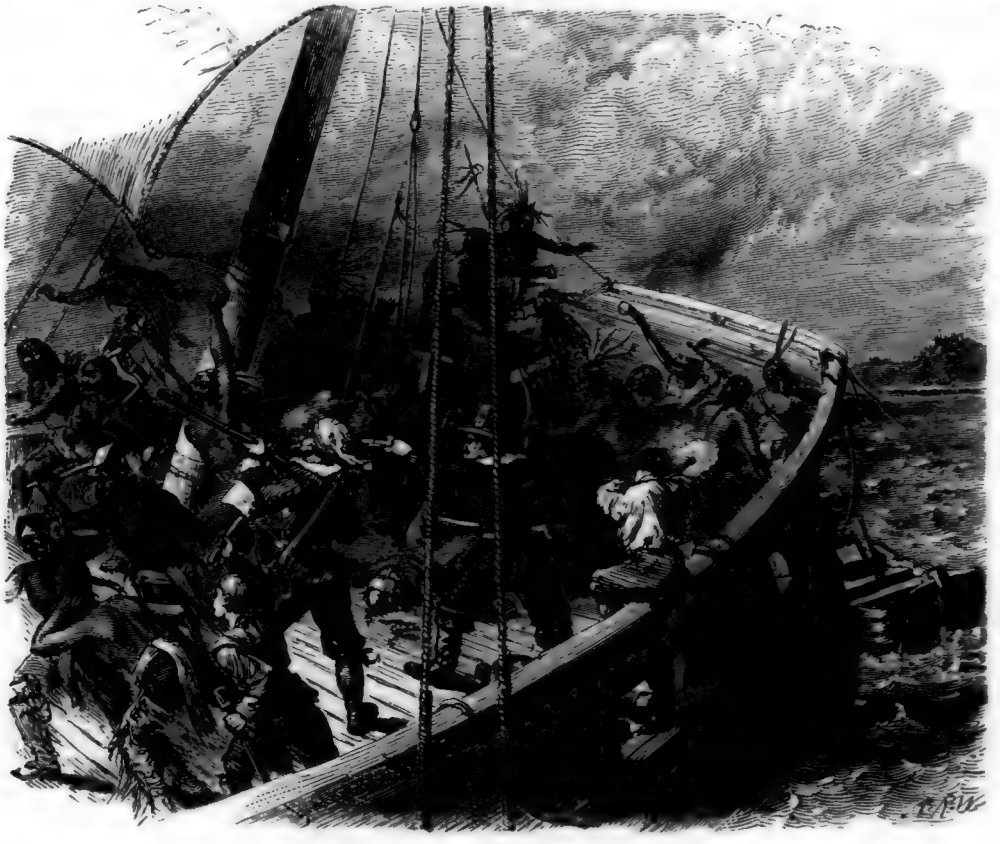
John Oldham had been in New England from the first settlement of Plymouth. After his ignominious expulsion from that colony, we hear of his apparent restoration to favor among that people; of his attempts to found colonies of his own in Maine and Boston harbor, so far, at least, as to procure patents to that end; of his trading along the coast; of his disputing with the Council

Character of John Oldham.

[1] See p. 457.

of the Massachusetts Bay Company their title to the lands which they held under the hand and seal of the king. Restless, energetic, always engaged in some enterprise, he certainly was; and there is no evidence that there was anything more amiss in him than belongs almost inevitably to a man of violent temper, removed in a great degree from the restraints of civilization, leading a life of adventure, associating and trading with the Indians till he had acquired, perhaps, as such men are apt to do, something of the habits and almost the nature of an Indian.

In 1636 he was trading in a vessel of his own, along the Connecticut River. What encounter there may have been between him and the Indians, that led to the final catastrophe, is not known — whether his vessel was boarded by them merely for plunder, or whether some aggression on his part provoked retaliation. But off Block Island, a Massachusetts fisherman, John Gallop, descried the vessel drifting



Recapture of Oldham's Vessel.

helplessly out to sea, crowded with Indians who could handle neither helm nor sail. Gallop, who had only one man and two boys with him, without hesitation attacked the vessel and then boarded her, assaulting the Indians with such weapons as he had at hand. It must have been a gallant naval battle, for the brave fisherman and his brave

companions drove the Indians before them, some diving into the hold for safety, some throwing themselves into the sea, till none were left upon the vessel but the dying and the dead. Upon the deck lay the body of Oldham, still bleeding from recent wounds where he had fallen with his crew in defence of his vessel.

Beginning of the first Indian War.

This death of Oldham was the signal for war. The government of Massachusetts Bay, the people who had already come, and the people who were coming into the Connecticut valley, saw that peace with the Pequots was no longer to be purchased by attempts at conciliation. Immediate measures were taken to punish this outrage; the Indians put themselves both on the defensive and the offensive, and the colonies of New England were for the first time engaged in serious war.

TABLE OF DATES.

499. Chinese claim to American discovery.
860. Iceland discovered by Naddod, the Northman.
985. America seen by Bjarni Herjulfson.
1000. Leif, son of Eric the Red, discovers America.
1002. Thorvald the Northman; voyage to America.
1004. Thorvald's second voyage.
1005. Voyage of Thorstein of Ericsfiord.
1007. Expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne; sails for America.
Birth of Snorri, first European child born on this continent.
1011. Colony of Freydis, daughter of Eric the Red.
1170. Alleged discovery of America by the Welsh.
1380. Voyage of Nicolo Zeno, a Venetian.
1467. Christopher Columbus sails to Iceland.
1477. Reputed voyage of John of Rolno.
1483. Columbus leaves Portugal for Genoa.
1484. Alleged voyage of Alonzo Sanchez.
1488. Alleged voyage of Cousin of Dieppe.
1492. First voyage of Columbus; Discovery of West Indies.
1497. John and Sebastian Cabot discover North America.
1498. Third voyage of Columbus; he discovers the continent of South America.
Second voyage of Sebastian Cabot.
1499. First voyage of Amerigo Vespucci.
1500. Gaspar Cortereal goes to Labrador.
1501. Second voyage of Amerigo Vespucci.
1502. Voyage of Miguel Cortereal.
1504. Amerigo Vespucci's narrative published.
1506. Death of Christopher Columbus.
John Denys of Honfleur explores the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
1507. America named.
1512. Discovery of Florida by Juan Ponce de Leon.
1513. Pacific Ocean discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.
1516. Voyage of Diego Miruelo to Florida.
1517. Hernando de Cordova visits Florida.
1518. John de Grijalva goes to Florida.
Colony of Baron de Leri on Sable Island.
1519. Francis de Garay explores the Gulf of Mexico.
1520. Lucas Vasquez De Ayllon's expedition to coasts of South Carolina.
1521. Death of Juan Ponce de Leon.
1522. A ship of Magellan's Expedition sails around the world.

1524. Council of Badajos held to settle claims of Spain and Portugal to America.
First French expedition to America under Giovanni da Verrazano.
1525. Stephen Gomez sails along the Atlantic coast.
1527. Expedition of John Rut sails from England.
1528. Pamphilo de Narvaez lands in Florida.
1534. Jacques Cartier of France sails to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
1535. Second voyage of Jacques Cartier.
1536. Voyage from London commanded by Captain Hore.
1539. Fernando De Soto lands in Florida.
1540. Jean Francois de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, secures a patent from Francis I.
1541. Jacques Cartier sails on a third voyage.
The Mississippi River discovered.
1542. Death of Fernando de Soto.
Voyage of Roberval.
1543. Return of De Soto's Expedition.
1553. Expedition of Sir Hugh Willoughby.
1555. Death of Jacques Cartier.
Huguenot Colony in Brazil.
1559. Expedition of Don Tristan de Luna.
1562. Admiral Coligny's first colony sent to Florida under John Ribault.
1564. Second Expedition of Coligny under René de Laudonnière.
1565. Second arrival of Ribault in Florida.
Massacre of Ribault and his companions by Pedro Menendez.
1565. Founding of St. Augustine.
1568. Attack of Dominique de Gourgues on the Spanish forts.
1570. Colony of Pedro Menendez landed on the Potomac.
1574. Death of Pedro Menendez.
1576. First voyage of Martin Frobisher in search of a Northwest passage; discovers straits since called by his name.
1577. Second voyage of Martin Frobisher.
1578. Third voyage of Martin Frobisher.
Sir Humphrey Gilbert receives his first charter for American discovery.
1579. The Union of Utrecht formed.
1581. The Republic of the United Netherlands established.
1583. Sir Humphrey Gilbert sails on his American voyage.
1584. Sir Walter Raleigh receives his first patent.
Sir Walter Raleigh's first expedition under Amadas and Barlow.
1585. Raleigh's second expedition under Sir Richard Greenville.
1585–6–7. Voyages of John Davis in search of a Northwest passage.
1586. Sir Francis Drake attacks St. Augustine, Florida.
Sir Francis Drake succors Raleigh's colonists in Virginia.
1587. Raleigh's colony under Mr. John White.
Birth of Virginia Dare.
1590. White's second arrival in Virginia.
1594. Willem Barentz explores Nova Zembla.
1598. Marquis de la Roche secures a patent from Henry IV. of France.
1602. Voyage of Samuel Mace to Virginia.
Captain Bartholomew Gosnold begins a settlement on Elizabeth [Cuttyhunk] Island.

Dutch East India Company formed.

1603. **First voyage of Samuel Champlain to America.**
Martin Pring explores coast of Maine.
Voyage and death of Bartholomew Gilbert.

1604. **French patent of Acadia granted to De Monts.**
De Monts and Champlain establish a colony in the present limits of Maine.

1605. Voyage of George Weymouth to the coasts of Maine.

1606. **Patent granted to the Virginia Companies.**
First permanent colony of English set sail for America.

1607. **First permanent settlement of Virginia at Jamestown.**
Colony sent to Maine by Chief Justice Popham.
Henry Hudson attempts the Northeast passage.

1608. **Founding of Quebec by Samuel de Champlain.**

1609. **Second Charter granted to the Virginia Company.**
The Discovery of Lake Champlain.
Voyage of Henry Hudson to America. Discovery of the river named for him.

1610. Arrival of Lord de la Warre in Virginia.

1611. Sir Thomas Dale, Governor of Virginia.

1612. Third charter granted to the Virginia Company.

1613. Settlement of Jesuits on Mount Desert Island.

1613–14. Captain Samuel Argall breaks up the French settlements in Maine and Acadia.

1614. **The New Netherland Company receives its charter.**
Captain John Smith explores New Englaud.
Expedition sent by Ferdinando Gorges and Earl of Southampton.

1615. Adriaen Block explores Long Island Sound.

1618. Expiration of the first New Netherland charter.
Ferdinando Gorges sends Captain Rocroft to New England.

1619. First cargo of slaves brought to Jamestown.
First legislative assembly of Virginia meets in Jamestown.

1620. **The Pilgrims sail from Delft Haven.**
New charter of the Plymouth Company.

1621. **The Pilgrims settle at Plymouth.**
Nova Scotia granted to Sir William Alexander.
The Dutch West India Company incorporated.
John Peirce's first patent from the Plymouth Company.

1622. The Dutch West India Company takes formal possession of New Netherland.
Weston's colony established at Wessagusset.
The Massacre in Virginia, under Opechancanough.

1623. The Laconia Grant to Gorges and Mason.
Settlement of New Hampshire at Portsmouth and Dover.
Robert Gorges made Governor-general under the Plymouth Company.
John Pierce's second patent.
The Lyford and Oldham difficulty at Plymouth.

1625. **Permanent settlements in Maine begun under Aldworth and Eldridge.**

1629. **The Massachusetts Bay Company founded.**
Issue of the Charter of Privileges and Exemptions by the Dutch West India Company.

Lord Baltimore visits Jamestown.

1630. **Settlement of Boston and neighboring towns.**

John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts Bay.

Oldham and Vines found Biddeford and Saco in Maine.

Kiliaen van Rensselaer buys Rensselaerswyck.

Godyn and Blommaert buy land on the Delaware. Pauw buys Pavonia.

1631. Gorges and Mason divide the Laconia grant.

New Hampshire named by Mason.

Arrival of Roger Williams at Boston.

Swaanendael founded by Heyes for De Vries.

1632. **Maryland granted to Lord Baltimore.**

Dutch traders on the Connecticut.

1633. The Dutch buy lands on the Schuylkill and on the Connecticut. Fort Good Hope founded.

Plymouth trading-house on the Connecticut.

1634. **Settlement of Maryland.**

Charter granted to the Swedish West India Company.

1635. **Permanent settlement of Connecticut by emigrants from Massachusetts Bay.**

The Plymouth Company resign their Patent.

Hostilities between Maryland and Virginia.

1636. **Providence founded by Roger Williams.**

1637. Climax of the dissensions excited at Boston by Anne Hutchinson.

Swedish colonists sail from Gottenburg for America.

1638. New Netherland opened to general trade and settlement.

The Swedes settle in Delaware at Minqua's Kill (near Wilmington).

1639. De Vries colonizes Staten Island.

1641. The Raritan Indians destroy De Vries's settlement on Staten Island.

Hollaendare, Governor of the Swedes.

1642. Hostilities between the Maryland settlers and the Susquehannah Indians.

1643. Massacre of Indians at Pavonia by the Dutch. Indian war.

Murder of Anne Hutchinson by the Indians.

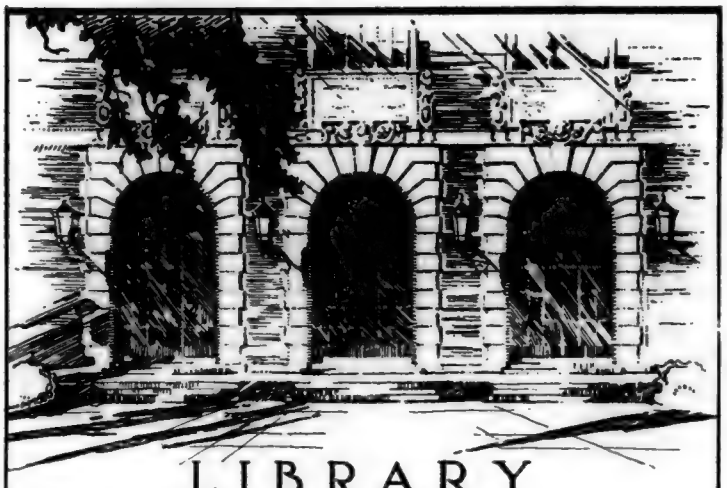
John Printz, Governor of the Swedish Colony.

1644. Underhill's expedition, in the service of the Dutch, against the Connecticut Indians.

Clayborne and Ingle's insurrection in Maryland.

1647. Death of Leonard Calvert.

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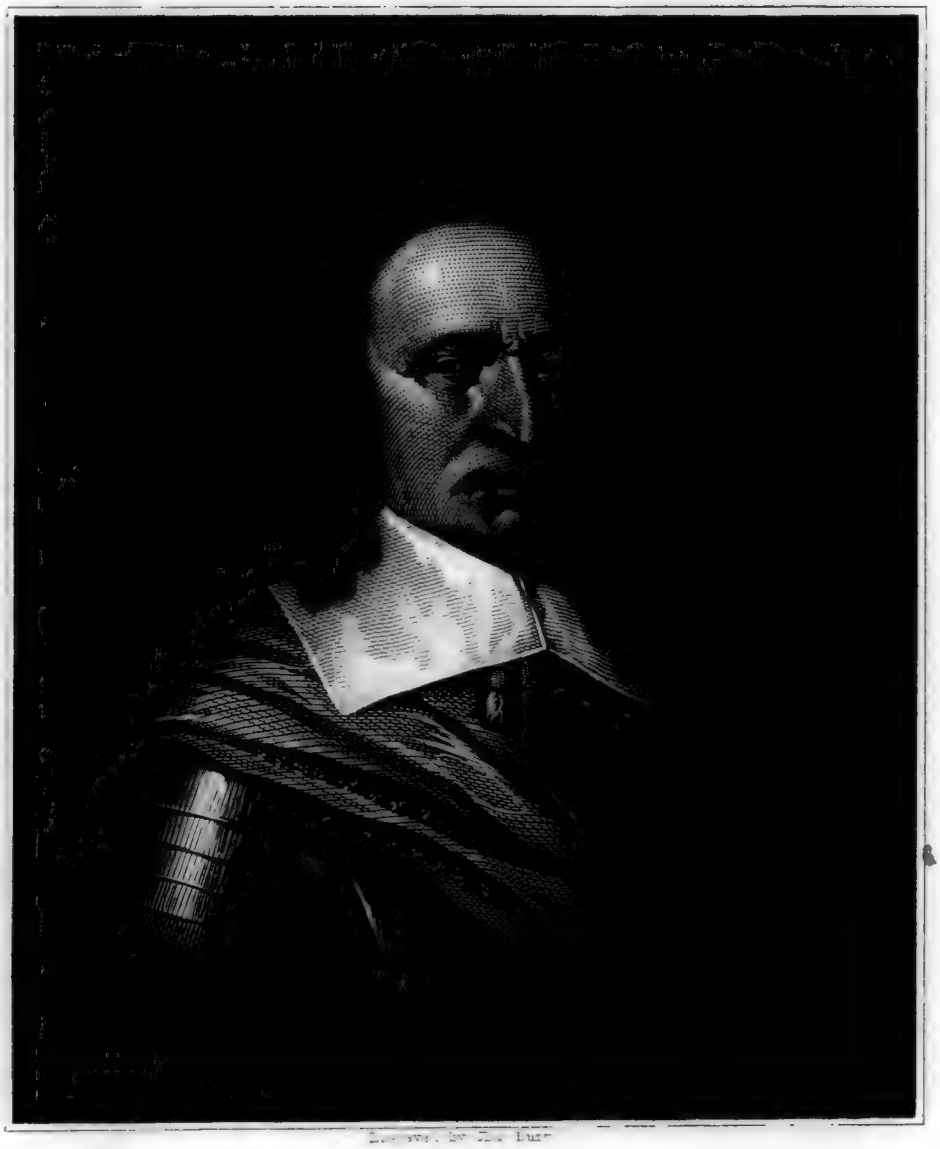
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SCRIBNER'S
POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
SIDNEY HOWARD GAY
NOAH BROOKS

WITH MORE THAN SIXTEEN HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

VOLUME II

NEW YORK
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THE MURDER OF LA SALLE.



Site of the Great Pequot Fort.

CHAPTER I.

THE PEQUOT WAR.

HOSTILITIES BEFORE THE WAR. — ENDICOTT'S EXPEDITION TO BLOCK ISLAND. — ITS SUCCESS. — INDIANS OF THE MAIN LAND ATTACKED. — RETALIATION ON THE ENGLISH PLANTATIONS. — A GENERAL WAR RESOLVED ON. — MASON'S EXPEDITION. — REDUCTION OF THE PEQUOT FORT. — RESULTS OF THE SUMMER'S WORK. — EXTINCTION OF THE PEQUOT TRIBE. — CHARACTER OF THE INDIANS. — RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES. — INFLUENCE OF THE PEQUOT WAR UPON THE GROWTH AND PROSPERITY OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

THE murder of Captain Oldham by the Indians of Block Island aroused the most serious alarm throughout the feeble colonies of New England. It seemed to be, in the light of other acts of similar atrocity, the final and conclusive evidence of the impossibility of any peace with these savages. They meant, it seemed, utterly to destroy the English. There was in the minds of most of them hardly the glimmer of a reason for this deadly enmity against the white men; but instead of reason was the love of blood; the love of revenging some real or fancied wrong; the love of plunder; the love of the clash of war with the maddening music of the groans of tortured men, the shrieks of women, and the cries of children. The war-whoop, as it rang through the woods, found this quick responsive chord in every savage bosom. But the more thoughtful

Origin of the Pequot War.

among them believed their race stood in the presence of a terrible dilemma: either the intruders must be destroyed or driven to the ships that brought them, or they must themselves turn their backs upon the beloved land where the bones of their ancestors were buried, where to every hill and rock and river clung the most cherished memories, tender with romantic legend, reverent with superstition, or fierce with inherited hate. Their deepest religious sense was in the love of the land where from generation to generation the tribes had lived and died, where the children never forgot to add day by day a stone to the simple monuments that marked the graves or the deeds of the fathers. Who were these pale-faced strangers that they should give up their country to them? should look their last upon that glorious sea out of which the sun came to light up and warm their hunting-grounds? should hide themselves in the deep shadows of those western forests that had no end?

Colonial statesmen were compelled to meet face to face, with such wisdom and such strength as they could, this plain and well defined Indian question — not yet settled after the lapse of more than two centuries — could these people be subjugated, and the tribal distinctions, which made them distinct nationalities, be obliterated? Affairs wore too stern an aspect for that lamentation to be remembered which the good Robinson, twelve years before, had addressed to his Plymouth flock: "Oh! how happy a thing had it been if you had converted some before you had killed any." The problem was simplified, for a time at least, to how these heathen could be most easily and most effectually killed.

But milder measures were first exhausted. The murderers of Stone and of Oldham were demanded of the Pequots with remuneration for property destroyed. The demands were met with evasions, or with promises made only to be broken. Savage cunning was more than a match for the diplomatic arts of the civilized and wiser white men. There was no solution left but force.

Endicott's expedition to Block Island.

In August, 1636, five small vessels, carrying about a hundred men, sailed from Boston to Block Island; for it was the Indians of that island who had murdered Oldham and taken his vessel. John Endicott of Salem was in command of the expedition, and his orders from the magistrates of Boston were that he should kill all the men, but should spare the women and children. The hundred men had four captains beside the commander-in-chief. "I would not," writes one of them — John Underhill, — "have the world wonder at the great number of commanders to so few men, but know that the Indians' fight far differs from the Christian practice." And he explains that as the savages divided themselves into small

bodies, so it was necessary to meet them with like detachments, the honor of command remaining the same whether given to captains of tens or captains of thousands. This Underhill, who showed himself at other times a braggart, a bigot, a libertine, little given to shame or scruple of any other sort, was sensitive on a point of rank and soldierly reputation.

The wind blew hard, and the surf rolled in heavily on the rocky shores of Block Island as the expedition approached it. A landing was made in spite of a shower of arrows with which the Indians attempted to repel the invaders — a futile defence, for

The attack



Gov. Endicott landing on Block Island.

only one Englishman was wounded. Another arrow recoiled harmless from the helmet of Underhill, and would, he writes, have slain him, "if God in his Providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me, which I was unwilling to do." Whereupon he improves the occasion, after the fashion of the time, by these pious and timely reflections: "First, when the hour of death is not yet come, you see God useth weak means to keep his purpose unviolated; secondly, let no man despise advice and counsel of his wife, though she be a woman." Not that there was anything remarkable in this evidence of how precious the life of John Underhill was in the sight of God, and how important to the success of the expedition; but it was marvellous that God should condescend to

an instrument to do his will so humble and usually so useless as a woman. Another inference the captain drew even more distinctly. It was the "clamor," he asserts, that New England men "usurped over their wives;" but John Underhill had been saved from death because a woman's voice had not been unheeded; and that should make an end of this public calumny.[1] The calumny, perhaps, was of Underhill's own invention to minister to his own vanity, for there is no evidence of the existence of any peculiar hardship in the condition of the wives of the Puritans.

Success of the expedition.

The Indians fled into the interior of the island and were followed by the English. Two villages were found containing about sixty wigwams, some of which seem to have been of the best class of Indian habitations. Two hundred acres of land were under cultivation, and the maize, already partly harvested, was piled in heaps to be stored away for winter use. For two days the invaders sought for the natives without success; but the still standing corn, the stacks, the wigwams with their simple furniture of mats and baskets, the canoes, they burned to the last fragment.[2] The desolation was complete; the Indians whom they could not find to kill they left to starve.

Its results.

The Block Islanders were severely if not wisely punished for the murder of Oldham. The Pequots of the mainland were next to be dealt with for the earlier murder of Stone. A band of three hundred of this tribe Endicott found at the mouth of the Pequot River — now the Thames. He asked that Sassacus, the Pequot chief, should be brought to him. Either the chief would not, or could not come, and Endicott, believing that the Indians were trying to put him off with excuses, landed his men. From behind rocks and trees the savages shot harmless arrows to hinder their advance; bullets on the other side did better service, for a few of the Indians were killed and wounded as they slowly retired before the English. The villages of wigwams, which stood probably about where New London now stands, were soon reached and burned, but the maize was here too green to take fire.

The expedition was finished by coasting along the Narragansett shores, burning wigwams and destroying crops wherever they could be found. In less than a month the vessels were at anchor again in Boston harbor. "They came all safe," writes Winthrop, "which was

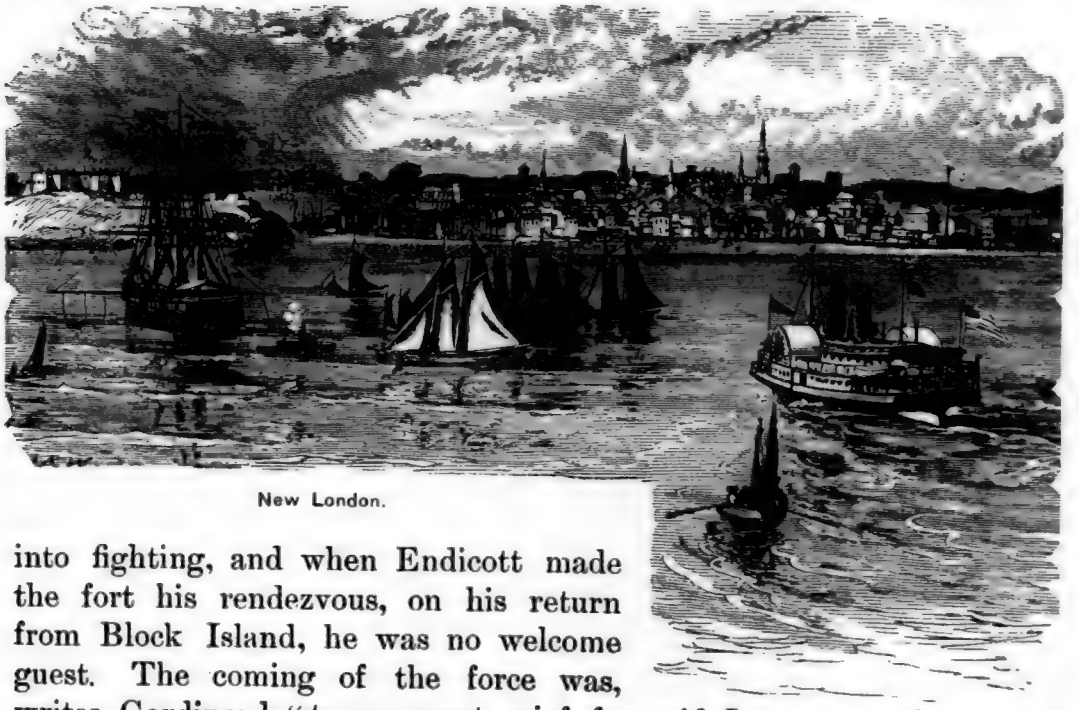
[1] *Newes From America; or A New And Experimental Discoverie of New England, &c. &c. By Captaine John Underhill, a Commander in the Warres there.* Reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi., Third Series.

[2] Winthrop's *History of New England*, Savage's edition, vol. i., p. 231. Underhill's *Newes from America*, p. 7.

a marvellous providence of God, that not a hair fell from the head of any of them, nor any sick or feeble persons among them." What the providence of God did for the two or three hundred Indians left on Block Island without shelter, or food, or canoes in which to escape a lingering death from cold and hunger, he does not tell us; but these were not members of Mr. Cotton's church. That God, however, did not permit them all to perish miserably we are assured by later references in contemporaneous narratives to the Indians of Block Island.

Perils of the fort at Saybrook.

At the mouth of the Connecticut a fort had recently been built, — at that point since known as Saybrook, in honor of the Lords Say and Brook, — and the younger Winthrop had put in it a garrison of twenty men, under the command of Captain Lion Gardiner. Gardiner was too good a soldier to rush rashly



New London.

into fighting, and when Endicott made the fort his rendezvous, on his return from Block Island, he was no welcome guest. The coming of the force was, writes Gardiner,[1] "to my great grief, for, said I, you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away." He had all along counselled a conciliatory policy; he and his little garrison of probably less than a hundred persons, including the women and children, had all they could do, he said, to fight "Captain Hunger," and the loss of their corn-field, two miles from the fort, might be fatal. "You will keep yourselves safe, as you think, in the Bay," he wrote, "but myself with these few, you will leave at the stake to be roasted, or for hunger to be starved."

He was right. Winthrop hailed Endicott's return as "a marvellous Providence of God," but it was, said Gardiner, the beginning of war

[1] Gardiner's *Pequot Warres, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. iii.

to the isolated garrison at his fort, and the feeble colonies on the Connecticut. The Block Islanders, perhaps, were incapable of further mischief for a time, but on the mainland the natives were aroused to exasperation and revenge, not reduced to submission. They watched for opportunities to waylay the English, to come upon them at unexpected times and places, resorting to all the stratagems and cunning so well understood at a later period as the peculiar characteristic of the North American Indian. A portion of Gardiner's corn only was saved, and that at the expense of the lives of some of his men; to cut and bring in the hay from the neighboring meadows cost him still more. The fort was beleaguered by a foe always present, and always unseen, till he made himself known and felt by some sudden attack; to go beyond the defences for work or for sport, to bring in timber or to seek for game, could be done only at peril of life or limb. Hostilities extended to all the settlements. "We are Pequits," said the Indians, in their usual boastful spirit, "and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquetoes, and we will go to Conectecott and kill men, women, and children, and we will take away the horses, cows and hogs."[1] They were as good as their word.

The distress of the planters.

Agawam (Springfield), where William Pynchon had planted his colony, was threatened, and thought, at one time, to be destroyed. Hartford and Windsor were in constant fear of attack. Cattle were killed or stolen; each settlement was a camp; to wander far from home was at the risk of immediate death, or captivity and death by torture; labor on week-days was, for the most part, suspended, and on Sundays the men sat with arms in their hands, their attention divided between the expounding of the Word by the preacher and listening for the war-whoop of an approaching enemy.

Wethersfield attacked.

At Wethersfield a band suddenly fell upon a party of workmen in the fields, killed nine of them, men, women, and children, and carried away two girls as captives. On their way down the river, as they passed the fort at Saybrook, the Indians raised a mast upon the canoe which carried the prisoners, hoisting in derision as sails the shirts and petticoats of the men and women they had murdered. A chance shot from the fort struck the canoe, where the captives lay weeping in the bottom of the boat, but fortunately with little damage. The girls themselves seem not to have been badly treated by the savages; and they were afterwards redeemed by the Dutch, who enticed some Pequots on board their vessel and holding them as hostages threatened to drop them into the open sea unless their demand for the surrender of the prisoners was instantly complied with. But it was a case of special mercy; other prisoners were tortured and mutilated in the most cruel manner.

[1] Gardiner's *Pequot Warres.*

The very existence of the Colonies was, no doubt, seriously threatened. The different Indian tribes which surrounded them could, if they would act in harmony, bring into the field many more warriors than there were English in the country, and it was by no means impossible that they might, by a concerted movement, exterminate the strangers. Roger Williams was quick to discern this danger, and did more than any other one man to avert it. He was so well known to, and in such friendly relations with the Indians, that he exercised much influence over them. They may

Roger Williams's services.



The Captive Maidens.

even have understood that one cause of his banishment from the Bay of Massachusetts was that he had maintained their rightful title to the country as against all comers, to keep or to sell it as they pleased, and this would specially secure for him their love and reverence. Writing many years afterwards of this time, he said, "I had my share of service to the whole land in that Pequod business, ... the Lord helped me immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself, all alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind, with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequod ambassadors

whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also." [1]

Of the progress of these negotiations Governor Winthrop and his associates were kept carefully advised; nor did they disdain to accept aid from the man they had not long before driven out from among them because of some possibly extravagant, but certainly harmless, abstract opinions. But amid the din of arms, or even the fear of it, bigotry as well as law is silent. The early Puritans were never



Roger Williams going to the Sachem's House.

lacking in the soundest common sense when common sense best served their purpose. They could accept in time of danger welcome and invaluable aid from one whose sentence of banishment from Massachusetts they never, through his long and useful life, had the magnanimity to revoke.

It was these efforts of Mr. Williams that, more than anything else, secured those friendly relations with the Narragansetts which at this period were of the utmost importance to the colonies. This tribe and the Pequots were already enemies, but there was good reason for apprehending that a common peril might unite them against a common enemy. The true policy of the English was to widen the breach

[1] Letter to Major Mason, 1670. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, First Series, vol. i. *Publications of The Narragansett Club*, vol. ii.

between them if peace could not be secured with both. The Pequots were implacable after Endicott's expedition to Block Island and along the Narragansett coast, but Williams persuaded the Narragansett chiefs, Canonicus, an old man equally morose and savage, he says — *morosus æque ac barbarus senex*, — and Miantonomo, who "kept his barbarous court lately at my house," to join their forces with the English in a war upon their rivals. Of a preliminary expedition, proposed by Miantonomo to destroy the crops of the Pequots, Williams wrote to Winthrop: "If they speed it will weaken the enemy and distress them, being put by their hopes: as also much enrage the Pequots forever against them, a thing much desirable." [1]

English policy.

The Massachusetts General Court, at their meeting in May, decided to come to the aid of the sorely distressed and harassed plantations of Connecticut, as well as to avert a danger that threatened all alike. It was a common peril, and the Bay called upon Plymouth for aid. But Plymouth held back. She had her grievances against the Massachusetts government, who had refused to help her against the French when, two years before, they had captured the Plymouth trading-house on the Penobscot; who had encouraged these marauding Frenchmen, on the Kennebeck, by selling them guns and provisions; and who had upheld the Dorchester people in taking possession of the lands at Windsor which Plymouth claimed as hers by right of first settlement.[2]

Massachusetts and Plymouth could take time for debate; no enemy lay concealed in the long grass about their doorways, or watched in the edges of the forest for the scalps of fathers and sons who should venture out to labor in the fields. But the plantations on the Connecticut stood face to face with the constant terror of sudden death. In May a force of ninety men, forty-two from Hartford, thirty from Windsor, and eighteen from Wethersfield, commanded by Captain John Mason, an experienced and able soldier, sailed from Hartford for Saybrook Fort.[3]

Capt. John Mason's expedition.

A body of Indians, under the Mohegan chief, Uncas, joined them at this point, but the English were not quite sure that they would not prove treacherous. The Rev. Mr. Stone of Hartford was chaplain of the expedition, and he spent the night of their arrival at Gardiner's fort in prayer for their success, and especially that God would vouch-

[1] Letter to Vane or Winthrop, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. vi. *Narragansett Club Publications*, vol. vi.

[2] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 260. Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 352 *et seq.*

[3] *Colonial Records of Connecticut.* Mason's *Brief History of the Pequot War, Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. viii.

safe to give them some token of the fidelity of these Indian allies. But their fidelity was already proved in a fight with a band of Pequots which Gardiner had ordered them to attack. Underhill had overheard the pious supplication of the chaplain, and "immediately," he says, "myself stepping up, told him that God had answered his desire, and that I had brought him this news, that those Indians had brought in five Pequots' heads, one prisoner, and wounded one mortally; which did much encourage the hearts of all and replenished them exceedingly, and gave them all occasion to rejoice and be thankful to God." And, indeed, if that kind of answer was looked



Site of the Narragansett Fort at Fort Neck.

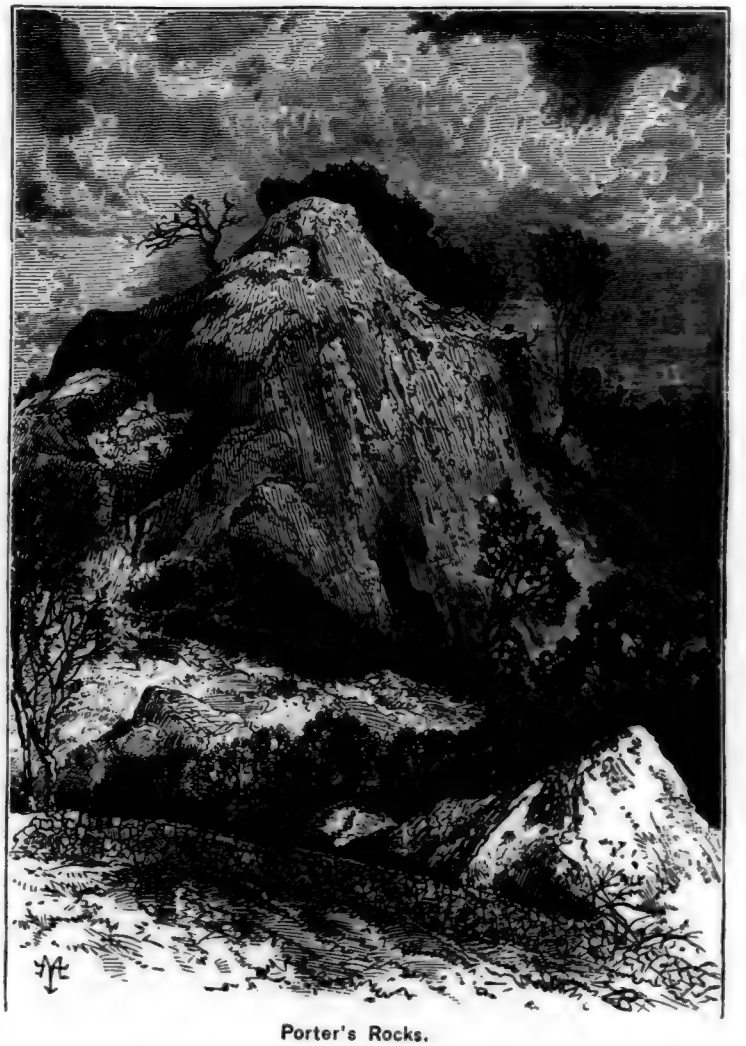
for, five such bloody tokens were significant enough. Nor is it much to be wondered at that the prisoner, whose head unfortunately was left upon his shoulders, was lashed to a post and torn limb from limb with ropes, by the mere brute force of twenty Englishmen.[1] It was a deed as unwise as it was cruel, if only meant as a retaliation of the torture of English prisoners, but defensible as the punishment of those whom God had declared his enemies. Some of the wisest and best among the New England Puritans held that as certainly as they were the special care of Heaven, so, as unquestionably, the Indians were the children of the devil. And this particular Indian, God had

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 266. Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*, says that this Indian suffered torture and death from Uncas and his men. Vincent, *History of the Pequot War*, agrees with Winthrop.

delivered alive into their hands in answer to prayer. Was it not that he might be tortured?

The General Court at Hartford had ordered Mason to land at the mouth of Pequot (the Thames) River, and invade the Pequot country at the nearest point from the sea. But Mason was too good a soldier to attack in front, where he knew he was expected and watched for, an enemy much superior in numbers to his own command. Other officers hesitated to disobey positive orders, and this question also was left to be decided by an answer to Mr. Stone's prayers. The Lord, Mr. Stone believed, approved of the plan proposed by Mason, as decidedly as He had pronounced on the point of the faithfulness of the Mohegans and Narragansetts. Embarking his force again, taking twenty Massachusetts men led by Underhill in place of a like number of the least efficient he had brought from Hartford, Mason left the river and bore away for Narragansett Bay. It looked like a retreat. The anxious Pequots along the coast watched the receding vessels, and, when they were no longer in sight, retired, relieved from a sense of danger, to their villages, to exult at the cowardice of the enemy and their own bravery and good fortune.

Mason's strategy.



Porter's Rocks.

But Mason came to anchor toward evening of the next day somewhere at the entrance, probably, of Narragansett Bay.[1] For two days

[1] Precisely where he came to anchor is mere conjecture. Mason and Underhill both say in their narratives that they sailed for and landed in Narragansett Bay. A heavy sea, con-

a heavy surf prevented a landing, but on the second evening the whole force went ashore and, the next day, marched to a fort of the Narragansetts, about eighteen or twenty miles distant on the Pequot frontier.[1]

He lands at the entrance of Narragansett Bay.

Here an interview was had with Canonicus and Miantonomo, who, while they renewed their promises to be faithful allies to the English, were cold and distrustful, doubting if so small a body seriously intended, or were able, to cope successfully with the formidable Pequots. Mason, on the other hand, had so little faith in the word of the savages that he surrounded their fort with a guard during the night, lest they should betray his approach to the enemy.

The next day the little army, followed by several hundred of the Indians, who still held back in fear and doubt, made a painful march through the woods, exhausted by fatigue and thirst and heat, — it was the 25th of May, — forded the Pawcatuck River, and encamped at night at a spot now known as Porter's Rocks, at the head of the Mystic River, in the present town of Stonington. The principal Pequot fort, which was rather a large Indian village surrounded with palisades than a fort, was two miles beyond upon a hill. It was crowded with men, women, and children; and till late into the night the sentinels could hear the sound of song and laughter, as, unconscious of the peril that lurked so near, they boasted that the English had fled without daring to strike a blow even to revenge the death of thirty of their people whose scalps hung in Pequot wigwams.

March into the country

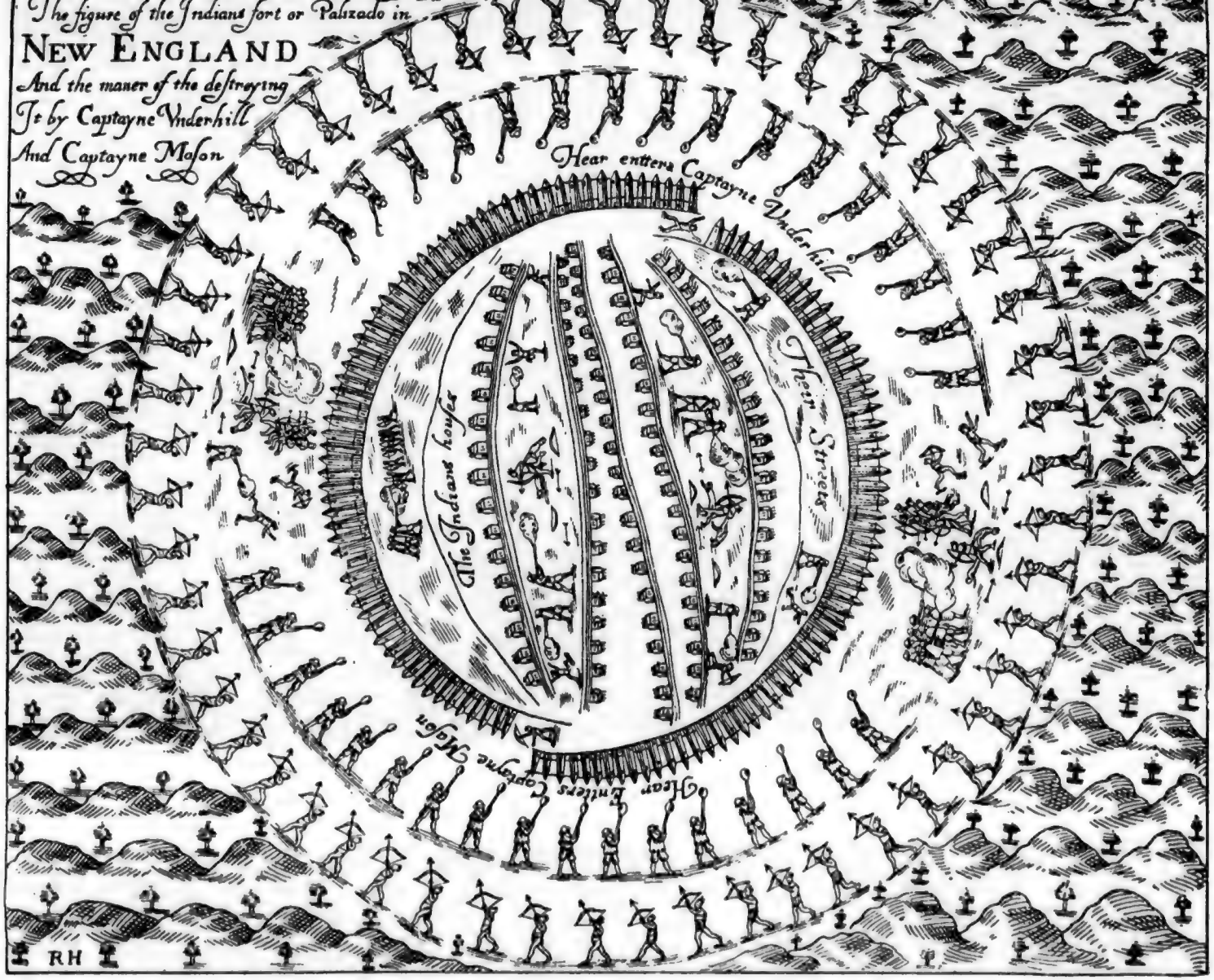
At break of day, when deep sleep had covered the Indian camp, Mason aroused his men. Guided by Uncas, the Mohegan chief, and Wequash, a petty Pequot sachem who had deserted his tribe, they were led within a rod of the palisaded village. Silently and cautiously they completely surrounded it, the Indian allies forming another circle in the rear. So profound was the sleep of the garrison that the first warning was given by the bark of a dog, when a Pequot, springing to his feet, shouted "Owanux! Owanux!" — "Englishmen! Englishmen!"

Attack on the Pequot fort.

There were two entrances to the village, at opposite sides; Mason, followed by his men, sprang in at one over a barricade of brush heaps; Underhill made his way in at the other. The assault was irresistible; the possession complete. Women and children, in the

tinuing two days, indicates that the place must have been along the open coast outside the bay.

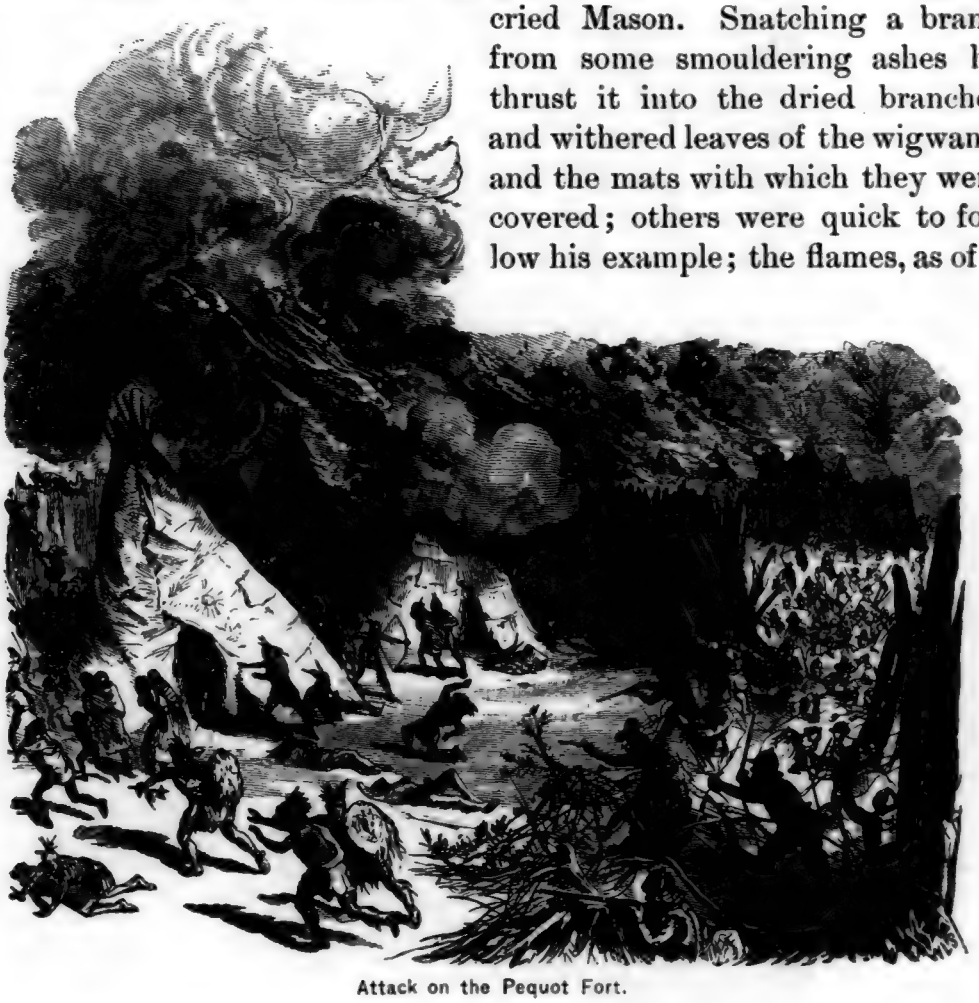
[1] This fort is supposed to have been at a place now called Fort Neck. (*Rhode Island Hist. Coll.* vol. iii., p. 24.) Mason says in his narrative that it was twelve miles from Pawcatuck River. A fort was afterward built on this hill, the ruins of which still remain.



ATTACK ON THE PEQUOT FORT. FAC-SIMILE FROM "NEWES FROM NEW ENGLAND."

extremity of terror, sought either to hide themselves, like frightened wild creatures, beneath anything that would cover them, or to fly to the woods; the men could only make some feeble show of fight. In the dim morning twilight, in the confusion of a sudden awakening, in the din of the terrible onslaught, there was little chance of either escape or resistance.

But even guns and swords could not do the work fast enough for the impatient and merciless assailants. "We must burn them!" cried Mason. Snatching a brand from some smouldering ashes he thrust it into the dried branches and withered leaves of the wigwams and the mats with which they were covered; others were quick to follow his example; the flames, as of a



Attack on the Pequot Fort.

huge bonfire, sprung into the air and lit up the glow of the coming morning. "The Indians ran, as Men most dreadfully Amazed," says Mason. "Indeed such a dreadful Terror did the Almighty let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames where many of them perished." That the weaker, — the very young, the very old, and the women — should escape, was impossible; the stronger, if not driven back to suffocation and torture in the smoke and flames of their own homes, could only throw themselves desperately upon the swords of the unyielding circle of steady Eng-

lishmen, or meet beyond a still more impenetrable circle of their own countrymen inexorable as death and more cruel than fire.

In a little more than an hour from the first moment of alarm the rising sun shone upon the smouldering remnants of seventy wigwams and the charred and bleeding bodies of six or seven hundred Indians. Of the whole village only seven escaped and seven were taken captive.[1] "Thus," exclaims the exultant captain, "did the Lord judge among the Heathen!" Of the English two only were killed and about twenty wounded.

Mason and his men were worn out with the fatigue of a long march and the loss of sleep, and their provision and ammunition were well-nigh spent. The mouth of Pequot River was the appointed rendezvous of the vessels, and the men had yet before them a further march of several miles. At no great distance was another Indian village, whence a hundred and fifty of the men had been sent the day before to reinforce the garrison that now lay dead upon the hill-side — the hundred and fifty dead with the rest. In this village, however, there were still three hundred and fifty warriors, and thither the few who had escaped from the Mystic fort had carried the news of the massacre of the larger portion of their tribe.

Howling with rage and grief these were soon upon the trail of the English, whom the treacherous Narragansetts, fearing this very result, had already deserted. Uncas and the Mohegans still remained faithful, and were so far of use that they were induced to render service in carrying the wounded. At least a third of Mason's men were, from wounds and exhaustion, a mere burden upon the rest; but the pursuit was successfully repulsed, with a good deal of loss to the Indians.[2] The vessels arrived at the river's mouth in the course of the day, with a reinforcement of forty men from Boston, and Mason and his force, before the night closed in, were safe from further attack on board.

The march to rejoin their vessels.

The war, however, was not yet quite finished, even by a slaughter so disastrous as this. The enmity between the Pequots and the other tribes of Massachusetts and Connecticut had grown now to a deadly hatred, and there could be no peace between them. While hostilities continued among the natives, there was little safety for the English; and they had, perhaps, no alternative but to join with one party in the subjugation of the other. At any rate, to hesitate at such a crisis would be ruin to the infant settlements, and

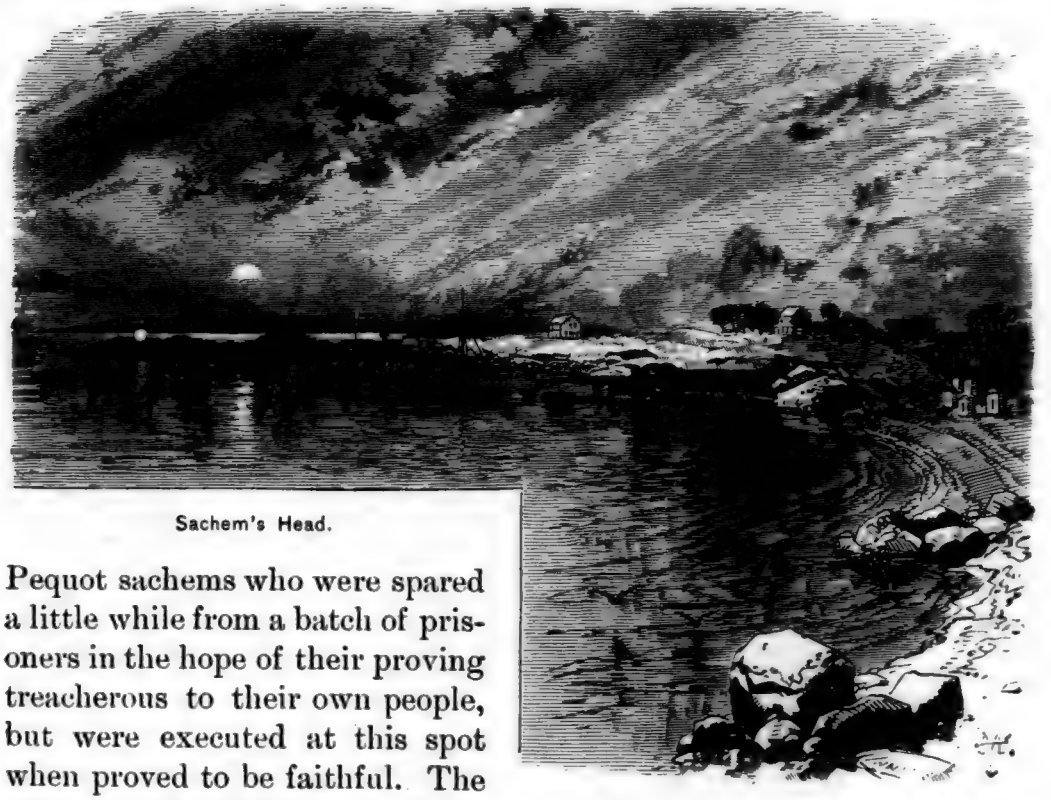
The war continued.

[1] This is Mason's account. Underhill says there were about four hundred in the fort and only five escaped.

[2] Underhill says that he, with thirty men, killed and wounded above a hundred of the enemy.

Mason, his force doubled by recruits from the Bay and from Plymouth, under Captain Stoughton, joined with the Narragansetts and Mohegans in an active pursuit of the common enemy.

The summer was spent in skirmishes and ambushes as the Pequots were driven through the forests from one hiding-place to another. It was the Indians, not the English, who now gave the war its character, and it was as savage and merciless as Indian wars have always been. There was little mercy shown, however, to prisoners, whether the Pequots fell into the hands of the English or of their own countrymen. To this day the point on Long Island Sound, known as Sachem's Head in Guilford, commemorates the beheading of two



Sachem's Head.

Pequot sachems who were spared a little while from a batch of prisoners in the hope of their proving treacherous to their own people, but were executed at this spot when proved to be faithful. The women and children indeed were not killed, but they were, for the most part, while the hostilities continued, sent to the West India Islands and sold as slaves.

In July the miserable remnant of the tribe was surrounded in a swamp in the present town of Fairfield. The men fought with the courage of despair, and sixty or seventy succeeded in forcing their way through the ranks of their assailants; but about two hundred were captured. Henceforth those who were free were hunted like wild beasts by the other Indians, and their heads were brought almost daily into Windsor and Hartford, till in their extremity they prayed to the English for protection to

Extermination of the Pequots.

their miserable lives. They were ready for the last humiliation, which, next to absolute extinction, is the most terrible misfortune that can befall an Indian. The very name they bore was to be obliterated; they were never more to be known as Pequots, but were to be thankful if permitted to live as a part of those tribes which they had so lately reproached as cowards and derided as women.

It was the fate of war. In accordance with that polity universal among the North American savages, by which prisoners, whether individuals or tribes, were adopted into the families and nationalities of their conquerors, rather than condemned to torture and death, the surviving Pequots were permitted to become Mohegans or Narragansetts. Upon the English devolved the duty of umpire in this division of new subjects; and they assigned, beside the women and children, eighty to Uncas, the same number to Miantonomo, and twenty to Ninigret, a petty sachem of the Narragansetts. To the savages this last act in the destruction of their tribal existence could not but be humiliating and distressing; even to the most careless consideration it is not wanting in dignity and pathos, notwithstanding we are told that Ninigret and his men having killed Edward Pomeroye's mare, were allowed their share of Pequots only on condition that they should give satisfaction for the death of that animal.

The fate of Sassacus the Pequot sachem.

There were still to be accounted for about thirty of the most dreaded Pequot warriors, who had escaped both death and captivity, and fled to the Mohawks in the valley of the Hudson. They were treacherously murdered by those among whom they sought refuge, and the scalps of Sassacus, his brother, and five other sachems, were sent to Governor Winthrop, in token of Mohawk fidelity and friendship.

End of the war and its results.

Within five months the Pequot war was begun and ended. The English army had at no time, probably, numbered more than two hundred men, or not one fourth of a modern regiment. To these were added, perhaps, three times as many Indians, all active, courageous, and cruel when the enemy was no longer to be dreaded; but most of them treacherous and cowardly, lurking in the rear and leaving their allies to bear the brunt of the battle so long as success was doubtful. To the sturdy handful of Puritans was due the conquest of a tribe which sent to the field more than five times their number of warriors to fight for freedom and for life. But the character of the war is to be measured rather by its results than its dimensions, and those were of the last importance to the settlement and growth of New England.

Whether the native population and the intruders upon the soil could not have lived long together in peace and harmony, is not so much the

question as that they did not. The wisest among the Indians looked from the first with the gravest apprehensions upon the coming of the white men, and doubted if there was room in the same land for their own and another race which lived by the cultivation of the soil and the arts of peace. The forest, which it was the first business of the white man to destroy, was the Indian's home and his most precious possession. Here only could the wild animals on which he subsisted live and flourish, and in its dark recesses and fastnesses only could he lie in ambush for the enemy, whose bleeding scalp he longed to hang at his girdle.

Character of the Indian.

He was a beast of prey with some powers of reflection — a tiger with the gift of speech, — and a wilderness was necessary to his existence. War was his pastime; the chase his only serious occupation. He cultivated to the highest degree the sense of sight and of hearing; he aimed to surpass all other creatures in swiftness of foot; the instinct of the most timid animal was no match for the cunning with which the savage could steal silently through the woods, leaving no footsteps behind him, or track a beast to his lair, or an enemy to his hiding-place, if either had left the most trifling or the dimmest evidence of the path he had followed. To acquire these qualities he would spare no pains or labor; for these, with a power of endurance that shrunk at no extremity of fatigue, of hunger, or of suffering, were his virtues and his pride. All work that required only mere manual force, and called for the exercise of neither moral nor mental power, was beneath him. That he left to his women. They raised his maize, cooked his food, carried his burdens, and bore the sons who were to grow up into warriors and hunters. He was literally the lord of the creation about him; women and all other animals were made to be the victims and the slaves of his wants and his passions. To call himself a man was his proudest boast; no sarcasm was so keen, no reproach so humiliating as to tell his enemy or the coward who had disgraced his tribe that he was only a woman.

His religious convictions.

The divinest law he knew was the survival of the fittest; the fittest was he who was the most swift of foot, the keenest of sight and hearing, the most cruel and unwearied in the pursuit of his enemy, who could hang up the most scalps in his wigwam, and if such should be the fortune of war, could laugh at torture. The God he most worshipped was the devil, who he believed, was a bigger Indian than himself, and whose only trail was the thunder and the lightning, the tempest and the pestilence, and who was never visible. Of a God of love, of mercy, and of peace he had little conception, for he recognized material force as the highest attribute, and the purpose of such force, as he understood and used it, was evil and not good.

Nature, indeed, was beneficent, for it gave him the forest and the streams, the summer's heat and rains to grow maize and tobacco, the deer, the beaver, the women, and other useful and pleasant creatures. But nature, if not independent of a cause, if it was not simply a growth — and on this point his ideas were vague and mythical, — was not necessarily under the beneficent government of a supreme being, all-wise and all-good; while a power evil, omnipotent, and omnipresent, waged a perpetual war with all the kindly forces of nature, perverting and thwarting them, withholding and destroying the fruits of the earth, visiting the poor Indian with starvation and pestilence, sorrow and death. This terrible being he continually tried to propitiate by voluntary sacrifice of whatever was most precious in his own sight; for he hoped that there might be, at least, some pity if the devil was saved the trouble of helping himself. But he knew he could never escape from the dreadful presence that ever surrounded and threatened him though he should fly to the uttermost parts of the earth. Release could only come when after death he should be welcomed, according to his deserts in taking scalps and killing game in this world, to a happier land, where perpetual summer reigned, where the hunting was always good, where the maize and the tobacco crops never failed, and where the devil could never enter with flood, or fire, or pestilence, to make him afraid.

Not that the Indian was altogether wanting in qualities which are supposed to belong more to civilized than savage life. Indeed in some of these he rather excelled than otherwise, till the vices of civilization crowded them out without planting in their stead any of its virtues. As he was a child in knowledge and in judgment, in all things save war and hunting, so also he had the simplicity and truthfulness which naturally belong to childhood. Lying, whether in word or action, was a stratagem he might lawfully use to deceive an enemy, but never to mislead a friend or one really entitled to his friendship. If he gave his word, implicit trust might be placed in it, as he made no real pretensions to a friendliness he did not feel. To his foe only he was merciless, and he scorned to conceal his hatred except the more certainly to bring about its gratification. Hypocrisy was not among his vices, and he was never anything but what he professed to be. When he circumvented an enemy, which he would do if he could, it was as an enemy and not as a friend. He respected the rights of others as he maintained his own: the person and the property of his neighbor were sacred. His love for his wife and children was tender and considerate, though the relation between the sexes was almost as loose as that of animals. In the endurance of pain he was impassable, and one from whom the extremest torture could extort a

His moral qualities.

sigh or a tremor was mourned for, not because he was dead, but that he had ever been born.

Feeble as the Indians generally were in intellect, there were among them men of exceeding shrewdness, of a common sense that was almost genius, of powers of imagination, expression, and pathos that make the poet and the orator; and though such men were the exceptions, they were voluntarily accepted by their fellows as their fitting and natural chiefs. The higher qualities of mind and of character were more potent among them than even the arts of their priests and the influence of superstition. They were inclined to revere and confide in those whom they recognized as superiors; and as a childish vacancy of mind and simplicity of character peculiarly belonged to them, so much the more easily could they be led to a higher moral and intellectual culture. They had little to unlearn, and they received instruction implicitly from the strangers whom at first they looked upon as superior beings; but they were much more susceptible to example than to precept. Intellectual character.

In such a people there seems to have been good soil on which to sow pure Christian seed. It was sowed, or what was meant for it, diligently and devotedly, but with small success. Eliot, Gookin, Williams, Mayhew, and many others, both clergymen and laymen, were glad to devote their lives to the salvation of these heathen. To save them was held up as one of the most potent motives for colonization. Pious people in England early formed themselves into a society for the conversion of so benighted a race, and neither prayers nor money were spared in so good a cause. But Christian propagandism was never successful among them. The simplicity of the gospel, the beauty of a virtuous life, forgiveness of injuries, returning good for evil, the duty and wisdom of a cheerful submission to the divine will, were doubtless impressed upon them by some of those who strove to lead them out of a darkened and savage life. They saw, however, the young settlements distracted with questions, a clear understanding of which they were also taught was vital to the Christian faith. Their untutored minds, trained rather to the observation of things than the consideration of ideas, could not easily comprehend the mystery of the personal union with the Holy Ghost, or enter into the subtleties of the question, — over which all Massachusetts Bay went mad, — whether justification came from a covenant of works or a covenant of grace.

But they could measure the morality of the white men with their own; and if the religion of the white men made them no better, why, the Indians asked, should we accept it? It is not strange that they should fail to make a distinction between theology and religion, which the Puritans themselves either would not Influence of Christian teaching.

or could not always recognize. The white men were far wiser than they, and sanctification and justification might be to them matters of vast moment; but for themselves they could not see what such questions had to do with their being more truthful in speech or more just and sober in action than they were already. They may, perhaps, have even doubted whether it was worth while to understand these nice distinctions which led to the cruel persecution of men, however truthful or good, who conscientiously maintained opinions which the majority held to be erroneous. They killed their enemies, and so did the English — killed them, indeed, in much greater numbers than they could do; but they never betrayed their friends, never stole from them, never cheated them, never punished them except for actual crime against the common weal. They had small aptitude for polemics; they could not even conceive that, if theological controversy was the best part of Christianity, its blessings were poured upon New England in overflowing abundance. But they never could get beyond the narrow application of the doctrine of the sanctification of works, that they did as well as they knew how; and they could not understand the teaching which was so intent upon what men believed, so comparatively careless as to how they lived.

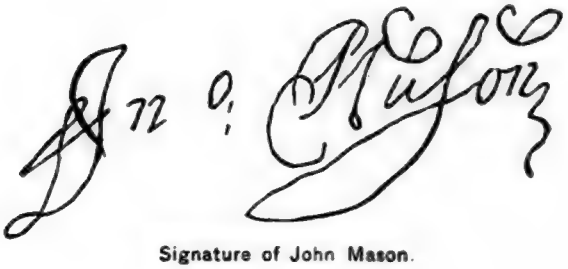
Whether the fault was in the method by which the Puritans sought to bring the Indians to a knowledge of the true faith, or whether these people are by nature incapable of being anything but savages, all attempts at their Christianization and civilization were, in the main, futile. They had undoubtedly fewer vices and more virtues when the country was first occupied by Europeans than they have ever had since; but after fifty years of labor with them under these most favorable circumstances, of all the thousands of the New England tribes, less than fifteen hundred, with their wives and children, were numbered among the "Praying Indians."[1] Many more than that number had meanwhile been destroyed in two Indian wars. The work of killing was far more successful than that of converting, and their utter extinction, though gradual, was certain.

Probable effect of the Pequot War.

But there was an interval of forty years between those wars. That with the Pequots was so sharp and decisive a lesson that a generation passed away, and there were none left to bear the Pequot totem, ere the jealousy of the English overcame the memory of their prowess, and led the Indians to venture upon another attempt at extermination. That interval of repose was of the last importance to the colonists. Without it, the history of the permanent settlement of New England might have dated some scores of years

[1] *Letters of Governor Hinckley* (1685), *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. v., p. 132. Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 349.

later. Whether Endicott's expedition to Block Island, reckless and inconsiderate, as most of the acts of that precipitate and hot-headed Puritan usually were, was justifiable or not, when considered in the light of its possible, and even probable, immediate consequences, it had only a happy result. It provoked a war at a time when the Indians, foolishly divided among themselves, were easily subdued by the destruction of the most powerful and dangerous tribe among them, while the weaker, who had blindly helped in that destruction, could never again muster the courage or the strength to attempt, till it was too late, to drive the invaders back to the sea whence they came. That the result should be recognized as a signal evidence of the goodness of God was only in accordance with the Puritan faith that they were peculiarly under the divine protection. "The Lord was pleased," exclaims Captain Mason, with more force than elegance, at the close of his narrative — "the Lord was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance."



Signature of John Mason.

CHAPTER II.

SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND.

THE TOWNS ON THE CONNECTICUT RIVER. — PREPARATORY GOVERNMENT. — THE FIRST CONSTITUTION AND THE EARLIEST GOVERNORS. — CIVIL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE FIRST SETTLERS. — NECESSITY OF STRINGENT RULE. — CHARACTER OF EARLY LEGISLATION. — ANOTHER EMIGRATION FROM BOSTON. — NEW HAVEN AND ITS CHURCH OF SEVEN PILLARS. — ESTABLISHMENT OF OTHER TOWNS AND CHURCHES. — DUTCH AND ENGLISH BOUNDARIES. — DIFFERENCE OF PURPOSE IN THE TWO CLASSES OF SETTLERS. — ENGLISH DIPLOMACY AT HOME. — ENGLISH INTRUSIONS UPON LONG ISLAND. — CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE OF CONNECTICUT. — SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND. — ROGER WILLIAMS'S COLONY AND ITS GOVERNMENT. — HEATED CONTROVERSY IN MASSACHUSETTS. — SEVERITY OF THE RULING PARTY. — TREATMENT OF THE ANTINOMIANS. — SETTLEMENT OF RHODE ISLAND AT ACQUIDNECK (PORTSMOUTH). — CODDINGTON CHOSEN CHIEF JUDGE. — DISCORDS IN THE NEW COLONY. — THE HUTCHINSONS AT ACQUIDNECK. — HOSTILITY OF MASSACHUSETTS TO ACQUIDNECK. — CODDINGTON'S PROPOSED ALLIANCE OF THE COLONIES. — THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERACY. — AGAMENTICUS AND ACQUIDNECK EXCLUDED.

Connecticut made an independent Colony.

THE colonies on the Connecticut River, though that region was not within the bounds of the Massachusetts charter, were for the first year under the government of commissioners selected from among their own people, but appointed by the Massachusetts General Court.[1] The burden of the war had fallen upon them, and with the necessity of self-reliance came also, no doubt, the sense of independence. When on the first day of May, 1637, it "was ordered that there shall be an offensive war against the Pequot," it was done by a General Court, convened at Hartford, containing not only the commissioners appointed by Massachusetts, whose term of office had just expired, but nine delegates — committees they were called — from the three towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield.[2] The war brought its responsibilities as well as its advantages. The colony was oppressed with debt; so many of its effective men had been called to military service that agriculture had been neglected; there was want of food and want of sufficient shelter for many families. It would be easy to go to ruin if there were any lack of vigorous measures.

[1] These were Roger Ludlow, William Pincheon, John Steele, William Swaine, Henry Smith, William Phelps, William Westwood, and Andrew Ward.

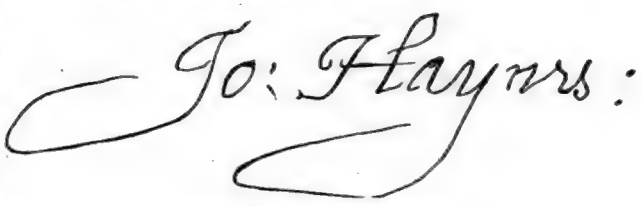
[2] *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, etc., etc., edited by J. Hammond Trumbull.

The General Court was equal to the occasion. The debt was provided for by a special tax of six hundred and twenty pounds; though corn and cattle had risen largely in price, they were gathered from wherever they could be found, and the people were fed without any serious distress till the season of another harvest. To guard against further trouble from the Indians a thorough military organization of all the towns was established, at the head of which Captain Mason was placed as commander-in-chief. The young colony had already grown too large to depend longer upon its older sister of the Bay; the war had thrown it upon its own resources; within eighteen months from the end of it the new government took a more positive form and adopted a constitution.

A Constitution adopted. 1639.

"Well knowing," its preamble recited, "where a people are gathered togather the word of God requires that to mayntayne the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent Gouerment established according to God, to order and dispose of the affayres of the people at all seasons as occation shall require; doe therefore assotiate and conioyne our selues to be as one Publike State or Commonwelth." It recognized no allegiance to any other power, not even that of England; it instituted a popular government in which all the freemen of the three towns were equal before the law, entering "into Combination & Confederation togather to mayntayne & presearue the liberty & purity of the gospell of our Lord Jesus which we now professe, as also the disciplyne of the Churches, which according to the truth of the said gospell is now practised among us; As also in our Ciuell Affaires to be guided & gouerned according to such Lawes, Rules, Orders & decrees as shall be made, ordered, & decreed."

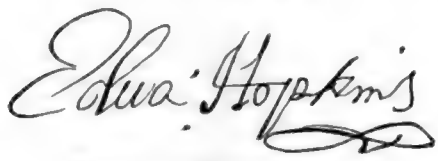
The colony thus founded a Christian Commonwealth and a purely democratic republic upon the first written constitution of any State in America, if not indeed, in the world. And this, with such slight changes in its practical provisions as the increase of population demanded, was the fundamental law of Connecticut for nearly two centuries. Its first governor, chosen in April, 1639, was John Haynes, who had already been a governor of Massachusetts Bay; its second, elected the next year, was Edward Hopkins.[1] The constitution provided that the chief magistrate should



Signature of John Haynes.

[1] Edward Hopkins came to Boston with the New Haven company, in the spring of 1637, and was the son-in-law of Governor Eaton, of that colony. He returned to England after

be chosen for a single year only, and was ineligible for the year next ensuing. The letter of the law was observed while its spirit was not lost. The people of Connecticut knew when they had a good governor, and for many years, with two or three exceptions at the outset, Haynes and Hopkins were alternately elected to that office.



Signature of Edward Hopkins.

The rule of the magistrate in the young Commonwealth was rigid. The common welfare demanded implicit submission to a compact for mutual protection. The virtuous and the orderly might be, as they usually are, a law unto themselves; but there was special need of watchfulness and restraint of the idle, the vicious, and the violent, who, relieved from the accustomed rule of a long organized society, would riot in the license of relaxed law. All the old bonds that hold society together, and kept anarchy at arms-length, were loosened. The habit of obedience to constituted authority needed to be reëstablished by fresh subjection and enforced discipline. In this respect the colonies were all alike. Each had to work out for itself with such wisdom and such vigor as it could command, the problem of self-government; and each addressed itself, first of all, to the question of self-preservation. Large considerations of the science of government concerned them less at this early stage of their existence than the daily conduct of each individual citizen. There was nothing in morals or in manners, as to what men should eat and drink, and wherewithal they should be clothed; how they should dispose of their time and their industry; what their relations should be to each other, to the state, to their wives, to their children; — in all the affairs of life, whether small or great, there was nothing of which the law did not take cognizance. It was needful to the preservation and good order of society so newly organized that it should do so; and if sometimes — indeed very often — the true and sole function of perfected government, protection of person and property, was overstepped, and intellectual freedom encroached upon in the attempt to regulate religious belief and coerce the conscience, such exercise of power is to be pardoned to the exigencies of the times.

Character of the government.

There were not probably more than a thousand people in the three Connecticut towns when the Pequot war was finished; the first English child [1] born on the banks of that river was at that time only eighteen

a residence of about fourteen years in Connecticut, and became a member of Cromwell's Parliament of 1657, and a commissioner of the army and navy. (See note in Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. i., p. 273.)

[1] David, son of Captain Lion Gardiner, born at Saybrook Fort, April, 1636. *Life of Gardiner*, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. x, p. 177.

months old. It was not difficult for the watchful eyes of the magistrates to scan carefully the life and conversation of each man and woman. Nor could it be doubted that a community made up, in some degree, of mere adventurers, should have its vicious element, though each settlement was at first a church led in a body by its pastor from three Massachusetts towns — Newton, Watertown, and Dorchester. Even the godly people of the Dorchester church were led, Governor Bradford said, by a "hankering mind" to the pleasant Connecticut meadows on which Holmes's colony from Plymouth had already settled; and by sheer weight of numbers and the influence of the stronger government behind them, they dispossessed the first comers. When such were the saints what might not be looked for from the sinners? The devil lurked even among the churches of the Puritans, and if he could not be got rid of altogether at least he could be watched with unceasing vigilance.



Signature of Lion Gardiner.



Supposed First Church in Hartford.

And the vigilance was unceasing. The records of the proceedings of the General Court that chose the first chief magistrate of the new Commonwealth, also show that by the decree of that fountain of law one Edmunds was to be whipped at a cart's tail on a lecture day at Hartford; that one Williams was to stand upon the pillory from the ringing of the first bell to the end of the lecture, and to be whipped at the cart's tail, both in Hartford and Windsor; and that one Starke was to be punished in the same way, to pay a heavy fine, and to have besides the letter R branded upon his cheek. The crime of each and all was wrong done one Mary Holt, — such wrong that Starke was also

Severity of the laws.

condemned to marry her; which, however, he probably never did. At the next General Court, four months afterwards, it was ordered that Mary Holt herself be whipped for misconduct with a fourth paramour, and be banished from the jurisdiction; not that she was good enough for Boston, but that Boston, perhaps, could better manage her.

But offences of this kind — of the frequency and often most revolting character of which, notwithstanding the severity of the laws of the Puritans, there is abundant evidence in the early records of all the colonies — were by no means the only ones which the magistrates undertook at once to expose and to punish. Unseasonable and immoderate drinking, or even the suspicion of it; any violence of language or of conduct; reflections upon the actions of the General Court; "the sin of lying which," says the record (1640), "begins to be practised by many persons in this Commonwealth;" extravagance in the fashion of apparel, "that divers persons of several ranks are observed to exceed in;" the selling of goods beyond reasonable prices; "a stubborn or rebellious carriage against parents or governors;" — these and other offences of a like character, which in older societies are usually left to the control of private conscience, or judgment, or influence, were subjects of legislation, and brought upon the perpetrators prompt and severe penalties.[1]

Beneficent legislation.

In other respects, however, the welfare of the community was as carefully looked after as it was in these guarded against real or fancied injuries. The rate of wages and the length of a working-day — eleven hours in summer-time and nine in winter of actual labor — were soon regulated by law, that no advantage should be taken of the necessities of new settlers or of the scarcity of laborers. Any possible want of food was provided for by making it the duty of magistrates to ascertain the probable demand and to meet it with a sufficient supply. Idleness was made inexcusable, and agriculture encouraged by allotments of lands and their compulsory cultivation; and titles were made unquestionable by a register which the law required should be kept in every town. That timber should not be wasted, none could be cut or exported except by special license from the Court, and no trees were permitted to be felled except after the fall of the leaf. In 1640 it was enacted that each family should sow at least one spoonful of English hempseed and cultivate it "in husbanly manner" for a supply of seed the next year. The importation of cotton, which they could not raise, was provided for at the public expense to find its way to the domestic spinning-wheels; but the cultivation of tobacco, which it was soon found would grow so well in the rich bottom-lands of the Connecticut, was encouraged by a decree

[1] *Colonial Records of Connecticut.*

that whoever should after September, 1641, "drinke [smoke] any other tobacco but such as is, or shall be, planted within these liberties," should suffer the heavy penalty of a fine of five shillings for every pound. Such laws foreshadowed some of the important industries and future wealth of the State of Connecticut.

The supremacy obtained over the Indians by arms was confirmed by law over those who survived the Pequot war. It was a penal act to sell them arms, or even to mend those of which they were already in possession. Theft, and intimidation for the sake of theft, the crimes to which the savages were most inclined, were severely punished. If they could not be made good citizens, — and that was hardly attempted, — it was hoped, at least, that as vagabonds they might be rendered harmless. The dealings of the colonists with them were so far just that they paid for the lands they wanted, and permitted the Indians to retain those the English did not want, provided they were peaceful and kept within their own bounds. When these conditions were not observed a raid upon their cornfields and wigwams renewed the lesson of the war. Whoever recognized the higher duty of attempting to lead them to a knowledge of Christianity was quite free to do so without interference from the State; but their most efficient teachers were the lives the Christians led, and the examples they followed were naturally those which were most evil.

Settlement of New Haven

While the Pequot war was in progress a fresh colony from England arrived in Boston and was looking for a place of settlement. Edward Hopkins, who soon after went to Hartford, was in this company; John Davenport, a clergyman of some note from London, was their pastor, and the leading man among them was Theophilus Eaton, a merchant of reputation and of affluence. It was a company of wealth and respectability, and the magistrates of Massachusetts would have gladly retained them within their jurisdiction.

But there were two reasons, imperative with the new-comers, for seeking a place for their future home without the bounds of Massachusetts: there was too much theological controversy and not sufficient harbor accommodation about the Bay. The banishment of Mrs. Hutchinson was not the extirpation of heresy, and Mr. Davenport, it is said, was fearful lest his flock should be led astray by the fatal doctrines of the Antinomians. Whatever other dangers might lurk in the wilderness, the Indians would not, at least, unsettle men's minds as to sanctification and justification. The other point was equally clear: the farming lands near all the good harbors about the Bay were already occupied. Agriculture must, of course, be their immediate reliance; but they hoped to found a commercial colony, and

therefore sought for a commodious port where trade would grow, while lands not too far off to be conveniently cultivated should yield them a subsistence. Another reason given was that they wished to put themselves beyond the reach of a general governor, should one be appointed for all New England; but as this had ceased to be probable, the alleged fear of it could only have been a thin disguise for a more substantial purpose — a wish to escape the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and have an independent government of their own.



John Davenport.

In the spring of 1638, the whole company sailed from Boston for Quinnipiack,[1] now New Haven, purchased the preceding autumn from Momauguin, the Indian sachem, for twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchemy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen knives, twelve porringers and four cases of French knives and scissors.[2] Several of their number had held possession through the winter, but the first solemn and formal act of occupation was on the 18th of April, the Sunday after their arrival. Then this new band of Pilgrim Fathers assembled beneath the spreading branches of a giant oak, and the pastor, Davenport, preached to them from the text, — Matthew iv. 1: "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." "He had a good day," he said afterwards; and doubtless his hearers, who all looked up to him with great reverence, were as much edified with his expounding of the temptations that were to beset them in the wilderness, as he was satisfied with his own performance.

The first Sunday at New Haven.



Momauguin's Signature.

Their undertaking was sanctified not long after by a day of fasting and prayer, when they entered into a covenant that in all things, whether in Church or in State, they would be guided by the rules

[1] "Quinnepaca or Quinnepange rather," Niles's *History of Indian and French Wars. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third series, vol. vi.

[2] New Haven Records in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut.*



THE FIRST SUNDAY AT NEW HAVEN.

"which the Scripture held forth to them." The temptations of the wilderness could not have been many or great to a community which could live for more than a year without other government than this simple compact.

But in June of the next year preliminary measures were taken for a permanent political organization. These were of a remarkable character, whether looked upon as an instance of the intense earnestness of the religious convictions of the Puritans, or of the submissive deference they were accustomed to yield to their spiritual guides. The whole community gathered together in a barn,[1] — for want of any other building large enough to hold them — and the first business of the assembly was to listen to a sermon of instruction and exhortation from Mr. Davenport. His text was from Proverbs ix. 1: "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." Herein he found warrant and direction for the gathering of a Church and the formation of a State.



Site of Newman's Barn.

The Church was to rest upon seven pillars and the foundation of the State was the Church. The right and the duty to gather the one and create the other were inherent, not derivative. There was no recognition of either hierarch or king. The assembled people were to choose from among themselves twelve men the most esteemed for their virtue and their wisdom, and these twelve were to elect seven others who were to be the seven pillars. On the pillars the Church was to be built; the seven men, that is, were to call about them such persons as they deemed fit to be members of the Church, and these members were to form the state. For in the Scriptures was to be found a perfect rule for the guidance and government of men in all human affairs, in the family, in the commonwealth, in the church. Church-membership was citizenship; he who was not fit for that, was unfit for this, for the state must be "according to God."

The Church of seven pillars.

[1] The tradition is that the barn belonged to Robert Newman, and it is supposed to have stood at the corner of Grove and Temple Streets, on land afterwards occupied by the house of Noah Webster, the lexicographer, New Haven. — *Bacon's Historical Discourses.*

Such was the drift of Mr. Davenport's sermon, and it was acceptable to his hearers saving one only, and he it is supposed was a brother clergyman. The assembly elected twelve men to whom should be entrusted the important duty of raising the seven pillars on which was to rest a temple dedicated to the worship of God, but to be also a house for the protection of man. What else could the twelve do but act in conformity with the judgment of the whole community? Among these twelve most worthy the most worthy seven must surely be found. From their own number, therefore, they selected the seven pillars.[1] Around these the church was gathered, the question of fitness for membership resting, in the first instance, with them.

Two months later the people were again assembled; again they were exhorted and counselled by Davenport, with the Bible between his hands. He was now, however, more than leader by weight of character and respect for his learning; the church had chosen him as the pastor, content to accept him as consecrated to the duties of his sacred office by the simple laying on of hands of two of their own number, indifferent to apostolic succession and the authority of bishops. He spoke, therefore, now with greater authority than ever; and under his guidance the popular church proceeded to the organization of a popular government.

Formation of the State.

Theophilus Eaton was chosen its first governor. In its general provisions — as to the holding of General Courts, the number and choice of magistrates, the exercise of legislative and judicial power, the rights of the citizen, and his responsibility to the law — it was essentially the same as that of Connecticut in all outward form, as in its purely democratic spirit. But after all it was democracy with a proviso; the right of self government in holding or in choosing to office was restricted to those who were members of that church. Others, who also assumed to call themselves Christians, were as completely shut out from any share in the government as a hundred and fifty years later the Constitution of the United States excluded "Indians not taxed" and "persons held to service or labor."

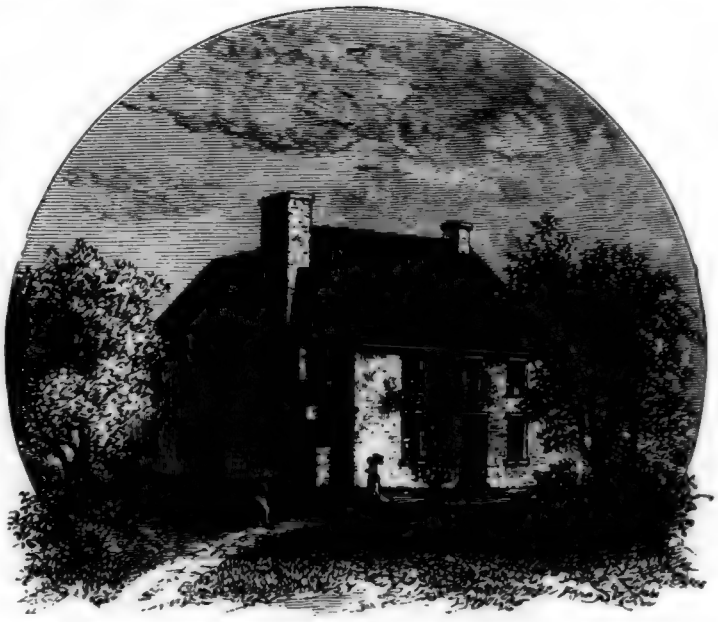


Signature of Theophilus Eaton.

On this model established at New Haven other churches were soon gathered in other places, and each church was a town. Some were within the boundaries of Connecticut, and sent their representatives

[1] These were Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon.

to the General Court at Hartford; others were for some years entirely independent, recognizing no civil rule outside of their own organization. Among these last was Saybrook, to which a colony under George Fenwick was sent by lords Say and Brook, and which was already known by their combined names. Places like Guilford, Milford, Stratford, perpetuating in their names the tender memories of old English homes, were planted on commodious havens, or at the mouths of navigable streams, along the inner coast of Long Island Sound. Thither fresh emigrants flocked from Connecticut, from Massachusetts Bay, sometimes directly from England. The country, as it was gradually occupied, was fairly purchased from the natives — purchased at insignificant prices, indeed, but large enough to create a title in fee-simple, while they were satisfactory to the original owners, who set small value upon limited tracts of that wide wilderness which they claimed as their own. It was the avowed policy of the State to deal justly with the savages, that offences might be avoided; and, on the whole, the rule was no doubt carefully observed, from choice as well as from necessity. On the other hand, if the savages were sometimes insensible to kindness, and incapable of understanding principles of justice incompatible with their wild notions of individual right, the lesson of the late war was not lost upon them. If not always peaceable, and if often annoying, they were rarely at this period dangerous neighbors. So these English villages were left to take root and grow in strength and thrift when the storm of savage warfare swept over and almost desolated the settlements of their jealous rivals, the Dutch, throughout the boundaries of New Netherland.



Old House in Guilford, 1639.

Progress of the English.

Nor could the claim of the Dutch West India Company to the Fresh River — the Connecticut — by right of prior discovery and occupation, though so pertinaciously urged, seriously hinder the steady

progress of the English along the shores of the Sound toward the valley of the Hudson. From the time of the first settlement at Hartford the advanced guard of the more energetic race had pushed on, in spite of the protests and threats, the rage — furious but harmless — of the Dutch. The quiet energy and determination of the English were stronger than the loudest and most indignant complaints; for success lay naturally with the party that acted rather than with the one that, for the most part, only talked.

Encroachments on the Dutch.

The two peoples were moved, moreover, by totally different motives. The Fresh River, and all the region it watered, the Dutch looked upon only as a back country, rich in beaver skins, to be made tributary to the great trading station at New Amsterdam. It best served their purposes while it remained a hunting-ground for the Indians, with here and there a half-military, half-trad-

The Dutch in New England.



Mouth of the Connecticut.

ing post, to regulate the traffic in the peltries which the Indians gathered. When the Dutch wanted to colonize, if they went out of the valley of the Hudson, or beyond the immediate vicinity of their chief colony, it was to dispute with the Swedes the possession of the beautiful shores that extended on the South River from the Capes of the Delaware a hundred miles into the interior to the mouth of the Schuylkill. They had no such designs of settlement along the coast of New England, however much they coveted the possession of the country for the sake of its trade.

But the English were moved by quite another spirit; they wanted homes. They laid the axe at the root of the forests which sheltered and hid the Indian and his game. They cleared the ground for their seed corn; built their log-houses and barns; gathered together in churches, and founded commonwealths. The rude forts and mere trading-posts of the Dutch were powerless against circumvallations made with English ploughs; and the New Netherland garrisons re-

luctantly, but inevitably, retired before a host armed with spades and hoes, musical with the hum of women's spinning wheels and the voices of happy children, led by Puritan generals in gown and bands, whose orderly-book was the Bible, and whose word of command was a prayer and an exhortation — a host seeking to make the wilderness blossom into homes, which laughed at threats of armed resistance, and scouted claims of discovery not backed up by more permanent signs of possession than a flag-staff and a sentinel.

There could be little doubt as to the result of such a conflict between assumed title and actual possession; nor was it possible to change that result by appeals to the governments in England and at the Hague to adjust the boundaries between the rival claimants. The representations of the case were listened to with impatience or indifference; on the one side was want of will, on the other want of power, for any efficient interference. Sir William Boswell, the English ambassador at the Hague, discloses in his official correspondence the policy of his government.

English diplomacy on colonial boundaries. 1642.

It would be well enough, he thought, that an act or declaration of some kind should be passed either by both Houses of Parliament, or by the Lower House, or, failing that, by a Committee of that House, to show that "these businesses" relating to the American Colonies were not altogether ignored or forgotten. Such act, or declaration, or memorial, with its official sanction of some sort, it mattered very little what, could then be sent to him with a letter from the Lords of Council with some vague instructions. Provided with such a document, he would present it when and how it should seem to him most expedient — when, he no doubt means, it was no longer possible to escape a pretence of doing something — either to the States General, or to the West India Company, or to some other body political or commercial, as should seem to him best, and should best serve his purpose of doing nothing. And when these methods of diplomatic procrastination were thoroughly exhausted, there was still another crowning act of dilatoriness in reserve to be resorted to — his excellency could, when further delay was no longer possible, make a report, which would refer the question back again to his government for further consideration, to be ground over again in the slow mill of parliamentary debate and subsequent reference to a parliamentary committee.

A little intimidation also, Sir William thought, could be brought to the aid of this skilful diplomacy. The Dutch ambassador in London, who was supposed, meanwhile, not to be idle, but to be pressing the question of colonial boundaries and encroachments, should, he advised, be quietly approached by some persons of authority and persuaded of the certain injury and inconvenience that would befall the

Dutch West India Company if these dissensions and difficulties between the distant and quarrelsome colonists should involve their respective governments at home.

There was little likelihood of any adjudication of boundaries, whether just or unjust, while the English government carefully guarded against any approach to its serious consideration. It was meant that it should be otherwise settled. The conclusion of Boswell's counsel is: "That in the mean tyme, th' English there doe not forbeare to put forward their plantacons, and crowd on, crowding the Dutch out of those places where they have [occupied] but without hostility or any act of violence."[1]

English settlements on and near Long Island.

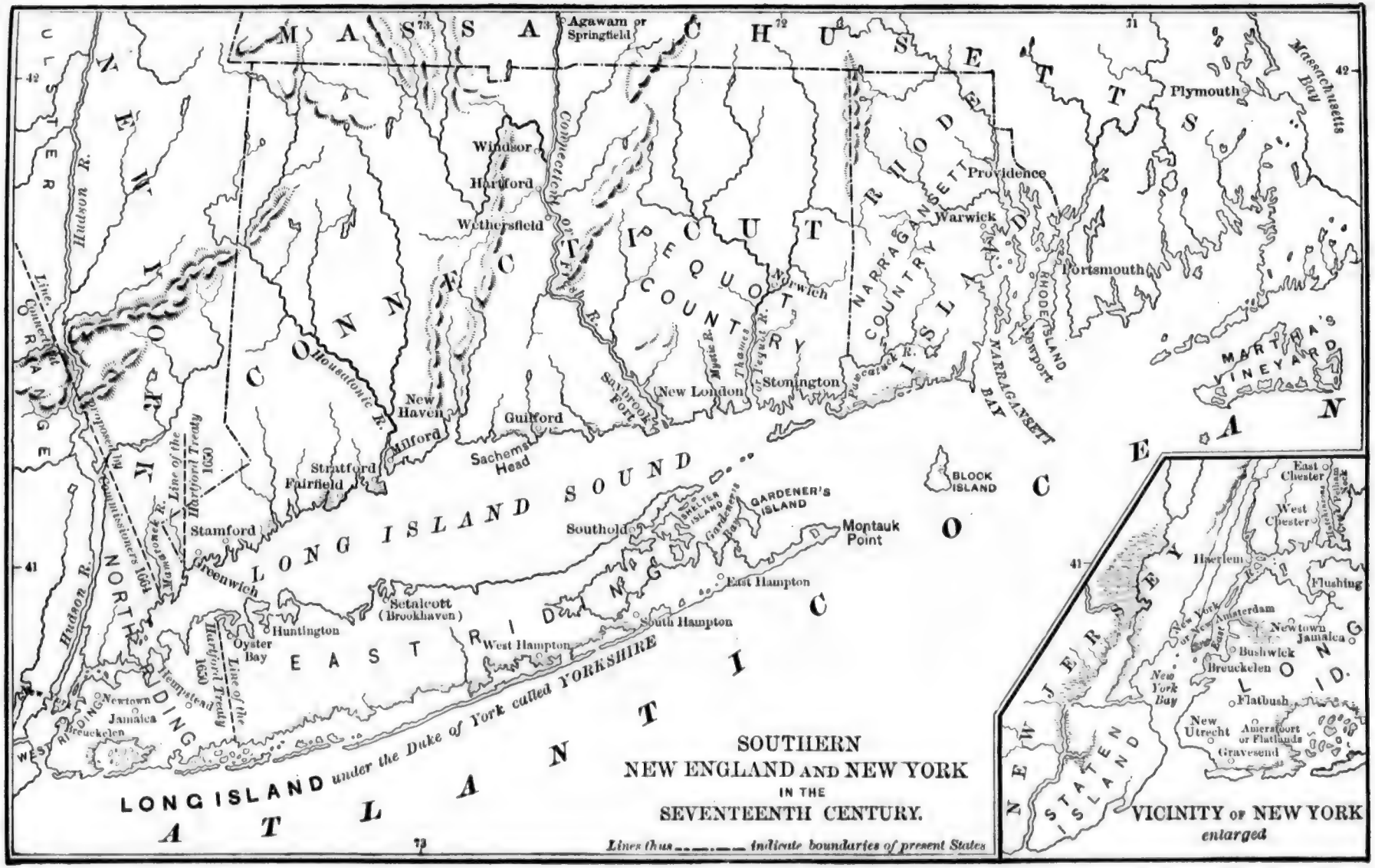
Not only was the "crowding" pushed along the shores of the mainland, but it crossed the Sound. In 1639, Lion Gardiner purchased of the Indians the island Manchonack — since known as Gardiner's Island — near Montauk Point. Shelter Island, still further up the bay, was taken possession of by James Farrett, who was sent out by William, Earl of Stirling, as his agent, he claiming the whole of Long Island under a deed from the Plymouth Company, made before its dissolution by order of the king. Farrett visited Manhattan, and was held for a short time under arrest by the Dutch governor, Kieft, for asserting Lord Stirling's title.



Gardiner's Island.

The enterprising New Englanders, however, were not to be deterred by such measures. In 1640 a company from Lynn, Massachusetts, appeared, under the leadership of Captain Daniel How, at Cow Neck, within the present town of North Hempstead, Long Island, and attempted a settlement. They tore down the arms of the Prince of Orange, which they found upon a tree, and carved in place of the shield an absurd face, as their countrymen had done some years before at Kievit's Hook, at the mouth of the Connecticut. The insult and intrusion were resented by Kieft with spirit, and How and his companions were compelled to retreat. But it was only toward the other end of the island, where they settled South Hampton and East Hampton, at the eastern extremity.

[1] *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, Trumbull, Appendix I.


MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
NEW YORK
Agawam or Springfield
Windsor
Hartford
Wethersfield
Connecticut R.
Plymouth
Massachusetts Bay
Providence
Warwick
Portsmouth
Newport
RHODE ISLAND
NARRAGANSETT BAY
NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY
PEQUOT COUNTRY
Norwich
Mystic R.
Thames or Teyon R.
Pascatuck R.
Stonington
New London
Saybrook Fort
Connecticut R.
Housatonic R.
New Haven
Guilford
Milford
Stratford
Fairfield
Sachems Head
Stamford
Greenwich
Hudson R.
Line of the Hartford Treaty 1650
Proposed Line of Commissioners 1664
Mamaroneck R.
Line of the Hartford Treaty 1650
Hempstead
Oyster Bay
Huntington
Setalcott (Brookhaven)
Southold
Shelter Island
Gardiners Bay
GARDENER'S ISLAND
BLOCK ISLAND
Montauk Point
East Hampton
South Hampton
West Hampton
LONG ISLAND SOUND
NORTH RIDING
EAST RIDING
WEST RIDING
Newtown
Jamaica
Breuckelen
LONG ISLAND under the Duke of York called YORKSHIRE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MARTHA'S VINEYARD
Line of Connecticut Charter
CLSTER
42
41
73
72
71
SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
Lines thus ———— indicate boundaries of present States
East Chester
West Chester
Harlem R.
Flushing
New York or New Amsterdam
East R.
Newtown
Jamaica
Bushwick
Breuckelen
New York Bay
Flatbush
New Utrecht
Amesfoort or Flatlands
Gravesend
NEW JERSEY
STATEN ISLAND
LONG ISLD.
VICINITY OF NEW YORK enlarged

The same year some New Haven people took possession at Southold on the Sound. The young colonies had not long to wait, when once a firm foothold was gained, for accessions both from Old and New England. Nor were the Dutch unreasonable, for they seemed quite willing to share the island with the English, leaving them to take possession of the eastern half unmolested. Ten years later indeed, in 1650, they made a treaty to this effect with the New England colonies, by which a dividing line should be drawn from the west side of Oyster Bay to the sea; but in the mean while, they had only insisted that the English plantations which in the course of that decade had grown up west of this line, should be held to be within the jurisdiction of the West India Company, and should acknowledge their allegiance to the States General. Hempstead, Flushing, Jamaica, and Newtown, were, therefore, Dutch towns, though settled by the English. But South Hampton, East Hampton, Southold, Brookhaven, Huntington, and Oyster Bay, were united at different periods, to Connecticut, till after the surrender of New Netherlands to the English in 1664, when the whole island came under the government of the Duke of York.[1]

Treaty of 1650 with the Dutch.



Montauk Point.

This migration of the English from Massachusetts Bay to the country of the Connecticut, thence westward along both shores of the Sound, crowding in one direction almost as far as Hell Gate, pushing, in another, almost to the banks of the Hudson, was not impelled by any imperative necessity of outward circumstance, but rather by an uncontrollable restlessness, a fever of change that gave them no quiet. Full of energy, activity, curiosity, and a love of independence, political and religious, they demanded above all things space enough for the gratification of ambitions that sought to found thriving colonies and open new avenues to wealth.

They were all Puritans, and as such were anxious to escape from a real or apprehended thraldom in church or state. But there were, perhaps, in these offshoots of the parent stock something more of a

[1] *A Sketch of the First Settlement of the Towns of Long Island*, etc. By Silas Wood.

worldly disposition, and something less of that spirit of fanaticism which led the Boston brethren to welcome above all things a plunge into the uproar of a theological controversy, and to subordinate all else to the establishment of a uniformity of faith. That Puritan prudence, which was careful to be out of the reach of the heavy hands of the Bishops before the non-conformist ventured to expand into the more perfect freedom of separatism, seems to have been carried into all the other relations of life by these people who chose to find their abiding places without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay.

Character of the Connecticut Puritans.

They would not, indeed, have been Puritans had not the interests of religion been with them paramount to all earthly considerations; but they were not therefore disposed to look upon all merely material interests with comparative indifference. It was not, perhaps, so much any essential radical difference of character between them and other New England emigrants of their time and class; but there was at least that fortunate difference of circumstance and opportunity which came with their escape from the fierce polemics of Boston, and reluctance to live under magistrates who, however excellent their rule in many respects, never willingly assented to the admission of others to any share of it, while insisting upon implicit obedience in all things which they decreed, whether relating to this world or the next. The people who escaped from this domination into Connecticut, if it were only that the ambitions of leaders might have fuller play, and the consent of followers a larger choice, gained, beside, more freedom than they sought. They were led to take a wider view of the possibilities of the new country they had found than as merely an arena for theological discussion where the metes and bounds of religious liberty, however much enlarged into the wider field of Puritanism, were just as arbitrary and as fixed as ever. They saw that they might be prosperous without ceasing to be pious, and that worldly thrift was not necessarily incompatible with a due regard for the things of the everlasting life. They were too busy in clearing forests, in planting crops, in building towns at the mouths of all the rivers that seemed most promising for future commerce, to permit themselves to be absorbed in attempts to find out the whole counsel of God in dim and subtile distinctions of theological controversy.

Not that they were unmindful of those things which made so large an element in the intellectual and spiritual life of the time; but that other interests were with them of equal if not sometimes of greater consideration. A steady compliance with the suggestions of worldly wisdom, a prudent attention to the conditions of worldly thrift, not less than an implicit obedience to the highest sense of religious duty,

have ever characterized this branch of the family of New England Puritans. Wherever they have gone they have carried with them this profitable mixture of puritanic rectitude and wise worldliness. However stern and rigid their piety, hand in hand with it have gone industry and prosperity; the government of the people by the will of the majority; the free school; the free church according to their standard of religious freedom, and the common law of England. Of that hardy race of pioneers — whose indomitable courage, whose irrepressible energy, whose restless love of change, neither chains of mountains, nor gigantic rivers, nor lakes that are inland seas, nor arid deserts could hinder in their march to the shores of another ocean — there has been no more fruitful root than that which was first planted in the rich soil of the valley of the Connecticut.



Hooker's House at Hartford.

There had been struggling into existence, meanwhile, another New England colony, the stern and hard realities of whose early experiences were touched with no play of that idyllic light and shadow that give grace and romance to the first migrations from Massachusetts Bay to the region of the Connecticut. Its feeble beginning was no pleasant patriarchal journey like that of Hooker and Stone and their followers from Newtown to Hartford. With these went flocks and herds, and wagons laden with household stuff; and they travelled leisurely through the hundred miles of forest in the early days of June when the woods, rich in the tender colors of the young foliage, let

the warm sunshine through upon the green, fresh-grown moss and the dead leaves of past summers, flecked all over with flowers in blue and white and gold — the warm sunshine that stirred, at the same time, into unwonted movement the hearts of the young Puritans, youths and maidens and hilarious children, in whom not even the watchful care and sombre presence of elder and deacons could suppress the quick and joyful sense of sympathy with the freedom, and beauty, and delight, that filled all nature.

So Davenport and his company sailed out of Boston harbor in the bright days of April, — sailed on even keel and with gentle breezes past the long beaches of the Bay; past the white strands and sand-hills of Cape Cod; past the islands of the southern coast of New



Coast of Massachusetts. — Nantasket Beach.

England where the warm current of the Gulf Stream with a westward sweep tempers the waters and the air; and so at length they came into Long Island Sound. The pastor meanwhile, no doubt gathering the elder men about him on sunny days in the shadow of the sails, held wise and sweet converse upon that stately temple of seven pillars which should presently rear its fair proportions in the primeval solitude where great oaks and elms cast their shadows over the rich meadows that stretched down to the sea.

All these went forth with the God-speeds and good wishes of the brethren of Massachusetts; but not so with the founders of Rhode

Island. Roger Williams fled out into the night and the winter's storm, with the order of the General Court behind him, the officers of the law in hot pursuit, and a ship waiting in the offing to bear him into perpetual banishment across the sea. The shelter which Puritan intolerance denied him he sought and found among savage friends. As he, the next spring, with only five companions, paddled his canoe along the shore of Providence Bay, their thoughts were less of hierarchies and of commonwealths, than where the sunniest slope could be found for a field of maize, the most sheltered and convenient nook for huts.

Landing of Roger Williams at Providence.

Mooshausick, as the place was called where Williams hoped to find rest at last — and which he named Providence, because, he said, "of God's merciful providence unto me in my distress" — he desired, also, "might be for a shelter for those distressed in conscience." It was not long ere such asylums were needed. Whether the exercise then and there of the right of free thought and free speech was wise or foolish, whether it was harmless or baneful either to church or state, the attempt to suppress that right was altogether futile.[1]

Roger Williams had not long to wait for companionship. Within two years from the time of his landing upon Slate Rock such accessions were made to his colony that "the lands on the two fresh rivers, Wowasquatuckett and Mooshausick," granted to him by Canonicus and Miantonomo, he conveyed to twelve associates for thirty pounds. These incorporated themselves and all that should be subsequently admitted, into a township, promising to render "an active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good," by the consent of the majority. But the submission was to be "only in civil things."[2]



Signature of Miantonomo.



Signature of Canonicus.

[1] The popular defence of the intolerance of the early Boston Puritans — for strange to say, they have their defenders — is that the critical circumstances of their condition as an infant colony with its peculiar relations to the parent state made it imperative that a uniformity of belief should be enforced for the sake of preserving the Puritan ascendancy both in religious and civil affairs. And it is triumphantly asserted as the result that the character of the Massachusetts of later times, and its influence upon the history of the whole country, are due to the stern and wise policy of the early fathers in their suppression of a liberty that was running or had run into license. Whereas, the truth is that those bigoted elders and magistrates, though they sometimes silenced the men, never suppressed the opinions whether true or false. They only tried, and the more they tried the less they succeeded. The character of Massachusetts and the potent influence she has exercised upon the history of the United States are due to the fact that neither bigots nor fanatics have ever, from the time of Roger Williams to the present moment, been able to destroy the liberty of thought and of speech within her borders. Her people have always been wise enough — wiser always than the Synod and the General Court — to tolerate freedom of opinion, and, in the long run, to reject that which was unwise and injurious and accept that which was true and good.

[2] The twelve men to whom the conveyance was made were: Stukely Westcoat, Wil-

Character of Williams's Colony.

This was the corner-stone of the Commonwealth laid by the banishment of Roger Williams from Massachusetts Bay. He and his companions were pronounced dangerous men because their doctrines were assumed to be subversive of the state and the church. Their first act, so soon almost as there were enough of them gathered together to make an agreement, was — as a dozen intelligent Americans would do to-day if thrown together under similar circumstances — to enter into a compact for government by rule of the majority, leaving to each the enjoyment of such religious belief as the intelligence and conscience of each should dictate. Among the earliest recorded actions of the town of Providence is one depriving Joshua Verin of the privilege of voting because he had committed "a breach of covenant in restraining liberty of conscience," inasmuch as he had prevented his wife from going when she pleased to Mr. Williams's meetings.

Heated controversy in Massachusetts.

To those whose presence in Massachusetts Bay the "Lords brethren" would not tolerate, or who could not submit to the despotic rule which these brethren sought to establish, the country about Narragansett Bay soon came to be as a land of refuge. There gathered there, no doubt, in the first few years a heterogeneous and remarkable company; some half crazed with those teeming maggots of the brain which so breed in times of exasperating religious controversy; others possessed by harmless vagaries of illogical thought, which spring up in such seasons in some minds, and which, if they have a meaning to those who cherish them, are incomprehensible to everybody else. Indeed, the wonder is, in our soberer times, not that there were so many of these unhappy and infatuated polemists, but that any clear exercise of sound judgment remained in a community where the weight of wisdom and of character convened as in the Cambridge Synod, could elaborate out of the controversy on justification and sanctification eighty-two pestilent heresies worthy of condign punishment. There were nevertheless many men, possibly even a majority of the church in Boston, who in all this confusion of tongues, preserved their intellectual balance unmoved and kept their eyes firmly fixed on the everlasting truth. Many among them were determined to preserve the one thing worth preserving — liberty of thought and of conscience; never losing sight of its supreme value, sometimes, perhaps, abusing it themselves, suffering much oftener

liam Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman. The thirty pounds, however, seems not to have been paid till the admission subsequently of some new members into the body politic, when a new and fuller deed was made by Mr. Williams, and the first twelve were released from any payment. See Backus's *History of the American Baptists*, vol. i., pp. 92. 93.

from its abuse in others, but dreading, nevertheless, the danger of its suppression far more than any evil likely to arise from its undue exercise.

Of these men, some who were wise and some who were foolish instinctively turned their faces, when Massachusetts would tolerate them no longer, to that shelter which Roger Williams had provided "for persons distressed in conscience." The eighty-two heresies which the Cambridge Synod saw lurking in the doctrine that a covenant of grace was the only way to salvation, and which were discovered to be equally dangerous to church and state, must with the Lord's help, be scattered to the winds of Heaven. The General Court, which was essentially the synod under another name, had little mercy upon the persons who held these dangerous opinions, upon those who were assumed to hold them, or upon those even who questioned the justice of punishing the real or the supposed offenders. It was not only that the original heresy was pronounced as deserving of punishment, but they were held no less guilty who refused to acknowledge as legitimate whatever dangerous deductions their opponents chose to draw from opinions conscientiously and innocently believed in. And no less was it an offence against the Commonwealth to maintain that one's carriage and behavior were not necessarily dangerous and seditious because one's abstract faith was pronounced to be heretical by elders and magistrates.[1]

Attitude of the General Court toward heretics.

The party which Winthrop led in the General Court, both officially and personally, and Wilson in the Synod, was content with no half measures. Vane was evidently glad enough, at last, to get back to England on any pretext after his defeat by Winthrop in the election for governor;[2] Cotton, whom poor Mrs. Hutchinson had followed to New England, because of the soundness and purity of his faith, seemed

[1] See Callender's *Historical Discourse on The Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island & Providence Plantations*, 1739. For an admirable account of the Antinomian Controversy, see also Ellis's *Life of Anne Hutchinson* in Sparks's *American Biography*, vol. vi., new series.

[2] How intense the party feeling of the time was is evident in some significant incidents related by Winthrop. When he was elected to succeed Vane in 1637, the two sergeants, whose duty it was to precede the governor on all public occasions, carrying halberds, refused to perform this office before Winthrop. One of the men was a son of Mrs. Hutchinson. Winthrop invited a young English lord — Lord Ley — on a visit to Boston, to dinner, asking Vane, among others, to meet him. "Mr. Vane," says Winthrop, "not only refused to come (alleging, by letter, that his conscience withheld him), but also, at the same hour, he went over to Nottle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Ley with him." One is not surprised to read that when, not long after, Vane and Ley went down the harbor on their way to sea, although many persons were present to do honor to the departure of the ex-governor, and salutes were fired from the castle and elsewhere, the governor himself "was not come from the court, but had left order for their honourable dismission." Such were the amenities that attended the controversy on sanctification and justification.

to fall away from his friends, though, perhaps, he only saw how impossible it was for any man, in the full possession of his reason, to go the whole length of either party.[1] One by one the Antinomians were deprived of their strongest leaders. Wheelwright wandered away northward, and stopped when he reached what seemed a promising spot in the woods for a plantation — now Exeter, New Hampshire. The most shocking and disgusting calumnies were, — as we have already related,[2] — visited upon Mrs. Hutchinson, and were enough to drive her out into any wilderness, however savage, even if Massachusetts had not decreed her banishment after a trial which only needed thumbscrews and the rack to be complete after its kind.

Treatment of the Antinomians.

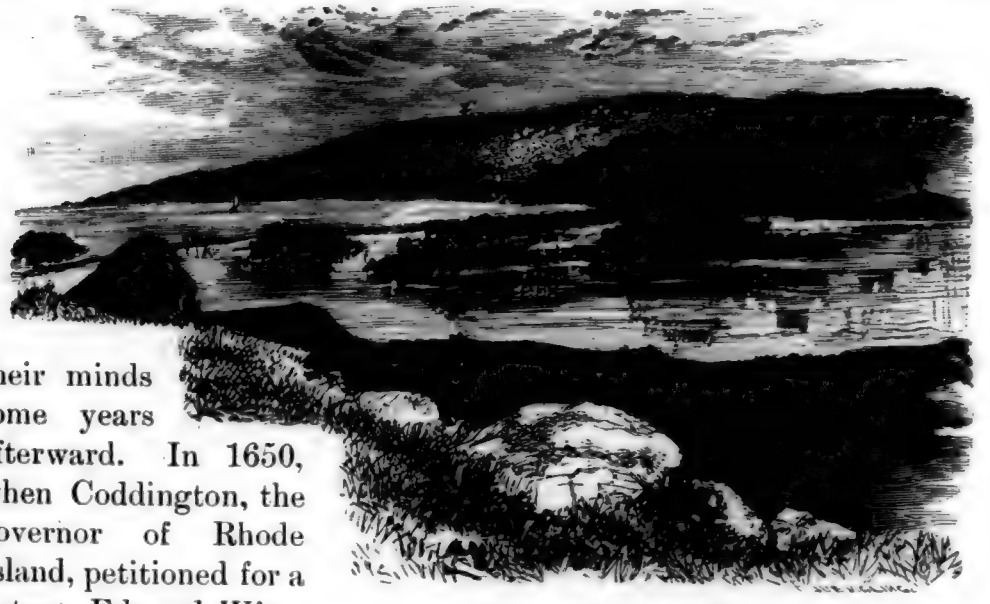
In Boston and its vicinity between seventy and eighty, most of them men of character and influence, were compelled to surrender their arms, — with the added humiliation of carrying them with their own hands to a certain place of deposit, — as enemies of the commonwealth. Many shared the sentence of Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother and were banished; others preferred voluntary exile to remaining where they were objects of constant suspicion, and dreaded as a dangerous and wicked faction. Whether there was any reason or not for apprehending that the defeated party would resort to arms, there was good reason for fearing their strength. Though the ministers, and the magistrates who joined with them, were able to rule with a high hand, the minority that was compelled to submit was a very large one.

Many of these were driven by such persecutions to seek for a new home outside the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Nearly all of them were of that number who were compelled to give up their arms. "I thought it not strange," wrote one of them — John Clark — "to see men differ about matters of Heaven, for I expect no less upon Earth: But to see that they were not able so to bear each with other in their different understandings and consciences, as in those utmost parts of the World to live peaceably together, whereupon I moved the latter [his own friends], for as much as the land was before us and wide enough, with the profer of Abraham to Lot, and for peace sake,

[1] Eminent and good as John Cotton was, his course in this controversy, as well as on other occasions, could hardly fail to give him the reputation of a man so candid that he cared nothing for consistency, or else so vacillating as to be untrustworthy. A Mr. Ward, "once lecturer at St. Michael's, in Cornhill, London," — probably the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," — said of him: "Here is our reverend elder, Mr. Cotton, who ordinarily preacheth that publicly one year, that the next year he publicly repents of, and shews himself very sorrowful for it to the congregation." *Simplicitie's Defence against Seven Headed Policy*, etc., etc. Republication in *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 122.

[2] See vol. i., p. 556.

to turn aside to the right hand, or to the left." [1] Moved by a purpose so peaceful and sensible, Wheelwright was first visited at Exeter; then Long Island and the Capes of the Delaware were proposed, and on the way southward Williams and the people of Plymouth, — tolerant of schismatics and who knew from long and bitter experience what exile for conscience' sake meant — were visited. All concurred in advising them to go no further, but to take possession upon the island of Aquetnet, or Acquidneck — now Rhode Island. Their first choice was Sowames — a neck of land in the present town of Barrington, — but the Plymouth people claimed the latter as belonging to them, holding it, they said, "to be the garden of their Patent, and the flour in the garden," while the island was not within their boundaries.[2] On this latter point, however, the Plymouth authorities changed their minds some years afterward. In 1650, when Coddington, the governor of Rhode Island, petitioned for a patent, Edward Winslow appeared on behalf of the Plymouth people before the committee of the admiralty in London, claiming that Acquidneck belonged to them under the grant of 1620.[3]



The Cove, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.

The island, however, was purchased from Canonicus and Miantonomo, for "forty fathom of white beads," for Coddington and his associates. It was done, writes Williams, "through that love and favour which that honoured gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, had with the great sachem, Myantonomy, about the league which I

[1] *Ill Newes from New England: or a Narrative of New England's Persecution*, etc. By John Clark, Physician of Rode Island in America. 1652. Republished in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. ii.

[2] Clark's *Narrative*.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series, edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, p. 338.

procured between the Massachusetts English and the Narragansetts in the Pequod war."

Settlement at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, March, 1638.

The purchase was made on the 24th of March, 1637–8. The newcomers pitched their tents at the northern extremity of the island, at Pocasset, now called Portsmouth, possibly some days before. With a reverential reliance upon the divine support, quite out of keeping with the supposition that they were men too dangerous to society to be trusted with deadly weapons, they had entered, on the 7th of the month, into a compact rather of the character of a church than of a civil body. To incorporate themselves into a body politic they submitted their lives, persons, and estates unto the "Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and to all those most perfect and absolute laws of his, given unto us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."[1] Under this theocracy they proposed to live; and Mr. Coddington was at once chosen chief judge, with, probably, the functions of an equity court, but without the power of enforcing its decisions.

Coddington chosen chief judge.

The experiment was a short one. "The perfect and absolute law" of the Scriptures might have been quite sufficient for the original associates alone, but their numbers were soon added to with such a result as might have been looked for. Some of those who came to the new settlement were probably not saints; some of those who were may possibly have been saints of a very pragmatical and uncompliant disposition. Not a year had passed when we find that three persons were elected as elders to assist Mr. Coddington, and two of these three were not among the original associates. Not long after a constable was chosen to preserve the peace and prevent unlawful meetings, and a sergeant elected to keep a prison for the custody of those committed to his charge.[2] About the same time William Aspinwall, one of the most respectable



Governor Coddington.

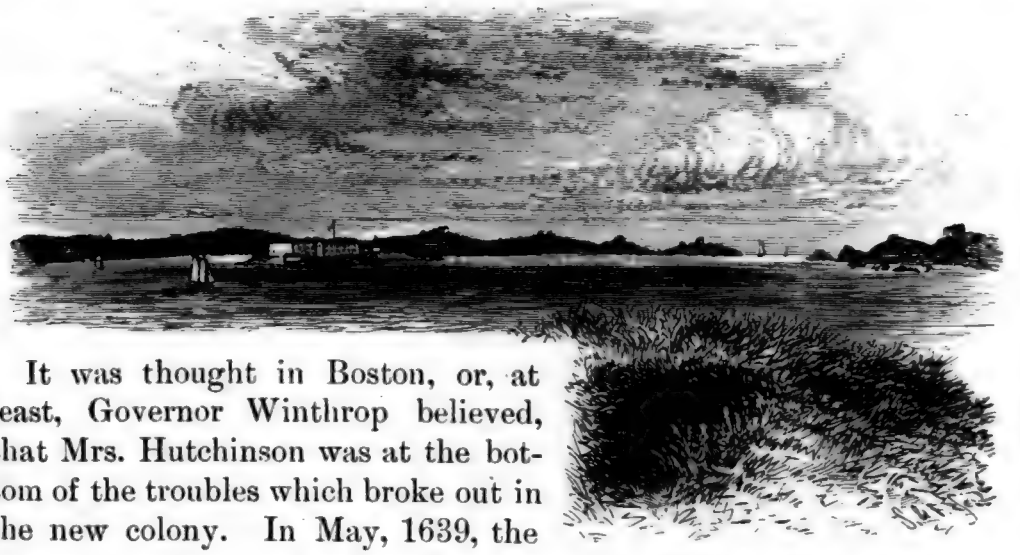
[1] The associates were William Coddington, John Clark, William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Sanford, Edward Hutchinson, Jun., Thomas Savage, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Phillip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, Sen., Henry Bull. — Callender's *Historical Discourse*. Backus adds to the list the name of Randal Holden.

[2] *Rhode Island Colonial Records*.

and most conspicuous of those who had been banished from Massachusetts, was proceeded against "as a suspected person for sedition against the State." There are no surer evidences of civil government than jails and constables.

It is easy to imagine the progress of events. The class to which, under the category of "Persons distressed in conscience," Roger Williams suggested that a shelter might be found about Narragansett Bay, is always sure to include some very disagreeable and very unreasonable, though unquestionably most upright and worthy people. Some of this kind, probably, whose consciences were very tender, as well as some who had no consciences at all, followed to Rhode Island John Clark and his friends, whose earnest desire in going was that they might be permitted "to live peaceably together." There were penalties many and severe yet to be paid before liberty and peace could dwell together undisturbed, as these people soon made manifest.

Difficulties of the new colony.



Entrance to Newport Harbor.

It was thought in Boston, or, at least, Governor Winthrop believed, that Mrs. Hutchinson was at the bottom of the troubles which broke out in the new colony. In May, 1639, the governor writes: "At Aquiday the people grew very tumultuous, and put out Mr. Coddington and the other three magistrates, and chose Mr. Hutchinson only, a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the former troubles in the country, and still continued to breed disturbance." [1]

This was, no doubt, so far true that Mrs. Hutchinson was not likely to have been a silent listener to any discussions, especially upon theological questions, and these could hardly have failed to arise among minds cut loose from all settled beliefs by the Antinomian controversy, and hot and eager with

Influence of Mrs. Hutchinson in these discords.

[1] See Winthrop's *History*, vol. i., p. 356, and Savage's note on this passage. Also, Palfrey's *Hist. of New England*, vol. i., pp. 512, 513.

novel theories, political and polemical. And out of such discussions may well have been evolved the necessity of civil rule and a change of rulers. But the spirit, nevertheless, in which John Clark spoke influenced many among them, remembering the proffer of Abraham to Lot, and turning one to the right hand and the other to the left. Coddington and his friends removed within two years to the other end of the island, — at Newport, — but the colonies were soon after united under one government, with Coddington at its head, and Hutchinson as one of his assistants.



Coddington's House, Newport.

Newport was settled by nine of the leading men of Pocasset — or, as it was this year named, Portsmouth — including all its magistrates.[1] Of these, the first who built a house was Nicholas Easton, who, with his two sons, Peter and John, arrived in a boat on the first of May, perhaps a little in advance of his eight associates. He and his sons, at any rate, were the first to provide themselves with a permanent shelter.[2] At the first recorded meeting of the emigrants on the 16th of May, the site of "the plantation now begun at this southwest end of the island" is fixed as on both sides of the spring, "by the seaside southward"; this spring was on the west side of the present Spring Street near the State House, its stream running to the harbor. The town grew rapidly, and in five months numbered one hundred and one persons. Winthrop says in his journal of that month: "They [at Acquidneck] also gathered a church in a very disordered way; for they took some excommunicated persons, and others who were members of

[1] The nine were William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall, William Brenton, John Clark, Jeremy Clark, Thomas Hazard, Henry Bull, and William Dyre.

[2] The house was on the west side of Farewell Street, a little west of Friends' meeting-house in the Newport of our day. Coddington's house was on the north side of Marlborough Street, fronting Duke Street. — Arnold's *History of Rhode Island.*

the church of Boston and not dismissed." He probably refers to a gathering at Pocasset, but these nine founders of Newport must have been its chief members, and were not likely to have lost their Christian fellowship by their removal. The "disordered way" was ere long the Baptist Church of Newport, with the Rev. John Clark as pastor, — to the Puritan mind "a confusion worse confounded."

Hutchinson died in 1642. Only the summer before a son and a son-in-law of the family had been imprisoned and fined on a visit to Boston,[1] and it is far more probable that Mrs. Hutchinson, longing for peace and tranquillity, sought, after her husband's death, to escape persecution and calumny by removing to New Netherland, out of the reach of her own countrymen, than that it became intolerable to her, as her detractors would have us believe, to live in any peaceful and well-ordered community. "She and her party," says Winthrop, "would have no magistracy." But there was no evil he was not willing to believe of that unhappy lady. He even suspected her of witchcraft, and that she had bewitched this young man Collins, who married her daughter; for "it was certainly known," he says, with the utmost solemnity, that her "bosom friend," one Hawkins's wife, "had much familiarity with the devil in England."

Mrs. Hutchinson goes to New Netherland.

In truth these Rhode Island people grew, from the beginning, to be more and more intolerable to the Boston brethren. It was bad enough that they should obstinately maintain the rights of independent thought and private conscience; it was unpardonable that they should assume to be none the less sincere Christians and good citizens, and should succeed in establishing a government of their own on principles which the Massachusetts General Court declared were criminal. Even in a common peril the Massachusetts magistrates could recognize no tie of old friendship — hardly, indeed, of human sympathy — that should bind them to such men. Opportunities for showing the bitterness and intensity of this feeling were not long in coming.

Hostility of Massachusetts to Acquidneck

The necessity still existed — by whose fault may, perhaps, be questioned, but, at any rate, existed — of the utmost vigilance lest the hatred of the Indians should be again provoked, notwithstanding the terrible lesson of the Pequot war, into open hostility. An alliance of

[1] Collins, the son-in-law, was fined £100, and Hutchinson £50, not with any expectation that such fines could ever be paid, but that the men might be detained in prison. Governor Winthrop frankly acknowledges this and gives as an additional reason that the family had theretofore been so troublesome. In Collins's case this vicarious punishment was inflicted upon a man who had not even been in the country a twelve month. When the magistrates were satisfied with the length of the imprisonment the fines were remitted, and the young men returned to Rhode Island.

all the English was, as that war had proved, the wisest precaution and the surest defence. These later settlements, made meanwhile on Narragansett Bay, were not less sensible of the common danger, nor doubtful as to how it could best be met.

Proposition for an alliance of the colonies against the Indians.

Upon this subject Governor Coddington wrote in 1640, by order of the General Court, to the Governor of Massachusetts. The character of the letter we only know from Winthrop's account of it. Though it came from Newport and not from Providence, it was written in that humane spirit which Roger Williams had always held should govern the treatment of the natives; that the real safety of the English lay in a just recognition of the natural rights of the Indians. "They declared," says Winthrop, "their dislike of such as would have the Indians rooted out, as being of the cursed race of Ham, and their desire of our mutual accord in seeking to gain them by justice and kindness, and withal to watch over them to prevent any danger by them."

Refused by Massachusetts.

The magistrates of Connecticut and New Haven united with those of Acquidneck in this reasonable and Christian proposition. Nor was it in itself repugnant to the General Court of the Bay. But however apprehensive they might be of a savage outbreak, however much disposed to conciliate the Indians by justice and kindness, they, in Boston, would neither bestow nor willingly receive blessings in companionship with heretics. The resentment which would seize such an occasion for its gratification seems almost puerile. "We returned answer of our consent with them in all things propounded," writes Winthrop, "only we refused to include those of Aquiday in our answer, or to have any treaty with them."[1] The official record is even more explicit. The letter, it was ordered, "shall be thus answered by the governor; that the court doth assent to all the propositions laid down in the aforesaid letter, but that the answer shall be directed to Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Haynes [of New Haven and of Connecticut] only, excluding Mr. Coddington and Mr. Brenton [of Newport,] as men not to be capitulated withal by us, either for themselves or the people of the Island which they inhabit, as their case standeth."[2]

Nor was this an outbreak of a merely temporary feeling. Here was the spirit which was to shape the future relations of the older and the younger colony. It shut out all considerations of a common interest, dulled the sense of a common danger, stifled the sympathies of a kindred blood. The "case" of these men in Narragansett Bay was that they had been banished from Massachusetts, or had fled of their own

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 24.

[2] *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. i., p. 305.

accord that they might enjoy in peace the right of thinking for themselves. But that was a right which to the Puritans of Boston was intolerable. It was not merely — as is so often pretended on their behalf — that these Puritans sought to protect the house of refuge they had built from any disturbing influences; they were no less determined that there should not be, if they could prevent it, anywhere within their reach, a church or a state that was not formed upon their model.

This proposition from the people of Rhode Island was only the renewal of an already familiar discussion. The question of a confederation of the colonies had been annually brought up for consideration from the close of the Pequot war to the spring of 1643 among the magistrates of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Plymouth. From year to year the project was deferred, the two smaller colonies fearing lest, in the adjustment of the terms of alliance, too much power should fall into the hands of the stronger colony of the Bay. One point, at least, might now be considered as settled; however willing Connecticut and New Haven might be that Acquidneck should be included in such a league, should it ever be formed, the assent of Massachusetts could only be obtained by the exclusion of that colony.

In 1643, accordingly, a confederation was made embracing Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. The same end and aim, the preamble recited, had brought them into these parts of America, "to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace." Their distance from each other was incompatible with a single government for all these plantations, but their danger was a common one from the "people of several nations and strange languages" by whom they were surrounded; they could not look for protection from the home government because of "the sad distractions in England;" they entered, therefore, under the name of the United Colonies of New England, "into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

The New England confederacy.

The purpose of this federation was strictly defined and limited, and its affairs were to be entrusted to a body of eight commissioners, two from each colony. The main object was an offensive and defensive league in case of war, though the rendition of fugitive servants and criminals was also provided for. In all things else each colony reserved to itself the right of self government. Thus simple were the terms of this federal union, so obviously the germ of the union of States of the next century.

Objects of the confederacy.

For six years, as we have already said, this question of confederation was a topic of anxious discussion. Though so strictly defined and limited, it was only with the utmost caution that the several colonies consented to surrender the rights of self-government even for so obvious a good as a sure protection against their enemies. Perhaps the league would have been even longer delayed had not other than Indian wars been thought possible. The people along the southern coast of New England had turned their resolute faces and longing eyes towards New Netherland. The people of Massachusetts, or, at least, the leaders among them, never lost sight of the hope of absolute independence which first moved them to transfer their company, with its charter, quietly and secretly from London to Massachusetts Bay. They watched with absorbing interest the progress of the Revolution in England, cautious of any rash precipitancy, but ready for any emergency by which they might be involved in that great struggle, and any event that might be turned to their own advantage. That General Court of Massachusetts which ratified the act of confederacy, also decreed that in the oath of allegiance taken by the Governor and magistrates they should omit "for the present" the words "you shall bear true faith and allegiance to our Sovereign Lord King Charles;" for the king, they said, "had violated the privileges of Parliament, and made war upon them."

Agamenticus and Acquidneck excluded.

But from this first New England confederacy — with its immediate purpose of defence and offence against the Indians, and the possible purposes which time might bring forth — Gorges's colony at Agamenticus (York) in Maine, and the plantations on the Narragansett, were rigidly excluded. The Puritans dreaded the state and the church from which they had fled, and which Gorges represented; they hated the heretics who had escaped to Rhode Island from the persecutions of the church and the state which they sought to establish.



Signature of John Davenport.

CHAPTER III.

THE BOSTON PURITANS.

ROGER WILLIAMS AND LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. — BOSTON PURITANISM. — ITS BIGOTRY. — THE BELIEF IN A SPECIAL DIVINE PROTECTION. — SPECIAL PROVIDENCES. — PURITAN INTERPRETATION OF DISASTERS AND MISFORTUNES. — POPULAR APPREHENSION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. — EARLY LAWS OF THE PURITANS. — REGULATION OF DRESS AND CUSTOMS. — PATERNAL CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT. — RELATIONS OF THE SEXES. — LAWS AGAINST LYING AND BLASPHEMY. — PUNISHMENTS. — PURITAN SPIRIT AND ITS RESULTS IN PRACTICE. — SAMUEL GORTON. — HIS ACTION AT BOSTON AND AT PLYMOUTH, AND HIS BANISHMENT. — GORTON AND HIS COMPANIONS AT ACQUIDNECK AND PAWTUXET. — THE ATTEMPT TO SEIZE WESTON'S CATTLE. — INTERFERENCE OF MASSACHUSETTS. — ARBITRARY COURSE OF THE BOSTON MAGISTRATES. — GORTON AT SHAWOMET. — HIS LETTER.

"SLATE ROCK," as the spot is still called where Williams first stepped on shore in search of a new home, marks a memorable event in the history of New England. The wrongs he had suffered might have passed into oblivion as evil so often does, had not their memory been kept alive by the good which followed as a beneficent if not an inevitable consequence. A man less sturdy in courage, or of a virtue less stern would have been crushed into submission or frightened into retraction by the persecution with which he was beset. But whether the assertion of the liberty of thought and of freedom of conscience did or did not lead Roger Williams into errors, sometimes of thought and sometimes of action, the right of private judgment and the sacredness of conscientious conviction were still true; and to him was given the strength to assert and maintain, through much tribulation, the great principle, then dimly understood, which lies at the foundation of all free government and of all intelligent religious belief.

Williams and liberty of conscience.

In the last analysis Puritanism meant freedom of thought and liberty of conscience. But the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay limited it to that measure of truth — by no means small indeed — to which they had attained. It was, they believed, obedience to the highest law of the human soul to go as far as they went; it was heresy to go beyond. They not only would not admit that free-

Boston Puritanism.

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dom of thought and of conscience could legitimately lead to any other conclusions than those they had reached; but they would not admit that such freedom should go further and test the justice of those conclusions. More than this, — they insisted that any conclusions differing from their own were full of dismay and disaster; and they denied the possibility of coming to any other result by any logical process of thought whatever.



Slate Rock.

Accordingly they believed those deserving of the severest condemnation who maintained any doctrine which, according to the construction they chose to put upon it and the deductions they chose to draw from it, was mischievous, however vehemently those holding that doctrine might repudiate such a construction and such deductions. They assumed, therefore, not merely to punish the propagation of error evidently or confessed as of evil intent; they were no less eager to visit with severe penalties any doctrine which others might hold to be truthful and beneficent, but from which they by some ingenious intellectual process could deduce a possible civil offence or a religious heresy.

It was to the last degree narrow-minded, and, as narrow-mindedness always is, absurd. But these people were not the less sincere because they were intolerant. Bigotry, though it be ever so cruel, is not necessarily dishonest, and there can be no rational doubt that these Puritan bigots were for the most part upright and conscientious. They had braved the pains and perils of exile from homes and country most dearly loved to secure their own inalienable rights, and they felt to the very marrow of their bones the persecution from which they had fled. That which was gained was the more precious for the price that was paid for it, and they could not intermit their vigilance in guarding a possession that had cost so much. If the weakness of passion sometimes blunted the finer sense of justice, this is only to say that these men were human, — that great suffering had not taught them perfect charity.

Its bigotry.

But either they would not or could not recognize the fact that because they had gone so far and opened the way, others would inevitably insist upon going further; that the limit to thought and to freedom in matters civil and religious which they set up would not be accepted by others because they themselves were satisfied that only danger and darkness lay beyond. There was reason enough in their own circumstances and in their relations to the mother country for the exercise of the utmost care lest liberty should become license; but it behooved them of all men to make no mistake in drawing the dividing line between license and liberty. If they feared the harvest was to be of thorns they should have remembered it was of the tree they planted; and remembering this they should have doubted of such thorns; they should have reflected that if, when the fruit be gathered, it should be found not sharp and bitter, but of exceeding sweetness and wholesomeness, what madness it would have been to lay the axe at the root of the tree that bore it.

No faith could be more profound — none indeed more logical, if resting on a sure foundation — than that of these Boston Puritans in their own righteousness. They believed that the Almighty Power which created and governed the universe, unseen elsewhere and of other men, manifested itself visibly and unmistakably for their protection and in approbation of their lives and actions. It was, perhaps, only the elect few who recognized in all its marvellous majesty this impendency of the Divine presence; to common people yet subject to temptation and liable to sin, God may have seemed, as He does always to ordinary mortals, afar off. But to those who did see it, this visible imminence of the Almighty, manifested in incidents that might otherwise seem trivial or fortuitous, as well as in great events, had an awful meaning, and exercised over their existence an

Belief in a special Divine protection.

irresistible and commanding influence. Life must needs have been a very stern and sombre thing to men who believed themselves to be standing face to face with God, to have entered into his counsels, to be joined with Him in the same work, to be justified in all they did by constant revelations of His will, or warned by significant punishments of His displeasure. They felt quite as intensely and devoutly as men generally feel that the will and the law of the Infinite Creator governed everywhere and always — omniscient in a universe without bounds; omnipresent in an eternity without beginning and without end. But to them there was a sense of a personal Divine presence which had another and even more overwhelming meaning: God himself was always and personally in Boston.

This belief in an immediate Providential government of the affairs of New England, so often avowed by Winthrop and others of the leading Puritans, was more profound than any ordinary superstition; it was a fundamental religious faith. Incidents in themselves trivial were "special Providences;" events of larger moment and wider consequence were "judgments of God." He before whom Moses hid his face, and who said "I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," was again a real personal presence upon the earth, had again revealed himself to his own peculiar people. Their wisdom was his wisdom; their purposes were his purposes; their enemies were his enemies. He shielded them in a thousand ways from trouble. If the wicked were visited with misfortunes, it was because they were wicked in His estimation as well as in theirs. If mishap sometimes befell the good it was to remind them of their dependence upon God, or to rebuke them for a proneness to forget that He was the source of all blessings. In either case it was to testify His immediate presence, or His approval of all that they thought and did believing it to be His will. Thus there was vouchsafed to them a constant revelation, and by the wise its voice could never be mistaken.

Special Providences.

To incidents trifling in themselves there might be a tremendous import. Among a thousand books in a chamber where also was a store of corn, lay a volume in which were bound up together a Greek Testament, the Psalms, and the Book of Common Prayer. It was a thing "worthy of observation," to the pious Winthrop, that a mouse should have entered the garret, eaten the Prayer Book, "every leaf of it," and left the rest untouched. Could this be accident? Was it a mouse's discrimination? It was so obvious as to need only to be pointed out that by this humble instrument God had chosen to testify his abhorrence of the stated prayers of an idolatrous church.

Could the Lord tolerate false doctrine? There was no want of answers. God followed Mrs. Hutchinson — a "woman who had the chiefe rule of all the roast, being very bold in her strange Revelations and misapplications" — and her family to New Netherland, where, says Johnson,[1] the Indians "cruelly murthered her, taking one of their daughters away with them, and another of them seeking to escape, is caught, as she was getting over a hedge, and they drew her back againe by the haire of the head to the stump of a tree, and there cut off her head with a hatchet." But this was "the loud-speaking hand of God against them." A barber was overtaken by a storm on Boston Neck — the road still so called, and leading to the suburban towns of Roxbury and Dorchester — and perished. It was remembered of him when his frozen body was recovered from the snow, that he was one who "having a fit opportunity, by reason of his trade, so soone as any were set downe in his chaire, he would commonly be cutting of their haire and the truth together."[2] In the Hutchinson controversy this unhappy man had been so carried away by his mistaken zeal, that his name is found among those whose arms were taken from them.[4] That he should freeze to death was a testimony from the Lord that an antinomian and contumacious barber, who for the propagation of error, so misused his opportunities, was not fit to live.



Ruins of the Oldest House now standing in Boston; built in 1633.[3]

Governor Winthrop called it a notable "judgment of God," that twenty-one barrels of gunpowder should explode on board an English ship in the harbor of Charlestown, killing the captain, nine or ten of his crew, and some others; for they were "profane scoffers," says the

[1] *Wonder-working Providence in New England*, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., *et seq.*

[2] Johnson's *Wonder Working Providence.*

[3] This house, of which an account is given in the *Historical Magazine*, second series, vol. ii., p. 169 (number for September, 1867), stands on Minot Street, near Chicatawbut Street, in the part of Dorchester called Neponset, now annexed to Boston. It is called the "Minot House," from the name of its first owner; and is asserted to be the oldest *wooden* house in the United States.

[4] His name was William Dinely, and his infant son, born ten days after the father's death, was baptized Fathergone. Savage's *Winthrop.* Note, vol. i., p. 345.

Governor, "at us, and at the ordinances of religion here." Not that they were irreligious or wicked men in any other sense, for the captain had said, when questioned for his absence from a fast-day meeting in the town, that "they had as good service on board as we had on shore." It was a fatal assumption on behalf of the English Church; only two hours later God made the difference manifest by tearing ship and people to atoms; and it was the more significant that a shower of rain and some other hindrances were sent to detain from the coming catastrophe some of the leading Puritans of Boston, who were on their way to the vessel. The Lord protected His own, and sent his "judgment upon those scorners of his ordinances and the ways of his servants."

So at home and abroad, in great things and in small things, in the affairs of individuals, and in the affairs of the church and of the state, the interference of Divine Providence was manifested, and always for the protection of these His peculiar people, for the justification of their wisdom and virtue in thought and deed, and for the punishment of their enemies. It was "a special providence," Mr. Winthrop thought, that set a neighbor's hens to cackling in the night time, and aroused their owner to discover that the house of good Mr. Pelham at Cambridge, was on fire. No foolish fowls or crowing cocks could so mistake the light of a conflagration for the break of day, except it were to bring safety to a man so truly good.

But see a protecting care in larger measure to save the State. When one Captain Mason built in London a ship which was to bring over the dreaded General Governor for New England, it was the Lord who "disappointed and frustrated all the designs" of its enemies by breaking the ship's back before she had left the stocks. Mason himself, as a further evidence of the divine displeasure, "soon after fell sick and died," not even death-bed repentance availing him when he promised that "if he recovered to be as great a friend to New England [to the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, that is,] as he had formerly been an enemy." So also Sir Ferdinando Gorges "never prospered," for he "also had sided with our adversaries against us, but underhand, pretending by his letters and speeches to seek our welfare."

Divine interposition in political affairs.

Even some rash men, returning to England against all advice and bearing thither no good report of the people and the country, were beset with disaster, tossed up and down by tempests, reduced to painful suffering for want of food, and only escaped shipwreck when they "humbled themselves before the Lord, and acknowledged God's hand to be justly out against them, for speaking evil of this good land and the Lord's people here." Nor was disaster by sea the end of their troubles. On shore, "some were exposed to great straits,

and found no entertainment, their friends forsaking them;" the daughter of one of them soon went mad, and a worse fate befell two of her sisters, who were debauched; a schoolmaster, the worst of these slanderers of the saints, who succeeded in gathering a school about him, was ruined by the plague by which his pupils were dispersed and two of his own children taken away from him.

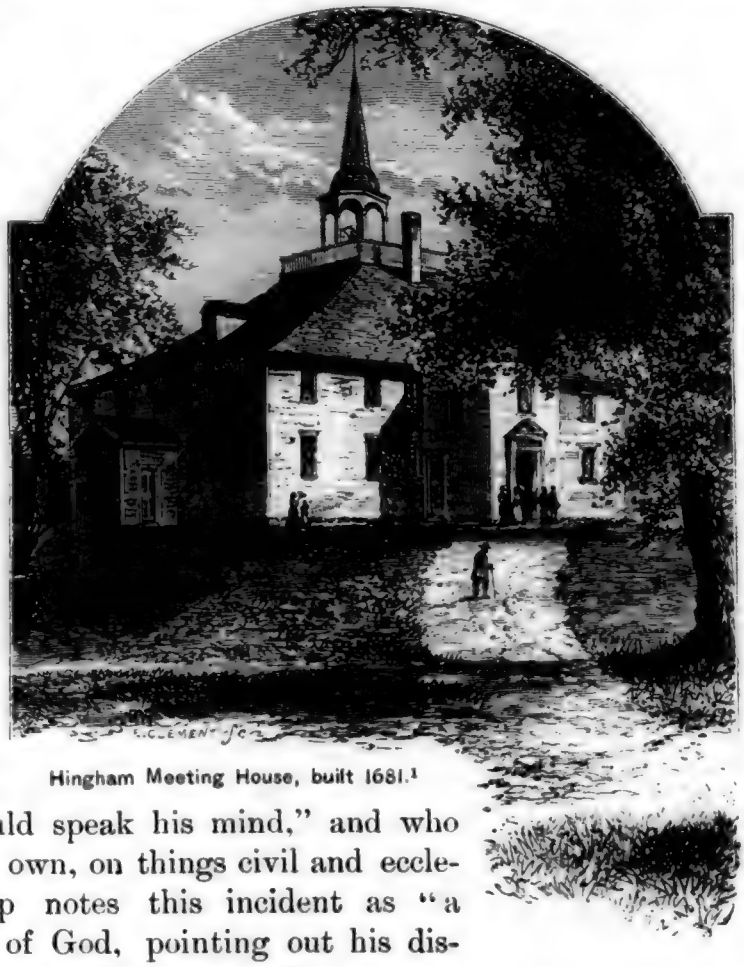
They saw the hand of the Lord raised over them in special protection, or in special rebuke in evidences like these many times, from year to year, in many places in the old world and the new. Only a few months before these evil-minded passengers were followed across the Atlantic by the divine wrath, a mail carrier was overtaken by a freshet on his way to Boston from the Isles of Shoals, where a ship had just arrived from England. His companion was lost beneath the ice, but he was permitted to escape, for "he had about him all the letters from England which were brought in the ship, which sure were the occasion of God's preserving him, more than any goodness of the man." Again, "a special providence of God appeared" in the case of a burning house in Roxbury, for some one remembered and gave warning in season that there was a store of gunpowder within, and though the explosion was like an earthquake, and burning cinders were carried even beyond Boston meeting-house, yet was no man injured. But the loss of the powder was the more observable, inasmuch as the General Court had neglected to pay for it, and had refused to lend a portion of it both to Virginia and to Plymouth, when those colonies were in danger of an attack from the Indians, and were without adequate means of defence. It was thus that Heaven chose to remind its servants that neither commercial contracts nor the claims of humanity could be ignored with impunity even in Boston.

Puerile as such incidents may seem to the robuster common sense of later times, and easy as it is to bring to their interpretation the test of reason, they had a tremendous meaning to the Boston Puritans. Why, for example, should the Lord destroy the powder of Massachusetts Bay at one time because it was not sent to the Virginians to be used for their defence against the Indians, when the next year it was the divine will that these Virginians, then no better and no worse, should be destroyed by the savages? But counsel was not taken of human reason. In the later event Governor Winthrop could only see in the desolation of Virginia, that "it was very observable that the massacre came upon them soon after they had driven out the godly ministers we had sent to them, and had made an order that all such as would not conform to the discipline of the church of England should depart the country by a certain day, ... and many were forced to give glory to God in acknowledging that

Puritan interpretation of certain disasters.

this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among them." The essential thing was, not whether the Virginians had or had not gunpowder; whether they could or could not defend themselves against the Indians; but that Boston might be rebuked or justified in whatever happened to them in which she had any concern. It was not that God cared much about Virginia.

The sign sought for in any coincidence of events was always the divine approval of the gospel according to the Puritans, and all that the Puritans did to establish that gospel. Thus it was because certain men of Hingham put out upon the Bay with a raft of timber, upon a fast day, that a tempest descended upon them, the timber was nearly all lost, and the men came near drowning; for they scoffed at a fast appointed by the magistrates in Boston, following their pastor, the Rev. Peter Hobart, "a bold man, who would speak his mind," and who had notions of his own, on things civil and ecclesiastical. Winthrop notes this incident as "a special providence of God, pointing out his displeasure against these profane persons."



Hingham Meeting House, built 1681.[1]

And when not long after, intelligence was received of the loss by shipwreck, on the coast of Wales, of Governor Kieft and eighty other persons of New Netherland, the Massachusetts governor speaks of it as "an observable hand of God against the Dutch at New Netherlands, which though it were sadly to be lamented in regard of the calamity, yet there appeared in it so much of God in favor of his poor people here, and displeasure towards such as have opposed and injured

[1] This is the oldest Meeting House now standing in North America.

them as is not to be passed by without due observation and acknowledgment." Quite as observable is it that his religious faith had not overcome the natural man in the good governor, whose kindness of heart speaks out in spite of his stern theology.

Men who had this abiding faith that they were under the special protection of Providence in a way and to a degree that was not extended to the rest of God's creatures; — faith that God manifested, in the events of every-day life, his approval in what they did and in what they refrained from doing; — faith in the divine sanction of all they believed, of the divine condemnation of all which they held to be error, making thus their limit to the freedom of thought God's limit also; — men with such a faith, being human became intolerant, and being intolerant, became persecutors. It was not merely, as they held, that no further discovery was possible of moral or religious truth; but that the truth already discovered and established could not be trusted to compete with error. They recognized the direct interposition of God in arresting false doctrines and in punishing those who held and spread them; what else could they do but follow the divine example? There was a singular and unquestioning confidence in their own righteousness which seems inexplicable except by their unshaken conviction that they were, even as the angels of heaven, at one with God, and understood His will as it was given to no others to understand it.

Popular apprehension of liberty of conscience.

"It is said," — wrote a Puritan writer, whose seriousness and piety were none the less because of his wit, and his authority and influence none the less because of his pedantry and his affectation of quaintness — "It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debar them of it; I can rather stand amazed than reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and find an Assertion worse than this (one excepted) I will Petition to be chosen the universal Ideot of the world."[1] Not a Puritan in Massachusetts, that Massachusetts could tolerate, but would agree with this. For so surely as it was divine wisdom that led the Puritan out of the Church of England, so it was not liberty of conscience but license of the devil that would lead one inch beyond the Church of Boston.

[1] *The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America*, by the Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, Mass. This eminent Puritan clergyman exhausts the peculiarity of style which distinguishes him when writing of toleration. "How," he says, "all Religions should enjoy their liberty, Justice its due regularity, Civil cohabitation moral honesty, in one and the same Jurisdiction, is beyond the Artique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise, exadverse, and diametrical contradictions, as to compolitize such a multimonstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly; I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can do more than the Senate of Heaven."

"We have been reputed," writes the same author, "a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow room for our Phanatic Doctrines and practises; I trust our diligence past and constant sedulity against such persons and courses, will plead better things for us. I dare take upon me, to be the Herauld of New England so far, as to proclaim to the World, in the name of our Colony, that all Familists, Anti-nomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts shall have free Liberty to keep away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better."

Distinct policy of the Puritans.

Nor was this merely an expression of opinion; it was the avowal of a policy. Non-conformists in Old England who became Separatists almost before they were off soundings on their voyage to New England, could hardly escape the suspicion of encouraging the utmost latitudinarianism. Men who had secretly provided that the royal charter should go with them to their new home,[1] well knew that their purpose of self-government was very likely to be construed into a purpose of independent government and freedom of religious opinion. There was suspicion to be done away with, and a good reputation to be established even with that class of their countrymen who might seek, as they had sought, to escape from the imminent storm in England, and to find an asylum beyond the observation, if not actually beyond the reach, of king and bishops. They could not, indeed, choose who should follow them to that place of safety; but they could show that it was a place of safety only to those who, like themselves, believed neither too little nor too much. There was no doubt in their minds that they apprehended the will of God and did it; but they were not so different from other men of other times that their religious convictions were uninfluenced by mere worldly considerations, by pride of opinion, by an imperfect comprehension of avowed principles, by an impatient intolerance of all those who declined to accept that measure of truth, no more no less, which they maintained was the only correct measure.

The colony of Massachusetts Bay its founders meant should be a virtuous, a happy, and a prosperous commonwealth; but it was to be so strictly in accordance with their own notions of what constituted virtue, happiness, and prosperity, and there was no welcome and no toleration among them of any other opinions than their own. The cause of civil and religious liberty they maintained as they understood it, and up to that point which they had themselves reached; and they would have arrested all further progress at that point if they could. But man only proposes. It was well for humanity, civilization, and religion, that they were as good as they were, and did as much as

[1] See vol. i., p. 521, *et seq.*

they did; that they were no better and did no more was their loss, not the world's. Where they stopped, others went forward.

But it is not to be forgotten that they were as rigid and uncompromising in their ideas of morality as in their religious principles. If they aimed to measure and limit thought by a standard which they believed God himself had prescribed, so they were equally sincere and unwearied in their efforts to make men's lives conform to the same rule of absolute right. Their whole method of government, whatever they did and whatever they proposed to do, can only be fairly considered in the light of their own understanding of their responsibility, and wisdom, and righteousness. Puritan laws.

The first code of laws drawn up at the request of the General Court, by the Rev. John Cotton, was taken entirely from the Old Testament. It was not, indeed, accepted, but another was substituted of which the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, — who knew something of Roman as well as Jewish law — was the author.[1] He was lawyer enough to know that there were necessities of society in the 17th century which were not provided for in the laws of Moses. But the idea of government, nevertheless, was largely formed from a study of the Hebrew Scriptures. To exercise an immediate supervision over the conduct of every individual in the community, in all his private as well as public acts and relations, was to govern men in acccordance with the will of God. A glance at some of their laws shows the spirit of their rule, and how infallible their belief was that the world could be made perfect if it was only governed enough, and governed in absolute accordance, nothing beyond it and nothing short of it, with the Puritanism which they professed.



Signature of Rev. Nathaniel Ward.

[1] The code drawn up by Cotton was published in London in 1641, and entitled, "An Abstract of the Laws of New England as they are now established." But they never were the established laws of either Massachusetts or New England, though it was long believed, as that publication asserted, that they were. The "Body of Liberties," which was the work of Mr. Ward, and adopted in 1641, was in reality the first Constitution of Massachusetts, and the foundation of subsequent constitutions. Mr. Ward preached the election sermon that year, — "a moral and political discourse," says Winthrop, "grounding his propositions much upon the old Roman and Grecian governments, which sure is an error." Laws had better, the governor thought, be taken from the Bible, than "on the authority of the wisdom, justice, etc., of those heathen commonwealths." Mr. Ward thought something could be learned from Justinian as well as Moses. The first article of this code provided that the rights of person and property in the citizen should be inviolate except by express law, or in default of that by "the word of God." What might be just and requisite under the "word" was to be decided by the General Court. See Savage's *Winthrop*. Hutchinson's *History*, and especially a paper on the "Abstract" of Cotton, and the "Body of Liberties" of Ward, by F. C. Gray, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. viii.

Sumptuary regulations.

The sale of everything was regulated by law, with such minuteness as to reach the cost of a meal at an inn, and even the price of a pot of beer between meals. The law fixed the price of all commodities, of all labor, and of all servants' wages. The use of tobacco was early forbidden in all public houses and places; and though one might smoke it in his own house, it was unlawful to do so before strangers, or for one person to use it in company of another. Fashion in dress was the subject of much anxious and stringent legislation. In the early days of the colony, all apparel which any man or woman should make or buy was forfeited by law if it had upon it



Costumes about the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

any lace, whether of gold, silver, silk, or thread; the same penalty attached to any garment with more than one slash in each sleeve, and one in the back; to all "cuttworks, embroidered or needle-work capps, bands and rayles;" to "golde or silver girdles, hattbands, belts, ruffs, and beaver hats." The size of the sleeve in any dress for women was limited to a width of half an ell, and none were to be made "with short sleeves whereby the nakedness of the arm may be discovered in the wearing thereof."

But to enforce laws in such matters was, the General Court at last acknowledged, exceedingly difficult; "in regard," they said, "of the blindnes of mens minds and the stubbournnes of theire wills." So difficult, indeed, did they find it, that in 1651 they gave it up so far

as it concerned magistrates, civil and military officers, persons of education and employment "above the ordinary degree," those who were worth two hundred pounds, and those whose estates had been considerable but had decayed — all those, in a word, called of the better class — were exempted from these sumptuary laws. But the Court felt itself called upon to declare the more emphatically their "utter detestation and dislike that men or women of meane condition, educations, and callinges, should take vpon them the garbe of gentlemen, by the wearinge of gold or siluer lace, or buttons or poynts at theire knees, to walke in greate bootes; or women of the same ranke to weare silk or



Costumes about the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

tiffany hoodes or scarfes, which, though allowable to persons of greater estates, or more liberal education, yet we can not but judge it intolerable in persons of such like condition." Either something of the simplicity of character that belonged to the early Puritans was lost in the first quarter of a century, or resistance against the assertions of rank and fashion was found to be useless.

Long hair in men was early prohibited, as "uncomely and prejudicial to the common good," and a few years later it was pronounced as "sinful." The governor, deputy-governor, and magistrates formed an association to suppress an evil so "contrary to the rule of God's word;" the elders were exhorted to testify against it from the pulpit, and "to take care that the members of their respective churches be not defiled therewith."

The government aimed to be paternal. The selectmen of the towns were required to have a special oversight of the education, behavior, and occupations of the children within their jurisdiction. This power of supervision extended to all families, and not merely to those who, as in all communities, are unworthy, from poverty, or indolence, or vicious habits, to be trusted with the care of their own offspring. The magistrates were to see that all young people were not only taught to read, to understand the principles of religion, and the character of the laws, but also to spin, to knit, and to weave; for a fixed quantity of "lining, cotten, or wooling" was required to be spun by each family, and the selectmen regulated the sowing of flax and the raising of sheep. These officers were to take care that boys and girls were not "suffered to converse together so as may occasion any wanton, dishonest, or immodest behaviour;" and to further regulate the relations of the young people, it was provided by law that "no person shall endeavour directly or indirectly to draw away the affections of any maid . . . . under pretence of marriage, before he hath attained liberty and allowance from her parents or governors," or, in the absence of these, from the court of the shire. When this last was obtained the courting could go on under a magistrate's warrant, but not otherwise.

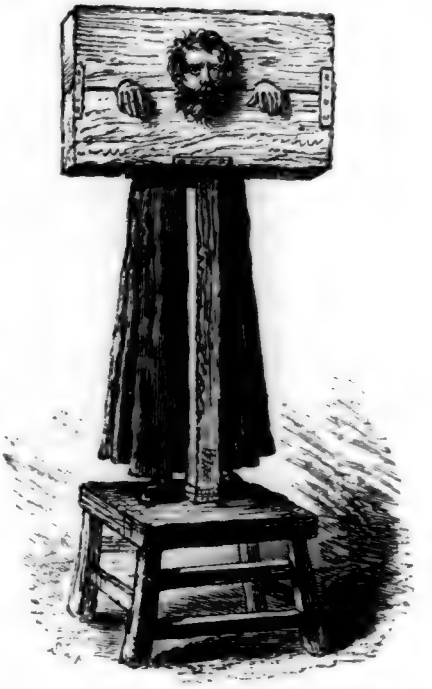
Paternal character of the government.

This latter law was meant to correct an evil the prevalence of which is the more remarkable among a people whose piety was so fervid, and where any breach of morality was so rigorously visited. "Marvilious it may be," exclaims Governor Bradford, "to see and consider how some kind of wickednes did grow and break forth here," notwithstanding the austerity of public opinion and the severity of the law, both exceeding that of any place he ever knew or heard of, and the latter so relentless as to be "somewhat censured by moderate and good men." Of these wickednesses, "unclainnes" was one. No penalty, even unto death, was left untried to keep the sexes within decent bounds in their relations to each other, and to restrain men from the most unnatural and beastly indulgence of passion. So common were such sins that Bradford suggests as one reason for their frequency that "the Divell may carrie a greater spite against the Churches of Christ and the gospell hear," and that "Satane hath more power in these Heathen lands, as som have thought, then in more Christian nations, espetially over God's servants in them." His more rational explanation, however, is that the very strictness of the law defeated its purpose, and was, in some degree, responsible for unrestrained outbreaks of lechery; and that in a small community it was the more difficult for crime to be hidden.[1] Among other laws

Relations of the sexes.

[1] *History of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 385, 386.

relating to this subject was one forbidding men and women, whose wives and husbands were not with them, to remain in the country, unless to prepare for new homes, or for purposes of trade for a brief season.



The Pillory.

Lying, whether intended to injure private persons, or to deceive the public "by false newes or reports," was punished by exposing the culprit in the stocks or by public whipping.[1] License of speech was never tolerated, though the distinction between license and liberty was not always recognized. "Reviling speeches," "uncomely speeches and obscean," were often punished. Mr. Shorthose, for example, it is recorded, was sentenced "to have his tongue put into a cleft stick and stand so by the space of haulfe an houre," for swearing by "the blood of God;" and the unruly member of the wife of Thomas Aplegate, was subjected to similar discipline for "swearing, raileing, and revileing." Later, a fixed penalty was adjudged for profane swearing "either by the holy name of God or any other oath." To make this law more effective it was afterward enacted that the fine should be doubled, or the culprit whipped, if he swore more than one oath at a time.

Laws against blasphemy.

In the fundamental law, the "Body of Liberties," it was provided that whoever shall blaspheme the name of God, the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost, should be put to death. Profane language, therefore, was not held to be necessarily blasphemous, however immoral. But to deny that any one of the books of the Old or the New Testament was inspired by the Holy Ghost and contained the will of God, was no less a crime than blasphemy. Whoever committed it, whether on sea or land, was to be fined or severely whipt for the first offence, and for the second, put to death.

Punishments were, in the earlier years of the colony, largely at the discretion of the magistrates; nearly twenty years passed away before any penalty was provided by statute even for

Punishments.

[1] Such a law may not have been without reason, if one who wrote of the manners and character of the people of New England as late as 1686, was not himself a fair subject for its penalties. Speaking of a friend in Boston, he says: "And this was a noted quality in him, that he would always tell the truth; which is a practice so uncommon in New England, that I could not but value his friendship." Had this been said in Boston instead of in London, the writer would have been set in the stocks. — *John Dunton's Journal, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii.

the crimes of burglary or violence against the person.[1] Subsequently the punishment for burglary was branding on the forehead. Such marks, indelible, or conspicuous for a certain period, to designate criminals, to hold the culprits up to public terror and expose them to public humiliation, may, perhaps, have been resorted to in the absence of any safe place of confinement. Boston had her jail at an early day, and so possibly had one or two others of the larger places; but it was not till 1655 that houses of correction were provided for each county. At any rate, it was the punishment and not the reformation of criminals which the magistrates and the court had in view when they affixed upon the faces or the clothing of offenders, who were allowed to be at large, marks of ignominy which must set them apart from their fellow-men.

Thieves and drunkards were exposed to public scorn with placards upon their breasts inscribed with capital letters to denote their offences. Dunton saw an English woman in the streets of Boston, who, for having admitted an Indian to some "unlawful freedoms," was compelled to wear upon her right arm the figure of an Indian cut in red cloth.[2] In a certain case where the general court and the jury did not agree as to the evidence offered where the crime charged was blasphemy, the court decided that the accused should be severely whipped in the market-place, then burnt in the forehead with the letter B, and banished from the colony. The cognate offence of contempt of the "word preached," or contemptuous behavior towards the preacher, thus "making God's wayes contemptible and ridiculos" was punished in a manner meant to eradicate the crime by exposing the criminal to peculiar ignominy. If the offence was a second time committed the culprit was exhibited for "two houres openly upon a block 4 foote high, on a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast with this, A WANTON GOSPELLER, written in capital letters." In 1677 another law was passed, intended not merely, probably not chiefly, for the vulgar Sabbath-breaker, but for the more contumacious citizen, the disturber for conscience sake of public worship; he was to be taken to Boston, or any other town where such accommodation was provided, and confined in a cage in the open marketplace till such time as the

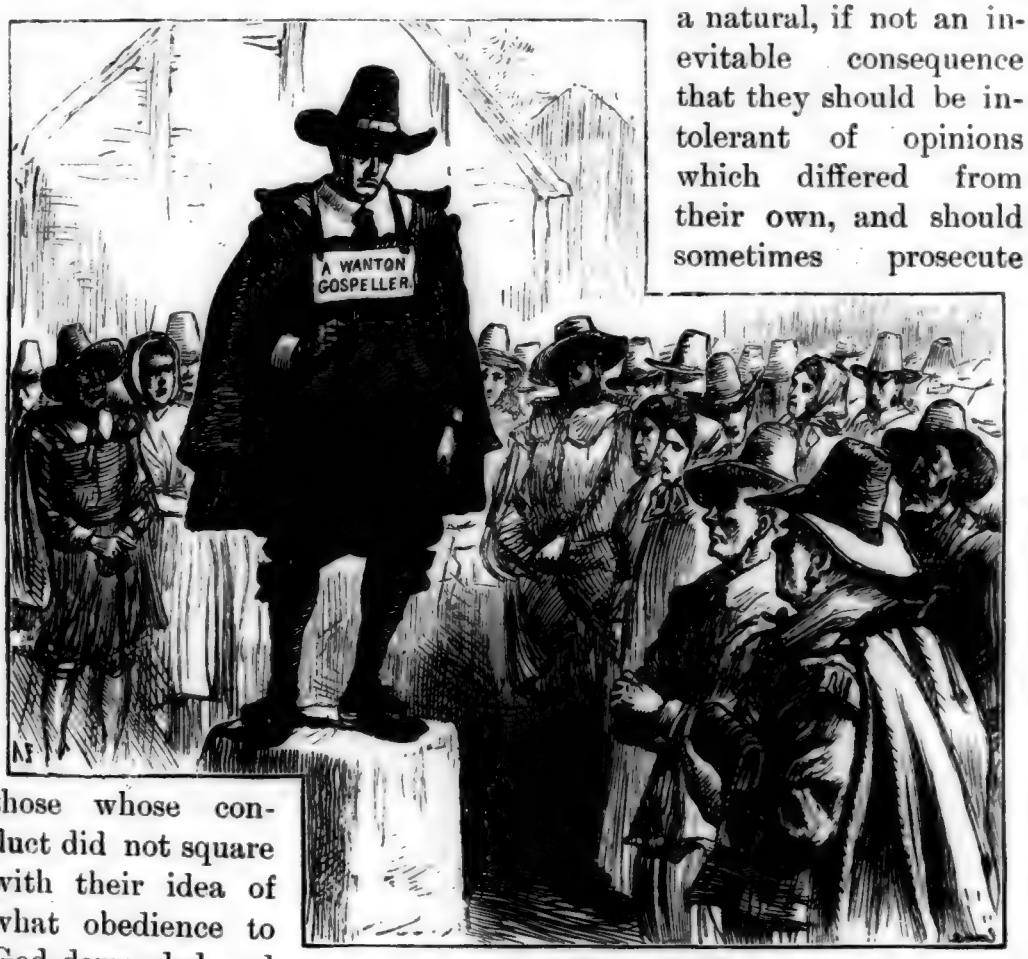
[1] The natural inference that such crimes were uncommon is not necessarily correct. It is no proof that burglary was or was not common, but it is an incident worth noting as indicating a rather unusual degree of lawlessness, that two young men of twenty years of age, both students of Harvard, one a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, the other a son of an equally well-known clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Welde, of Roxbury, were detected in robbing two houses at different times. They were first whipped by the president of the college, and it was then ordered by the court that the punishment be doubled, or the young men imprisoned. — *Savage's Winthrop. Coffin's History of Newbury.*

[2] *John Dunton's Journal*, p. 100.

magistrates should find it convenient to give him a trial. Notwithstanding the severity of such laws, however, the "wanton gospeller" has not been exterminated in Massachusetts even unto this day.[1]

Such was the spirit of the religion and the laws of the Massachusetts Puritans. They were to govern in the name of God, who had there set up his kingdom in a peculiar manner. As they themselves, however, were not divine, but were moved by human passions and limited by human weaknesses, it was a natural, if not an inevitable consequence that they should be intolerant of opinions which differed from their own, and should sometimes prosecute those whose conduct did not square with their idea of what obedience to God demanded and the good order of society required.

Puritan spirit and practice.



A Wanton Gospeller.

When, therefore, it turned out that the "wild opinionists," with their "phanatic Doctrines and practises," their "multi-monstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets," were swarming about Narragansett Bay, it was no wonder that Governor Winthrop and others should believe — and he used the words in literal faith — that "at Providence the devil was not idle." He was never busier, never doing more fatal mischief, it was believed, than when he was exciting theological controversy to its whitest heat.

[1] For all these early laws see *Massachusetts Records.*

Among the earlier settlers at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, was one Samuel Gorton, who soon proved himself to be a singularly incomprehensible, obstinate disputant, and incorrigible citizen; "a man," says Hubbard, "of an haughty spirit, and very heretical principles, a prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties, even the very dregs of Familism."[1] The same author says that he left Boston soon after arriving there because of a demand for an unpaid debt which followed him from England. The charge would be hardly worthy of belief even on better authority than that of Hubbard; for in all the acrimonious strife in which Gorton was involved for so many years, and in all the persecution with which he was pursued, there was no question of his integrity. "Whose ox or whose ass have I taken," — he said in a letter of defence and defiance, written in 1669 — "or when or where have I lived upon other men's labours, and not wrought with my own hands, for things honest in the sight of men, to eat my own bread?"[2] No one gainsaid him, as some one of his opponents would certainly have done had it been easy. For at a period remarkable for the exceeding ingenuity developed among men to make themselves hateful to their fellows, Gorton showed himself to possess preeminent ability; and his reputation for morality would have been — as it was for righteousness — picked clean to the bone, had he ever laid himself open to such an attack.

Samuel Gorton.

From Boston he went to Plymouth. Antinomianism was not necessarily responsible for his first conflict with the Plymouth authorities, as its occasion was his public defence of a servant in his own family, who having permitted herself, unfortunately, to smile in church, was declared by that token to be a heretic and a scoffer, and unworthy to remain in a Christian community.[3] But he began about this time to exercise his gift of preaching, persuaded that he had "a call to preach the gospel of Christ, not inferiour to any minister in this countrey, tho'," as he afterward said, "I was not bred up in the schools of humane learning, and I bless God that I never was, least I had been drowned in pride and ignorance."[4] He soon preached himself out of Plymouth. The Fathers put him under bonds for his good behavior, punished him by a heavy fine, and gave him fourteen days to depart out of their jurisdiction.[5] Naturally he turned his face towards Acquidneck, where he soon made himself conspicuous.

Gorton at Plymouth.

His banishment.

[1] *General History of New England.*

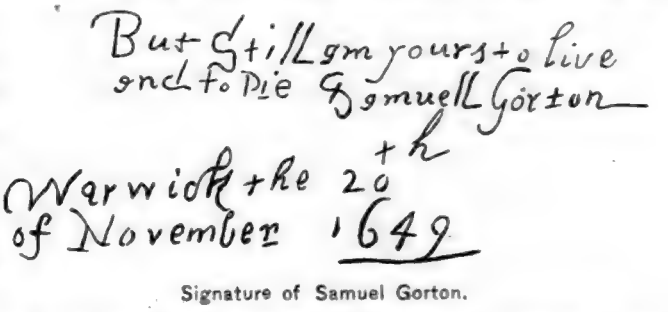
[2] Letter from Samuel Gorton to Nathaniel Morton, in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i. Appendix. *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii.

[3] *Life of Gorton*, in Sparks's *American Biography*. New Series, vol. v. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island.*

[4] *Letter to Morton.*

[5] Morton's *New England's Memorial*, p. 143. Hutchinson says he was whipped.

Here as at Plymouth he soon got into trouble, and, as it appears, on a somewhat like occasion. His maid assaulted another woman in a quarrel about the pasturage of a cow. Gorton appeared in her defence and behaved so insolently to the court, that he was arrested and imprisoned.[1] The grand jury indicted him as a nuisance, one of the counts of the indictment being that he called the magistrates Just asses; another that he alleged in open court that they were lawyers.[2] In the affair of the maid servant his friends Holden and Wickes made so much disturbance that an armed guard was called to suppress it, and Wickes was put in the stocks. Gorton fared even worse at his trial. Winthrop says there was much "tumult" at Acquidneck, and whether right or wrong, Gorton seems to have been in the thick of it. "These of the Island," says a contemporary writer, "have a pretended civill government of their owne erection without the King's Patent. There lately they whipt one master *Gorton*, a grave man, for denying their power, and abusing some of their magistrates with uncivill tearmes; the Governour, master *Coddington*, saying in Court, *You that are for the king, lay hold on Gorton;* and he againe, on the other side, called forth, *All you that are for the king, lay hold on Coddington.*" [3] Coddington's was the strongest party, and Gorton and his friends sought an asylum in Providence.



Signature of Samuel Gorton.

Williams received them kindly, as was his wont. How could he, who not long before had accepted re-baptism from Ezekiel Holliman — "a poor man late of Salem" — the founder of the first Baptist Church in America, refuse a welcome to one who had just testified to the truth, as he believed it, by suffering an ignominious punishment? He leaves Acquidneck for Providence.

Gorton bought lands, in the latter part of the year 1641, at Pawtuxet — now Cranston — but within the bounds of Providence, and was soon involved in disputes with his new neighbors. "Those of Providence," says Winthrop, were all Anabaptists; "some were only against baptizing of infants; others denied all magistracy and churches, etc., of which Gorton . . . . was their instructor and captain." Wil-

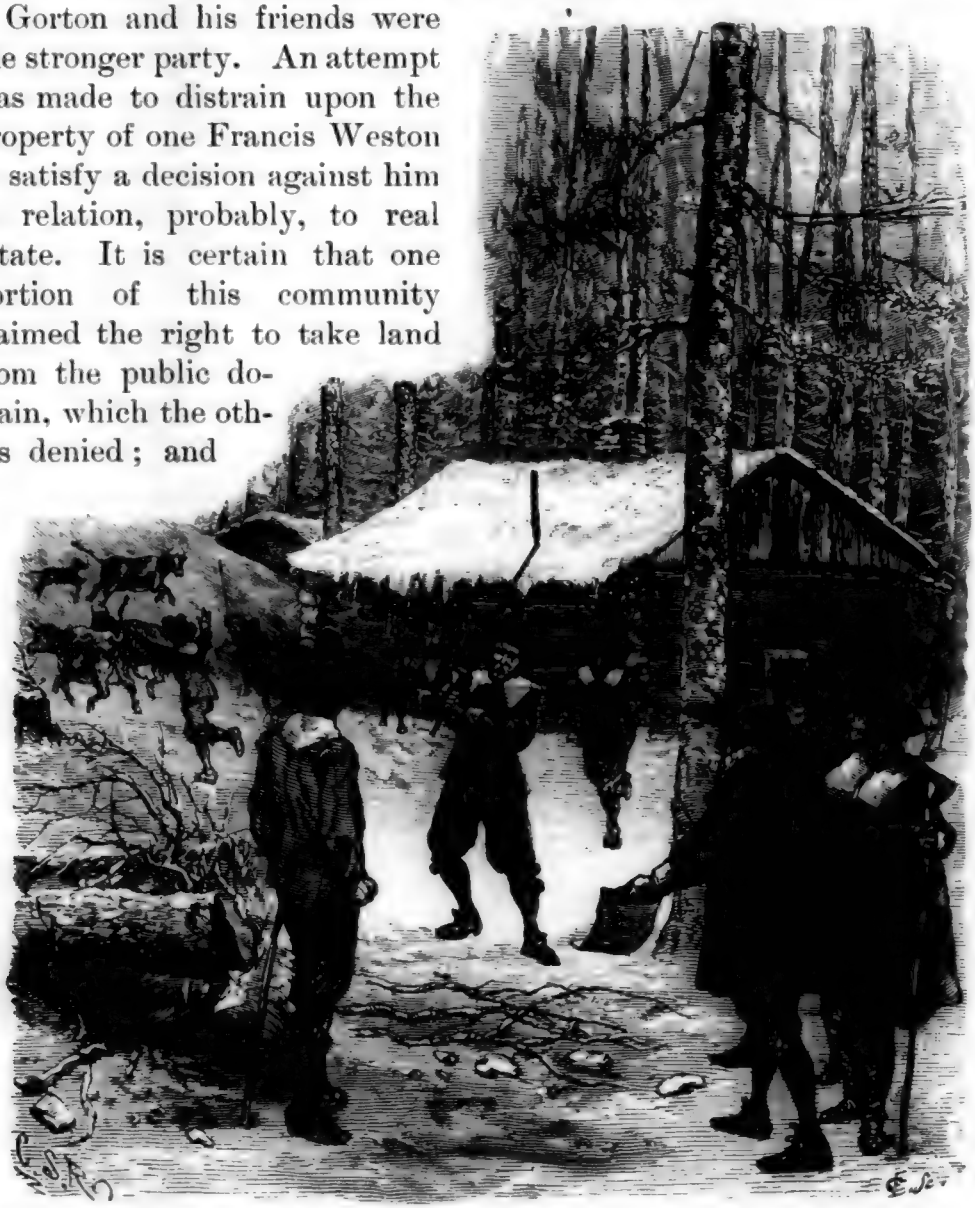
[1] Winslow's *Hypocrisie unmasked.*

[2] Arnold's *History of Rhode Island.*

[3] *Plain Dealing; or Newes from New-England.* By Thomas Lechford, of Clement's Inne, in the County of Middlesex, Gent., London, 1642. Republished in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Third Series, vol. iii. See also Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 69.

liams kept the peace among them for a little while, but controversialists soon became combatants, and from words came to blows.

Gorton and his friends were the stronger party. An attempt was made to distrain upon the property of one Francis Weston to satisfy a decision against him in relation, probably, to real estate. It is certain that one portion of this community claimed the right to take land from the public domain, which the others denied; and



The Conflict over Weston's Cattle.

it may be that for an encroachment of this kind Weston was adjudged by a board of referees — which was the method adopted for the administration of justice — to make a payment into the public treasury. The debt, at any rate, was a public one, and Weston refused to submit to the judgment in a written reply, a copy of which he nailed to a tree in the village, as well as gave to the authorities. The order was given to levy upon his cattle, which Gorton and others resisted, with a "tumultuous hubbub," and some blood was shed. A second attempt was made, when, says the narrative, "Weston came furiously running

with a flail in his hand, and cried out, 'Help Sirs, Help Sirs, they are going to steal my cattle,' and so continued crying till Randall Holden, John Greene, and some others came running, and made a great outcry, and hallooing, and crying 'Thieves, Thieves, Stealing cattle, Stealing cattle;' and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered they had made a rescue, and that such should be their practice, if any men, at any time, in any case, attach anything that is theirs."[1]

Gorton's party resist the Providence magistrates.

Benedict Arnold,[2] and a dozen others of the defeated party, appealed at once to Massachusetts for aid and counsel against these "lewd and licentious courses" of persons who, they declared, had openly proclaimed that they would "have no manner of honest order or government either over them or amongst them;" and who, unless brought to reason, would soon come "boldly to maintain licentious lust, like savage brute beasts," and fail to recognize any "manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, wives, lives." The exaggeration of such a statement is self-evident. It was so much the habit of the time to attribute all manner of immoralities, as a necessary consequence, to any difference of opinion, that nothing was easier — even to those who had been sufferers from intolerance in others — in a dispute where feeling was warmly enlisted, or pecuniary interest deeply involved, than to asseverate that he who maintained one side of the question had, therefore, no more religion than an Indian, and that he who maintained another must be bad enough to covet his neighbor's goods, and was generally no better than a thief and a murderer.[3]

[1] *Petition of some of Providence Colony to the Government of Massachusetts against Gorton and Others. Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 3d series, vol. i. *Rhode Island Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii.

[2] The petition was in Arnold's handwriting.

[3] In 1664–65 the people of Warwick — as Shawomet had come to be called — petitioned the King's Commissioners that satisfaction might be given them for the great losses they had suffered from the Massachusetts government. The General Court of Massachusetts cited in their defence the petition referred to in the text from the Providence people against those of Shawomet. As nearly twenty-five years had elapsed since the event referred to had occurred, it was clear enough that the consequences which the petition predicted — namely, that unless the Shawomet people were checked in their evil courses they would come to be like licentious, savage, brute beasts, holding all things, even their wives in common — were completely falsified. A prophecy proved to be false in 1665 would be a poor justification for Massachusetts to offer for her conduct in 1641. It therefore suited the General Court to quote the Providence petition as stating that Gorton and his companions were already the vile and dangerous men which the petitioners only said they might become in a certain contingency. In other words, the court so garbles the petition as to make it assert as an existing fact that which was only put as a possible consequence. However heretical it may seem, it is difficult to escape the suspicion that the Puritans some-

To the appeal of the discomfited party, however, the magistrates in Boston returned a cautious, and, at the same time, a suggestive answer. They could not, they said, levy war without the action of the General Court; but then any aggrieved people would be sure of protection if they subjected themselves to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. As all these people at Pawtuxet knew what it was to live under the government of Massachusetts and had run away from it, they were apparently not disposed to try it again immediately.

They were evidently not so disposed, for they did not "subject" themselves. For a year nothing is heard of any discord among them, and when, after the lapse of that period of quiet another cry came to Boston for help, it was not from the people of Providence at large; not even from the thirteen who had begged for interference the year before; now it was only four men who appealed to the Masachusetts magistrates, and of these four two were new men.[1]

Interference of Massachusetts.

These "four of Providence," writes Governor Winthrop, "who could not consort with Gorton and that company, and therefore were continually injured and molested by them, came and offered themselves and their lands, etc., to us, and were accepted under our government and protection." This was done, he says, "partly to rescue these men from unjust violence, and partly to draw in the rest in those parts, either under ourselves or Plymouth, who now lived under no government, but grew very offensive." But there was still another reason for this proposed interference with his neighbors, and Winthrop is frank enough to avow it; "the place," he adds, "was likely to be of use to us." The good Governor, who was so apt with Scriptural illustration, might have been reminded of

times showed signs of human weakness. See *Memorial to the King's Commissioners*, republished from *Mass. Records* in *Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii.

[1] The four were William Arnold and his son, Benedict Arnold, William Carpenter and Robert Cole. Benedict Arnold and Carpenter were among the petitioners of the year before. Cole, during the ten previous years, had been more under the active jurisdiction of the government, whose protection he now asked for, than most men. He was repeatedly punished for drunkenness and other misdemeanors, as the Massachusetts Records show. One of these records is: "Robte Coles is ffined X^{l} & enioyned to stand wth a white sheete of pap on his back, wherein a drunkard shalbe written in greate ires, & to stand therewth soe longe as the Court thinks meete, for abuseing himselfe shamefully wth drinke, intiseing John Shotswell wife to incontinency, & oth^{r} misdemean^{r}." *Mass. Records*, vol. i., p. 107. And again: "It is ordered, that Robte Coles, for drunkenes by him comitted att Rocksbury, shalbe disfranchized, weare aboute his necke & soe to hange vpon his outward garm^{t}, a D, made of redd cloath, & sett vpon white; to contynue this for a yeare, and not to leave it of att any tyme when hee comes amongst company, vnder the penalty of xl^{s} for the first offence, & V^{l} the second. & after to be punished by the Court as they thinke meete; also, hee is to weare the D outwards, & is enjoyned to appeare att the nexte Geñall Court, & to contynue there till the Court be ended." *Ibid.* p. 112. Even the austere magistrates in Boston must have smiled to see Robert Coles in the attitude of plaintiff, and asking their intercession for the establishment of an orderly and quiet government.

that narrative in which it is related how "Naboth, the Jezreelite, had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel, hard by the palace of Ahab king of Samaria. And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house."

The grievance actually complained of related to the division of wild lands, a question on which it was absurd to assume that one side was necessarily in the right, and the other as necessarily in the wrong. Massachusetts had not the shadow of authority for interference on either side. But she wanted a pretext and found it in the petition of the Arnolds and their two companions. It was natural enough to covet the garden of the Narragansett; it was not less natural that she should wish to punish over again those whose banishment had led to so pleasant a possession and not to pains and penalties. In addition to these carnal motives, there was the desire to serve God, as they proposed to do, by suppressing heresy.

Gorton was undoubtedly a pestilent and noisy fanatic, preaching doctrines as incomprehensible as they were captivating to himself and his illiterate hearers. But he does not seem to have been a bad citizen, and probably would have been harmless enough had he been let alone. But "a wanton gospeller" was of all men the most exasperating to a Boston Puritan, — a kind of human vermin which he felt bound to extirpate. Williams had written to Winthrop the year before: "Master Gorton, having foully abused high and low at Acquidneck, is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, both with his unclean and foul censures of all the ministers of this country (for which myself have in Christ's name withstood him), and also denying all visible and external ordinances in depth of Familism, against which I have a little disputed and written, and shall (the Most High assisting) to death."[1] But the short and sharp punishment which Coddington adjudged Gorton drove him speedily out of that colony. It is probable that he was already becoming of little moment to the Providence people, inasmuch as two only of the thirteen who the year before asked for aid against him now joined with two others in this second complaint. A year's experience had probably convinced the rest that the man was a harmless enthusiast; but whether he was or not, Williams, however much he might disapprove of him, would not be likely to ask the protection of that government the character of whose mercy he so well knew.

There came presently a formal and formidable notice from the Massachusetts magistrates, that, inasmuch as the two Arnolds, Cole, and Carpenter had put themselves under their protection, they should

[1] Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked.*

"maintain them in their lawful rights. If," continued this remarkable document, "you have any just title to any thing they possess, [referring to the lands in dispute] you may proceed against them in our court, where you shall have equal justice; but if you shall proceed to any violence, you must not blame us if we shall take a like course to right them."[1] That course, indeed, was taken at once, and the case prejudged in favor of the four complainants; for these were immediately appointed "to keep the peace in their lands," which only meant that they should have all requisite force to crush their adversaries. In short the whole proceeding was an act of sheer usurpation on the part of Massachusetts, done on the flimsiest pretext, and for an unavowed purpose.

Arbitrary course of the Boston authorities.

Their defence of it was that it was their right and duty to protect any Indians who asked for protection; that Plymouth claimed that the lands in dispute were within the limits of the Plymouth patent, and her magistrates assented to this interference on the part of Massachusetts; and that the commissioners of the United Colonies justified her action by formal vote. But the real question at issue was whether either Massachusetts or Plymouth had any such rightful jurisdiction over these lands of Pawtuxet. The conduct of Massachusetts, therefore, could not be justified by the assumption of that right while it was still doubtful, nor could that conduct, if wrong, be made right by the approbation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. The plea that the Indians needed any protection was a pretext and not a reason.

The whole Gorton party seems to have been only about a dozen. So far from assuming to be defiant or dangerous, except in words, they immediately abandoned their houses and lands at Pawtuxet, — which put an end, of course, to any plausible pretext of the necessity of interference from anybody — and moved away in search of a new home. Whatever they may have done at other times, and in other places, to provoke persecution, they were anxious now to get out of the way of it. Though they did not mean to forego the right of maintaining their religious convictions, they hoped, at least, to escape from a jurisdiction where to those convictions was attached a penalty. They might well call upon the woods to hide them from a government which summoned them to appear as plaintiffs in a civil suit, that it might try them as criminals, whose guilt admitted of no defence.

The place chosen for their new settlement was Shawomet — afterward called Warwick, — about a dozen miles south of Providence. All those who went, being of one mind, probably hoped to escape further molestation from Massachusetts, as well as to

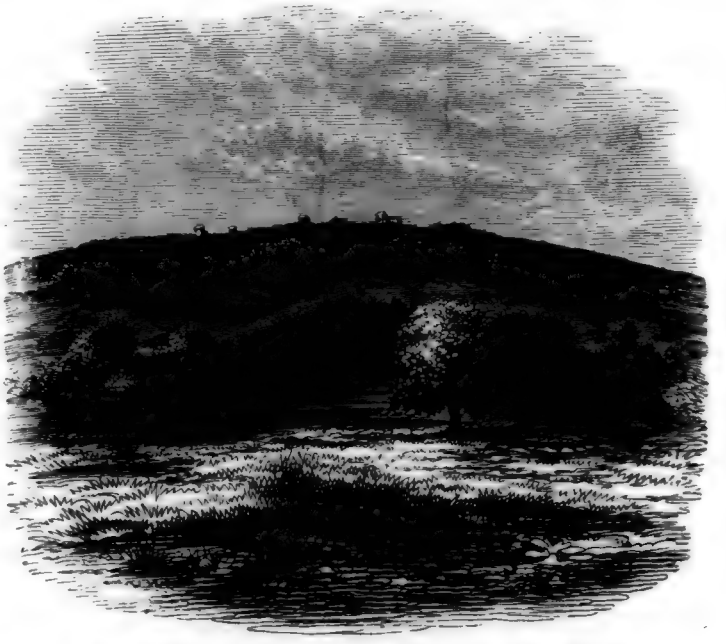
Gorton at Shawomet.

[1] *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., p. 53.

be beyond the reach of the four new justices of the peace that Massachusetts had put over them. So far as the land-titles at Pawtuxet were concerned, the Arnolds had carried the day; but the magistrates at the Bay were greatly mistaken if they thought that any assumption of territorial jurisdiction on their part could silence Gorton.

Gorton's letter.

Before he and his companions fled to Shawomet they answered the Boston magistrates in a letter of many pages. It covered their whole body of theology as that was conceived and brought forth, full grown, from the brain of Samuel Gorton; it touched upon civil things, but only as they had some theological aspect; it was replete with Scriptural illustrations; it abounded with references to Hebrew history; it was illuminated with copious annotations; it assumed to be exhaustive as to its logic; as to its inward spiritual sense its depths were unfathomable; it was red and hot and angry with denunciation, and had only the briefest and most perfunctory allusion to the question of land titles. No doubt it meant a great deal to those who wrote it, though we have never heard of anybody since that time who has pretended to understand it; and it is creditable to the intelligence or the ingenuity of those to whom it was addressed that they could find in it "twenty-six particulars, or thereabouts, which, they said, were blasphemous," though to do this they had, the writers said, to change the phrases, to alter the words and the sense, and in no case take the true intent of the writing.[1] So taken, however, it answered the purpose of those who received it; here were fresh heresies and blasphemies to denounce from the pulpits; and the magistrates and General Court of Massachusetts were incited to new watchfulness to find a fresh pretext for the suppression of the schismatics whose existence troubled the Israel of New England.[2]



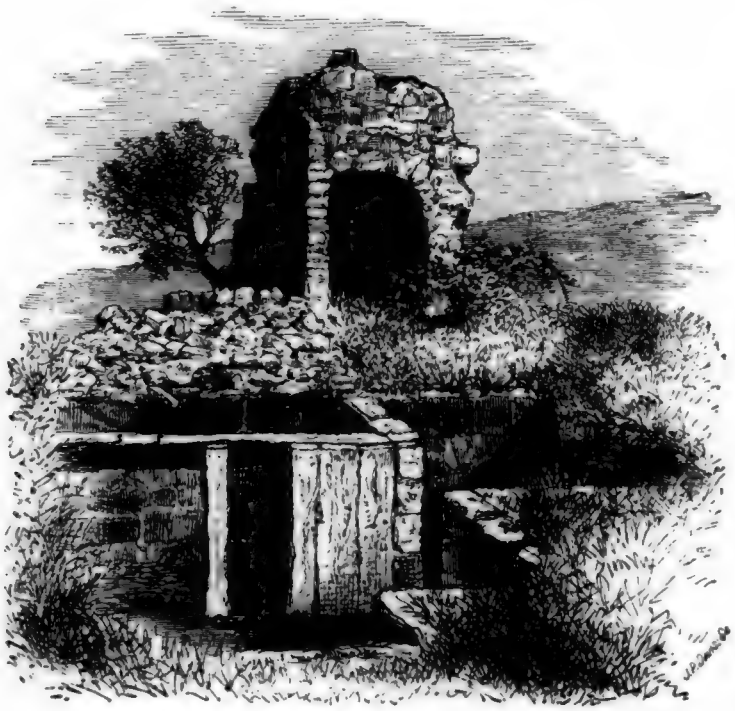
Site of Gorton's Settlement at Shawomet (now Warwick).

[1] Gorton's *Simplicitie's Defence*, in *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii.

[2] The signers to the letter were John Wickes, Randall Houlden, John Warner, Robert

For that pretext they had not long to wait. They seized it and used it pertinaciously and remorselessly. However unworthy it was of men so enlightened and so good as they unquestionably were; however sincerely they may have believed they were suppressing evil, not hindering the truth, they must be judged by their acts, rather than their motives, — by that abstract rule of right by which the deeds of all men are to be measured. In no event of that period do we see more clearly the spirit of that rule which the Puritans hoped to establish, or a more marked illustration of the character of that struggle for civil and religious freedom, and the abuses attending it, which belong to the early history of New England.

Potter, Richard Waterman, William Waddle, Samuel Gorton, Richard Carder, John Greene, Nicholas Power, Francis Weston, Sampson Shotton. These twelve men were the purchasers of Shawomet.



Ruins of Gorton's House at Shawomet (Warwick, R. I.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE SHAWOMET PEOPLE AND THEIR INDIAN FRIENDS.

PURCHASE OF LANDS AT SHAWOMET. — PROTEST OF TWO INDIAN CHIEFS, PUMHAM AND SACONONOCO. — SHAWOMET PEOPLE SUMMONED TO BOSTON. — COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO VISIT THEM. — THREATS AND PREPARATIONS FOR RESISTANCE. — FLIGHT OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN. — THE MEN BESIEGED. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. — A HOLLOW TRUCE. — THE MEN TAKEN PRISONERS AND CARRIED TO BOSTON. — THEIR TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT. — THEIR RELEASE AND RETURN TO RHODE ISLAND. — APPREHENDED TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS. — CHARGES AGAINST MIANTONOMO. — FEUD BETWEEN THE MOHICANS AND NARRAGANSETTS. — UNCAS BEFRIENDED BY THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED COLONIES. — CAPTURE OF MIANTONOMO BY UNCAS. — HIS ASSASSINATION BY DIRECTION OF THE ENGLISH.

THE lands at Shawomet upon which Gorton and his eleven companions hoped they might live unmolested, were bought of Miantonomo. He gave a deed as chief sachem of the Narragansetts, and by it conveyed possession "with the free and joint consent of the present inhabitants, being natives, as it appears by their hands hereunto [thereunto] annexed." Among these was Pumham, a petty sachem of the place. The twelve men with their wives and children had fled for the sake of peace into the wilderness; for their lands they had paid the owners in sound Indian currency of wampumpeage, — one hundred and forty-four fathoms, twelve fathoms to a man; — and as they had gone where they could do no harm to others, they only asked that no harm be done to them.

But they were not left long undisturbed. Whether it was that the controversy about the lands at Pawtuxet had aroused in Benedict Arnold a personal animosity so bitter that nothing would satisfy him but the ruin of his opponents; or whether he was only anxious to serve those with whom religious rancor was quite as inexorable as private hate could be, — whatever was his motive he again appeared before the government of Massachusetts as a complainant against the Shawomet people.

An Indian complaint against the Shawomet settlers.

He was an Indian trader and interpreter, and as such possessed a good deal of influence over the natives. Soon after Miantonomo's deed was given Arnold went to Boston, and with him were two chiefs, Pumham and Sacononoco. They claimed that they were independent sachems; that one of them —

Pumham — had been compelled by Miantonomo to part with his lands at Shawomet, and affix his signature to the deed conveying them to the Gorton people, for which he declined to accept any remuneration; and both now begged that they might be taken under the protection of Massachusetts.



Signature of Pumham.

It is far more likely these Indians were induced by Arnold to come forward with such a proposition, that a plausible pretext might thereby be made for further proceedings against the Shawomet people, than that the Indians should ask for any such interference between them and another chief. The umpire whose good offices they would have naturally sought, in case of any real grievance, was Williams. And even if they did not owe allegiance to Miantonomo, — which, as he was the chief sachem of the Narragansetts, they probably did, — the protection of one Indian against another did not necessarily extend the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over a country beyond the boundaries of her patent. The colonies, great or small, were responsible to the government at home, and not to Massachusetts. The plea, nevertheless, answered its purpose. Miantonomo was summoned to Boston, and on the testimony of Arnold, an interested witness, and Cutshamake, a petty sachem of Dorchester, who knew little about the matter, the magistrates decided that Pumham and Sacononoco were independent chiefs, whose lands Miantonomo had no right to sell. Pumham and Sacononoco were thereupon told that they would be received "not as confederates, but as subjects," to which they replied with true Indian frankness and indifference, that they knew the English had so little respect for them that they expected nothing better.[1]

That the new subjects might be properly protected the twelve men

[1] The two chiefs seem to have been but little impressed with the gravity of changing their nationality. On the other side it was made a very solemn business, and the Sagamores were put through a rigid course of catechizing. Some of their replies were curious and characteristic. They should wish, they said, to speak with reverence of the Englishman's God, for He did better by His people than their gods did by them. As to false swearing, they knew nothing about it, as they did not know what an oath was. When asked if they would refrain from unnecessary work on the Lord's day while in the towns, they replied that it was easy to do that, for they had very little to do at any time, and could forbear from work on that day quite as well as any other. As to honoring superiors — so much was it their habit to do so, they said, that if the governor told them they lied they should not resent it. Certain crimes which they were asked to refrain from, they said with quiet sarcasm were no more allowed, though they were committed among them, than stealing was — stealing not having been mentioned by their catechizers. They would like to know, they said, the "manners" of the English, when asked the comprehensive question if they would permit their children to read God's Word that they might have a knowledge of the true God, and worship Him in accordance with his will. In short, whether consciously or unconsciously, they were guilty of literal contempt of court in their manner of treating very serious matters.

of Shawomet were summoned to appear before the General Court at Boston.[1] They answered that they were responsible for their actions, not to Massachusetts but to the government in England which was over both. A second message was sent a few days later, but with an indictment much enlarged. Wrong had been done, it declared, not merely to the Indian sachems but to English and Indians generally within the newly found jurisdiction, and more than this, even to the Massachusetts government itself. The accused were notified that commissioners would at once proceed to Shawomet for negotiation, taking with them, however, a sufficient guard "for their safety against any violence or injury." But this precaution for the protection of the commissioners had another purpose; for unless their demands were complied with "we must" — adds the letter, signed by the secretary of the General Court — "right ourselves and our people by force of arms,"[2] — the "force" of a powerful colony against twelve men.

The Gorton party summoned to Boston.

The handful of Shawomet men were nevertheless defiant. "If you come to treat with us," they wrote to the commissioners, "in ways of equity and peace (together therewith shaking a rod over our heads, in a band of soldiers), be you assured, we have passed our childhood and nonage in that point; and are under commission of the great God, not to be children in understanding, neither in courage, but to quit ourselves as men. We straitly charge you, therefore, hereby, that you set not a foot upon our lands in any hostile way, but upon your peril; and that if any blood be shed, upon your own heads shall it be." But the peril was one that no brave words could avert.

The commissioners had with them a minister as well as a band of soldiers, "certainly persuading ourselves," they said, "that we shall be able through the Lord's help, to convince some of them at least of the evil of their way, and cause them to divert their course, that so doing they may preserve their lives and liberties, which otherwise

[1] According to one of the Gorton letters, addressed "To the great and honored Idol General now set up in the Massachusetts," an offence that was neither forgotten nor forgiven, these Indian chiefs had some reasons, not stated, for wishing to be released from responsibility to the Shawomet people. They were both thieves, and Pumham having, on one occasion, crept down a chimney and rifled a house in the absence of its owner, was captured as he was attempting to escape by the same outlet. Perhaps the Massachusetts magistrates were not insensible of the ridicule thrown upon them by the relation of this incident in the letter, with the reflection, "indeed Pumham is an aspiring person, as becomes a prince of his profession."

[2] The commissioners were George Cooke, Edward Johnson, and Humphrey Atherton. Johnson was the author of *The Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*, published in London in 1654. In that book he speaks of Gorton as the "ringleader of the rout, full-gorged with dreadful and damnable errors"; as he who "vomits up a whole paper full of beastly stuff"; as "exceeding the Beast himself for blasphemy."

must necessarily lead to eternal ruin of them and theirs; . . . . but if there be no way of turning them, we then shall look upon them as men prepared for slaughter."

There was little opportunity, had there been any serious intention of engaging in theological disputation, and this suggestion of persuasion was mere pretence. That point was long since passed, even if Gorton had been a much more hopeful subject. The presence of a clergyman only showed that the suppression of heresy was the true object of the expedition, as it was of all the preliminary measures that led up to it; but the suppression was not to be by an appeal to reason.

Though Gorton had been whipped from colony to colony, and he and his followers must have been quite conscious that they were held to be a very obnoxious and even dangerous people, this answer of the commissioners to their brave words seems to have revealed to them, for the first time, that they really were in danger of their lives.

Alarm at Shawomet.

Alarm spread through the village. The women gathered their children about them to be ready for flight to the forest, where they hoped to find refuge among the savages. The men prepared themselves, few as they were, for fight, but without sufficient means for any effectual resistance, if their own story be true, that the magistrates of Massachusetts had, some time before, included them in a prohibition of the sale of gunpowder to the Indians.

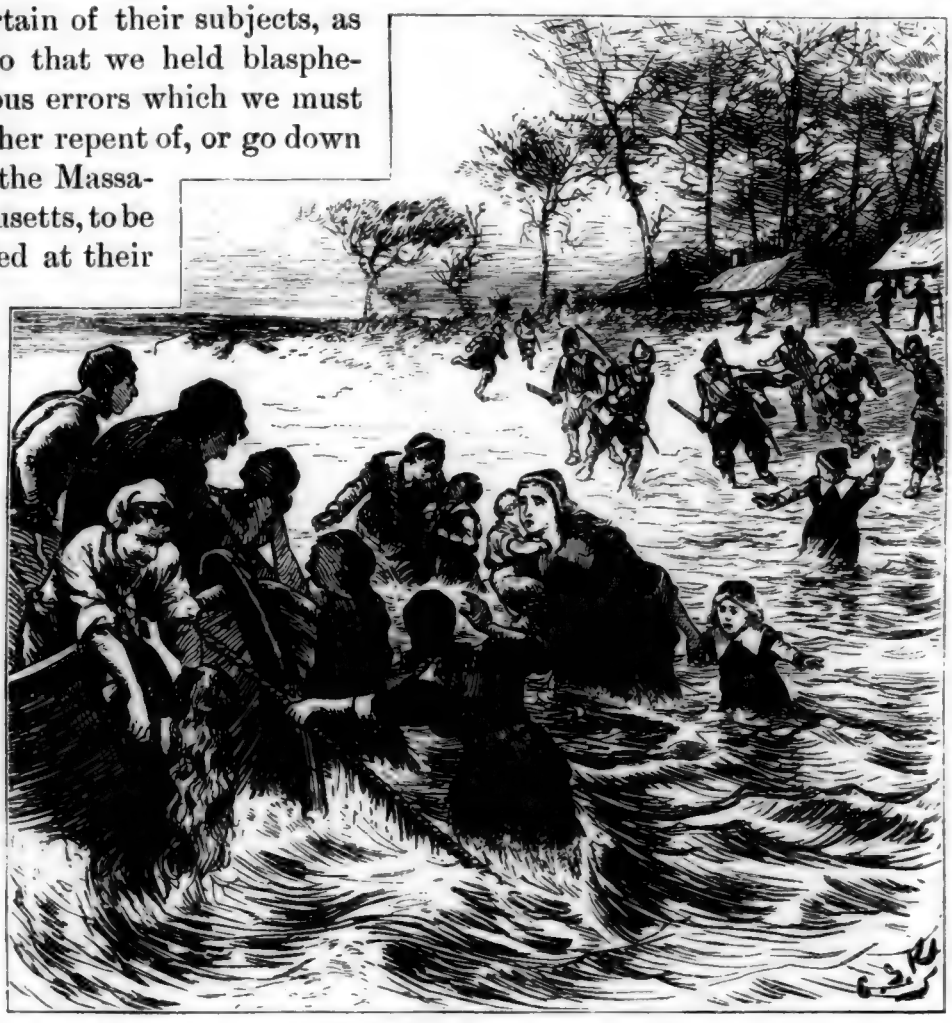
The commissioners were not far behind the announcement of their determined purpose. The band of soldiers and Indians was seen coming through the woods, and the alarm was hardly given before they charged into the village. The affrighted women and children fled before them as the brave troops of the Massachusetts General Court levelled their muskets upon women great with child, upon toddling children holding to their mothers' skirts. Some ran to the woods for shelter; others waded into the river to reach a boat where some kindly Providence people, whose sympathies had brought them to the place, were ready to give them a helping hand. None were killed actually upon the spot, though some died afterwards in premature childbed, and others from the sufferings to which they were all exposed.

Gorton's people attacked. Their parley.

The men, not thinking, probably, that they were leaving their wives and little ones to any serious peril, had fortified themselves as best they could, in one of their log-houses. Gorton was the last to enter this citadel, having delayed that he might help his wife — it should have been the wife of another man if he deserved his reputation — to a place of safety. When the soldiers had dispersed all who were incapable of resistance they con-

sented to a parley with those who could fight. It was only by the persuasions of the Providence people, however, who hearing of the coming of the commissioners were there to prevent bloodshed if they could, that an immediate assault upon the log-house was prevented.

The commissioners demanded an instant surrender. "They pretended," says the Gorton narrative, "we had done some wrong unto certain of their subjects, as also that we held blasphemous errors which we must either repent of, or go down to the Massachusetts, to be tried at their



The Gorton Party attacked.

Courts, or else they had commission to put us to the sword and to pay themselves out of our goods for their charges in coming thither."[1] Possibly they may not have gone to the extremity of threatening instant death, but the statement of the alleged offences for which surrender was demanded is, no doubt, correctly given.

The besieged refused. They denied that they owed any allegiance to Massachusetts, for they were not within her jurisdiction. They declined to accept as their judges those who were their avowed enemies;

[1] *Simplicitie's Defence against Seven Headed Policy*, p. 104, vol. ii., *Coll. R. I. Hist. Society.*

but they were quite willing that the differences between them should be submitted to the government at home. This proposition was met with a peremptory refusal.

They then offered to submit the case to arbitration. Impartial men, they proposed, should be chosen by both parties, and they promised to bind themselves by their goods, their lands, and their persons to abide by any decision that should be given against them. This was so far considered that a truce was agreed to till a reply to the proposal could be received from the government in Boston.

It is clear enough that the Gorton people were only anxious for peace; equally clear that the other party only meant that they should be punished. The truce on one side was a hollow pretence. Before the messenger could return from Boston, the houses of the village were broken open and pillaged; their desks were rifled and their papers stolen; the soldiers helped themselves to all they wanted, carrying beds and bedding to the trenches for their own comfort; the women and children venturing back from the woods to see the husbands and fathers who they hoped would be for a little while unmolested, were assaulted, and even fired upon as they approached. No doubt it was — as some pitying people in Providence wrote at the time to Governor Winthrop, under the delusion that their intercession and testimony might abate the rigor of that persecution — no doubt it was "a mournful spectacle," and one can only wish, as they did, that these poor creatures so likely "to be left miserable," had but been "able to write their own grief."[1]

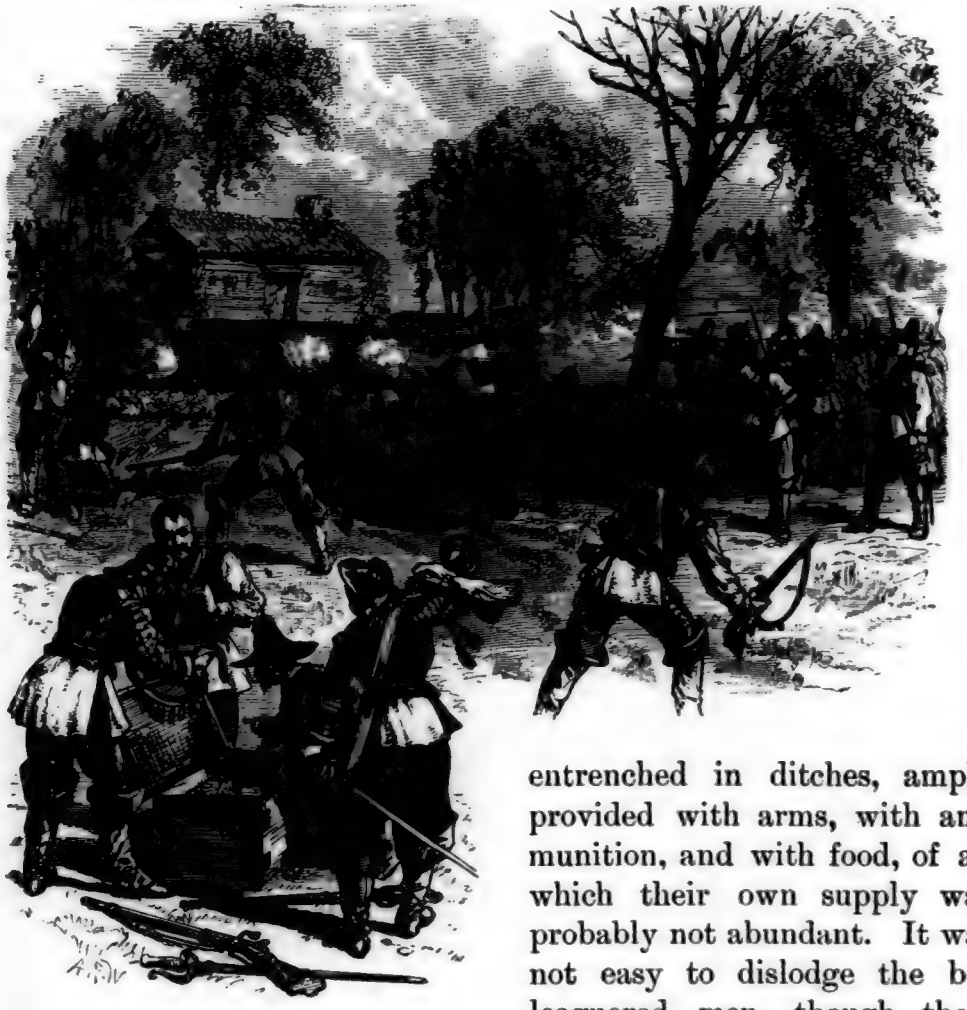
Affairs were still worse when the messenger arrived from Boston. The proposition for arbitration was rejected at once. The real offence was one for which there could be no compromise, and, with the Puritans no palliation. "Besides the title of land," wrote Winthrop, to the compassionate mediators of Providence, they "have subscribed their names to horrible and detestable blasphemies, against God, and all magistracy." Above all things was "the vindication of God's honour," which the Boston people firmly believed was intrusted to their keeping. And, moreover, to whom could all the questions in the case be referred? Not to you of Providence, said the Massachusetts governor, for you live too near and have too much pity for these blasphemers, to be trusted; and as to those people on Rhode Island

[1] However much the people of Providence may have been vexed at the extravagances of Gorton and his friends, they deprecated and protested against the cruel treatment which their vagaries brought upon them. Even had they of Providence cared nothing for liberty of conscience, they knew how little reason there was to fear that any harm could come of the preaching of an apostle who had gained, even with the rare advantage of two public whippings and expulsion from every place where he had tried to find a home, only about a dozen disciples.

we know them too well! No! There could be even no further negotiation, much less arbitration. They must surrender or take the consequences.

Gorton and his men, whatever else they were, were not cowards. A discharge of musketry announced the return of the messenger, and notice was given that the truce, — which had been no truce, — was ended. They saw their goods despoiled, their cattle driven off, or slaughtered; their women and children were in they knew not how great extremity; they were a dozen men only shut up in a log cabin; the enemy was nearly four times their number, safely

Shawomet pillaged.



The Gorton Party besieged in the Block-house.

entrenched in ditches, amply provided with arms, with ammunition, and with food, of all which their own supply was probably not abundant. It was not easy to dislodge the beleaguered men, though their resistance was rather passive than active. For several days they withstood the siege, but without firing a shot, for they would shed no blood if they could avoid it. The soldiers in the trenches emptied their bandaliers of four hundred bullets into the logs of the fortress; they built fires in the night time against the walls; but all with no other result than the con-

sumption of much patience and powder. It was a special providence, Mr. Winthrop thought, that nobody was hurt — nobody, that is, on his side; the ungodly Gortonites perhaps thought that nobody was killed because they preferred not to kill the enemy on the outside, and on the inside kept themselves out of the range of the bullets.

But what could not be done by force was done at last by stratagem — if treachery be not the better word. Reinforcements were sent for from Boston, and it was evident that defence much longer was hopeless. It was agreed, therefore, that hostilities should cease, Gorton and those with him consenting to go to Massachusetts, on condition, however, that they should go not as prisoners, but as "free men and neighbors." So soon, however, as the soldiers gained admittance to the house, the men were seized by order of the captain, their arms taken from them, and the whole company marched off as captives. They were permitted to make no disposition of their property, which was left as a spoil to the Indians after the commissioners and the soldiers had helped themselves to all they thought worth taking. They had been, it is plain, too thrifty and industrious a community to have been very bad citizens, for their losses were fourscore head of cattle, besides swine and goats, corn and other provisions, and their household goods. "Our countrymen," — is the simple but emphatic testimony, a few months afterward, of some of the most respectable people of Providence, — "were peacably possessed of a plantation at Shawomet;" they were "assaulted and besieged by Captain Cooke and his company in warlike manner," . . . . "their goods, cattle, houses, and plantations were seized upon by the foresaid captain;" . . . . they themselves "were carried captive through this town of Providence to the Bay of Massachusetts;" . . . . Their "wives and children were scattered in great extremities, and divers since have died."[1]

The Gorton party taken prisoners.

No glimmer of merciful relenting, no ray of pitiful compassion, soften or relieve the cruel and sombre gloom of this page in the history of Massachusetts. Making every possible allowance for the strength of religious convictions, and for the sensitiveness of political relations still inchoate and experimental, it is hard to find any other excuse than that which may be given for any religious bigotry for this persecution of a handful of harmless people, whose numbers were too few to be dangerous, and whose doctrines were too abstruse, if not absolutely too unmeaning, to admit of that number being ever seriously increased. But it was enough that they were blasphemers against God, because their supposed theological notions did not square with those preached in the First Church of Boston; that they were disbe-

[1] *Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 117.

lievers in all human governments, because they questioned the authority of the magistrates of Massachusetts.

The unhappy prisoners were hurried on to Boston. Had they been malefactors on their way to the gallows, — malefactors on whose garments the mob hope to see, and shudder at the thought of seeing, the blood of the victims of their cupidity or their hate, — they could hardly have been received with more public emotion. In some of the towns they passed through the clergymen called the people to join in prayer, in the open streets, in recognition of the good-

The captives at Boston.



Winthrop blessing the Soldiers.

ness of the Lord that he had given them the victory. In Dorchester was a great gathering, and in the crowd were those worshipful ministers, Master Cotton and Master Mather, whose presence gave special solemnity to the volleys of shot that were fired over the heads of the prisoners in token of the triumph of the expedition. In Boston the public rejoicings were made even more significant. The troops were drawn up in double file in front of Governor Winthrop's house, and, at intervals of five or six soldiers, were placed these dreadful enemies

of the quiet of the Church, and the peace of the Commonwealth. The commissioners entered the house, and in due form reported their return; and then came out to the military array the honored governor, who, passing between the lines, lifted up his hands and his voice in welcome and in thanksgiving that God had permitted their safe deliverance and signal victory. And he took from each soldier his name, that the General Court might be informed of their pains and good carriage, and where such worthy instruments of its will might be found when occasion should again arise for great services.[1] Then, after a brief examination, the prisoners were committed to the common jail; the governor again stepped forth to receive a salute of three rounds of shot from the military, who then marched to the nearest inn, the governor at their head, for a frugal banquet, before disbanding. There was peace in Massachusetts.

Trial and punishment came in due order, beginning with compulsory attendance upon Mr. Cotton's ministrations on the first Lord's day after the arrival in Boston, — a penalty, however, not without mitigation, for Gorton took up the sermon of the learned clergyman and answered it on the spot, point by point. For such an opportunity of exhorting he and his followers would have been willing, doubtless, to listen to Mr. Cotton daily, but we find no record of the repetition of this particular discipline. It was clearly more prudent that the elders should conduct these theological discussions within the jail, rather than the meeting-house, lest some feeble brothers or sisters, as was quite possible, should be deluded by the Evil One into believing that Master Cotton or Master Wilson had the worst of the argument. There was, at any rate, no lack of controversy till the time of the public trial, and the most learned elders, and those most distinguished for godliness, spent themselves in vain in labors with the stiff-necked heretics.[2]

[1] Gorton, in the *Simplicitie's Defence*, and Winthrop, in his history, are perfectly in accord as to the details of this singular proceeding.

[2] To grapple with a knotty theological problem was the delight of the learned and devout Puritan, and it is easy to understand the complete satisfaction with which they came to the encounter with so tough a disputant as Gorton, armed and equipped with such weapons as these, — we quote from Winthrop: "Gorton maintained (in a dispute in the prison with one of the elders) that the image of God wherein Adam was created, was Christ; and so the loss of that image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of it in regeneration was Christ's resurrection, and so the death of him that was born of the Virgin Mary was but a manifestation of the former." The devout governor discovered flat blasphemy in all this, but it is difficult to understand that such a thesis, however earnestly defended, could threaten the safety of either Church or State.

Gorton's method of controversy was only a travesty of that of the time. That professedly minute and exhaustive analysis of texts of Scripture, in search of some profoundly occult meaning, overlooking the obvious interpretation as puerile, because it was level to the vulgar comprehension, — this Gorton imitated and reduced to a fine absurdity. The

They were brought at length before the General Court and put formally upon their defence. The judicial proceeding was characteristic of all that had gone before. The offences, for which the accused were on trial, were theological rather than civil, and therefore the elders were called to sit with the judges. As to the claim of jurisdiction, including protection for the vagabond Indian chiefs, "we need not," said Winthrop, "question them [the Shawomet people] any more about that;" possession was gained, and the Massachusetts "title appearing good," he said, they refusing to prove a negative. They refused, because they were too wary to be impaled upon the horns of a dilemma by appearing as defendants before a court whose jurisdiction they denied, where the question to be tried was whether that court had jurisdiction.

Trial of the Gorton party.

"They were all illiterate men," says Winthrop; "the ablest of them could not write true English, no, not common words, yet they would take upon them the interpretation of the most difficult places of Scripture, and wrest them any way to serve their own turns." Pity might have waited gracefully upon such contempt as this, and the more, that these ignorant enthusiasts would not acknowledge, perhaps were incapable of understanding, that the doctrines they preached could bear any such interpretation as the court chose to put upon them. But they stood before judges of a faith too inexorable to be moved by compassion, and, as was fit, they to whose care that faith was specially committed were the most unrelenting.

The trial lasted several days. A single incident shows the manner in which it was conducted. Four questions were put to Gorton, in

difficulty was that the very elect were taken in by any such assumption of profound religious wisdom, because the presentation was after the approved method. They became incapable of relying upon the good sense of the people, who, when no appeal was made to their sympathies by the persecution of obnoxious persons, would easily distinguish the false from the true. To give an instance of Gorton's method: When in prison in Charlestown, he wrote to the minister of the church, and proposed that he might have "liberty to speak and express the word of the Lord" in public, either on Sunday or at the weekly lecture. The Scripture he proposed "to open and declare" was the ninth chapter of Revelations. The first verse of that chapter is: *And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth; and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.* On this text the people of Charlestown were to be taught by Gorton —

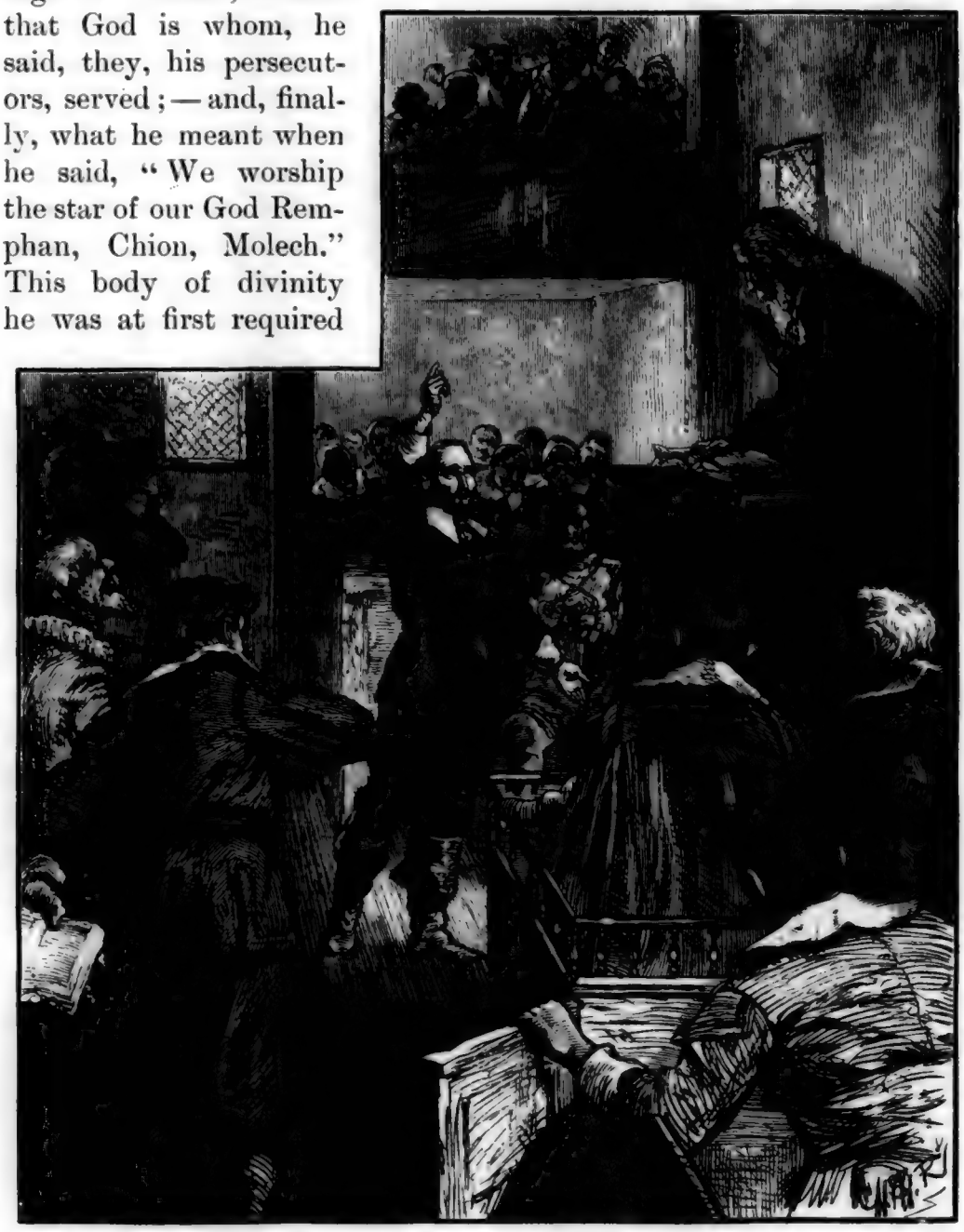
"1. What the sound of the trumpet is. 2. Who the Angel is. 3. Why the fifth.

"1. What the star is that falls from heaven to the earth. 2. What the fall of it is. 3. How it falls from heaven unto the earth.

"1. What the key of the bottomless pit is. 2. To whom it is given. 3. The manner how it is given. 4. How the pit is opened. 5. How it can be said to be bottomless, seeing nothing can be without banks and bottom, but the Lord himself."

He goes on to other verses of the chapter with the same drastic diffusiveness of verbal criticism; and were it not perfectly certain that Gorton was in most deadly earnest it might be supposed that he was aiming to give an absurd caricature of Puritan preaching and exegesis. — See *Simplicitie's Defence. Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 146.

which he was called upon to answer, whether the Fathers who died before Christ was born, were justified and saved only by his blood; — whether the only price of redemption was not the death and sufferings of Christ; — who that God is whom, he said, they, his persecutors, served; — and, finally, what he meant when he said, "We worship the star of our God Remphan, Chion, Molech." This body of divinity he was at first required



Gorton's Dispute with Cotton.

to elucidate in writing, at peril of his life, in fifteen minutes; but the time was afterward extended to half an hour, and then to the next morning. In the answers, no flaw could be found, but they were none the more satisfactory on that account; on the contrary, they

were on that account the more objectionable, inasmuch as they were not what was expected, and did not agree, the court decided, with what Gorton had written in his answer to the accusations of the magistrates. There could be little of the spirit of justice in a court that arraigned a man for alleged erroneous opinions, and then refused to accept his defence because he denied that these opinions which his judges accused him of holding were his.

The elders declared that the offence of these men was deserving of death; of the magistrates, all but three agreed with the elders; but the larger number of the forty delegates to the General Court representing the body of the people, where sound judgment and love of justice had freer play, refused to sanction such a sentence. But it was decided that the accused should be dispersed into several towns, where each should be kept at hard labor, with irons upon one leg, and commanded that they should "not, by word or writing, maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors upon pain of death."[1]

The sentence.

The imprisonment lasted through the whole winter of 1643–4, and, as not unfrequently happens, the purpose of the punishment was defeated by its severity. The poison of false doctrine was spread, not suppressed; for the fear of death with such men was as nothing compared to the fear of offending their own consciences by base and submissive silence. In the spring, the anxiety was as great to get rid of them as it was in the autumn to bring them within reach of the heavy hand of Massachusetts law. "The court," Winthrop frankly confesses, "finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them fourteen days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death." Gorton, no doubt, was willing enough to be released, but he parted unwillingly with the "iron furniture" about his leg. He would have been glad to drag that clanging witness at his heels about the streets of Boston, as he boldly cried aloud against the injustice of her magistrates, and proclaimed anew his own heresies. But the people could no more be trusted to listen than he to preach. Within three days of the order of release, which gave them permission to remain a fortnight, Gorton and

Gorton expelled from Massachusetts.

[1] Winthrop's *History*, Savage's edition, vol. ii., p. 177. *Mass. Records*, vol. ii., p. 52. 'And when the bolts and chains were made ready," says Gorton, in his *Simplicitie's Defence*, "they put them upon us in the prison of Boston, that so we might travel in them to the several towns to which we were confined, some of us having fifteen miles, and some thirty to go from Boston, only we were to stay till Master Cotton, his Lecture day, and then were all brought to the congregation, in that our iron furniture for the credit of the sanctuary, which had set the sword on work to such good purpose." Whatever Governor Win-

his companions were commanded "to depart out of the town before noon this day," — the day of the order.

Persecution in their case had clearly not been successful except to inflict upon them needless suffering. As they turned their faces back toward the road along which they had been brought as prisoners six months before, they evidently felt that the Lord had given them the victory. "Was Captain Cooke a good captain?" asked some of them of an Indian chief at whose wigwam they were entertained on their journey. "I cannot tell," he answered, "but Indians account of those as good captains, when a few dare stand out against many."[1] They were quite willing to accept this tribute to their own courage and this estimate of good soldiership.

Subsequent doings of the Gorton party.

For one night they stopped in their old homes at Shawomet, now desolate and ruined. And it must have been in no slight degree exasperating to the magistrates in Boston, when a letter came from there asking if the prohibition to settle upon any lands of Pumham and Sacononoco was meant to include Shawomet? for they very well knew — and knew that those magistrates knew that they knew — that the only lands to which those sachems had ever made any precise claim were the lands of Shawomet. They were not so out of the fashion of the times as to be given to unseemly mirth; but possibly they may have indulged in a quiet smile when Winthrop, foolishly provoked into answering the question, and betrayed by its impudence into unwonted anger, replied, that not "upon peril of their lives," were they to intrude upon the lands of those chiefs, "be the place called Shawomet or otherwise." Surely never were a more exasperating people.

Nevertheless, Shawomet, in the end, again became their home. They found refuge for two or three years in Rhode Island until they were reinstated upon their lands by an order from the government in England. For Gorton as a politician was by no means wanting in sagacity, and the first use he made of his liberty was to avail himself of, and probably encourage, a strong feeling of enmity existing — for a reason to be explained presently — among the Narragansetts against the Massachusetts colony.

Effect of these events upon the Indians.

These Indians, Gorton says, were puzzled to understand why the magistrates in Boston, having had these Shawomet people — the violent proceedings against whom the Indians witnessed with their own eyes — in their power, should have permitted them to escape with their lives from a Massachusetts prison. They

throp may have thought of the power of these men to write "true English," this statement could hardly be put in a style more forcible and picturesque.

[1] *Simplicitie's Defence.*

did not understand why an enemy, who was worth the trouble of being captured, should not be killed. The explanation was an Indian explanation. Rumors of a great war in England had reached their ears. There must then be in England two kinds of people, the Wattaconoges — as they called the English generally — and the Gortonoges; and the Gortonoges must be the stronger, for here in Massachusetts, the Wattaconoges were afraid to kill them. The policy the chiefs chose was the Indian policy; it was to be on the strongest side. Pessicus, Canonicus, and Mixan, the Narragansett sachems, accordingly submitted themselves and their people, by sol-



Signature of Pessicus.



The Messengers at the Tent of Canonicus.

emn act and deed, to Charles the First, who at that moment stood in great need of faithful subjects.

The government at the Bay were duly advised of this new aspect of affairs, and the sachems were summoned to appear before the General Court. They declined to come; whereupon messengers were sent them with instructions to ask "by whose advice they had done as

they wrote, and why they would countenance and take counsel from such evil men, and such as we had banished from us, and to persuade them to sit still and to have more regard to us than such as Gorton." But Canonicus sulked in his tent; for two hours he kept the messengers waiting in the rain; and when he admitted them to his presence entertained them only with "a few froward speeches." Pessicus was more amenable. The conference he granted to the messengers lasted through the night, and his speeches, though not "froward" were "witty."[1] The savage chieftain probably could not be convinced why, if it were right that Pumham and Saconoonoco should ask the protection of Massachusetts, he and Canonicus and Mixan should not declare allegiance to King Charles, the great chief, as they considered, of the Gortonoges. Moreover he declared that the Narragansetts would presently go to war with Uncas, the Mohegan sachem.

Feud between the Narragansetts and Mohegans. Its causes.

This avowal of hostility to the Mohegans is the real explanation of the relation in which the Narragansetts stood to all parties. The King of England, the government of Massachusetts, or the handful of fanatics at Shawomet, were of little moment to them except so far as they might hinder or help their designs of revenge upon their savage enemies. There had long been a deadly feud between these two tribes, and the Narragansetts were at this time in mourning for the death of their chief Miantonomo, whom Uncas had caused to be treacherously murdered, the previous year, with the connivance or rather by the counsel, of the United Colonies of New England.

For several years before this act of useless and cruel perfidy, there had been suspicions that the great sachem Miantonomo, jealous of the growing power of the English, and alarmed at the result of the Pequot war, — was seeking secretly to unite all of his race in a league for the utter destruction of the whites. He was represented as travelling among the tribes from Massachusetts to Long Island, everywhere appealing to their patriotism, buying their consent with presents of wampum, inciting them by his eloquence to protect their own interests and to revenge the wrongs they had suffered. We, he is reported to have said, are all Indians as they are all English, "so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall be all gone shortly. For you know

Supposed designs of the Chief Miantonomo.

our fathers had plenty of deer and skins; our plains were full of deer, as also our woods; and of turkies; and our coves full of fish and fowl. But these English having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our

[1] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 203. Wit in the sense of wisdom.

clam banks, and we shall all be starved. Therefore it is best for you to do as we, for we are all the sachems from east to west, both Moquakues and Mohawks joining with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them all at one appointed day . . . . and when you see the three fires that will be made forty days hence, in a clear night, then do as we, and the next day fall on and kill men, women and children; but no cows, for they will serve to eat till our deer be increased again." [1]

This bit of Indian eloquence, which seems to have been the prototype of many Indian speeches since, was probably never made by Miantonomo, but put into his mouth by some clever savage to work him harm. Captain Gardiner, nevertheless, believed it to be his, and reported an intended massacre of the English to Mr. Haynes at Hartford, and Mr. Eaton at New Haven. Massachusetts was appealed to for aid, and the sachem was summoned to Boston to answer the accusation. The only evidence against him was the hearsay testimony of his enemies.

This evidence, though accepted at Hartford, New Haven, and Plymouth, was not believed by the Massachusetts magistrates. Twice (in 1640 and 1642) Miantonomo appeared before them, and by his dignified and fearless bearing, his evident good sense and frankness, satisfied them that, as Winthrop said, "All these informations might arise from a false ground, and out of the enmity which was between the Narragansett and Monhigen." [2] The plot had no other foundation than the purpose of Uncas to provoke the English into hostilities against the Narragansetts.

The policy of Uncas.

But the Gorton difficulty favored Uncas in an unexpected way, and forced Miantonomo into an attitude which the United Colonies assumed to be hostile. He would not, with Pumham and Sacononoco, repudiate the sale of the lands of Shawomet to Gorton, nor ask, as they did, under the leadership of Benedict Arnold, the protection of Massachusetts. During the progress of that controversy, but before Gorton and his companions were taken prisoners to Boston, Uncas attacked and destroyed a Narragansett village, and killed a number of its people. Miantonomo complained of this outrage to the magistrates of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and begged them not to be offended if he should revenge this wrong done to his relatives and friends. Governor Winthrop replied: "If Onkus [Uncas] had done him or his friends wrong, and would not give satisfaction, we should leave him to take his course." [3]

[1] Gardiner's *Pequot Warres*. We follow the text of this supposed speech *verbatim*, but making a few slight changes in the punctuation where the sense obviously requires it.

[2] Savage's *Winthrop*, vol. ii., p. 100.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 155.

Confiding in this assurance of neutrality he went upon the war-path against Uncas. The result was unfortunate, for he was taken prisoner, the weight of the coat of armor, which, it is said, Gorton had given him, preventing his escape by flight. That disgrace, no doubt, overwhelmed him, for he begged his enemies repeatedly to take his life, taunting them, perhaps, after the Indian fashion, with his own deeds of prowess in the past, and how they had fled like women before him at the sound of his war-whoop. But Uncas had learned to refine upon the crude methods of Indian revenge; he sent the great chief to Hartford to be lodged in the common jail.

Miantonomo taken prisoner.

How should so important a prisoner, falling thus into the hands of the English, be disposed of? The question was one, it seems, not easily answered. The governor and magistrates at Hartford consented to hold him in custody, but declared that it was not for them to decide upon his final disposition; there was no war, they said, between their colony and the Narragansetts to justify their interference. That decision, they thought, belonged to the commissioners of the United Colonies.[1]

A meeting of the commissioners, at which Governor Winthrop presided, was held in Boston in September, and the subject had their most serious consideration. They well knew, they said, the ambitious design of Miantonomo "to make himself universal Sagamore or Governor of all these parts," and they believed he had determined to exterminate the English; but this knowledge and belief, they declared should not influence their judgment in this case, which was simply one between the two Indians. Their conclusion was "that Uncas cannot be safe while Myantonomo lives, but that either by secret treachery or open force his life will be still in danger. Wherefore they thinke he may justly put such a false and bloodthirsty enemie to death, but in his owne jurisdiccon not in the English plantacons — and advising that in the manner of his death all mercy and moderacon be showed, contrary to the practise of the Indians who exercise torture and cruelty."

Condemned to death by the commissioners.

This was their conclusion. The considerations that led them to it were: That Miantonomo had made war upon Uncas without submitting his grievances to the English for arbitration, as had been provided by treaty: that a subject of Uncas had attempted to kill him and then fled for protection to the Narragansetts, and that Miantonomo instead of surrendering him as he had promised, had himself cut off the culprit's head, "that he might tell no tales:" that Miantonomo had attempted to destroy Uncas by "sorcery": that it was Sequasson and not Uncas who was the original aggressor in the quarrel

[1] Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i., p. 131.

that led to the conflict between Uncas and Miantonomo: and, finally, that Miantonomo had "suddainly without denouncing war" come upon Uncas with superior numbers and relying upon those had declined to settle their feud by single combat; that the Mohawks were now within a day's journey awaiting the issue of his capture, though what they might do "whether against the English, or Uncas, or both," the commissioners acknowledged, "is doubtful." [1]

This formidable indictment, nevertheless, was not accepted, at once, as conclusive. Winthrop's statement of the conclusion of the commissioners is, that they, "taking into consideration what was safest and best to be done, were all of opinion that it would not be safe to set him [Miantonomo] at liberty, neither had we sufficient ground for us to put him to death."

Here then was a dilemma. Was Miantonomo to be punished because he was the enemy of the English? He was believed to be so in Plymouth, New Haven, and Hartford, but hitherto Massachusetts



The Grave of Miantonomo.

had not believed it; moreover, the delegates from those colonies declared that was not the question now at issue. Was he to be punished because he had disregarded the treaty, as the commissioners said, by neglecting to notify the English that he proposed to make

[1] Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 8, *et seq.*

war upon Uncas? But this was not true, according to Winthrop's own testimony. Miantonomo, he had recorded in his journal, "sent to Mr. Haynes (at Hartford) to complain of Onkus;" and Governor Haynes had replied, "that the English had no hand in it, nor would encourage them." "Miantonomo gave notice hereof also to our governor" — Winthrop himself — continues the journal, and the chief was told "to take his own course." Miantonomo took "his own course." Was it a crime because the fortune of war was against him?

The question settled by five elders.

"In this difficulty," says Winthrop, after giving the decision of the commissioners — "in this difficulty we called in five of the most judicious elders, (it being the time of the general assembly of the elders,) and propounding the case to them, they all agreed that he ought to be put to death."

"It was now clearly discovered to us," says the governor, "that there was a general conspiracy among the Indians to cut off all the English and that Miantunnomoh was the head and contriver of it." Apparently it was the judgment of the elders alone that revealed the truth of what hitherto had not been credited, for there seems to have been no new evidence.

Miantonomo was to die then by the sentence of the English, but Uncas was appointed to be his executioner. The Mohegan chief was by no means reluctant to take upon himself that pleasant office. The prisoner was delivered into his hands and marched to a spot near where he was captured, now known as Sachem's Plain, in Norwich, Connecticut. It was ordered by the commissioners that the execution should be without torture, and some Englishmen were present to see that the order was obeyed. If the method chosen was savage, it was, at least, merciful: one of Uncas's men — said to be his brother — stealthily approached the prisoner from behind, and with a deadly blow buried a hatchet in his brain. Uncas sprang upon the body of his fallen enemy, and cutting a large piece of flesh from the shoulder devoured it in triumph, exclaiming, "it was the sweetest meat he ever ate, it made his heart strong."[1]

The execution of Miantonomo.

[1] Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*, vol. i., p. 135. Drake's *Book of the Indians*, p. 65. Winthrop was probably wrong as to the place of this tragedy, notwithstanding Savage (vol. ii., p. 162), in a note, maintains that he is right. Drake doubts if Uncas committed the savage act attributed to him, but Trumbull is good authority for the tradition. A monument has been erected to the memory of the great Sachem on Sachem's Plain in Norwich.



View of Providence, Rhode Island.

CHAPTER V

RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

THE SHAWOMET CONTROVERSY TAKEN TO ENGLAND. — DECIDED IN FAVOR OF GORTON AND HIS ASSOCIATES. — CHARTER GRANTED TO PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS. — CIVIL LIBERTY AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION PROVIDED FOR. — VISIT OF CLARK, HOLMES, AND CRANDALL TO BOSTON. — PUNISHED FOR HOLDING AND PREACHING HETERODOX OPINIONS. — DISSENSIONS IN RHODE ISLAND. — CODDINGTON APPOINTED GOVERNOR FOR LIFE — THE CHARTER GRANTED BY CHARLES II. — ITS CHARACTER AND HISTORICAL INTEREST.

DEEPLY moved with grief and indignation as the Narragansetts were when they heard of the treacherous assassination of their young and beloved sachem, it shows how little real fear there was of any retaliation on their part, that a small guard was thought sufficient for the protection of Uncas. "That the Indians might know," says Winthrop, "that the English did approve of it, they sent 12 or 14 musketeers home with Onkus, to abide a time with him for his defence, if need should be." There was no need; the Narragansetts understood.

They understood, they thought, so well that when a few months later Gorton and his men came back rejoicing and confident with not a hair the less upon their heads, it was, the Narragansetts believed, because the others were afraid. Gorton looked, he told them, to the king for justice; it was no hard thing to persuade them to offer their allegiance to a power which, though so far away, was feared by their enemies. If such subjects were of no

Gorton's return to Shawomet.

use to Charles, and such a king no protection to such subjects, the deed of submission was, at least, a good document for Gorton to have in his hand when he appealed to the government at home. This he did, and so successfully that within about two years, Randall Holden and John Greene — two of the Shawomet people — arrived in Boston, with an order from the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations in London, that they and Gorton should be permitted to pass unmolested through any part of New England, from which they had been banished; and ten days later these Commissioners issued an order that all those evicted from Shawomet should be permitted to reënter upon and enjoy their possessions in that place. The Earl of Warwick was the president of that Board of Commissioners, and in gratitude to him the place was thereafter called Warwick.

The English commissioners' decision in his favor.

This happy result to their troubles was not, of course, brought about without a struggle. Edward Winslow was sent by the government of Massachusetts, to controvert in England the statements of Gorton, and a lively controversy ensued between them before the Commissioners and a committee of Parliament, and in published letters and pamphlets, which found listeners, absorbing as the interest of the English people was, at that time, in their own affairs. Winslow was faithful to his trust, and withstood with all his might a controversialist, who thanking God that he was bred in no "schools of human learning," must have been the harder to grapple with; but even Gorton himself testified to his manly fairness.[1]



Edward Winslow.

But Winslow only so far prevailed that a year later the order restoring their lands to the Shawomet people was so modified and explained by a committee of both houses of Parliament, and by the Board of Commissioners of Foreign Plantations that the question of jurisdiction should be left for future decision. Winslow claimed that

[1] Edward Winslow, often governor of Plymouth, was deservedly one of the most honored and respected of the early New Englanders. No one went so often as he as the agent of the Colonies to England, and on one of these visits he was sent by Cromwell as commissioner on the expedition to the West Indies, in 1654. He died, after the disgraceful repulse at Hispaniola the next year, of fever; A Diary in the *Memorials of Admiral Sir William Penn* says: "Taking conceit (as his man affirms) at the disgrace of the army on Hispaniola, to whom he told, it had broken his heart."

the lands were within the Plymouth patent; but however the colonists may have persuaded themselves on this point, the Commissioners still insisted that Gorton, Holden, and their friends should be permitted to rest on the lands they had purchased from the natives.

Later phases of the Gorton question.

For years the question continued to vex the colonies, and was a frequent subject of discussion, and even of altercation, between Plymouth and Massachusetts, between the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and between them all and the people of Warwick. As a reason for insisting upon the exercise of the right of jurisdiction over them the latter were accused of wrongs committed against their neighbors both English and Indian, the ready rejoinder to which accusation was that the injuries were from the other side and were only withstood in self-defence. There seems to have been little peace for them till 1658, when William Arnold and William Carpenter, two of the four original instigators of the troubles of the Shawomet people, petitioned — with others of Pawtuxet — that Massachusetts would discharge them from the jurisdiction of that colony. This petition, however, is to be understood as one of the evidences that Massachusetts had relinquished her claim and is not to be mistaken as the cause of that change of policy.

Williams's charter. 1644.

Years before this Warwick had become a part of the colony of "Providence Plantations," under a charter procured by Roger Williams in March, 1644.[1] This was granted to Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, Warwick not being named in it; but when in May, 1647, the colony was organized, that plantation was admitted to equal privileges with the rest. Thereafter any attempted exercise of power over her was an intrusion upon territory protected by patent given under the authority of the English Parliament.

Williams arrived in Boston with this charter in September, 1644, and was allowed to land there on his way to Providence by virtue of a letter from "divers lords and others of the parliament" to the governor and assistants of Massachusetts. Not that there was any growing disposition to tolerate him or his doctrines.[2] The letter alone secured him a safe passage through Massachusetts and at the same time informed its magistrates that he was the bearer of this charter granted to him and his friends by both houses of Parliament.

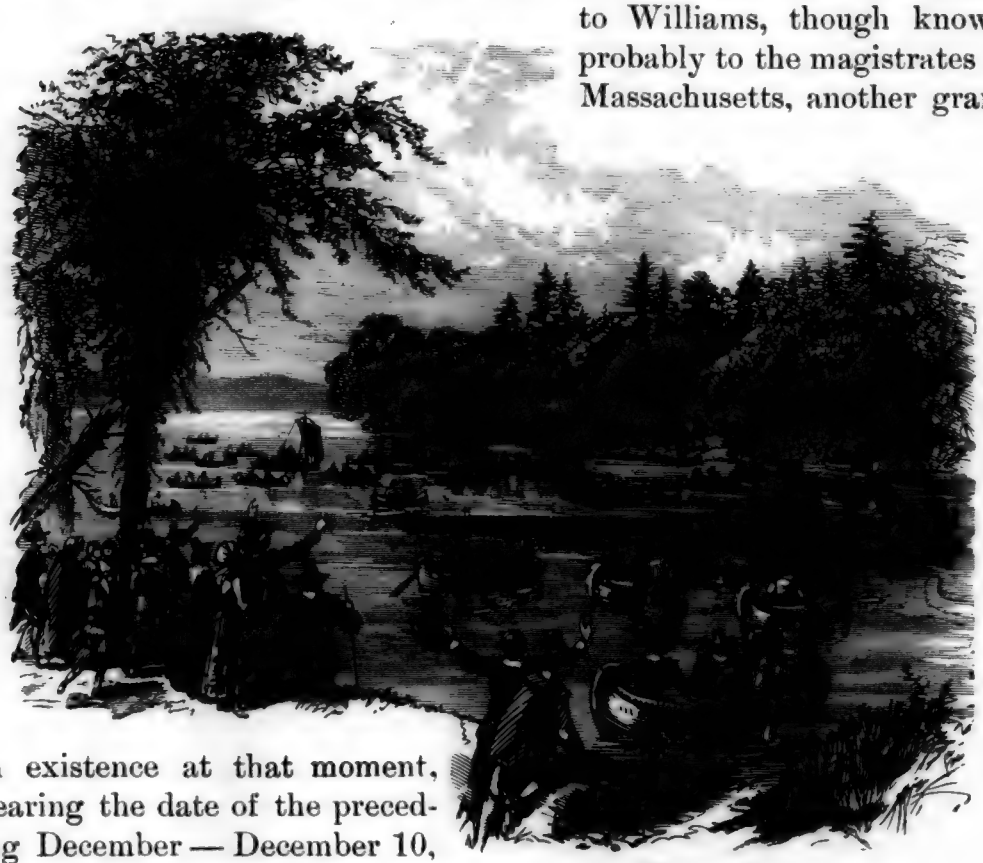
[1] There has been some controversy as to the date of this charter, the question being whether it was March 14th or 17th. In Hazard's *State Papers* it is the 14th; Savage in *Winthrop's Journal* maintained that this was correct, while Elton and Staples in *R. I. Hist. Coll.*, insist that it should be the 17th. But Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers* in the State Paper Office, London, gives the 14th [O. S.], and this, therefore, must be the correct date.

[2] Hubbard's *General History of New England*, chap. xliii.

His return.

The warmth of his welcome at home was as marked as the coldness with which he was received in Boston. It was a little less than eight years since he had evaded the sentence of the law of Massachusetts and fled into the forest through which he now again found his way. The people had heard of his coming; at Seekonk the river was covered with canoes; all Providence had come out to hail the return of a benefactor and a friend. Surrounded by a grateful people he made an almost triumphal entry into the colony he had planted.

It is an interesting and important fact that there was, unknown to Williams, though known probably to the magistrates of Massachusetts, another grant



Williams's Welcome.

in existence at that moment, bearing the date of the preceding December — December 10, 1643 [O. S.] — extending the patent of that colony over the whole of the present State of Rhode Island. It is probable that the instrument had not then been received, for some reason, in Boston, for the first allusion to it is found in the records of the 7th of October, 1645. Mr. Williams is then notified by an official letter to refrain from exercising any jurisdiction over the lands about Narragansett Bay and the tract "wherein Providence and the Island of Quidny are included," the charter of which was "receaved lately out of England,"[1] giving that country to Massachusetts.

Existence of an earlier charter to Rhode Island.

[1] *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. iii., p. 49.



VIEW IN NARRAGANSETT BAY.

Why should a charter which, if put in force, would settle definitively so much that was vexatious because unsettled, have been received only "lately" in October, 1645, when the grant was made nearly two years before, in December, 1643? Why also when received, though so tardily, was not some further use made of it other than in this single instance to hold it up as a menace to the Providence Plantations? That is the sole use to which it was ever put by the Massachusetts government, and in that case the warning was not thought worth heeding by those to whom it was sent or followed up by those who gave it.

Puzzling questions in regard to it.

The patent was a month old when Gorton and his companions were released from their sentence of confinement at hard labor in Massachusetts and dismissed with a new one of banishment beyond her borders. It was four months later when Governor Winthrop warned these people that the General Court did not intend their sentence as a "scarecrow" — that it would be found real and effectual should it be transgressed. Did he know at that very moment that these men were still within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and in proposing to settle on Rhode Island were as much disregarding the order of the General Court, if this charter were valid, as they would have done by remaining in Boston? It is of course, possible, though not probable, that the Massachusetts agents in London, the Reverend Thomas Welde and the Reverend Hugh Peters, had not informed the government of Massachusetts that they had secured so important an addition to her domain and her power. But even if this were true, for years afterward, when the charter was certainly in Boston, no attempt was made to enforce it, though its enforcement as a matter of absolute right would have settled at once so many questions over which discussion, altercation, and contention lasted through all those years.

Why then was so important an instrument permitted to lie in abeyance among the archives of Massachusetts? Why should Winthrop, whose journal of the events of that period is so minute, and therefore so much more valuable than any other contemporary narrative, be absolutely silent — save in a single instance where it is alluded to by way of illustration only — upon this Narragansett patent?

Positive answers there are none to these questions, but many conjectures.[1] By some writers it is maintained that the charter was fraudulent, procured in an irregular and illegal way by Welde, and sent out by him to be used in Massachusetts to sustain the unfounded claim of jurisdiction over Rhode Island, assumed in the outset for the punishment and suppression of the

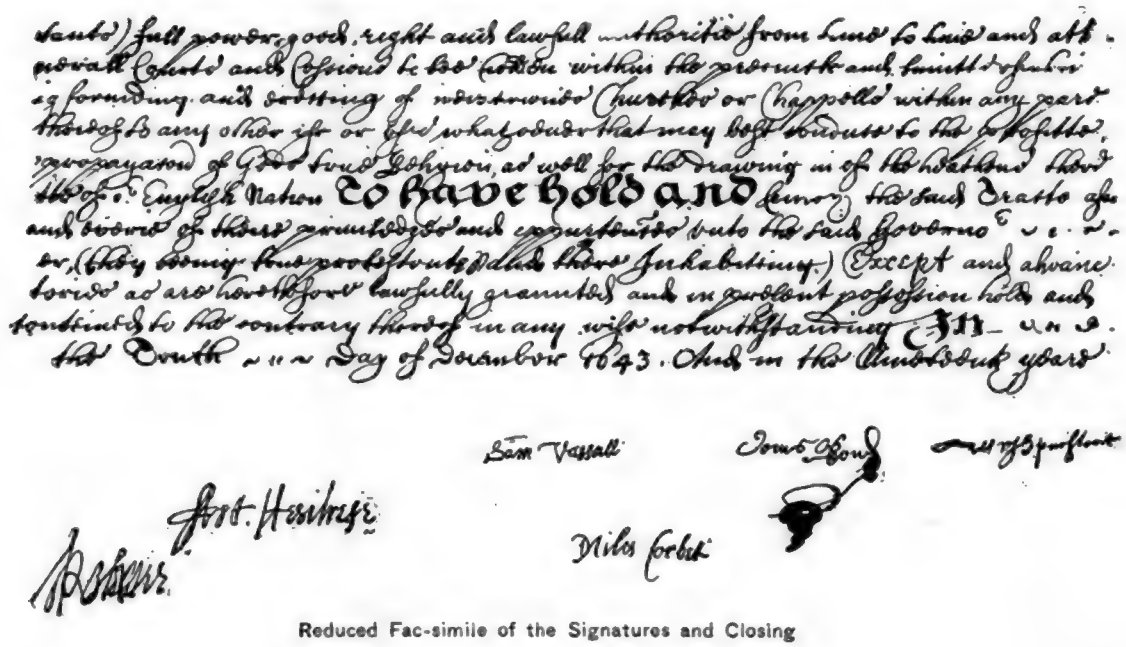
Singular treatment of the matter by the Massachusetts government.

[1] See a very thorough discussion of the subject by Mr. Charles Deane and Col. Thomas Aspinwall in the volume of *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1862–1863.

heretics of Shawomet. Williams in a letter to Major Mason, written in 1670, says that when Gorton made his complaint, in London, against the action of Massachusetts, "the Lord High Admiral, President, [Warwick] said openly in a full meeting of the commissioners, that he knew of no other charter for these parts than what Mr. Williams had obtained, and he was sure that charter, which the Massachusetts Englishmen pretended had never past the table."[1] In a petition presented by John Clarke and others on behalf of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations to Lord Clarendon in 1665, the charter is referred to as "that which Mr. Wells [Welde] got underhand" and as "never passed at Council table nor registered."[2] And in 1662 President Brenton told Hutchinson, the Massachusetts agent in London, that the Narragansett patent "was not fairly got;" that "there was no such thing upon record in any court of England, for he had sent to search the records;" and Hutchinson in a letter to Secretary Rawson of Massachusetts, says, "find there theirs, but not ours."[3]

On the other hand, Sainsbury records the patent as in volume x. of the State Paper Office in London.[4] But this record rather complicates still further than clears up the question, for added to it are the words — "Copy, attested by Edward Rawson, Secretary." Rawson was the Colonial Secretary of Massachusetts. Did he send back to England an official copy of a charter obtained by fraud, that it might

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, First Series, vol. ii. *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii.
[2] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. vii.
[3] *Mass. Archives*, cited by Aspinwall in the discussion with Deane.
[4] Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 325.



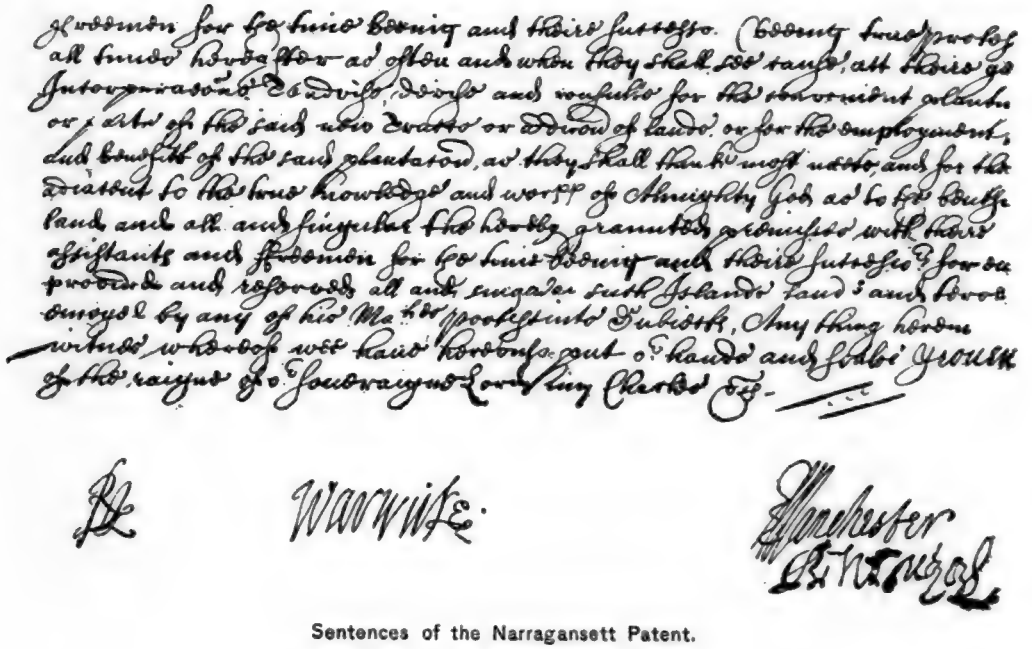
Reduced Fac-simile of the Signatures and Closing

appear, for some ulterior purpose, of record in the State Paper Office? Or, appearing there in due course, were the Earl of Warwick, John Clarke, President Brenton of Rhode Island, and Edward Hutchinson of Massachusetts, all in error as to its legality?

Possible explanations of their policy.

It is neither agreeable nor charitable to suppose that the Massachusetts magistrates would avail themselves of a patent which they knew to be obtained by trickery, even for so pious a work as the suppression of heresy. They recognize its existence just often enough to show that they accepted it as legal — or accepted it at any rate — while they refrained so completely from maintaining any vested right under it, that it is plain they preferred, for some reason, to ignore it. Perhaps the most commonplace explanation of the enigma is nearest the truth, — they did not use the charter because it did not answer their purpose. For some reason, which probably will never be explained, there were serious doubts as to the genuineness of the document; but in Boston, let us hope they knew it was legal, and nevertheless they put it aside among the archives of the colony because it was of little practical value in carrying out their policy in regard to Rhode Island.

For the jurisdiction Massachusetts wanted in that region of country was not merely jurisdiction over land, but over people; not merely over that which was uninhabited, except by Indians, but that in which dwelt their own countrymen. In each of the new settlements were men already obnoxious to the laws of the General Court, and in each could men still more obnoxious find an asylum. But the Narragansett patent contained a reservation of all lands previously granted, "and in



Sentences of the Narragansett Patent.

present possession held and enjoyed by any of his majesty's Protestant subjects." There had, indeed, been no grants of lands in the territory in question, but there was "present possession" at Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Shawomet, and the charter, therefore, conferred upon Massachusetts no right of jurisdiction over these or their inhabitants. Her authority, therefore, in that country would have been only a divided authority, and would have failed precisely where she most wished to exercise it. Rather than accept this she may have preferred to await the decision she hoped for — that the country was embraced within the Plymouth patent, inasmuch as Plymouth had conveyed her right of jurisdiction to Massachusetts.[1] But, however her course may be explained, the question still remains unsolved, — how came the Commissioners of Plantations to confer — if they did confer — upon the Providence Plantations, in March, 1644, a patent of precisely the same lands which three months before they had granted to Massachusetts?

Provisions of the grant of 1644.

The charter which Williams brought back from England was free and absolute, giving to the people of Providence Plantations "full power and authority to govern and rule themselves and such others as shall inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greatest part of them shall be found most serviceable in their estates and conditions;" and to that end it empowered them to make and enforce such civil laws and constitutions as should be necessary, provided only that they were in accordance with the laws of England. And even this condition was so modified as to provide that this conformity to the laws of the mother country need be only so far as the nature and constitution of the colony admitted. It was the freest colonial charter that had ever been given; naturally, for it was obtained at the solicitation of Roger Williams, through the influence of Sir Henry Vane, and from a parliamentary commission.

First Assembly and laws under the Williams charter. 1647.

The first General Assembly which met under it at Portsmouth, May 19, 1647, adopted a code of laws, in the preamble of which it was declared: "sith our charter gives us to govern ourselves, and such other as come among us, and by such a form of civil government as by the voluntary consent, etc., shall be found most suitable to our state and condition. It is agreed by this present Assembly, thus incorporate, and by this present act declared, that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is DEMOCRATICAL, that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free

[1] See Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, vol. i., p. 119.

inhabitants." The personal rights of the citizen were guarded by the declaration "that no person in this Colony shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his lands or liberties, or be exiled or any otherwise molested or destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by some known law, and according to the letter of it," ratified and confirmed by the General Assembly. And that absolute freedom of conscience should be secured, it was declared that "all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the saints of the Most High walk in this Colony without molestation in the name of Jehovah, their God for ever and ever." [1]

Five years before Portsmouth and Newport had declared in almost the same words, that such were the principles by which they meant to be governed. Here was a new and wider union under the authority of a charter. It laid down as the firm foundation of the State that idea of civil and religious liberty, which every wise man among them, who had followed Williams to an asylum for those distressed in conscience, maintained to be its only true foundation. Whatever vicissitudes and trials they were called upon to meet, they kept carefully in mind the great principles of their political faith.

There were dividing interests and dissensions in the several towns, however, which the union under this charter could not reconcile. What these were is not, and cannot now, be accurately known, but they were, no doubt, increased by division of feeling and opinion on affairs in England. Royalists and parliament men no more loved each other in the colonies than at home, though distance from the scene of the actual struggle softened the political rancor enough to restrain them from open violence. But whatever other differences there were, this one intensified them. Coddington, a royalist, was the leader of one party, and one strong evidence of the difference between the two was that he, with others, asked on behalf of the island that they be admitted into the confederation of the United Colonies. He claimed that this was the wish of a majority of the people of Portsmouth and Newport, and he may have been right, for the island towns and the mainland towns seemed to mark the division of parties.

Influence of English affairs in colonial dissensions.

The party feeling in the Rhode Island towns must have been intense that could make any of them so forget the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of Massachusetts, as to ask an alliance where hers was the chief influence. The request of the petitioners was refused unless they would acknowledge that the territory they occupied was within the Plymouth patent. To accept such terms would have been

[1] *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iv., p. 229.

to forego all the advantages of the possession of their own charter, and to surrender themselves eventually to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. What that might be the people of Providence Plantations had already been taught by some efficient lessons, and others were to come.

John Clark's mission to Lynn.

In the summer of 1651 the Reverend John Clark, who was not only one of the most influential and most respected citizens of Rhode Island, but the pastor of the Baptist Church at Newport; the Reverend Obadiah Holmes, who had gathered a church of the same denomination at Seekonk, and one Crandall, went together to Lynn, in Massachusetts, to visit a sick brother in the church, one William Witter.[1] Clark was an eminent and public offender inasmuch as he was a Baptist clergyman, and the leader of that band of exiles who, banished from Massachusetts, found a home on the island of Acquidneck; Holmes was also a Baptist clergyman, had been excommunicated from the church at Seekonk, and bound over to keep the peace by the authorities of Plymouth; and Crandall, to his other offence of being an Anabaptist, had added that of marrying a daughter of Samuel Gorton. Three such criminals were not to be permitted to come with impunity within the boundaries of Massachusetts, although the church of which all three were members had deputed them to visit a brother member, sick and old and blind, who, from his distant home, had asked for the consolation of a religious visit.[2]

Arrest of Clark and his companions.

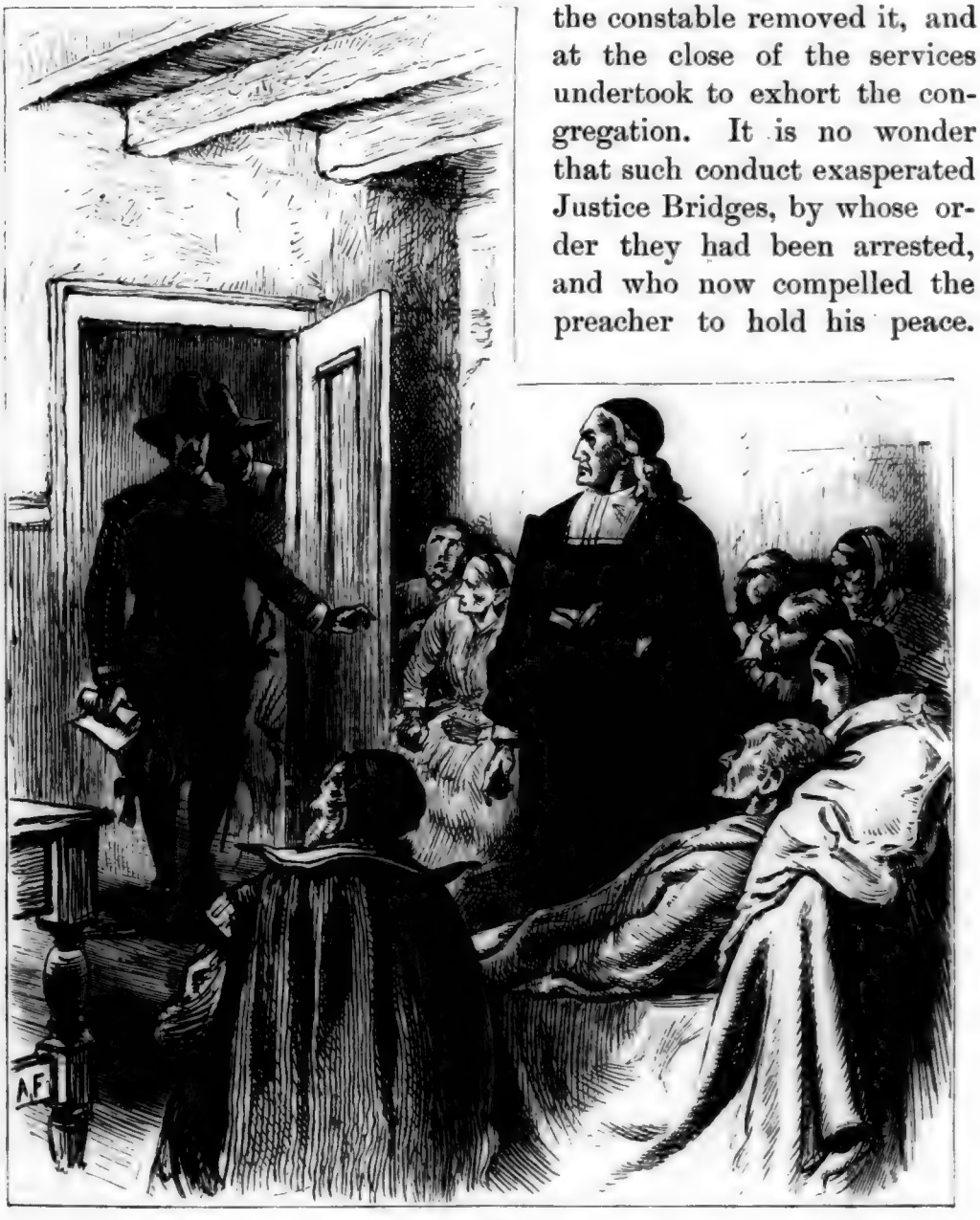
On the Sunday after their arrival, "not having freedom in our Spirits," says Clark, "for want of a clear Call from God to goe unto the Publike Assemblie to declare there what was the mind, and counsell of God concerning them," he "judged it a thing suitable" to hold divine service in the house and with the family of Witter, and four or five others who came in to join in their worship. While thus engaged there came in two constables with a warrant for their arrest. A request to finish the services was denied, and "the erronious persons, being Strangers" whom the writ of Justice Bridges commanded should be brought before him in the morning, were marched off as prisoners — bail being refused — to the inn for safe keeping.

The constables were more zealous than wise, for in the afternoon they insisted upon taking the prisoners to the Meeting, notwithstand-

[1] Witter was nearly seventy years of age and blind; not being able to go to Newport for the comfort of the ordinances in the church to which he belonged, he asked that he might be visited, for he seemed to be near his end. Clark, Holmes, and Crandall were sent as the representatives of the church at Newport, as appears by the records of the church, as quoted by Backus.

[2] Backus's *History of the Baptists*, vol. i., p. 215.

ing Mr. Clark's repeated protests and warnings that if compelled to go there his conscience would constrain him to testify to his dissent both by word and gesture from those with whom he could hold no religious communion. And he was true to his word; for in the Meeting he kept his hat upon his head till the constable removed it, and at the close of the services undertook to exhort the congregation. It is no wonder that such conduct exasperated Justice Bridges, by whose order they had been arrested, and who now compelled the preacher to hold his peace.



The Meeting at Witter's House.

The next morning the three were sent to Boston jail for safe-keeping till the next sitting of the court, the charges against them being that they had held a private religious meeting; that they had disturbed public worship; that they had led others astray; that they

were suspected of rebaptizing of one or more persons, and had failed to give security that they would appear for trial.[1]

Their trial.

They lay in jail for ten days before the Court, consisting of the governor, deputy governor, and three assistants, was convened, but there was no delay when they were once before their judges. There were neither accusers nor witnesses summoned against them; no jury to try them, and no law either of God or man cited to their condemnation. It was enough for the irascible Governor Endicott to declare that they were Anabaptists; the formalities of trial evidently were of small moment with regard to criminals of that sort.

Of course they were found guilty. They were Baptists; the commitment said they had held two meetings of worship at Witter's house; and when taken into the meeting-house of the town they had kept on their hats. They were sentenced to be well whipt, or to pay, Clark twenty pounds, Holmes thirty pounds, and Crandall five pounds. Mr. Clark asked respectfully that he might be told under what law they were condemned. He reminded them that by their Code no man should be molested except under a law of the General Court, or, failing that, the law of God; and neither had been produced against them. He hoped they were not less tender of the rights of the stranger within their gates, than they were of the rights of their own people.

Endicott was equal to the occasion; they denied infant baptism, he shouted; they ought to be put to death, and "he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction." Holmes, more meek, said as he turned to leave the court, "I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus." Whereupon he adds, "John Wilson (their pastor, as they call him) strook me before the judgment seat and cursed me, saying, the curse of God or Jesus go with thee." It was not much that would put John Endicott in a towering passion at any time; but it must have been a lively and exciting occasion that could move John Wilson — though capable of being moved, for we have seen him climbing a tree in a time of popular clamor to harangue a crowd[2] — that could so move him as to strike and curse even a theological opponent in open court.[3]



Signature of John Wilson.

The proceedings in court.

Endicott told Clark that it was only the weak to whom he ventured

[1] *Ill Newes From New-England: or A Narrative of New-Englands Persecution.* By John Clark. London: 1652. Reprinted *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. ii.

[2] Vol. i., p. 554.

[3] *Holmes's Narrative* in Backus; and *R. I. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. vi.

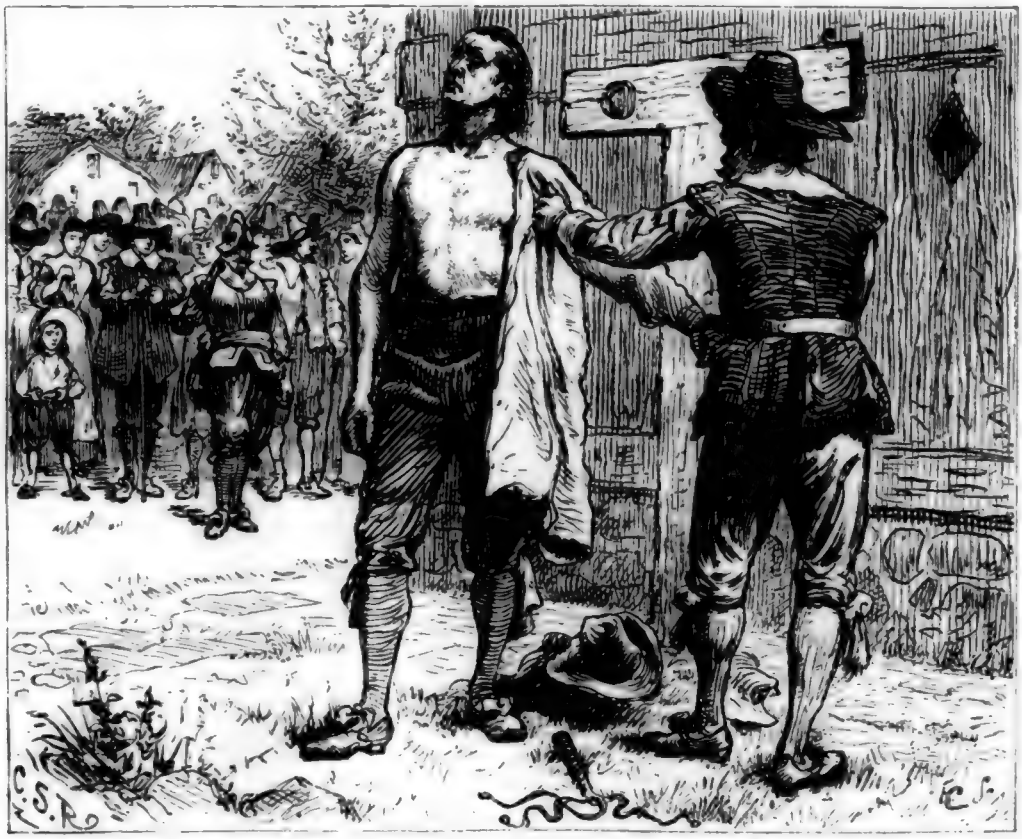
to present his doctrines, but that he could not sustain himself in a controversy with the Boston ministers — with brother Wilson, for example, then and there present ready on the instant to pound the obdurate Holmes into a Christian state of mind. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Newport clergyman than such a challenge; but though agreed to and the preliminaries arranged after much negotiation, the proposal came to naught. It was not so much, probably, that Messrs. Wilson and Cotton feared to meet Mr. Clark in debate as that they dreaded the effect on the popular mind, all the more ready to embrace new doctrines which it was unwisely attempted to suppress by the persecution of those who held them.

After some days of imprisonment both Clark and Crandall were released, their fines being paid by some judicious friends without their knowledge. But with Holmes it fared otherwise. His conscience would not permit him to pay for himself, or allow others to pay for him, the sum adjudged as penalty. He struggled hard, he tells us, to resist the temptation to escape a painful punishment, and on the morning of its execution, "in consideration of the weakness of the flesh to bear the strokes though the spirit was willing, I was," he adds, "caused to pray earnestly unto the Lord that he would be pleased to give me a spirit of courage and boldness, a tongue to speak for Him, and strength of body to suffer for His sake, and not to shrink or yield to the strokes, or shed tears lest the adversaries of the truth should thereupon blaspheme and be hardened, and the weak and feeble-hearted discouraged."

Fortified with this spirit of resignation and endurance, he was led out of the prison into the presence of the people. He tried to speak that he might bear witness to them that he suffered for "the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ." The punishment of Holmes. If the punishment was just it was just that he should be silenced, for it was for preaching that he was punished. "Fellow, do thine office," said the magistrate to the executioner; "for this fellow would but make a long speech to delude the people." To him there was nothing ignominious in his position; rather the glorification of martyrdom. "I dressed myself," he says, "in as comely a manner as I could, having such a Lord and Master to serve in this business." And these comely garments had to be removed from him, for "I made," he declares, "as much conscience of unbuttoning a button as I did of paying the 30*l.* in reference thereunto." To this disrobing he submitted gently and unresistingly, as he did to his punishment; "for in truth," continues his narrative, "as the strokes fell upon me I had such a spiritual manifestation of God's presence as the like thereto I never had nor felt, nor can with fleshy tongue express, and the outward pain

was so removed from me that, indeed, I am not able to declare it to you; it was so easy to me that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength, (yea, spitting on his hand three times, as many affirmed), with a three-corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes." Such was his spiritual exaltation that when the ghastly spectacle was over and his clothes were restored to him to cover his scored and bloody back,

His narrative concerning it.



Whipping of Obadiah Holmes.

he turned to the magistrates standing by and said, "You have struck me as with roses."

When the scourging was finished a number of the bystanders crowded around the sufferer to avow their pity for his condition, if not their sympathy for his doctrines and their indignation at his persecution. Writs were immediately issued for the arrest of a dozen or more of these persons, but only two were taken. These also would have been publicly punished at the whipping-post, had not their fines, which their consciences forbade their paying, been discharged by their friends.

Whatever were the merits, and they were many, of the early Puri-

tans of Massachusetts, candid and truthful history can neither wink out of sight nor palliate the intolerance and cruelty which they visited upon those who differed from them. Fortunately for her, and for the whole country whose destiny she has done so much to influence, the efforts of her earliest rulers to stamp her character with the indelible impress of their own narrow views and purposes were not successful. In all those years there was among the common people, particularly outside of Boston, a determined purpose, which it was impossible altogether to suppress, not to submit to the arbitrary will and narrow fanaticism with which the magistrates proposed to govern in the name of religion and of law. The struggle was long continued, — continued, indeed, even down to our own time. But that spirit which led some of the most enlightened of her people to build up another colony on a foundation of religious toleration and the equal civil rights of all men, has, in the long run, been triumphant in Massachusetts also. The extravagancies in theological discursiveness which grew out of the intellectual and religious activity of the age came, in the end, to harmless and sometimes rational conclusions; while the intolerant bigotry which knew no better way to meet the vagaries of fanaticism than persecution became at length so intolerable to all sober-minded people as to be looked upon with such abhorrence as to defeat itself.

The spirit of opposition to Puritan intolerance.

It is not at all impossible that these outrages in Boston upon two well-known clergymen of Rhode Island may have had some influence upon political events in that colony. Governor Coddington had, by a clever *coup de main*, obtained from the Council of State in England a commission to govern Rhode Island, with a council of six men, during his life. With this commission he returned home about the time of the visit of Clark to Massachusetts; and though there is no evidence of his having repeated his overtures to the Commissioners of the United Colonies that Rhode Island should be admitted to that Confederacy, there was, nevertheless, a good deal of alarm among the people at his success. Roger Williams, as representative of the mainland towns, and John Clark, on behalf of those of the Island, were sent soon after to England, the one to procure the recall of the commission to Coddington, the other to obtain a confirmation of the charter. The latter was probably thought desirable, as since that charter was granted Charles the First had been brought to the block, England had been declared a Commonwealth, and the government of the nation entrusted to the Council of State appointed by parliament. The mission of the commissioners, however, was, in effect, the same — to restore the government of Providence Plantations, which had lapsed through the dis-

Coddington's Commission for Rhode Island.

sensions of the several towns, and the repeal of the appointment of Coddington as governor for life over those of Rhode Island.

The mission was successful. Williams and Clark presented their petition to the Council of State the following spring; in the autumn of 1652 the commission to Coddington was recalled, and a few months later the towns were again united under one government, Williams, who had meanwhile returned from England, being the first governor.

Rhode Island charter of 1663.

Clark remained in England to watch over, during the next ten momentous years of the Commonwealth, the interests of the Colony. On the restoration of Charles II. he devoted himself to obtaining a royal charter, which was granted in July, 1663, to the Colony under the new name of "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." All the rights granted in the earlier patent were confirmed in this; the original title of the native Indians — for affirming which as to the country of New England Roger Williams was, among other reasons, banished from Massachusetts — was reccognized; the rights of conscience and of private judgment, for which the people of Rhode Island had suffered so much at the hands of their neighbors, were affirmed by the declaration that "no person within the said Colony, at any time hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, that do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said Colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned; they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the injury or outward disturbance of others"; it empowered a general assembly "to make, ordain, constitute



Portrait of Charles II.

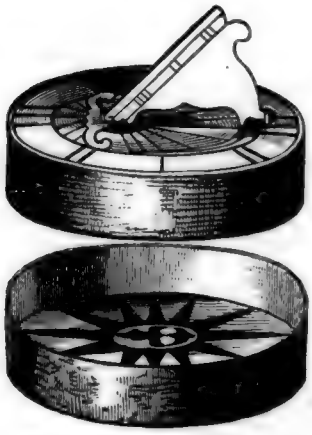
or repeal, such laws, statutes, orders and ordinances, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, as to them shall seem meet, for the good and welfare of the said Company, and for the government and ordering of the lands and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and of the people that do, or at any time hereafter shall, inhabit or be within the same; so as such laws, ordinances and constitutions, so made, be not contrary and repugnant unto, but as near as may, agreeable to the laws of this our realm of England, considering the nature and constitution of the place and people there"; that in all matters of public controversy between this and other colonies the appeal should be to the government in England, and that to the inhabitants of Rhode Island there should be perfect freedom to pass and repass without let or molestation into the other colonies, and to hold intercourse and trade with such of their people as were willing, "any act, clause, or sentence in any of the said Colonies, provided, or that shall be provided, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." This, no doubt, referred to the sentence of banishment of Roger Williams and others from Massachusetts which had never been repealed.

No charter so comprehensive and so radical as this had ever before been granted to any English colony. It guaranteed to the people of Rhode Island those great principles of civil and religious liberty for which they had struggled so long and some of them had sacrificed so much; it anticipated in a royal grant the fundamental law of that great republic of which this colony is a part, but which was waited for till more than another century of growth and struggle had passed away; and so broad and free it was that it served as the constitution of that little commonwealth for the next hundred and eighty years. Under it Benedict Arnold was the first governor; among the names of those on whose behalf the king was petitioned that such a patent be granted, were those of Samuel Gorton, John Greene, Randall Holden, and William Coddington;[1] and the man to whom it owed its character and at whose importunity the royal will was chiefly moved, was Dr. John Clark, who two years before barely escaped the whipping-post in Boston, where the magistrates were not ashamed to condemn to a punishment so ignominious a venerable and estimable and learned clergyman whose offence was one that this charter forbade to be called a crime, and maintained as

Its character.

[1] Those on whose behalf John Clark petitioned the king were: Benjamin Arnold, William Brenton, William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, William Boulston, John Porter, John Smith, Samuel Gorton, John Weeks, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, John Coggeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Holden, John Greene, John Roome, Samuel Wildbore, William Field, James Barker, Richard Tew, Thomas Harris, and William Dyre.

a precious right. As an historical document the instrument is full of the gravest interest for the incidents and the men whose memory it preserves; for the events in the formation of governments of which it was, in a certain measure, a prophecy; and for the end which awaited it when nearly two centuries later its form though not its spirit was outgrown.



Roger Williams' Compass.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW NETHERLAND UNDER PETER STUYVESANT.

Stuyvesant's Arrival at Manhattan. — Hopeful Reception by the Citizens. — He befriends Ex-governor Kieft. — Arrest and Trial of Kuyter and Melyn. — Their Banishment and Departure with Kieft. — Wreck of the Princess. — Difficulties with New England. — Seizure of the St. Beninio. — The Consequent Quarrel with New Haven. — Controversy with the Commissary of Rensselaerswyck. — Discontent of the People. — Appeal of the Citizens to Holland. — Melyn's Return. — Reversal of his Sentence. — The Remonstrance forwarded to the States-General. — Van der Donck and the Delegates at the Hague. — Stuyvesant's continued Arrogance.

On the 27th of May, 1647, Peter Stuyvesant, the new governor who, the New Netherlanders hoped, had come to remedy all the evils which they had suffered under the administration of Kieft, arrived amid "shouting on all sides" and the burning of nearly all the powder in the town in salutes.[1] The rejoicing was universal, and even Kieft himself was glad, probably, to welcome a successor who was to release him from the cares of a vexatious office. As the excited burghers gathered near the fort upon what is now known as the Battery, to look at the fleet anchored in the harbor, they congratulated each other, no doubt, that an era of peace, prosperity, and equitable rule had come at last.

Governor Stuyvesant's arrival at Manhattan, May, 1647.

The burghers forgot for the moment, if they had ever heard, that the reputation of the new governor was not altogether unsullied. It is said that in Holland he had been detected in robbing the daughter of his host, and that he would have been punished for the act had he not been mercifully forgiven for the sake of his father, who was a clergyman in Vriesland, and greatly esteemed. The famous expedition against St. Martin, where Stuyvesant lost his leg — in place of which he ever after wore a wooden one, bound together with rings of silver, and therefore called his "silver leg," — this expedition, it was said, was unsuccessful because it was so badly con-

His previous career.

[1] So extravagant was this demonstration of welcome "that they were obliged to send to another place to buy powder for exercising and in case of need." — *The Breeden Raedt.* Extracts translated in *Documentary History of New York*, vol. iv., p. 69.

ducted; for the commander wasted, in vainglorious salutes at sea, nearly all his powder before he reached the fort; and when he raised the siege, which he had not ammunition enough to go on with, he left behind him, not only his leg but much property, especially cannon. But as the leg was really lost, it seems hardly probable that its owner had acted the part of a coward, and other stories against him on the same authority may be as little likely to be true.[1]

At any rate the enthusiastic people of New Amsterdam, when they welcomed with shouts and all their powder this successor to Kieft, were so full of pleasant excitement and hopeful anticipations of a happy and prosperous future, that they failed to call to mind, if they had ever heard of, any moral delinquencies of which the man might have been guilty in far-off Holland, or of military failures which had befallen him in the West Indies.

This popular enthusiasm, however, hardly outlasted the ceremony of reception. Stuyvesant was a man of haughty as well as violent temper; more imperious in presence and in manners than Kieft whom he came to displace, he was quite as despotic, and the more to be feared for his ability and strength of purpose. When he landed he marched into the town "like a peacock, with great state and pomp." Some of the principal citizens met him bare-headed, and bare-headed "he let them wait for several hours, he himself keeping his hat on his head as if he was the czar of Muscovy; nobody was offered a chair, while he seated himself very comfortably on a chair, the better to give the welcomers an audience."[2] The picture is not drawn by friendly hands, but it is not out of keeping with what we know of Peter Stuyvesant.

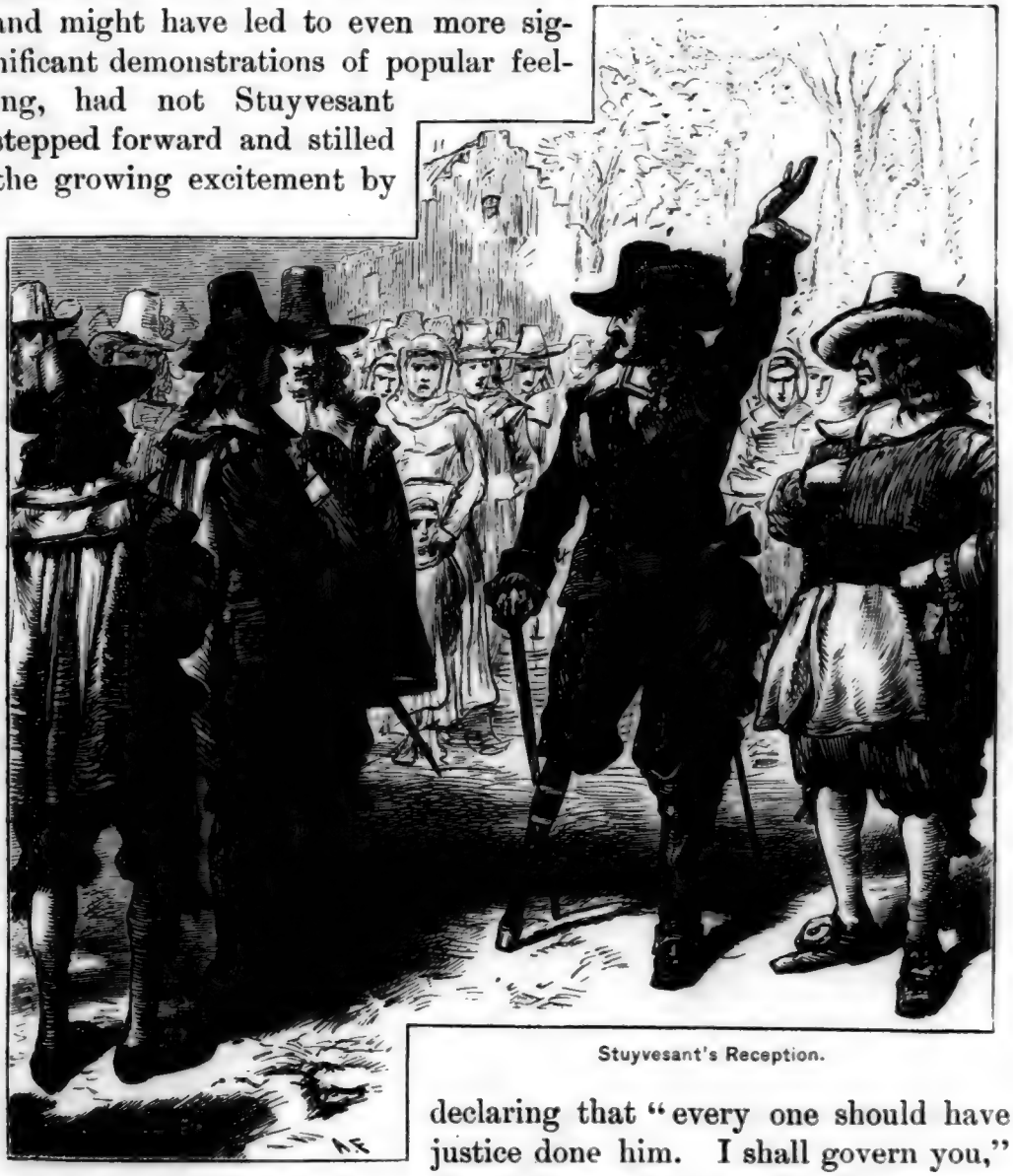
His reception.

But he did better presently when Kieft came forward to surrender the government into the hands of his successor. As the retiring governor stood for the last time before his fellow-citizens in his official capacity, he wished, perhaps, to bury the memory of past animosities; at any rate he must have been anxious to step down gracefully from his elevation, as he yielded the place to another. He thanked his fellow-citizens with a natural if not pardonable exaggeration for the fidelity they had shown him during his administration of affairs, hoping, no doubt, that he would be met in a like conciliatory and compliant mood, and his services acknowledged in terms that would be complaisant if insincere. But the sturdy Dutchmen were not to be cheated out of their resentments by any momentary enthusiasm or

[1] Translations from *The Breeden Raedt*, in *Documentary Hist. of New York.*

[2] *The Representation of New Netherland* (1650). By Adrian van der Donck. Translated by Henry C. Murphy. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii. *The Breeden Raedt. Documentary Hist. N. Y.*

ceremonial proprieties. On all sides went up a shout of loud dissent; as spokesmen for the rest, Joachim Kuyter and Cornelis Melyn, who were of the old Board of "Eight Men," and had otherwise been conspicuous as opponents of Kieft, declared boldly that they had nothing to thank him for and no approval to give. Such unexpected candor marred the harmonies of the occasion, and might have led to even more significant demonstrations of popular feeling, had not Stuyvesant stepped forward and stilled the growing excitement by



Stuyvesant's Reception.

declaring that "every one should have justice done him. I shall govern you," he said, "as a father his children, for the advantage of the chartered West India Company, and these burghers and this land."[1]

The crowd dispersed, quieted if not satisfied with these assurances of the paternal intentions of the new governor, and almost forgot how long they had stood bare-headed in the sun.

[1] *Breeden Raedt* and *Albany Records*, cited by Brodhead, *History of New York*, vol. ii., p. 433.

There was not much delay, however, in testing his sincerity. Before many days had passed Kuyter and Melyn brought a formal complaint against Kieft, and asked that a rigid inquiry be made into the alleged abuses of his government, and especially of his treatment of the Indians which had led to the war. The answer was as unexpected as it was unwelcome. Was it to be accepted as his opinion that it was treason to petition against one's magistrates, whether there was cause or not? The denials of Kieft, he considered as of more weight than any evidence his antagonists could bring to substantiate their charges. He would not, he declared, recognize them officially as members of the late Board of "Eight Men," nor as representatives of the citizens at large; but only as "private persons." He looked upon them, he said, merely as "perturbators of the public peace," hardly worthy of a hearing. In all this he was mindful of the force of precedent. "If this point be conceded," he said to his council, "will not these cunning fellows, in order to usurp over us a more unlimited power, claim and assume, in consequence, even greater authority against ourselves and our commission, should it happen that our administration do not quadrate in every respect with their whims?" His despotism was not without forethought. The council had no will and no opinions of their own; all its members, Van Dincklage, Van Dyck, Keyser, Captain Newton, La Montagne, and Van Tienhoven the provincial secretary, hastened to agree with him, and the petition of Kuyter and Melyn was not granted.[1]

The citizens' complaint of Kieft.

Policy of Stuyvesant.

The wily Kieft saw his opportunity in this unexpected turn of affairs, and embraced it promptly. The defendant became plaintiff, and brought charges against Kuyter and Melyn, who, he declared, were the authors of that appeal of the "Eight Men" to the chamber of Amsterdam;[2] that they had induced their colleagues, against their better judgment, to join in that petition, all whose statements, he affirmed, were false. The ex-governor was listened to where the "private persons" had no standing in court. They were ordered to answer the accusations within twenty-four hours.

Stuyvesant was only the more enraged when that answer was an offer to produce the evidence of the truth of all the charges sent to Amsterdam against Kieft, and to bring forward the four survivors of the Eight Men to testify that they had voluntarily signed the documents containing those charges.[3] It was only an aggravation of the

[1] See Stuyvesant's address on this subject in O'Callaghan, vol. ii., pp. 24, 26.

[2] See vol. i., p. 462.

[3] The *Breeden Raedt* says that these survivors were induced by threats and promises to testify that they had been bribed to sign the letters sent to Holland containing the charges against Kieft.

offence, on the part of the accused, to propose thus to show their innocence. The Director General ordered that they be at once indicted; a speedy trial followed, and a prompt conviction waited on the trial.

Both were found guilty. Kuyter was condemned to three years' banishment and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders. The sentence of Melyn was more severe. Perhaps there were additional charges against him; perhaps the enmity of Kieft, who, says one authority, had resented Melyn's refusal some time before to give him a share in the manor of Staten Island, was more bitter. The patroon was at any rate declared guilty of treason, of bearing false witness, of libel and defamation; was sentenced to forfeit all benefits of the Company, to pay a fine of three hundred guilders, and to be banished for seven years. The Director was in favor of severer punishment, but even his pliant council dissented from his judgment, though he supported it by a violent speech, in which he appealed to Scripture and the authority of the learned in civil and criminal law with many a text and quotation.

Arbitrary treatment of the popular leaders.

When it was suggested to the triumphant Kieft that the result of the trial might have been different in Holland, "Why should we," said he, exultingly, "alarm each other with justice in Holland? In this case I consider it only a scarecrow." Stuyvesant was even more emphatic. Melyn, he thought, deserved death, and was threatened with it by the Director. "If I was persuaded," he said, "you would appeal from my sentences or divulge them, I would have your head cut off, or have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland." To another person he said, "If any one, during my administration, shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way."



Signature of Cornelis Melyn.

These servants of the West India Company had little fear, probably, of their masters, who cared little and did less for New Netherland, and who, already in a condition of bankruptcy, had neither the power nor the will to regulate the affairs of the distant colony.[1] Had it been otherwise, however, Stuyvesant would not have been likely to put a bridle upon his tongue, for so transported was he with rage at these daring attacks upon prerogative, that "the foam hung on his beard" as he roared and raged against their perpetrators. "These

[1] *The West India Company: in Bibliographical and Historical Essays on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland.* By G. M. Asher.

brutes," he said, "may hereafter endeavor to knock me down also, but I will manage it so now, that they will have their bellies full for the future." The people of New Amsterdam had good reason to be amazed and alarmed at the words of this impetuous and irascible gentleman, as well as at these first acts of the administration of a governor who not long before, had declared "under the canopy of heaven," that justice should be done in all New Netherland, and that he was to rule over them as a father over his children.

But there was one man, at least, who was thankful for such a Director; and that was Kieft. Had he been the benefactor instead of the oppressor of New Netherland he could hardly have retired from its government with more triumphant complacency than that with which he now hugged himself. On the 17th of August, less than three months after the coming of Stuyvesant, Kieft embarked for Holland in the ship *Princess*, carrying with him an ample fortune, and taking on board with him, "like criminals torn away from their goods, their wives, and their children,"[1] the "two faithful patriots," Kuyter and Melyn, who had ventured to impeach his administration, and who for their temerity were thus punished by banishment, with the added humiliation of going as the prisoners of the man they had hoped to humble.

Kieft's departure.

But their humiliation and his triumph were not to last long. It was on this voyage there came that "observable hand of God," of which Winthrop speaks, and which he interpreted as "against the Dutch at New Netherlands," and showing "so much of God in favor of his poor people here [in New England] and displeasure toward such as have opposed and injured them." For Kieft, he adds, "had continually molested the colonies of Hartford and New Haven, and used menacings and protests against them upon all occasions, and had burnt down a trading-house which New Haven had built upon Delaware River."

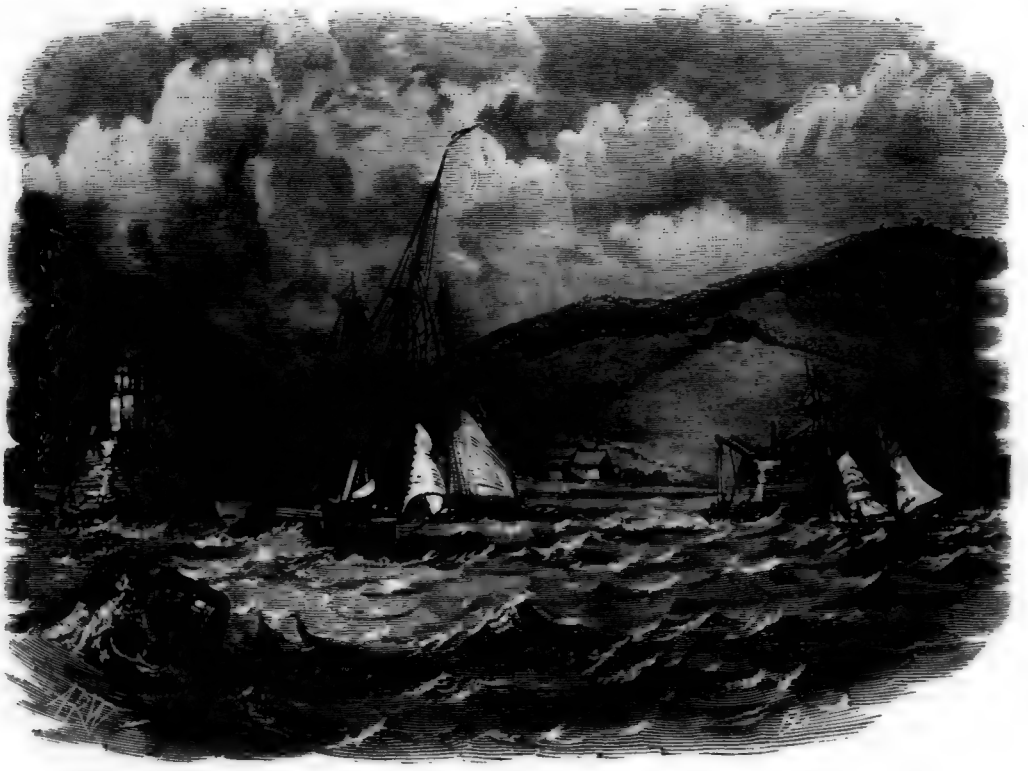
Therefore it was that the hand of God was heavy upon him; so that when the *Princess* approached the English coast she lost her reckoning, ran upon the coast of Wales, near Swansea, instead of up the English Channel, and was lost. Many saw in it a judgment, who did not agree with the Massachusetts governor that Kieft was "a sober and prudent man," and who believed that the providence of God sometimes had other purposes than the punishment of the enemies of the Puritans of New England. "I told Wilhelm Kieft," — De Vries had written four years before, — "that I doubted not that vengeance for the innocent blood which

Wreck of the *Princess*.

[1] This is the testimony of the *Breeden Raedt*, a little colored, perhaps, by partisanship, as it is certain that Melyn took a son with him.

he had shed in his murderings, would, sooner or later, come on his head." Kuyter and Melyn, and their friends, also, had, no doubt, their reflections. To Kieft himself, whose life had been one of so much turbulence and injustice, there came a sort of death-bed repentance, as his ship lay pounding to pieces on the Welsh rocks; for calling his prisoners to his side, he said: "Friends, I have been unjust towards you, — can you forgive me?"

So he perished, and with him eighty others — among them Melyn's son, and Bogardus,[1] the minister of the church of New Amsterdam, who had been one of Kieft's most determined opponents. Twenty only



View on the Coast of Wales near Swansea.

were saved, and of these one was Kuyter, who was washed ashore in a surf so heavy that it threw, at the same time, a cannon upon the beach; and another was Melyn, who escaped upon a raft. Perhaps their hardships aroused some sympathy for them in Holland; at any rate their grievances were listened to, the

Kuyter and Melyn in Holland.

[1] The farm of Dominie Bogardus — called first the "Dominie's Bowery," afterward "the Duke's Farm," "the King's Farm," "the Queen's Farm," as it was conveyed, in the progress of events, from one proprietor to another — became at length the property of Trinity Church, New York, by letters-patent under the seal of the province. It is still, for the most part, in the hands of that corporation, and produces an immense revenue. To the conveyance of this farm to Governor Lovelace, in 1671, by the children of Annetje Jans, — the widow of Dominie Bogardus, who had been twice married, — one of the sons was not a party, and the property is claimed by his descendants. — *O'Callaghan.*

sentences against them reversed by the States-General, and Stuyvesant had reason subsequently to regret that he had begun his administration of the affairs of New Netherland by their persecution.

In the spirit and temper, however, with which he had come to the defence of Kieft, the Director-general continued to administer the affairs of the colony after the departure of the *Princess*. He began at once to enforce some burdensome taxes, particularly upon wine and beer, which aroused the most bitter opposition; and he showed it to be clearly his policy to make the colony profitable to the Company rather than that the rights of the colonists should be protected. If his laws and their rigid enforcement were sometimes beneficial to the citizens, as they sometimes unquestionably were, it was not so much that Stuyvesant was anxious for their welfare, as because the laws were in themselves judicious and wholesome for them as well as favorable to the interests of the Company. He was accused of imposing restrictions upon trade that he might have a monopoly in smuggling some particular article of commerce; when the truth was that he was honestly aiming to repress some illegal and injurious practice, the repression of which would deprive his accusers of the monopoly which, they said, he was prostituting his power to get into his own hands. Undoubtedly he was very much of a despot, had very little faith in popular government, and very little respect for popular rights; but he was personally honest; he conducted the affairs of the colony in a way which he sincerely believed was for the benefit of the Company; and he ruled with a strong hand because he thought that was the only way the people could be governed. As a natural consequence he had almost as little popular support in acts that were judicious and for the good of the community, as in those which were unwise and clearly against its best interests.

Features of Stuyvesant's administration.

But he could not carry on the administration of affairs without some sort of popular coöperation. Taxes were paid, if paid at all, with reluctance and much grumbling; the Indians were threatening the fort, and the palisades around the town were in need of repairs; the church was only half finished; trade languished, and there was a general condition of danger, depression, and discontent. Stuyvesant listened at last, though very unwillingly, to the advice of his council, to admit the people to such share in the government as they were accustomed to at home. A general election was ordered in the autumn, at which the burghers of New Amsterdam, of Breuckelen, on the other side of the East River, of Pavonia, and Amersfoort or Flatlands on Long Island, were to choose eighteen delegates, from whom the governor and council were to select a board of Nine Men as the popular representatives of the colony.

By proclamation in September, the powers of this body were defined. That the colony "and principally New Amsterdam, our capital and residence, might continue and increase in good order, justice, police, population, prosperity, and mutual harmony, and be provided with strong fortifications, a church, a school, trading-place, harbor, and similar highly necessary public edifices and improvements;" that "the honor of God and the welfare of our dear Fatherland, to the best advantage of the Company, and the prosperity of our good citizens" be promoted; that "the pure reformed religion, as it is here and in the churches of the Netherlands," be preserved and inculcated, this Board of Nine Men was established.

Concessions to the burghers.

These were to convene when called by the governor and council, but were not to hold private meetings, the governor, whenever he pleased, sitting with them as the presiding officer. Their duty and powers were advisory, not legislative, as they were only to give advice on such propositions as the governor and council thought fit to submit to them. Three of them were to sit in turn at the council-board each week, and to act as arbitrators in civil suits, the parties to which, however, had the right of appeal to the council on payment of a fee. Six of the nine were to retire annually, and six new members to be appointed from twelve of "the most notable citizens."[1] Thus the Nine Men were to nominate their successors, with the Director's help, without recurrence again to a popular election; and the Board was to "continue until lawfully repealed," — continue, that is, until the Director and council saw fit to dispense with it. Its creation, nevertheless, was a concession, on the part of Stuyvesant, to the popular will,[2] and its members sometimes were enabled to withstand and defeat the arbitrary acts of the Director and his Council.

Besides his difficulties at home the Director was soon involved in trouble with his neighbors of New England. Kieft had left, as he could hardly help doing, the questions of boundaries and jurisdiction in the valley of the Connecticut in an unsatisfactory condition, and an effort to come to some equitable settlement with the commissioners of the United Colonies was among the earlier acts of Stuyvesant's administration. He entered into correspondence with the several colonies with a sincere desire, no doubt, to reach an amicable understanding; but the policy of New England was to come to no understanding whatever. There was no lack of

Difficulties with New England.

[1] The proclamation — or charter, as it is sometimes called — is given in full from Albany Records (vii. 72–84), by O'Callaghan, in his *History of New Netherland*, ii. 37–39.

[2] The Nine Men first appointed were Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus van Hardenburg, and Govert Loockermanns, merchants; Jan Jansen Dam, Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven, and Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, citizens; and Michael Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Thomas Hall, farmers.

courteous words, and on his side an earnest purpose; on the other, fair words only covered up the determination to "keep crowding the Dutch." Stuyvesant's proposition of a friendly conference Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts accepted in vague terms; that it might take place at some proper time and place when his health permitted; but no conference followed. Stuyvesant suggested as the basis of any settlement the right of the West India Company "to all that land betwixt that river called Connecticutt, and that by the English named Delaware." The New England commissioners, on their side met the suggestion by complaints of the restrictions on trade established by the Dutch, and of the selling of arms to the Indians to the great danger of the English settlements. Energetic action, however, suited the temper of the Dutch Director better than this sort of diplomatic correspondence which led to nothing.

What he would do when a practical case of disputed jurisdiction presented itself he soon had opportunities of showing. Some years before, as we have related in another chapter,[1] a company from Massachusetts, under Captain How, had made a settlement within the territory of New Netherland, not only without the permission of the Dutch, but in such evident contempt of their assumed proprietorship as to pull down the Dutch escutcheon, and to carve in its place a mocking effigy. These Englishmen had bought the lands of the Indian owners by an agreement with one James Farrett, the agent of the Earl of Stirling, who claimed the island of Matowack, or Long Island, under a grant from the council of New England.[2]

Claims of Lord Stirling's estate to Long Island.

In September one Andrew Forrester appeared on Long Island and at New Amsterdam, claiming to be — as he no doubt really was — the agent of Lady Stirling, the widow of the earl, and asserting her right of proprietorship.[3] As Kieft, in his time, had dispersed the people who claimed the right of settlement near Cow Neck by virtue of an agreement with Farrett, act-

[1] See Chapter ii., p. 34.

[2] Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 204.

[3] Some confusion has crept into the books in relation to these two agents, Farrett and Forrester, which is explained in a note to Murphy's translation of *The Representation of New Netherland*. Wood, in the first edition of his *Sketch of Long Island*, confounded Forrester with Farrett, and this led Savage [*Winthrop's Journal*, note, vol. ii., p. 6] to assert that there was no such agent as Forrester. In the second edition [Furman Club] of Wood's *Sketch* the error of the first is corrected, and the agent of the Earl of Stirling, in 1640, is properly named as James Farrett. Hubbard, in his *History of New England*, calls him Forhead. As all that is of much value in Hubbard is copied from Winthrop, it is difficult to account for his change of spelling on any other supposition than that Hubbard assumed to correct Winthrop, who, he may have supposed, had written *forehead*, as the vulgar pronounced it — forrett — which supposition, if correct, settled Hubbard's pronunciation rather than Winthrop's spelling. The fact is that Farrett was the Earl's agent in 1640, and Forrester in 1647.

ing for the Earl of Stirling, so Stuyvesant now disposed of Forrester when claiming to represent the widow of the earl as the owner of the whole island. Forrester was arrested, and, though consideration enough was shown him to permit him to present the grounds on which, on behalf of his principal, he claimed the ownership of Long Island, he was kept in close confinement till he could be put on board ship for Holland. He left the vessel, however, at an English port, not without, perhaps, the consent of those who had charge of him, and who cared little where he was so he was not in New Netherland; for it is plain the Dutch did not feel quite easy about this Stirling patent.

Arrest of Forrester.

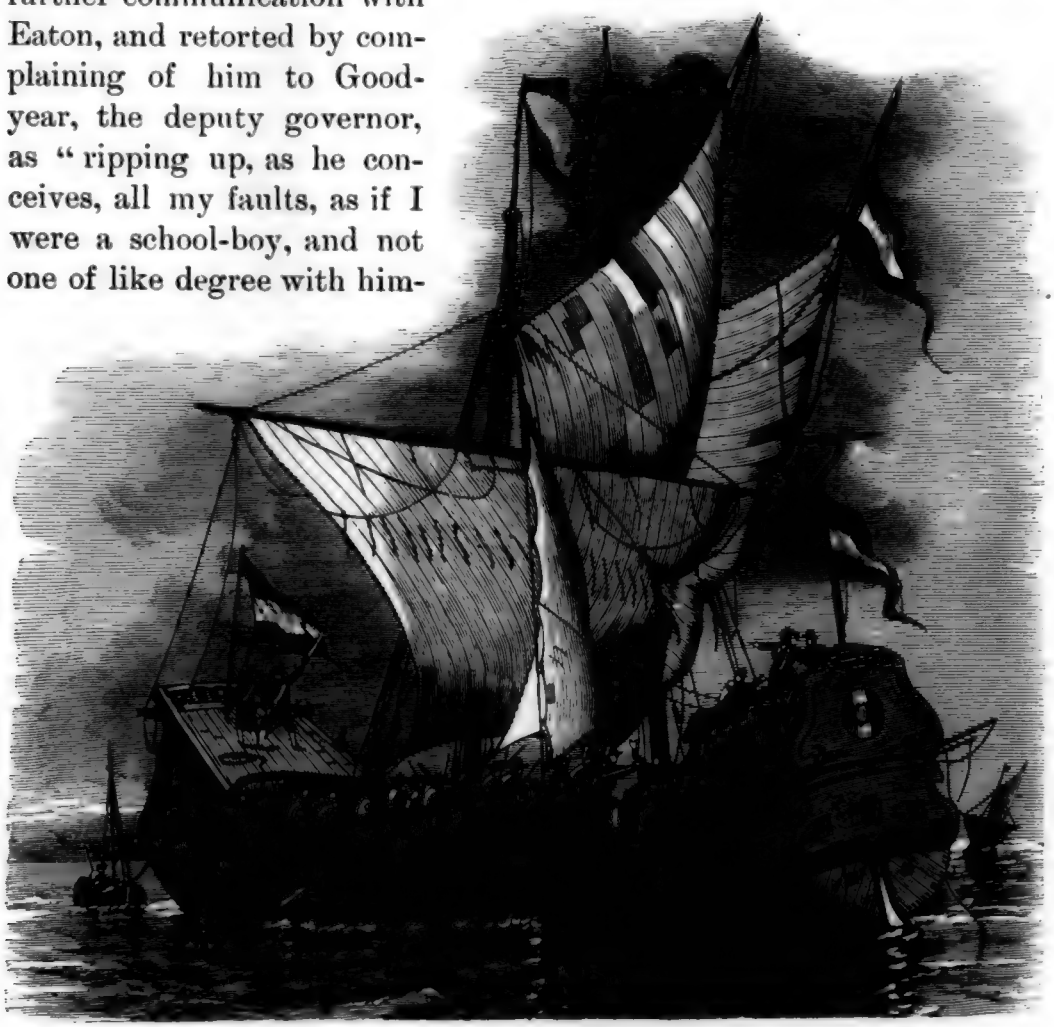
The next case of disputed jurisdiction was not so easily disposed of, but Stuyvesant had as little hesitation in dealing with it as with Lady Stirling's agent. He learned that a Dutch ship was at New Haven taking in a cargo without a permit from the government at New Amsterdam, or paying the legal duties. She was pronounced a smuggler, and her seizure was determined upon, for the Director claimed that New Haven was within the territory of New Netherland. It happened that Mr. Goodyear, the Deputy Governor of New Haven, had just purchased the Company's ship, the *Zwol*, at New Amsterdam, to be delivered at New Haven, and the Director took advantage of this transaction for a strategical movement against the other ship. The *Zwol* sailed in due course from New Amsterdam to New Haven for delivery to her purchaser, but beneath her hatches were concealed a company of soldiers under the command of one Captain Van der Grist, with orders to take the *St. Beninio*, the offending vessel, and bring her to Amsterdam. The expedition was eminently successful. Suddenly, "on the Lord's day," Van der Grist, with his men, boarded the *St. Beninio*, made prisoners of one of the owners, of her officers and crew, and before the astonished Englishmen had time to come to the rescue, sailed out of the harbor.

Contest with New Haven.

Against this high-handed act Governor Eaton of New Haven protested, promptly and indignantly. "We have protested," he wrote, "and by these presents do protest against you, Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of the Dutch at Manhattans, for disturbing the peace between the English and Dutch in these parts . . . . by making unjust claims to our lands and plantations, to our havens and rivers, and by taking a ship out of our harbor, without our license, by your agents and commission; and we hereby profess that whatever inconveniences may hereafter grow, you are the cause and author of it, as we hope to show and prove before our superiors in Europe." But Stuyvesant confiscated the ship and cargo, nevertheless, having asserted — with some considerable extension of his former claim — that New Nether-

land embraced the whole country from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen,[1] and that the *St. Beninio* was legally seized within New Netherland boundaries.

The correspondence was hot and furious. You write me neither in Latin nor in English, "but in Low Dutch, whereof I understand little, nor would your messenger, though desired, interpret anything," wrote the angry Englishman. Stuyvesant refused at length to hold further communication with Eaton, and retorted by complaining of him to Goodyear, the deputy governor, as "ripping up, as he conceives, all my faults, as if I were a school-boy, and not one of like degree with himself." The New Haven governor was sufficiently revenged for the Low Dutch, in exciting the Director to this childish display of anger.



Capture of the St. Beninio.

And not only this; Eaton was presently able to retaliate in acts as well as words. Three of the servants of the Dutch governor escaped from New Amsterdam and fled to New Haven. Stuyvesant demanded their rendition, addressing his letter, Winthrop says, to "New Haven

[1] Stuyvesant afterward explained that by Cape Cod he meant Point Judith.

in New Netherlands." It was not wise to ask a favor with the air of a sovereign. Eaton refused to return the fugitives, contrary to the advice of Winthrop, who considered that such an act of courtesy, though asked for in a way that was objectionable, could be assented to without prejudice to the territorial title of the English.

Progress of the controversy.

On receiving this reply Stuyvesant's conduct was characteristic. It was of no little importance to all the colonies that fugitives from justice or from labor in any one of them should not find an asylum in another. To retaliate in kind upon Governor Eaton was a most unpopular proceeding even in New Netherland; nevertheless, the Director issued a proclamation when Eaton's refusal reached him, every word of which flashed with indignation, declaring that "if any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor, yea to the lowest prisoner included, run away from the colony of New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance." It was, at least, a bold act, if not a masterly stroke of policy. Governor Winthrop lamented the more that New Haven had not followed the advice of Massachusetts instead of obstinately adhering to its own judgment, "in pursuit whereof this damage and reproach befell them."

Stuyvesant's New Haven policy successful.

But it was as easy to recapture a prisoner as to cut out a ship, and Stuyvesant was not a man to satisfy himself with proclamations, or to let his actions lag behind his wrath. However loud he barked, his bite was always worse than his bark. He contrived to get letters conveyed to the refugees in New Haven, both from himself and from the dominie of New Amsterdam; they were assured of a full pardon for offences in the past, and plied with promises of good treatment in the future. The Director was as successful in his strategy as he was vigorous in his proclamation. The men were persuaded by his assurances and returned to New Netherland. It was easy enough then to recall with dignity his offer of protection of offenders against the laws of New Haven, which he had already explained to Massachusetts and Virginia was only meant to apply to that colony.

His government at home.

These quarrels with the New Englanders were neither forgotten nor forgiven, and the New Netherlanders had occasion a few years later to regret, and the Director, possibly, to repent of them. Meanwhile his administration of the affairs of his own colony was no less vigorous, sometimes judiciously so, and sometimes injudiciously and oppressively. It was not that he disdained to take counsel of prudence, but that his prudential measures were often carried out with a passion and vehemence that defeated his most cher-

ished purposes. The selling of arms to the savages, who might on the smallest provocation, or with none at all, turn them against the whites, was an evil so obvious, that the complaints of other colonies were not needed to convince him of the necessity of its suppression. He issued stringent orders upon the subject, and when certain persons in New Amsterdam were suspected of disregarding this prohibition, he brought them to trial, and they were sentenced to death. The penalty was too severe, and so shocked the community that it was commuted to milder punishment, and especially when it appeared that there were grave doubts of the guilt of some of the accused.

The intention of the governor was certainly praiseworthy, and for the real good of every citizen of the colony. But men are free-traders by nature, and restrictions even upon a traffic so dangerous as to put arms in the hands of those who may at any time become enemies, may be made unpopular by undue severity. Stuyvesant's energy, in the right direction, was almost sure to make itself offensive by harshness and arrogance, and his zeal made the recrimination all the more bitter, when later it was suspected that nobody violated his own prohibition in this matter so flagrantly as himself. The truth really was that he only sparingly distributed arms and ammunition among the Indians, by order of the directors in Holland, to bribe the savages to keep the peace; but either the distinction was not understood, or was wilfully misinterpreted. The result, at any rate, was to unjustly aggravate the unpopularity of the governor, which he was justly earning in other ways.

The Governor's conflict with Van Slechtenhorst.

This question of trade with the Indians was probably one cause of a conflict which soon arose between Stuyvesant and Brandt van Slechtenhorst, the commissary of the young patroon of Rensselaerswyck at Beverswyck, Albany. The old patroon was dead and Van Slechtenhorst was sent out by the guardians of the son and heir, Johan van Rensselaer, as his representative, about the time that Stuyvesant arrived at New Amsterdam. The commissary was quite as jealous of the prerogatives of the young patroon as the Director was of the rights of the Company. An opportunity soon arose of testing the question, for when Stuyvesant proclaimed a fast Van Slechtenhorst refused to keep it, on the ground that the Director General of New Netherland had no jurisdiction within the domain of the Patroon.



Signature of Johan van Rensselaer.

Such a defiance of authority was certain to exasperate Stuyvesant, and he unwisely determined to assert his authority in a more positive way. He visited Fort Orange, about which the hamlet of Beverswyck had clustered, and which certainly belonged to the West India Company, and ordered, on a survey of the place, that certain houses should be pulled down to permit of a better defence of the fort in case of an attack from the Indians; he commanded also that stone and timbers should be taken from the Patroon's lands for the purpose of repairing and adding to its fortifications. Van Slechtenhorst refused to permit the houses to be destroyed, and forbade that depredations should be made upon the Patroon's property.

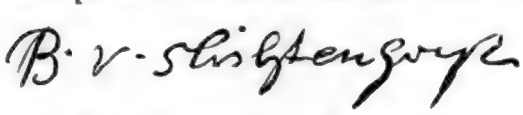


Stuyvesant at Fort Orange.

The Director sent a squad of soldiers from New Amsterdam to enforce his orders; the commissary defied them to interfere with his authority on his lordship's manor, and though they derided and almost assaulted him, the commander of Fort Orange was too prudent to try the temper of the people of Beverswyck by any attempt to enforce the Director's commands. Even the Indians shared in the excitement, and wondered why "Wooden Leg" wanted to pull down the houses of his own countrymen, and were evidently ready if a struggle ensued to take sides with those whom they looked upon as their friends and who sold them guns and ammunition. The conflict of authority between the Company and a patroon was one that was inevitable whenever an occasion for it should

Van Slechtenhorst the victor.

arise, and this occasion was an unfortunate one. The commissary stoutly and successfully maintained the rights of his lord; the Director was powerless to maintain those of the Company. Proclamations were loud and long from both parties; but the commissary carried his point, while the Director gained nothing, except, perhaps, some loss of prestige for asserting a right which he had not the power to maintain.



Signature of Brandt van Slechtenhorst.

So far Stuyvesant had not proved a successful governor, nor been to the people as he had promised, "as a father to his children." Discontent had followed increased taxation; prosperity had diminished rather than grown; the vexed question of colonial boundaries remained as unsettled and vexatious as ever, and in the confused condition of affairs in England seemed likely to remain so; trade was driven from the port of New Amsterdam, for New England and Virginia vessels were afraid to venture into a harbor where, as in the case of the *St. Beninio*, seized at New Haven, the governor did not hesitate to confiscate ship and cargo if his demands were not complied with; and the fear of such acts was said to have been a loss of the trade of twenty-five ships a year to New Netherland. Within two years the first board of Nine Men became dissatisfied and uncompliant, and another was appointed. This second board proved as unmanageable as the first, and succeeded in doing what the first had attempted to do without success, — in sending a deputation to the Hague to present to the States-General a statement of the grievances of the colonists, and to complain of the general mismanagement of the affairs of New Netherland by the West India Company and its servants. Of this commission Adrian van der Donck was the head, as he was probably the author of the *Vertocgh*, or Representation, presented to their High Mightinesses.[1]

Appeal of the citizens to Holland



Signature of Adrian van der Donck.

This important measure, however, was not carried without a struggle with the imperious Director. When the Nine Men proposed it they asked permission of Stuyvesant that they might confer with their constituents in a popular meeting to be called to consider the

[1] *The Representation of New Netherland.* Translated by Henry C. Murphy, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii.

condition of the colony, whether it would approve of sending a delegation to Holland, and to provide means to defray the expenses. The Director refused permission, saying that any such communication with the people must be made through him, and his directions followed. The next best thing the Nine Men could do was to go from house to house to consult with their constituents privately, and Van der Donck was appointed to keep a record of the result of these private conferences. Stuyvesant, exasperated at this defiance of his authority, went to Van der Donck's chamber, in his absence, seized all his papers, and the next day arrested and imprisoned their author. That he might not be, however, without some show of popular support he called a meeting of delegates of the militia and the burghers. From these he secured an approval of his course, and Van der Donck was expelled from the board of Nine Men, and the demand that his papers be returned to him refused.

Stuyvesant's treatment of the matter.

While this struggle was going on between the Director and the party opposed to him, Melyn returned from Holland, not only with the sentence, pronounced against him by the Council of New Amsterdam, reversed by their High Mightinesses, but bringing with him a mandamus requiring the Director to appear at the Hague, either in person or by attorney, to answer to the charges which Melyn and Kuyter had brought against him. The Patroon was by no means disposed to carry his triumph meekly. He declared that the decision in his favor ought to be pronounced as publicly in New Amsterdam as, two years before, he had been publicly condemned. This he demanded in a public meeting in the church soon after his arrival. At this bold step the whole assembly was ablaze with excitement. An excited and vehement debate followed; but the motion to read the mandamus was carried, and Van Hardenburg, one of the board, was about to obey, when Stuyvesant, declaring that a copy ought first to be served upon him, snatched the document from the hands of the councilman.

Melyn returns from Holland.

All dignity and reserve were thrown aside at this violence of the governor. The disputants forgot where they were and who they were; an unseemly struggle followed, in which, if the burghers did not knock each other down, they showered hard and angry words upon each other. One party tried to retain, the other to regain possession of the paper, and in the snatching and re-snatching the seal was torn from it. The tumult was at length quelled by the intercession of some of the cooler and wiser by-standers, and the Director was persuaded to return the document, on Melyn's promise that a copy should be given him. When the manda-

Excitement at the States-General's orders.

mus was read, Stuyvesant said in answer, "I honor the States, and shall obey their commands. I shall send an attorney to sustain the sentence that was pronounced." Melyn demanded that a written reply should be given, but this Stuyvesant refused.

The popular feeling was evidently in Melyn's favor, but that was of no personal advantage to him, as Stuyvesant let no chance escape him which could be used to annoy his enemy. But the governor's conduct in this affair, his imprisonment of Van der Donck, and the strong suspicion that he used his office to promote his own interests, in shops which he owned and others kept for him, in farms cultivated, in breweries carried on, in ships sailed wholly or in part on his account, and in a monopoly of the sale of arms to the Indians, — all these charges, true or untrue, combined at this time to so arouse the public indignation, that he did not venture to continue to throw obstacles in the way of a popular delegation to Holland.

A memorial was prepared and signed by eleven persons who were members of the second, or had been members of the first Board of Nine Men, asking that the States-General would take the colony under its own care; that they would establish in it a Burgher Government, as much as possible like that of Holland; that there should be free trade, colonial commerce, with the encouragement of the fisheries; that the boundaries of New Netherland should be definitely and definitively determined, all for the "peace and quietness," and the "liberty" of the people. In the Remonstrance, or *Vertoogh*, which accompanied the memorial and which was signed by the same men, the gravest charges were brought against the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant, and it was declared that the colony could never flourish if left longer in the hands of the West India Company. And this was not done in a corner, but in the light of day. The haughty and irascible Director was brought by the popular clamor to unwonted submission. He permitted the departure of three of the signers of these documents, — Van der Donck, Couwenhoven, and Bout, — as delegates to the States-General, one of whom he had, not long before, imprisoned, partly because he was the author of this very Remonstrance. He dispatched Van Tienhoven, the provincial secretary, however, to Holland, to meet his accusers.

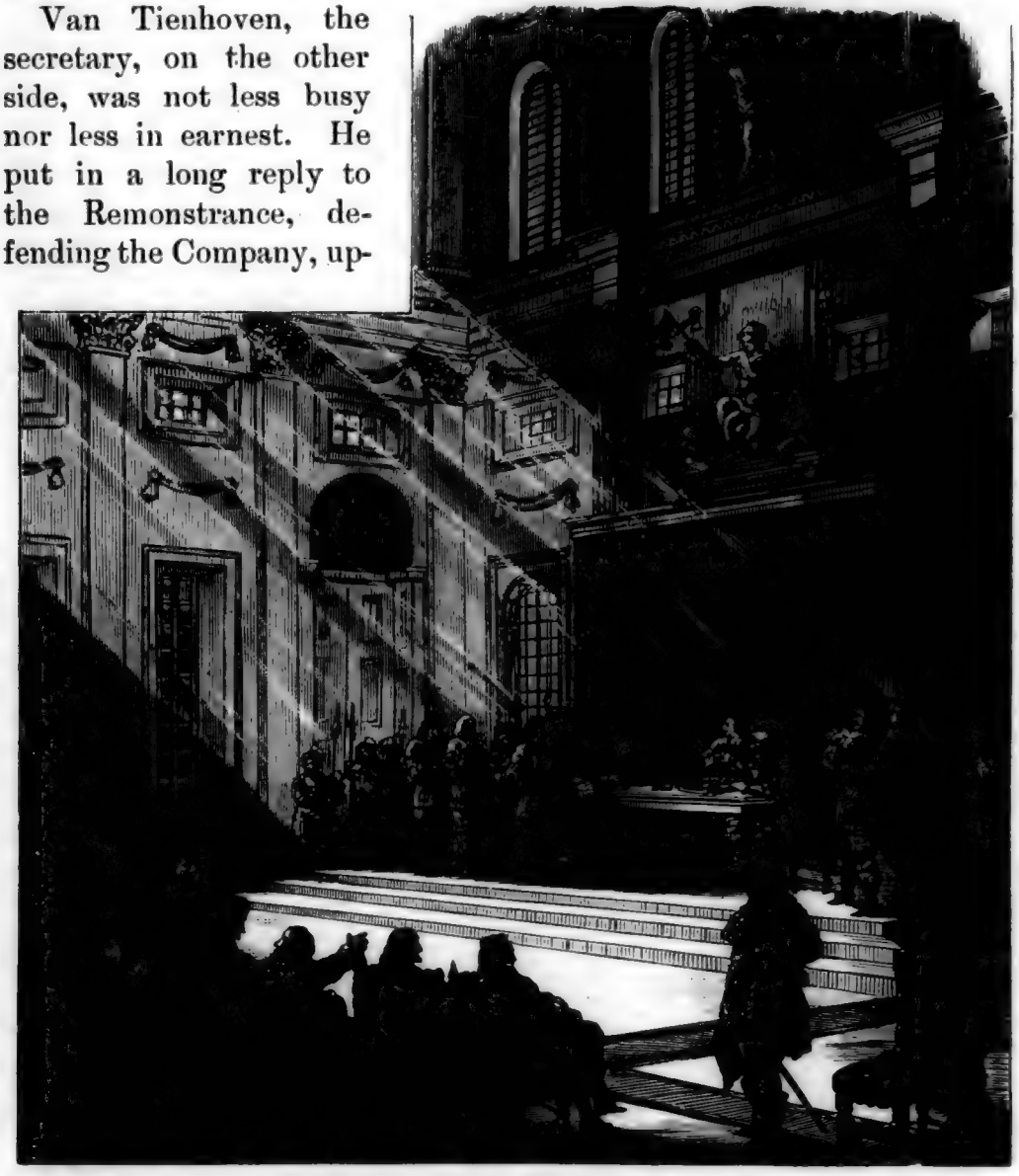
The Remonstrance finally dispatched.

Van der Donck was zealous and able, and his efforts on behalf of his constituents were well supported not only by his colleagues, but by Melyn, who went out to Holland with them, and the Dominie Backerus, the clergyman of New Amsterdam, who left the colony not long before. A strong popular feeling was soon aroused in favor of the colony, for Van der Donck appealed to the people of

Efforts of its supporters.

Holland by publishing the Remonstrance, as well as to the States General by his earnest representations. "The name of New Netherland," wrote the Amsterdam Chamber to Stuyvesant, "was scarcely ever mentioned before, and now it would seem as if heaven and earth were interested in it."

Van Tienhoven, the secretary, on the other side, was not less busy nor less in earnest. He put in a long reply to the Remonstrance, defending the Company, up-

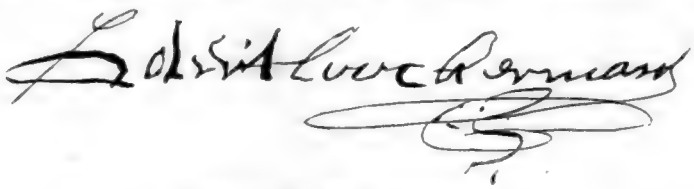


The Delegates before the States-General.

holding the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant, denying, and, if he spoke the truth, sometimes disproving the charges brought against them, but resorting to the common line of defence, where the defendant's cause is a weak one, of abusing the plaintiff's attorney. And this he did with a good deal of bitterness and some humor. "Those," he said, "who complained about the haughtiness of Stuyvesant are such as seek to live without law or rule;" those indebted

to the Company were "angry and insolent" if payment was demanded, and "would be right glad to see that the Company dunned nobody, nor demanded their own, yet paid their creditors;" many of them had been provided with provisions and clothing on arriving from Holland, and "now when some of them have a little more than they can eat up in a day, they wish to be released from the authority of their benefactors, and without paying if they could; a sign of gross ingratitude;" the place of Dominie Backerus was now "supplied by a learned and godly minister who has no interpreter when he defends the reformed religion against any minister of our neighbors, the English Brownists;" Van der Donck had been in the service of the proprietors of Rensselaerwyck, and there is the sting of an insinuation in the comment that he did not remain long in that service; Stevensen, another signer of the Remonstrance, had "profited in the service of the Company, and endeavored to give his benefactor the world's pay, that is, to recompense good with evil;" Elbertsen was indebted to the company, and "would be very glad to get rid of paying;" Loockermans, who from a "cook's mate" had become a prosperous trader, "owed gratitude to the Company, next God, for his elevation, and ought not advise its removal from the country;" Kip was a tailor who had never lost anything, which was only another way of saying he had nothing to lose; and Evertsen's grievance was that he had lost a house and barn in the war with the Indians, though the land on which they stood, and which cost him nothing, he had sold for a great price.

Opposition of Van Tienhoven.



Signature of Govert Loockermans.

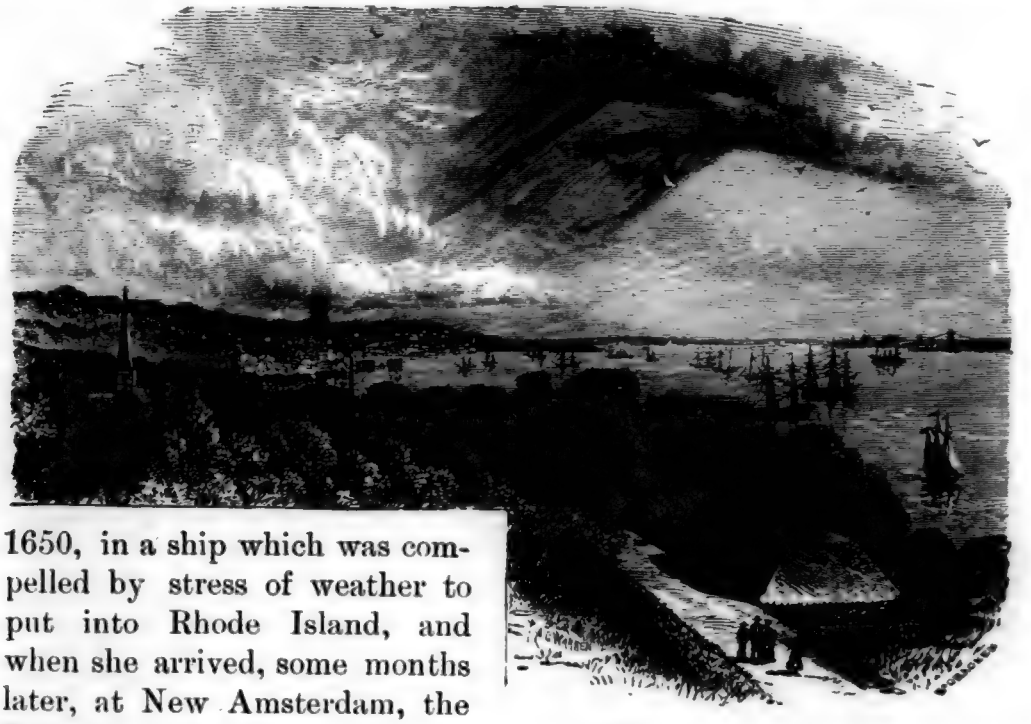
In short, the secretary, though he undertook to show that the indictment of the Company and its servants could not be sustained, hoped to strengthen his arguments and his assertions by showing or insinuating that those who brought the charges were either interested witnesses or not worthy of belief. It was unfortunate for his own case that he proposed to test the truth of alleged facts by the character of those who stated them, for soon after making this appeal he was brought to trial in Amsterdam and found guilty of seducing a young woman under promise of marriage, he having a wife and children residing in New Netherland.

Provisional order of the States.

Redress did not come immediately for the grievances complained of, though some promise of relief was given in a provisional order of their High Mightinesses containing some wise measures for the government of the colony, and commanding

Stuyvesant's return to Holland. It was not accepted, however, by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company, and, when sent to New Netherland, Stuyvesant refused to obey it. "He should do as he pleased," he said, and in all such matters he was quite as good as his word. In two successive years the board of Nine Men added fresh delegates to their deputation in Holland, moved thereto, the second year, by the Director's refusal to nominate new members to the board, thus virtually dissolving it. In nothing would Stuyvesant abate the arrogance of his temper, the rigor of his rule, or the bitterness of his resentments.

No sooner, for example, was Melyn again within his reach than the Director subjected him to new persecution. The Patroon returned in 1650, in a ship which was compelled by stress of weather to put into Rhode Island, and when she arrived, some months later, at New Amsterdam, the Director ordered her to be seized for violation of a regulation of the company in trading without a license, and brought Melyn to trial as her owner. He was only so far interested in her voyage that she brought a number of settlers for his manor of Staten Island, and though the ship and cargo were confiscated, there was no evidence that could hold him responsible.[1] Failing in this Stuyvesant brought new charges against the patroon, confiscated his property in New Amsterdam, and compelled him to confine himself to his manor of Staten Island. Melyn surrounded himself with defences, and establishing a sort of baronial



Melyn's Manor at Staten Island.

Stuyvesant's action.

[1] The Company was subsequently compelled to pay heavy damages to the owners of this vessel for this arbitrary act of the Director. — *O'Callaghan*, vol. ii., p. 157.

court contrived for a while to live till Stuyvesant's persecutions drove him, at length, out of the colony.

With Melyn, on Staten Island, Van Dincklage, the vice-director, also found a refuge from the violence of Stuyvesant. The vice-director busied himself in preparing a new protest to the States-General on behalf of the colony, when Stuyvesant ordered that he be expelled from the council. Van Dincklage refused to be thus disposed of, on the plea that he held his commission not from the Director but from Holland. Stuyvesant arrested and imprisoned him for some days, and he felt that his life was not safe on Manhattan Island.

Persecution of the popular leaders.

Other leaders of the popular party were subjected to treatment hardly less vindictive and arbitrary. "Our great Muscovy Duke (*noster magnus Muscovi Dux*)," Van Dincklage wrote to Van der Donck, "goes on as usual, resembling somewhat the wolf, — the older he gets the worse he bites. He proceeds no longer by words or letters, but by arrests and stripes." Van Dyck, the fiscal, or attorney-general, who, with Van Dincklage, was detected in drawing up the protest, was excluded from the council, and his duty reduced to that of a mere scrivener. Sometimes he was "charged to look after the pigs and keep them out of the fort, a duty which a negro could very well perform;" and if he objected the Director "got as angry as if he would swallow him up;" or if he disobeyed, "put him in confinement or bastinadoed him with his rattan."[1] Finally he was charged with drunkenness, and removed from office. The secretary, Tienhoven, was appointed in his place; — the "perjured secretary," wrote Van Dyck, "who returned here contrary to their High Mightinesses' prohibition; a public, notorious, and convicted whoremonger and oath-breaker; a reproach to this country, and the main scourge of both Christians and heathens, with whose sensualities the Director has been always acquainted." "The fault of drunkenness," he adds, "could easily be noticed in me, but not in Van Tienhoven, who has frequently come out of the tavern so full that he could go no further, and was forced to lie down in the gutter."[1] While the Director was thus making life a burden to his enemies, he had, under the pretext that his own person was in danger, four halberdiers to attend him whenever he walked abroad.

[1] *Albany Records* and *Holland Documents*, cited by O'Callaghan and Brodhead.

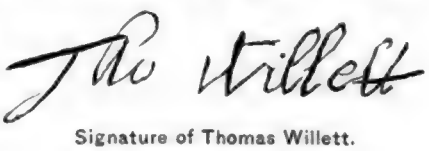
CHAPTER VII.

THE DUTCH AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.

The Hartford Boundary Treaty of 1650. · Action of the States-General on the New Netherland Remonstrance. — New England Troubles. — Stuyvesant accused of conspiring with the Indians against the English. — John Underhill in the Field. — Popular Discontents at New Amsterdam and on Long Island. — Convention of the Towns. — A Renewed Appeal to Holland. — English Feeling on Long Island. — Hostile Preparations in Connecticut. — New England asks Aid from the Protector against the Dutch. — An approaching Conflict prevented by the Treaty of Peace in Europe. — Unfavorable Reply to the Convention's Appeal. — New Sweden on the Delaware. — Contests between the Dutch and the Swedes. — Stuyvesant visits the South River. — Fort Nassau abandoned and Fort Casimir built by the Dutch. — Governor Printz retires. — Fort Casimir taken by the Swedes. — Retaken by the Dutch. — Division of the Colony between the W. I. Company and the City of Amsterdam. — Limits of New Amstel. — Disasters and Dissensions.

Stuyvesant had a leaning toward the English, notwithstanding his quarrels with Governor Eaton, of New Haven, and his altercations with others of the New England colonies. Of all the people of New Netherland, the English on Long Island were treated with the most consideration, and in return they gave him the weight of their support against the opposition party among his countrymen. This was not the smallest among the causes of his unpopularity, and it gained new intensity and bitterness when in the midst of all these other troubles the Director concluded an agreement with New England in regard to the boundary. The two commissioners appointed by him to conduct the negotiation were both Englishmen, Thomas Willett, a merchant of Plymouth, and George Baxter, employed by Stuyvesant as his secretary. His opponents exclaimed at this loudly and vehemently, as treacherous to the colony and an insult to the Dutch.

Negotiation of the boundary treaty of 1650.



Signature of Thomas Willett.

The articles of agreement between the contracting parties left the question of jurisdiction on the South River, the Delaware, undetermined; but the boundary line on Long Island was fixed to run from

the westernmost part of Oyster Bay straight to the sea, east of that line to belong to the English, and west of it to the Dutch; on the mainland the point of departure was on the west side of Greenwich Bay, about four miles from Stamford, the line to run thence up into the country twenty miles, provided it did not come within ten miles of the Hudson River, the Dutch agreeing not to build within six miles of such line. The inhabitants of Greenwich were to remain under the Dutch till some other arrangement was agreed upon — which agreement by a subsequent article of the treaty was modified by transferring them to the jurisdiction of New Haven, — and the Dutch were to retain only such lands in Hartford as they were in actual possession of.[1]

Here was ground for fresh complaints with the popular party of New Amsterdam, inasmuch as the Director had first outraged his own countrymen by intrusting so important a negotiation to Englishmen on his behalf, and then by consenting to give away enough territory, which the Dutch claimed as theirs, to make fifty plantations each four miles square. It was the resignation of more than half of Long Island, and nearly the whole of the present States of Connecticut and Rhode Island, even if the Dutch claim was limited to Point Judith. Stuyvesant reported to his masters in Holland that he had made this treaty with the English, and it did not meet with their approval; but as he sent no copy its precise terms were probably unknown there.

The States-General act on the New Netherland appeal.

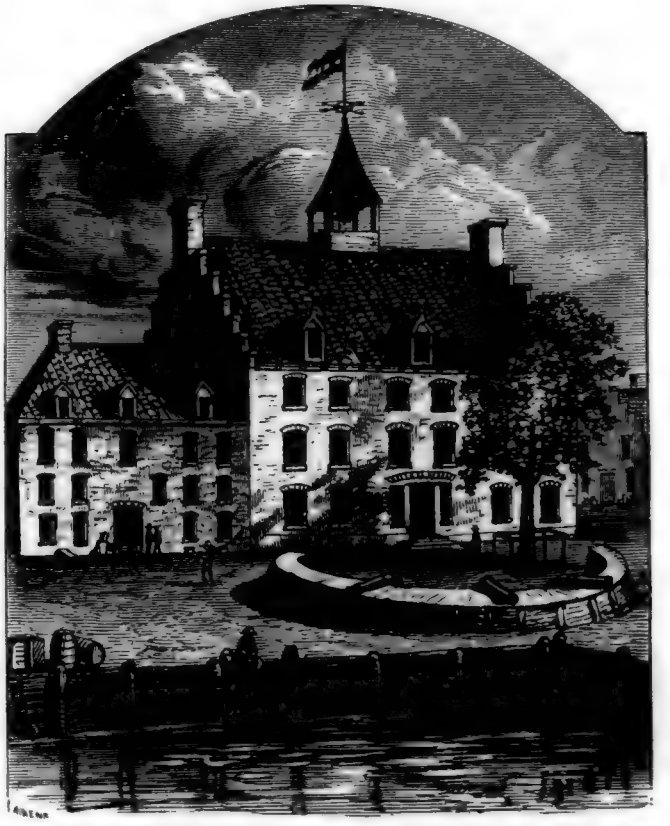
It was plain at last to the States-General that temporizing measures with a man of Stuyvesant's despotic temper, unscrupulous will, and fearless disposition, were altogether useless, — they only made him worse. Hitherto all the complaints of the colonists, backed by the energetic efforts of Van der Donck and his colleagues, were incapable of overcoming the influence of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company. But the Chamber yielded in the spring of 1652, when it was evident that if the desired reforms in New Netherland were not made with their consent, they would be made without.

Their order.

After three years of delay the prayer of the people was listened to in earnest. It was decreed that a "burgher government" should be established; that the citizens of New Amsterdam should have the right to elect their own municipal officers; that those officers should constitute a court of justice, with appeal to the supreme court of the Director and Council; that the export duty on tobacco should be abolished; that emigration should be encouraged by a reduction in passage-money; that the importation of negro slaves, hitherto a monopoly of the Company, should be now free to all citi-

[1] Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii.

zens; and Stuyvesant was ordered to return home to give an account of his administration of affairs in answer to the numerous complaints that had been made against him. This last order, however, was presently revoked, for war was declared between England and Holland; Tromp and Blake were sweeping up and down the English Channel, and it was thought not wise to remove a governor who was, at any rate, bold and energetic, in the probable contingency of an outbreak of hostilities among the American colonies.



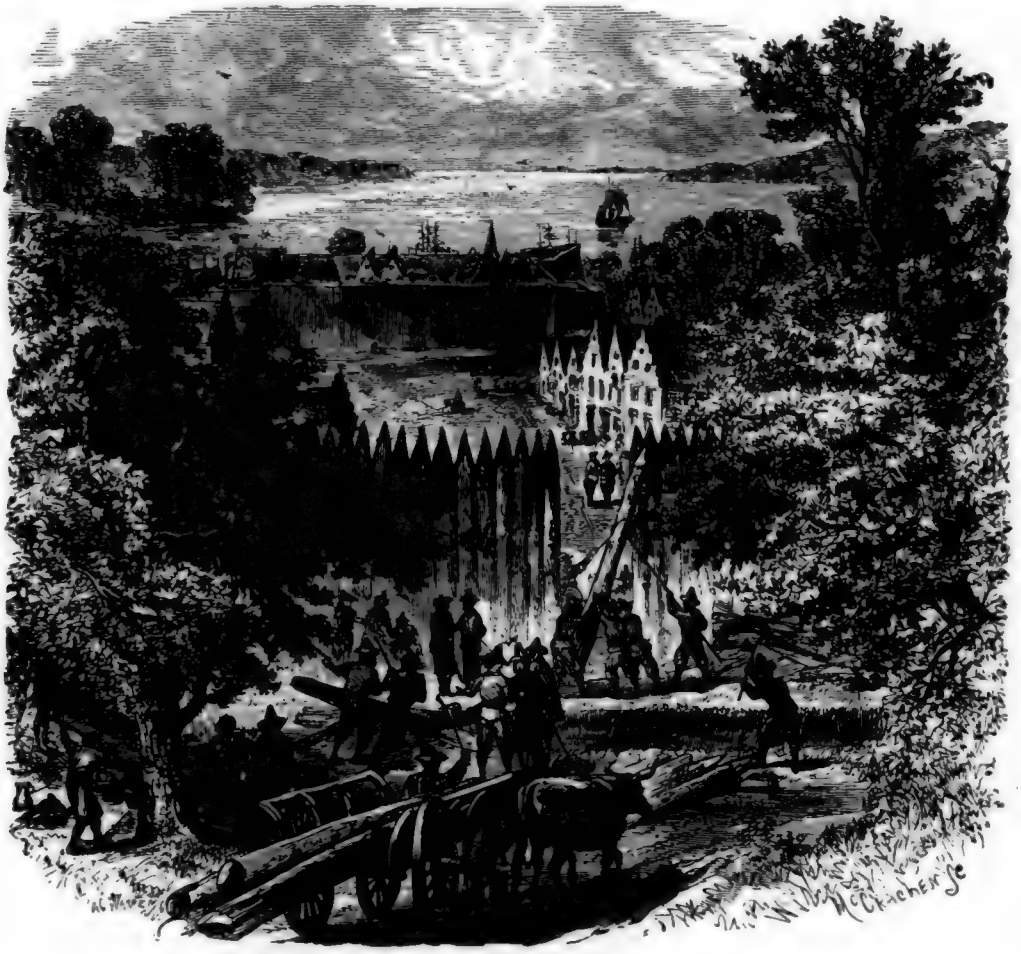
The Old Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam.

These long-delayed concessions were taken to New Amsterdam by Van der Donck himself, and in accordance therewith Stuyvesant published a proclamation on the day of the Feast of Candlemas, the 2d of February, 1653. But none knew better than he how to keep a promise to the ear and break it to the hope. The States-General meant to bestow upon New Amsterdam the right of self-government as it existed in their own city of Amsterdam; — in the election by the people of a schout or sheriff; of two burgomasters, who were, in effect, the chief magistrates of the town; and of five schepens. who constituted a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction. Van der Donck might well come home in triumph with this grant of municipal government, as the fruit of his three years' incessant labor in Holland, and the people might well rejoice that they were at last to govern themselves. It was, indeed, the beginning of popular government in New Netherland; for in the years to come new concessions to the will and rights of the people followed as the inevitable consequence of this first success. But even this first success the Director defeated for a time, by assuming the right to appoint where election was ordered. Such appointments he at once made, and they were all

acceded to without objection, except that of Van Tienhoven as schout. Against him there was loud protest, but the rest were accepted, perhaps, because they were unexceptionable, and the people were weary of contest; perhaps, because the fear that the war between England and Holland might involve the colonies in serious difficulties overshadowed, for the present, all internal dissension.

Stuyvesant's action.

The apprehension, real or feigned, of coming trouble, existed on all sides. Stuyvesant endeavored, and no doubt with sincerity, to avert the danger, by assuring Virginia and the New England colonies of



The Building of the Palisades.

the continued good feeling of the Company and of the colony, notwithstanding the war at home, and expressing the hope that their friendly relations would not be interrupted. At the same time he did not neglect prudent preparations for defence, for New England he heard was arming. The people of New Amsterdam for once agreed with him, and submitted cheerfully to a tax for the digging of a ditch from the North to the East River, and the erection of a breastwork and palisades to secure the town from attack.

On the other hand the belief — or at least the assertion — among the English, was that it was they who had cause for dread, and that Stuyvesant was secretly preparing for their destruction. Uncas, the cunning Mohegan chief, alarmed the New England colonists along the Sound, with a story that the Dutch had persuaded the Indians of that part of the country to conspire for the massacre of the English people, and that the Sachems, Ninigret, Pessicus, and Mixam, were the leaders in this plot. Stuyvesant had, indeed, said that he should avail himself, if possible, of an alliance with the Indians in the event of hostilities between the Dutch and the English, and this may have been the origin of the report of Uncas; or, perhaps, the wily chief hoped to benefit himself and his tribe by stirring up strife among the whites.

Further trouble with the English.

But the story, no doubt, was untrue. Stuyvesant, when he heard of it, promptly and indignantly denied that he had any hostile intentions against his neighbors; and the Indians whom the story of Uncas implicated, when carefully cross-questioned by order of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, denied any knowledge of such a plot. "Do you think we are mad?" they said. They knew well enough how much stronger the English were than the Dutch. "Do not we know," they declared, "the English are not a sleepy people? Do they think we are mad to sell our lives and the lives of our wives and children and all our kindred, and to have our country destroyed for a few guns, powder, shot, and swords? What will they do us good when we are dead?" Why, Ninigret asked, was he treated even with indignity by the Dutch governor, if he had made a league with him against the English, his friends? He had made a visit recently to New Netherland. "I stood," he said, "a great part of a winter day knocking at the governor's door, and he would neither open it, nor suffer others to open it to let me in. I was not wont to find such carriage from the English my friends."[1]

Stuyvesant denies conspiring with the Indians.



Portrait of Ninigret.

Some of the Long Island Indians, nevertheless, confirmed the story of Uncas, and consternation spread through the towns along the

[1] Hazard's *State Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 207–209.

Sound and among the English of Long Island. A delegation from the United Colonies sent to New Netherland, returned with this unfavorable report, and the commissioners of Connecticut and New Haven proposed that a force be raised at once and war declared against the Dutch. But the Massachusetts magistrates were wiser and more moderate. Perhaps it was because they were so far removed from the scene of any possible danger that they could better sift the character and weigh the value of Indian testimony; at any rate they did not believe in the existence of any plot, or that the Dutch were so rash as to provoke hostilities from their stronger neighbors. Massachusetts, therefore, refused to contribute her quota of troops for such a war, maintaining the right of independent action, in such a case, on the part of any one of the United Colonies. She was strong enough to stand alone if need be, and the rest were not strong enough to act without her. The fear of the Dutch was not, after all, so great as the fear of a dissolution of the New England Confederacy.

Part played by John Underhill.

In troubled waters no head was so sure to come to the surface as that of John Underhill. He is soon heard of as being lodged in jail in New Amsterdam, for asserting within their own towns, that the Dutch were in league with the Indians against the English. He was soon released, however, without trial, perhaps because his conduct had a kind of official sanction, inasmuch as Governor Eaton and the agents of the New England Confederacy had sent him to Long Island to gather evidence of this alleged conspiracy. The captain was not a man to waste his time in searching for facts to justify violent measures when such measures could be provoked just as well without the facts. If New England was not ready for a war with the Dutch, that was no reason why John Underhill should not declare it on his own account. He hoisted the colors of the Parliament at Flushing and Heemstede; issued a manifesto in which great crimes, such as the unlawful imposition of taxes, the appointment of magistrates over the people without election, the violation of conscience, the conspiring with the Indians to murder the English, the hampering of trade, and other acts of tyranny, even to the striking an old gentleman of his Council with a cane, were charged upon the administration of Peter Stuyvesant; and both Dutch and English were called upon "to throw off this tyrannical yoke." It shows how far Stuyvesant was from wishing to provoke a collision with the English, that instead of hanging Underhill for this second offence, he only banished him.[1]

As the other New England colonies had not admitted the Provi-

[1] Underhill's Manifesto may be found in full in O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, vol. ii., pp. 225 *et seq.*

dence Plantations into their confederacy, that colony was, perhaps, the more willing to show its zeal for the Parliament in its war with Holland. It was not, however, without some opposition from the mainland towns, that the people of the island of Rhode Island, whose interests were more commercial than maritime, carried in the General Assembly a declaration of war against New Netherland. In consideration of "the servile condition" which the English on Long Island were "subjected to by the cruell tirannie of the Dutch power at the Manathoes," and the danger, should they "be cutt off and murdered," that would fall upon Providence Plantations, the General Assembly issued commissions to Captain John Underhill, to be commander on land, and to Captain William Dyre and Edward Hull, to be commanders at sea, "to bring the Dutch to conformitie to the Commonwealth of England." Some cannon and small arms and twenty volunteers were provided to carry on the war, and a court of admiralty was appointed for the trial of prizes which were to be taken into Newport.[1]

Action of Rhode Island.

Underhill took the field. Marching to Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut, once held by the Dutch, but now empty, he posted upon the door a notice that he, "Io. Underhill [did] seaze upon this hous and lands thereunto belonging, as Dutch goods claymed by the West India Company in Amsterdam, enemies of the Commonweal of England." Having done this much for the Commonwealth and the conquest of New Netherland, the commander-in-chief of the land forces of Rhode Island disbanded his army of twenty volunteers. The conquered territory — being about thirty acres — he sold, on his own account, first to one man for twenty pounds sterling, and two months' later to another, giving a deed to each.[2]

Underhill at Fort Good Hope.

Operations at sea were, at least, less farcical, but not much more damaging to the enemy. Captain Hull captured a Frenchman, which certainly did no harm to the Dutch, and served to aggravate the difficulties already existing between Rhode Island and Massachusetts. The latter complained, with some reflection upon Parliament, that the act was illegal; Rhode Island retorted by using the reflection as lending strength to her other charges against Massachusetts.[3] One Thomas Baxter,[4] however, did better service. He sailed under a letter of marque from Rhode Island, and actually took

The conflict at sea.

[1] O'Callaghan. Hazard. Arnold's *History of Rhode Island.*

[2] *Hartford Records.*

[3] Arnold's *Rhode Island.*

[4] Arnold — *History of Rhode Island* — confounds him with George Baxter, who took another way, as will appear presently, to show his enmity to the administration of Stuyvesant.

two or three Dutch vessels. But as he also captured English vessels, under an expansive rule of his own making as to what constituted contraband of war, it is questionable to which side he did the most damage.

Perhaps it would have been better for Stuyvesant if the threatened trouble from without had not been so easily and speedily dispelled. The fortifications of New Amsterdam were not half completed when the citizens, no longer afraid of an attack from the English, refused to be further taxed to finish the work. The new officers, whom Stuyvesant had appointed, refusing to submit their selection to a popular



Underhill at Fort Good Hope.

election, arrayed themselves on the side of the citizens, and constrained the Director to share his power in some respects — particularly with regard to the excise upon wine and beer — with the city.

The discontent on Long Island, both among Dutch and English, took a more formidable shape. In the contest with Van der Donck, Stuyvesant had had no more useful or zealous partisans than the English settlers of that portion of New Netherland. But now, alarmed at the continuance of Indian hostilities, and disgusted at the want of

prosperity generally, which they attributed to the arbitrary and unwise rule of the Director, they united with the popular party in opposition to his administration. A meeting of delegates under the leadership of two Englishmen, George Baxter and James Hubbard, assembled at the Stadt Huys in New Amsterdam, in November. On the plea of the necessity of devising some means for the general welfare, Stuyvesant had been consulted with regard to this meeting, and two of his council, La Montagne and Van Werckhoven, took seats in it, as the representatives of that body and the Director General. But the presence of Van Werckhoven especially was objected to. The delegates from the towns declared they would have nothing to do with him, and that neither the Director-general nor any of his council would be permitted to preside over the convention. As the object of the meeting was to provide for the common defence, they were willing to unite with the municipal government of New Amsterdam — which was also represented in the body — and to continue under the rule of the States-General and the Company; but they would not submit to the Director and Council who could not protect them. "We are compelled," they said, "to provide against our own ruin and destruction, and therefore we will not pay any more taxes."

Affairs on Long Island

Convention of the towns.

All this, Stuyvesant said, "smelt of rebellion, of contempt of his high authority and commission," which certainly was true. Not that he objected to an alliance of the towns for their mutual protection, but in such an alliance all the towns, Dutch as well as English, should, he thought, be included. To such a proposition there could be no reasonable objection; indeed, it seems to have come first from the delegates themselves, and they determined, therefore, "that they should meet on the tenth of next month; he might then do as he pleased, and prevent it if he could."

At the appointed time another convention assembled. There were present representatives from the four Dutch towns, New Amsterdam, Breuckelen, Amersfoort or Flatlands, and Midwout or Flatbush; and the four English towns, Flushing, Middleburgh or Newtown, Heemstede, and Gravesend. Ten of these delegates were Dutchmen, and nine were Englishmen; but they were of one mind.

A second meeting.

The memorial in which they set forth their grievances was drawn up by Baxter. Six years before he was the English secretary to the colony, and it fell upon him to do that which he, better than anybody else, was fitted to do. It was a good point, nevertheless, for Stuyvesant. "Is there," he asked in his reply, "no one among the Netherlands nation expert enough to draw up a remonstrance to the Director and

Council . . . . that a foreigner or an Englishman is required to dictate what ye have to say?" The Director was not wanting in skill to play upon the prejudices of his countrymen. But it was useless; the burghers were too much in earnest to be moved by any such appeal. To the memorial, which complained of the government as both arbitrary and incompetent, Stuyvesant could make no satisfactory answer, and the end of the discussion that followed between him and the convention was a denial, on his part, of the right of the people to self-government, or even to hold a public meeting; on the part of the convention a sturdy and persistent assertion of their rights, and the dispatch of an agent to Holland with an appeal to the West India Company for protection and redress.

Renewed appeal to Holland.

The colonies of Southern New England, meanwhile, were living in a state of perpetual agitation and dread of the Indians, persisting in the assertion that the Dutch were at the bottom of these troubles, and that the safety of the English lay in the conquest of New Netherland. There was, at least, this much ground for their fears, that Ninigret and his band were all the while on the war-path against the Indians of Long Island, who were in alliance with the English. The savage thirst for blood might easily enough take a new direction, and the frontiersmen, whether living in their isolated clearings in the forest, or gathered into small and feeble hamlets, could feel no certainty that the appalling war-whoop of the Indian might not at any moment come as the swift warning of sudden death to all their households. The terrible suspense in which these people lived is enough to explain the intense feeling toward the Dutch. As reports of Indian outrages on Long Island spread through the Connecticut towns, it was almost inevitable that they should be supposed to be instigated by the Dutch, and that the Connecticut colonies were safe from such calamities only so long as Ninigret was prevented from re-crossing the Sound. That safety, it was obvious, would be permanent and absolute, if the Dutch themselves could be brought into subjection to English rule.

English feeling in Connecticut.

So intense was this feeling in the border towns of Stamford and Fairfield, that their people accused their own government of want of courage and energy, and were almost at the point of open rebellion. The general court at New Haven, — although it had resolved that "the Massachusetts had broken their covenant with them in acting directly contrary to the articles of confederation," in the refusal to declare war — knew better, perhaps, than the affrighted people of the border towns, how little real reason there was to apprehend any alliance between the Dutch and the Indians. It is quite possible that the dread of a savage massacre was used to inflame animosity against

the Dutch, and as a pretext for the invasion of New Netherland; and the real grievance on the part of the other colonies against Massachusetts was that she would not be led into a war of annexation under a false pretence.

Hostile preparations at Fairfield.

But Stamford and Fairfield were in deadly and earnest fear of the Indians, to whose hostility they were more exposed than any of the other towns along the Sound, and they firmly believed the Dutch were as dangerous as the savages. Fairfield especially had been alarmed by the appearance of two Dutch vessels sent out by Stuyvesant in pursuit of Baxter during his cruise in the Sound, though they were deterred from venturing within the harbor by a proclamation of the New England Commissioners, prohibiting any Dutch vessels from entering the ports of the English colonies. In the autumn that town determined that there must be war, and that the way to bring it about was to begin. One of the principal magistrates



The Gathering at Fairfield.

of the colony, Mr. Ludlow, was appointed commander in chief, and volunteers were called for. The step was a bold one, and might have been successful but for the lateness of the season; for the governments of Connecticut and New Haven were compelled by this insubordination in the border towns to consider seriously whether they would not declare war against the Dutch even without Massachusetts.

But the coming winter settled the question for the present, and in the meantime they awaited an answer to an appeal that had been

made to the Protector and to Parliament for aid. A special agent was sent to England on this errand, but Governor Hopkins of Connecticut was then in London, and great reliance was properly placed upon his diligence and ability as the representative of New England interests.[1]

An appeal to England.

Had the New Netherland been a Puritan colony, the Puritans would have rejoiced to see how, in the events of the year, she was the evident object of the protection of a special Providence. In the beginning of these troubles, had not Massachusetts so firmly refused to unite with the other members of the confederacy in a declaration of war, the province would probably have been thus early annexed to New England, for the Dutch were altogether too weak to have successfully resisted an attack from the combined power of the English colonies. Had Fairfield and Stamford moved a little earlier, New Haven and Connecticut would have been unable to resist the popular hostility to the Dutch and the popular determination to acquire their territory, aggravated and intensified now by an Indian panic. That New England was dilatory was the salvation of New Netherland thus far, when delay again averted a danger more threatening than any that had yet menaced her.

The prayers of New Haven and Connecticut were listened to by Cromwell, and he wrote to the governors of the colonies urging them to zeal and activity, and promising the help of four well-manned ships. All the colonies, except Massachusetts, responded. Connecticut was to raise two hundred men, to be increased, if necessary, to five hundred; New Haven promised a hundred and thirty-three; Plymouth promised fifty, to be under the command of the old soldier, Miles Standish, and that Captain Willetts, who was one of Stuyvesant's commissioners on the boundary question four years before. But Massachusetts declined to furnish her quota, though she permitted a force of volunteers to be recruited in Boston. The ships sent by Cromwell were to be under the command of one Major Sedgwick and a Captain Leverett, and in good season they sailed from England. Three of the four, however, consumed four months in a voyage by way of the Western Islands, and news of the peace between England and Holland, concluded in May, 1654, received soon after their arrival in New England, put an end to the proposed expedition. Its only result was the seizure of Fort Good Hope — in spite of Underhill's former capture, — which was the final dispossession of the Dutch of any territory on the Connecticut River.

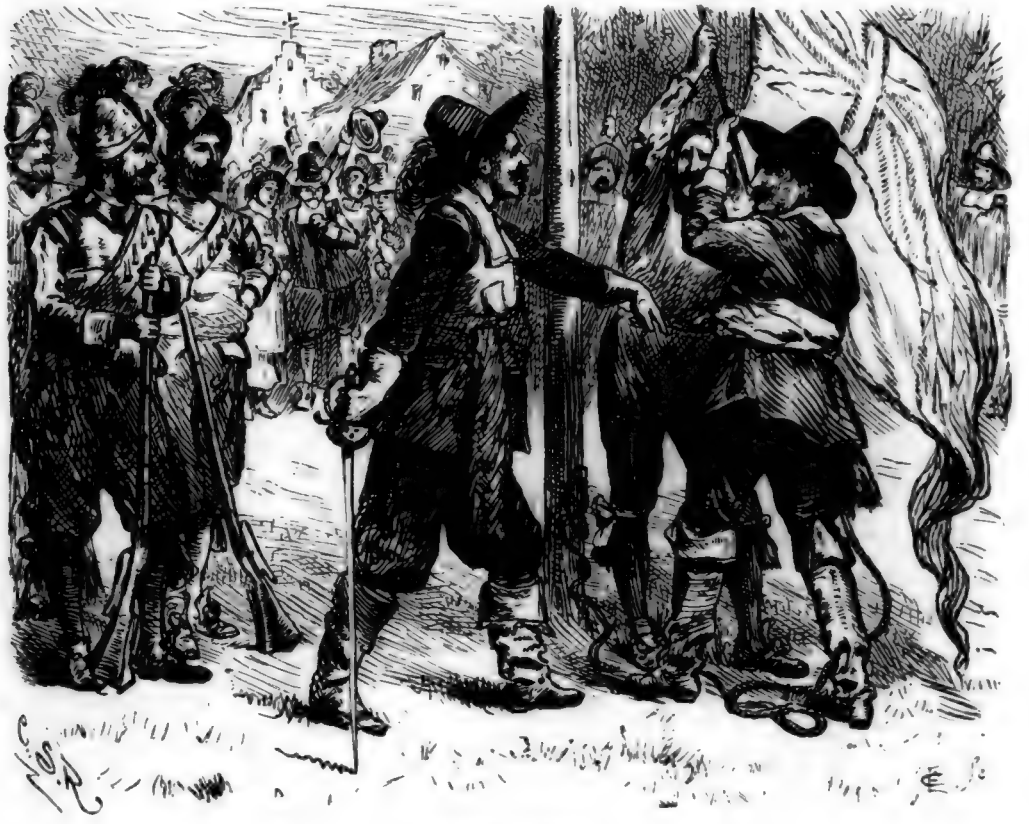
New England prepares for war.

Great were the rejoicings at the reception of this news at New Amsterdam, where the formidable preparations in New England for

[1] Trumbull's *History of Connecticut.*

an invasion of the Dutch colony had aroused such alarm as to bring about some temporary harmony between Stuyvesant and his opponents, and had united them in some preparations for defence. The Director appointed a day of public thanksgiving. "Praise the Lord," he said in his proclamation, "praise the Lord, O England's Jerusalem; and Netherland's Sion, praise ye the Lord! He hath secured your gates, and blessed your possessions with peace, even here, where the threatened torch of war was lighted; where the waves reached our lips, and subsided only through the power of the Almighty!"[1]

The conflict averted.



Arrest of Baxter.

There came at the same time other tidings hardly less gratifying to the Director. The agent, Le Bleeuw, who was the bearer of the remonstrance to the West India Company, had been received with great coldness and severity, and he was forbidden to return to New Netherland. The directors wrote to Stuyvesant that the complaints of the citizens were unreasonable, and that they had nothing to object to in his administration of affairs, except, indeed, that he was too lenient in his dealings with these seditious persons; that he "ought to have acted with more vigor against the ringleaders of the gang, and not

[1] *Albany* and *New Amsterdam Records*, cited by O'Callaghan.

have condescended to answer protests with protests." They commanded him now to punish them as they deserved, and especially those delegates from Gravesend, the Englishmen Baxter and Hubbard. The only concession made by the chamber at Amsterdam to the popular party was that the offices of city schout and provincial fiscal should not be held by the same person, and a commission for the former office was sent to Kuyter, who, more fortunate than his old companion, Melyn, had long before been forgiven for his past offences. He had, however, been recently murdered by the Indians somewhere on Long Island, and Stuyvesant permitted his friend, Van Tienhoven, to still remain both schout and fiscal without regard to the orders of the directors of the Company. The other injunction for the punishment of ringleaders he observed more faithfully, for he visited Gravesend and ejected Baxter and Hubbard from the magistracy. Baxter fled to New England, but returned again within two months, and not long after he and Hubbard were arrested in the act of raising the English flag and reading a proclamation declaring Gravesend to be subject to the laws of the Republic of England. Van Tienhoven, who had gone from New Amsterdam to quell the disturbance, arrested both and threw them into prison, where they remained for months.

The appeal of the convention disapproved.

During all these busy and turbulent years the Director-general had had little leisure to bestow upon affairs on the South River. It was not till 1651 that he took any decisive steps to exercise his power as governor of New Netherland over the Company's territory on the Delaware. Printz's Hall on Tinicum Island, at that time still knew its lord and master; its timbers still creaked under his massive tread, and its windows rattled at his stentorian voice. But Printz returned soon after to Sweden. There might have been some lively and entertaining passages of history had the two hot-headed and imperious governors known each other earlier; but it was only when peace between England and Holland released Stuyvesant, for a season, from internal dissensions and perils from without, that events on the South River demanded his active interference.

For years the few Dutch settlers of that region were left to an almost hopeless contest with their neighbors. Their fort — Fort Nassau — about four miles below the present city of Philadelphia, and a little more above the mouth of the Schuylkill,[1] was too far up the river to be of any practical use, even had its garrison been larger than the usual number of about half a dozen men. The only Indians whose trade was of much value were the Minquas, and they were on the Schuylkill. But that river was com-

The Swedes on the Schuylkill.

[1] A Dutch word signifying Hidden-creek or Skulk-creek.

manded by the Swedes by a fort built by Printz on an island near its mouth, as well as by Fort Gottenburg on Tinicum Island, — the present quarantine station of Philadelphia, — whence vessels could sail to the Schuylkill by a short passage over meadows, then under water, extending southward from the point now known as Bartram's Botanical Garden. The fort on the Schuylkill was on a cluster of rocks, at that time an island, near where a deep cut is made through the bluff in front of Bartram's Garden for the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad.[1] The Dutch commissioner Hudde, who commanded at Fort Nassau, complained that the Swedes had obtained "command over the whole creek." For, he adds, "this kill or creek is the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, and without this trade the river (*i. e.* the Delaware) is of little value."[2]



Mouth of the Schuylkill.

The Dutch were not numerous enough to dispute the possession of the river with the Swedes with any success; they were not even strong enough to maintain the dignity of being held as enemies. The Swedes treated them as trespassers rather than as foes; as troublesome neighbors rather than as the representatives of another nationality. Hudde put up a house near the banks of the Schuylkill, which he called Fort Beversrede, that he

Contentions between the Dutch and Swedes.

[1] Ferris's *Original Settlements on the Delaware*, pp. 70, 71.

[2] Hudde's Report. From the Dutch Colonial Records, republished in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i.

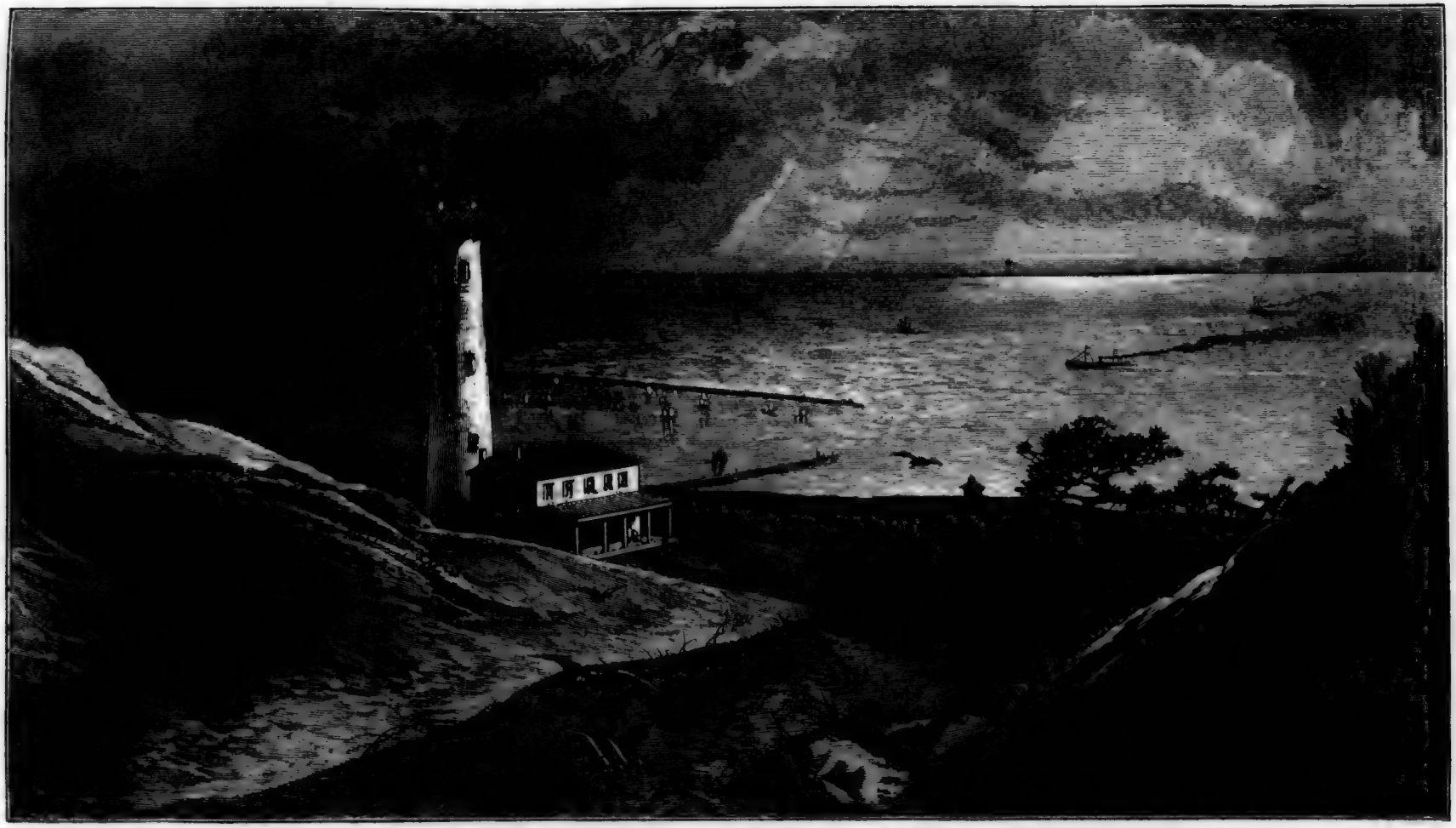
might share in the trade with the Minquas; the Swedes contented themselves with cutting down the trees around it, including the fruit trees which Hudde had planted, and built another house directly in its front between it and the river. All such assertions of sovereignty were treated with like contempt. Any attempt to erect a building by the Dutch, the Swedes met by sending upon the ground sufficient force to destroy the material, threatening the repetition of the offence with "a sound drubbing." It was the power of the constable rather than of the military arm, that was relied upon to sustain the right of the Swedes to the territory. No severer measures than these threats of personal chastisement were needed to keep the Dutch in subjection.

Among all the early colonial governors none held more undisputed sway than was exercised by Printz over the broad waters of the Delaware, from the muddy banks at the mouth of the Schuylkill to the low capes of Henlopen and May, where the vexed and shifting sands contend in endless strife with the winds and waves of the Atlantic. It was all New Sweden for a hundred miles along both banks of the noble river — a rich and lovely country, its broad, round hills covered with forests of great trees, the growth of many centuries, sweeping down with gentle undulations to the green meadows through which the quiet streams of many creeks wound gracefully in tortuous channels on their way to the wide waters of the Bay. "Printz's Hall" on Tinicum Island, was the capital of this noble principality. Besides the fort — New Gottenburg — on that island; another, not far off, at the mouth of the Schuylkill; another — Elfsborg, or Elsingborg — at the mouth of Salem Creek; and still another, Fort Christina, were the strongholds whereby the Swedish governor overawed the natives of the country, and kept out intruders.

Extent of Swedish possessions.

The Dutch, however, never forgot their claims, by right of prior discovery, to the South River and the beautiful region watered by its many affluents. Hudde, from his fort a mile below Gloucester Point, could only watch the growth and progress of the Swedes, and by his presence bear witness against their occupation of territory belonging to the Company. If Stuyvesant could do little else for several years than support his subordinate by protest, with such aid, at least, he was always ready to sustain the title of the Dutch. But when, in 1651, he found leisure for a visit southward, his quick intelligence and the eye of the soldier detected at once an error in the policy of the past, and where an advantage could be gained in the future. Fort Nassau, he saw, was too far up the Delaware, and was powerless against the Swedes, who, with wise forethought, had taken possession of the mouth of the Schuylkill.

Visit of Stuyvesant to South River.



THE CAPES OF THE DELAWARE.

The trade of the country, even at that day, found its natural centre at this confluence of the rivers. Printz was shrewd enough to see this. To command and absorb this trade he built his forts on the river and at Tinicum, and barred the approach to that point by his forts further down the Delaware. The wisdom of the Swedish governor has been justified by modern commerce, which concentrates at Girard Point, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, the shipping trade of Philadelphia, loading for all parts of the world from its elevators and warehouses, the corn and wheat of the West, and the petroleum from the central counties of Pennsylvania, while the products of her mines are turned into iron ships in the yards of Newcastle, a little further down the Bay.

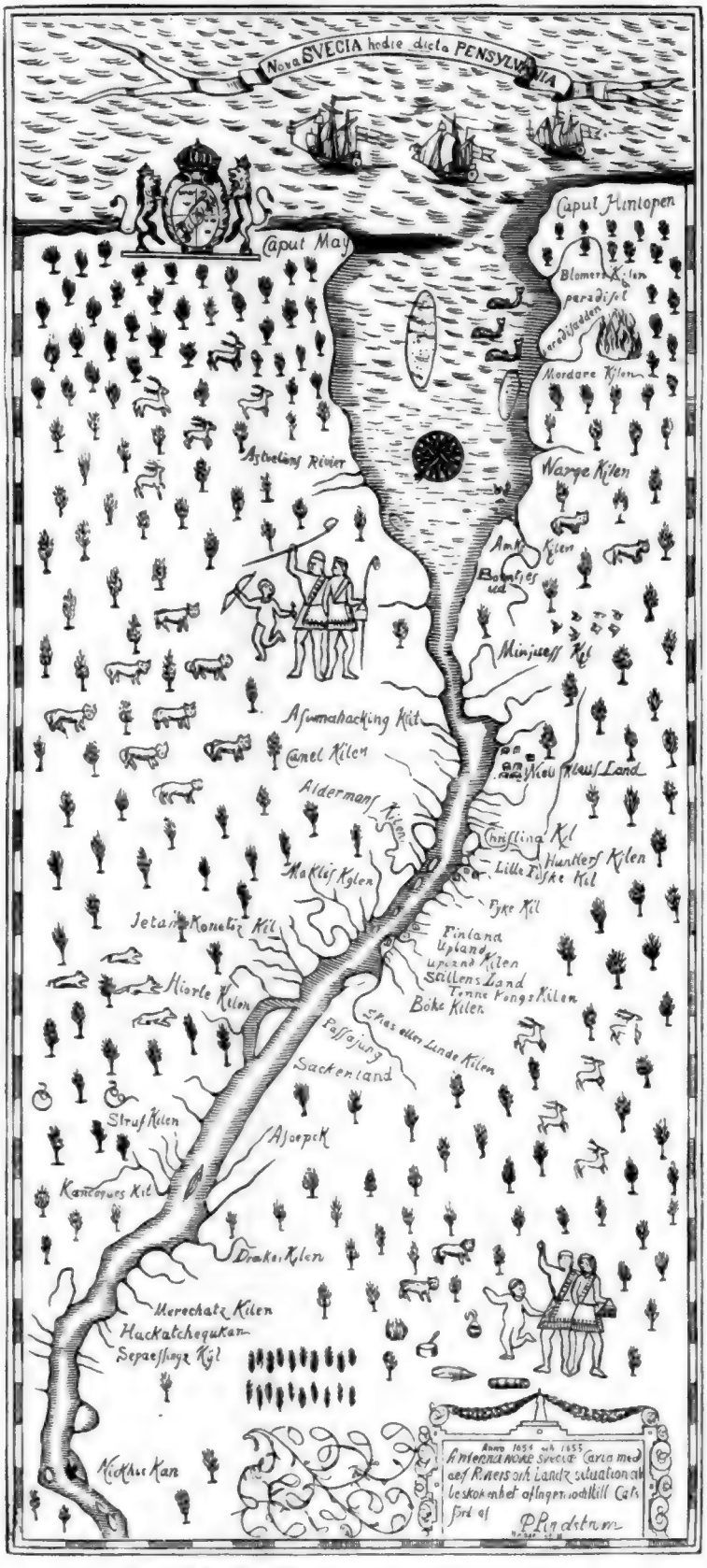
Fort Nassau — as too far out of the way for defence, where there was nothing to protect, and too far out of the way for offence, where nobody came to be attacked — Stuyvesant ordered to be destroyed and abandoned. From the Indians, who were always friendly to the Dutch, he easily purchased all the land from the Christina to Boomtje's or Bambo Hoeck, — now corrupted into Bombay Hook. Within this territory, about four miles below the mouth of the Christina, is a bold promontory, commanding a wide view of the Delaware, both above and below, then named Sandhuken. On this point, where now stands the town of Newcastle, the Dutch built a fort which they called Fort Casimir.

Fort Nassau abandoned, and building of Fort Casimir by the Dutch.

Printz protested against this act as an invasion of soil belonging to the Swedes. But Stuyvesant apparently had brought force enough with him to defy interference, otherwise it is not likely that the uniform policy of past years, — the prompt suppression of any attempt of the Dutch to gain some vantage-ground for offence and defence on or below the Schuylkill, — would have been pretermitted. Printz certainly was not unmindful of the advantage he was losing. He no longer commanded the Delaware, and his fort at the mouth of Salem Creek (Elsingborg) was abandoned as useless. It was pretended that it had become uninhabitable because of the mosquitoes, and that it was named therefore Myggenborg (Mosquito Fort); but the real reason was, no doubt, the absurdity of attempting to blockade a river of which the Swedes were not strong enough to hold possession. Both parties, moreover, dreaded the occupation of the disputed territory by the English more than they feared each other; and it was agreed, therefore, between Stuyvesant and Printz, that they should not indulge themselves in hostilities, but that they would "keep neighborly friendship and correspondence together, and act as friends and allies."

The Swedes abandon Fort Elsinborg.

Both, no doubt, meant to keep this compact till they were strong



Map of the Lower Delaware (after Campanius).

enough to break it. This fear of the English was not without reason, for the New Haven people had not forgotten the pleasant lands on the South River, — the genial climate, the rounded hills and noble forests, the rich meadows on the winding creeks, the broad bay of a hundred miles in length, where all the ships in the world could ride in safety, — from which in Kieft's time, a few years before, the Dutch and Swedes had united to drive them away. Only the autumn preceding the building of Fort Casimir a company of fifty persons had left New Haven determined to renew the attempt at an English settlement on

The English on the South River.

the Delaware. But stopping at New Amsterdam, to inform Stuyvesant in a friendly way of their purpose, and to secure his acquiescence, he arrested them without ceremony,[1] and would only release them on condition of their immediate return whence they came.

Printz, nevertheless, sent messengers to Sweden to complain of the intrusion of the Dutch, and had he waited long enough would have received the aid he asked for. But either tired of waiting, or impelled by a growing unpopularity which his arbitrary rule had provoked, he sailed himself for home late in 1653, before his messengers could be heard from. Their mission, however, was not unsuccessful. Before Printz reached Sweden a ship was dispatched with a deputy governor on board, John Rysingh, with a force of about three hundred men, whose first act was the capture of Fort Casimir.

Printz leaves New Sweden.

Rysingh was to supersede Printz in case Printz should wish to retire, as he had asked leave to do. Having already gone to Sweden there was no question of Rysingh's position, though Printz had left his son-in-law, John Pappegoya, as his representative at Tinicum. It seems, however, that Rysingh did not wait to communicate with his countrymen before exercising his power; for he found none of them below Fort Casimir, as Elsingborg, on Salem Creek, had been abandoned. His instructions from the government at home were pacific; he was not to break the peace with the Dutch; as to Fort Casimir — he was to leave it in their hands, unless there was danger of its falling into the hands of the English — a danger not imminent, as there was hardly an Englishman then on the banks of the South River.

He paid no regard, however, to his instructions, not waiting even, apparently, to learn the situation of affairs on shore, or that his superior, Printz, had gone to Sweden. "On the last day of May," wrote Gerrit Bikker, the commandant of Fort Casimir, to Stuyvesant, "we perceived a sail, not knowing who she was or where from." On the 27th of May, 1654, Rysingh himself wrote to Stuyvesant: "I cannot refrain giving you notice that a few days ago I arrived here safe in the government ship the *Aren*, with a considerable number of people from the kingdom of Sweden;" and in his report to his own government[2] he fixes the date of his arrival as "a few days before the 27th of May."

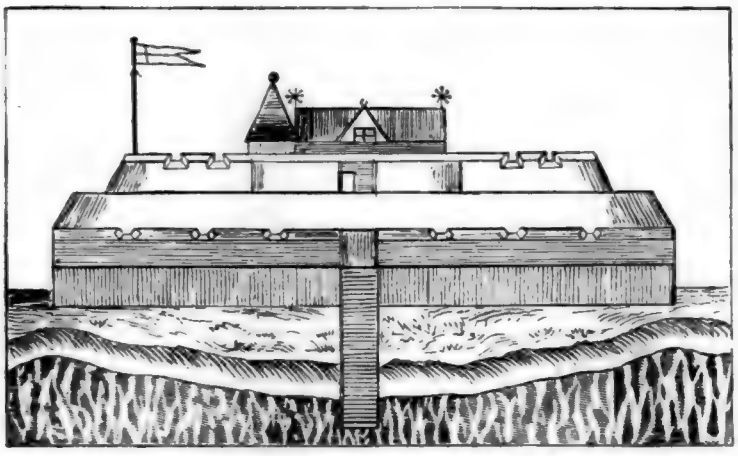
Whatever the date of his arrival, which is thus left uncertain, the fort was taken without resistance. Bikker sent messengers to the ship to ask who she was and what was her purpose. Adrian van Tien-

[1] See the petition for redress for this outrage of "Jasper Graine, William Tuttill, and many other the inhabitants of New Haven and Sotocket." Hazard, vol. ii., pp. 192 *et seq.*

[2] *Holland Doc.* cited in Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania.*

hoven — a brother of the New Amsterdam fiscal — reported on his return that she was Swedish, and that a new governor was on board who demanded the surrender of the fort. Van Tienhoven and others counselled defence. "What can I do?" said Bikker, "there is no powder." There was no time for deliberation. The captain of the ship immediately landed at the head of twenty or thirty men, marched into the fort and, at the points of their swords, compelled submission. Bikker "welcomed them as friends," he says, and asked a parley; but, he adds, "the soldiers were immediately chased out of the fort, and their goods taken in possession, as likewise my property, and I could hardly by entreaties bring it so far to bear that I, with my wife and children, were not likewise shut out almost naked." Van Tienhoven hurried back to the ship to ask of Rysingh his commission and the reasons for this summary proceeding. It was by order of the Queen, the governor said, whose ambassadors at the Hague had been told by the States-General and the directors of the West India Company that they had not authorized the erection of this fort on Swedish territory, the directors adding, "If our people are in your Excellency's way, drive them off." It was all a lie, no doubt; but Rysingh slapped Van Tienhoven on the breast, and said, with a hearty and confident familiarity, "Go, tell your Governor that!"[1]

Fort Casimir taken by the Swedes.



Fort Trinity (fac-simile from Campanius).

The Swedes were again in undisputed possession on the South River. All the Dutch in and about the fort were required either to take the oath of allegiance to Sweden or to leave that part of the country. To make the event the more significant the name of the fort was changed to Trefalldigheet (Trinity fort) because it was taken on Trinity Sunday, or more probably, because that festival of the church was within a week of its capture.[2]

When the news reached New Amsterdam the town rocked with

[1] *Hol. Doc.* cited in O'Callaghan and Hazard's *Annals*.

[2] It is usually said that the fort was so named because the capture was on Trinity Sunday. It was probably taken two or three days before Trinity Sunday.

excitement and indignation from the Battery to Wall Street. Stuyvesant seized an opportunity that occurred presently to retaliate, though it produced no other result than private injury. A Swedish ship, bound for the South River, ran into the Kill behind Staten Island, and sent a messenger to New Amsterdam for a pilot. Stuyvesant imprisoned the messengers and dispatched a file of soldiers to the vessel to seize her and her crew, to be detained till Fort Casimir was restored. The captain lost ship and cargo, but Rysingh was not moved thereby to give up his capture. He disregarded all the messages from Stuyvesant, who invited him to New Amsterdam, with the assurance of a safe conduct, that they might come to terms in regard to the fort and the question of jurisdiction on the Delaware. The Swedish governor preferred possession to negotiation, and declined to discuss the subject, either in person or by deputy. Stuyvesant had nothing to do but wait, and his anger was not of a kind that cooled by waiting.

Indignation of Stuyvesant.

But his indignation was no greater than that of the Company's directors in Holland. In their letters to Stuyvesant they denounced the surrender of Casimir as "infamous," as "scandalous," and as "cowardly;" the conduct of the commandant, Bikker, was declared to be in that "shameful transaction," "unfaithful, yea, treacherous," and his apprehension was earnestly insisted on; and it was, they urged, the Director's duty, "to exert every nerve to revenge that injury, not only by restoring affairs to their former situation, but by driving the Swedes from every side of the river as they did with us." They were much in earnest, and meant to put it in the Director's power to obey their orders.

Communication between the colonies and Europe was so slow and infrequent that winter was near before Stuyvesant could hear from Amsterdam, and all action was necessarily delayed. The Director availed himself of this interval of quiet in the affairs of his government to visit the West Indies, where he remained some months in the hope of advancing the interests of the colony. But in this he was thwarted by Cromwell's expedition under Sir William Penn. "We have mett the Dutch governor of New Netherlands, with three ships under his command," wrote the commissioner, Edward Winslow, from Barbadoes. "This man's business was to settle a faire trade between the Netherlands and this place; but we spoiled the sport." In this project Stuyvesant spent more than half a year, and had hoped great things. So serious a disappointment, we may be sure, did not make him the less inclined for another expedition in another direction, when soon after his return a ship of war arrived from Holland with orders that he should move against the Swedes on the South River.

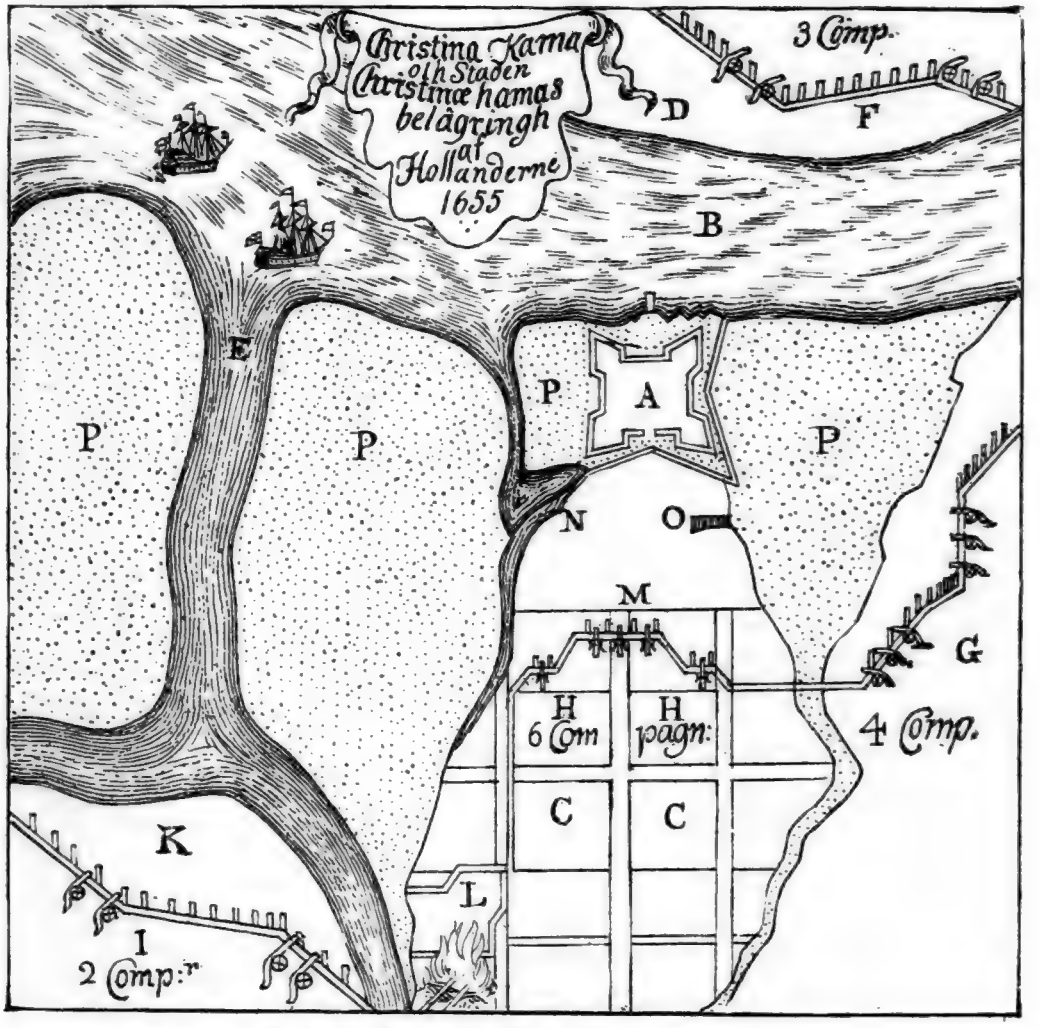
New Sweden was to be reconquered, and the Director set on foot the most active preparations. The company had sent from Holland a single ship, the *Balance*, a man of war; such other vessels as were needed were chartered, or impressed without the consent of the owners; and patriotic volunteers were invited to join the expedition. Measures were taken to keep it secret, that the enemy might be taken by surprise. The fleet numbered seven vessels, and they were manned by a force of from six to seven hundred men. It is not unlikely that many of these were volunteers attracted by the alluring aspects of an expedition which might, after a pleasant voyage of four-and-twenty hours, appear before the stronghold of an enemy unprepared for their coming, and whom they outnumbered probably by ten to one. If there was no fighting, there might at least be a chance of plunder, and there was the prospect of a charming excursion. There was certainly nothing to fear, for all the people of the South River country, both Swedes and Dutch, scattered about in the different forts and the neighborhoods, from the Schuylkill to the capes, were not more than half the invading force.

Preparations to reconquer New Sweden.

It was, therefore, only a handful of men that on the 10th of September saw Stuyvesant's formidable fleet of seven vessels with six or seven hundred men on board come to anchor just above Fort Trinity. A force was landed; an earthwork was thrown up; a detachment was sent forward to command the road from Fort Christina four miles above; and then a surrender was demanded. Resistance, of course, was useless, but the Swedish commandant, Swen Schute, nevertheless, contrived to protract the parley through the day and delay capitulation till the next morning. Then he evacuated the fort with all the honors of war, and the Dutch marched in. Such of the garrison as chose to take the oath of allegiance to "the high and mighty lords and patrons of this New Netherland province" were permitted to remain as "Freemen on South River." Twenty, two thirds of the whole number, accepted these terms. "About noon," wrote Stuyvesant to the magistrates at New Amsterdam, "our troops with flying colors marched into the fort;" Domine Megapolensis, the New Amsterdam minister, who had come as the chaplain of the expedition, preached a sermon "with our imperfect thanksgivings," continues the Director, "as God's hand and blessing was so remarkably visible with us as well in the weather and prosperous success, as in the discouragement of our enemies." And as a day of fasting had been held in New Amsterdam before the fleet had sailed, so now he directed that there should be a day of thanksgiving set apart that "the all-wise and good God should be openly thanked and praised" for granting him the victory.

Fort Trinity taken by the Dutch.

Rysingh, who was in command at Christina, could see the Dutch ships at anchor between his fort and Trinity, and knew what he had to expect. He had sent ten men to reinforce Schute, before he had heard of the surrender, but these were met by the Dutch and all but two taken prisoners. It was a serious loss, as it reduced the garrison of Fort Christina to only about thirty men. Stuyvesant pushed forward to its investment the day after Trinity capitulated.



Map of the Siege of Ft. Christina (from Campanius).

The fort was at the confluence of the Fishkill (now Brandywine) and Christina Creek, on low land overlooked by all the neighboring heights. Its builder had evidently thought that no enemy would ever be so ungenerous as to take advantage of its situation and approach it on the land side from the rear, when the clear intent was that it should only be attacked in front from the river. Stuyvesant paid only so much deference to this confidence in the probable mode of attack as to erect his first battery on the opposite bank of the

Christina; then moving his vessels up the Brandywine he landed his men and threw up four other batteries, one on Timber Island, another directly in the rear of the fort, two more to the west of it, and all commanding it. On each of these and on Rysingh's shallop, which the Dutch had captured, they hoisted the flag of the States-General, "all which hostile acts, injuries, and insults," says the indignant Swedish commander, "we were to our great mortification compelled to witness and suffer, being unable to resist them by reason of our want of men and of powder, whereof our supplies scarcely sufficed for a single round for our guns."

The siege lasted, nevertheless, for twelve days. Shots were once or twice exchanged, one from the Swedes doing no other damage than to frighten some of the Dutchmen into the woods, while those from the batteries went wide over the fort. The time was consumed not in fighting but in negotiation, though the invaders destroyed the little village of Christinaham, where they planted a battery in the rear of the fort, despoiled and razed to the ground the houses of the Swedes, killed their cattle and swine, and abused their women. These depredations were carried on as far up the river as New Gottenburg, where, among those robbed of their possessions was Printz's daughter, the wife of the ex-governor, Pappegoya. Stuyvesant, perhaps, was unwilling to shed blood; Rysingh, evidently, could only delay the inevitable result by protest and expostulation. When at last, as he says, his "few and hastily collected people were getting worn out, partly sick, and partly ill-disposed, and some had deserted," and all who were left were inclined to mutiny, then he surrendered.

Taking of Fort Christina.

By the articles of capitulation the garrison was permitted to march out of the fort "with beating of drums, fifes, and flying colors, firing matches, balls in their mouths, with their hand and side-arms;" the property belonging to the Swedish crown, the Swedish company, and to individuals was to be unmolested; and the Governor, Rysingh, and all who chose to go with him, were to be transported, free of expense, to Europe.[1] Not that there was any wish to expel the Swedes from the country, but only to give facilities to those who chose to go. It was the order of the Company that they should be permitted to retain possession of Christina on condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the States-General; Stuyvesant made the offer to Rysingh, but he declined it.

This was the end of Swedish rule in America. Though the events

[1] *Albany Records* cited in Hazard and O'Callaghan; Ferris's *Original Settlement on the Delaware*; Campanius' *Description of New Sweden*; Rysingh's *Report* in *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. i., and Hazard's *Annals*.

we have related continued to be the subject of diplomatic correspondence between Sweden and Holland for years afterward, and Rysingh labored long and zealously to induce his government to reinstate him in the possession of the South River, no measures were ever taken to that end.[1] Some Swedes remained along the banks of the Delaware; and being devoted to agriculture, while the Dutch cared more for trade with the Indians, they did much by their industry and thrift to develop the best resources of that fertile region.

At the fall of Christina Stuyvesant returned to New Amsterdam, and soon after appointed Johan Paul Jaquet as governor over the southern territory of the West India Company. The undisputed possession of that territory, however, was rather a burden than a benefit to a corporation already embarrassed with enormous debts.

A portion of it, therefore, was conveyed to the city of Amsterdam in consideration of advances its burgomasters had made the Company. This Colony of the City, as it was called, extended from the west side of Christina Creek to Bombay Hook on the Delaware; the remainder of the territory belonging to New Netherland was known as the Colony of the Company.[2]

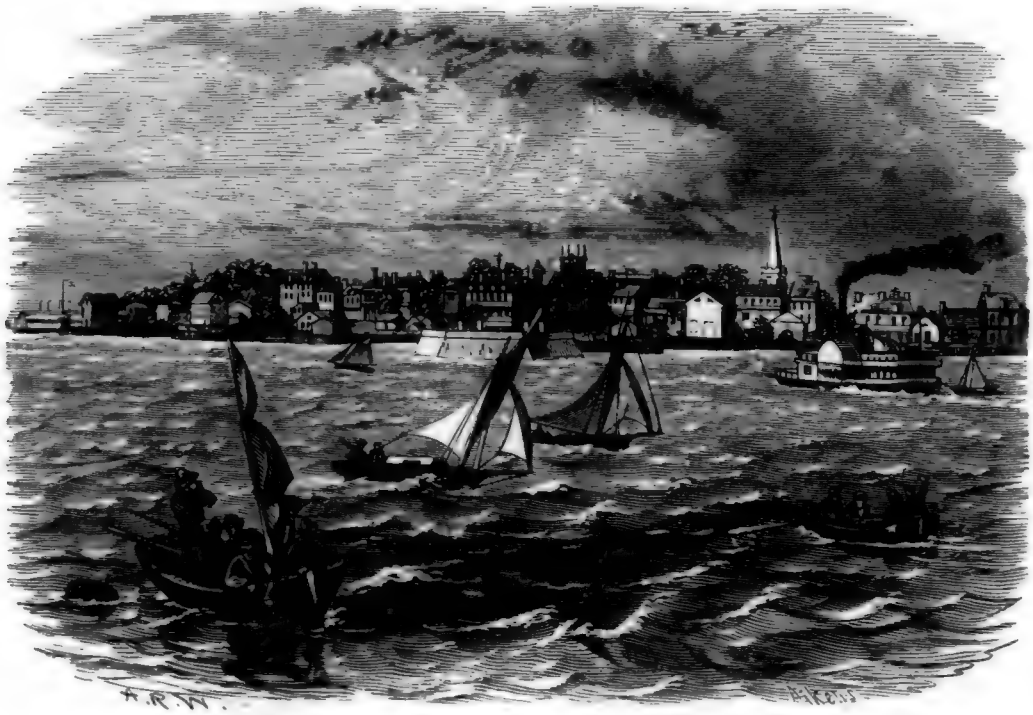
New Amstel, the colony of the city of Amsterdam.

The new colony was to be called Nieuwer Amstel (New Amstel)

[1] In removing a portion of the foundation wall of the old Fort Christina in March, 1755, a hundred years after its capture by the Dutch, there was found buried a quantity of cannon-balls, grenades, and other articles, which it was supposed were concealed there by Rysingh with reference to his possible return. *Acrelius. Ferris.*

[2] Acrelius (*New Sweden, or the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware; New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, New Series, vol. ii.) reverses these boundaries, giving to the Colony of the Company the territory from Christina Creek to Bombay Hook, and to the Colony of the City that extending from the creek to the extent of the Dutch settlement northward. Ferris accepts this as correct notwithstanding it would include Fort Casimir, — which was unquestionably ceded to the burgomasters of Amsterdam, — within the bounds of the Colony of the Company. It is undoubtedly wrong, strange as it is that Acrelius, usually so accurate, should have made such a mistake, and that Ferris, who is always careful, should have followed him. O'Callaghan, Brodhead, Bancroft, and others give the division we have adopted in the text. There can be no question of its accuracy. Smith (*History of New York*) quotes from the commission to Jacob Alricks — who was sent out by the burgomasters of Amsterdam as director-general of their colony — the limits of his jurisdiction as "beginning at the west side of the Minquaa or Christina Kill, in the Indian language Suspecough, to the mouth of the bay, or river, called Bompt Hook (now Duck Creek or Little Duck Creek), in the Indian language Cannaresse; and so far inland as the bounds and limits of the Minquaas land with all the streams, etc., appurtenances and dependencies." In the "transfer and cession" of the colony from Stuyvesant to Alricks (cited in full from *Albany Records*, vol. xv., in Hazard's *Annals*) the boundaries are defined in almost the same terms as "beginning at the west side of the Minquas or Christinakil, named in their language Suspencough, to the mouth of the bay or river included, named Bompjeshock, (Trees Corner), in the Indian language Cannareses," etc., etc. The northern boundary of New Amstel, then, was Christina Creek, and its southern at the island which has been called Bompt Hook, Bomptjeshoeck, Boomtes Hook, Bambo Hook, but is now known as Bombay Hook Island.

from a suburb of the city of Amsterdam;[1] and Casimir, where a town began to grow, to be known in later times as Newcastle, took the name of the colony. Fort Christina became Altona, and New Gottenberg the Island Kattenberg. The burgomasters of Amsterdam were warmly interested in their new possession, and offered large inducements to all who would emigrate thither. The directors of the Company were full of confidence, and evidently looked upon the establishment of a new colony under such favorable auspices as the



Newcastle, Delaware.

assurance of fresh prosperity to themselves. The exiled Waldenses, then numerous in Holland, it was thought, would be a large and valuable accession to New Netherland, and that there might be room enough for the expected increase in population the directors ordered Stuyvesant to "endeavor to purchase, before it can be accomplished by any other nation, all that tract of land situated between the South River and the corner of the North River," by which was meant, all that portion of the present State of New Jersey whose coast line extends from Cape May to Sandy Hook.

But these sanguine anticipations were never to be fulfilled under Dutch rule on the South River. The first company of emigrants sent out from Amsterdam for the city colony, with Jacob Alricks at their

[1] Brodhead.

head as director-general of New Amstel, were wrecked on the south side of Long Island near Fire Island inlet — a neighborhood where so many good ships have since laid their bones. Though no lives were lost, and the people, more than a hundred in number, were sent forward, with others from other ships that arrived safely, to their new homes, the misfortune was only the first of many to follow.

Distress in the colony

The first two years were years of sickness, privation, and discontent. The pleasant climate tempted the ignorant emigrants to carelessness and exposure, while the virgin soil was as rank with miasm as it was rich in fertility. The crops were full of promise, but before the time of harvest came worms and other insects devoured the ripening grains, and what they left the enfeebled settlers, stricken with fevers and with agues, were too weak to gather. Nature resented, as she always does, the intrusion upon her savage solitude; to the ploughing of every field, to every encroachment of the clearing upon the forest, she attached a penalty, and for every seed that was sowed she provided an enemy; if she could not destroy the intruders by disease, she would drive them away by depriving them of the fruits of their labor. In this inevitable strife of the pioneer with the forces of nature the unhappy settlers were reduced to extremity. Many died, among them the surgeon of the colony, the wife of Director Alricks, and later the Director himself; but the greatest mortality was among the children.

To add to their other misfortunes it was announced, the second year, when the sickness was at its worst, and the failure of the harvest had compelled them to use their seed-corn for food, that the Amsterdam Company would no longer supply provisions, as it was originally agreed they should, for a certain length of time, to all the emigrants; taxes on their lands, from which it was promised they should be free, were exacted; and restrictions upon trade, from which they were to be exempt, for a term of years, were to be enforced at an earlier period. The stimulus of hope for the future, which might have sustained them in their present distress, was taken away; discontent made hunger the harder to bear, and to sickness was added despair.

William Beekman, one of the schepens of New Amsterdam, was appointed vice-director over the colony of the Company. Perhaps it was impossible that any administration of affairs should be satisfactory with a people reduced to a condition so wretched; at any rate, between the governors there was no harmony, each accusing the other of a want of wisdom, and the colonists sustaining the charges that were made against each. Those who could returned to New Nether-

land or to Holland; those who by their contracts with the companies were bound to remain fled from evils they could bear no longer to Maryland and Virginia, or wherever else they could find a refuge. The burgomasters of Amsterdam more than once proposed to reconvey to the Company their interest in a colony which had become a burden and a reproach, for it was said of New Amstel that it gained "such a bad name that the whole river would not wash it out."



Animals of New Netherland (fac-simile from Van der Donck's "Vertoogh.")

CHAPTER VIII.

QUAKERISM IN NEW ENGLAND.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN ENGLAND. — GEORGE FOX. — HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND TEACHINGS. — BELIEFS OF THE FRIENDS. — THEIR MANNER OF LIFE AND SPEECH. — THE FRIENDS AND THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH. — ORIGIN OF NAME "QUAKERS." — ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST FRIENDS AT BOSTON. — ACTION OF THE BOSTON MAGISTRATES. — THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS BEGUN. — ACCESSIONS TO THEIR NUMBER. — THE FIRST GENERAL LAWS AGAINST THEM. — REFUSAL OF RHODE ISLAND TO JOIN IN THIS LEGISLATION. — MARY DYER. — BANISHED FRIENDS RETURN TO BOSTON. — INCREASED STRINGENCY OF THE LAWS. — PROCEEDINGS AT NEW HAVEN AND ELSEWHERE. — THE DEATH PENALTY IN MASSACHUSETTS. — CASES OF PERSECUTION. — MARY DYER AND HER COMPANIONS AT BOSTON. — THEIR TRIAL AND PUNISHMENT. — OTHER TRIALS. — INTERFERENCE OF THE KING. — END OF THE PERSECUTIONS.

AFTER the Rev. John Clark and his companion Crandall had been punished in 1651, for their visit to Lynn, and the Rev. Obadiah Holmes had been whipped for the same offence, the church of Boston enjoyed rest for a season. Perhaps the word enjoyment carries with it a flavor too positive to be associated with the men whose temper tasted a fierce delight in controversy, and who might therefore be imagined as pining while heresy was inactive. At any rate they were not long left without a fresh and peculiarly grateful opportunity. This came with the first appearance of Quakerism in Massachusetts; and the facts must be prefaced by a brief account of the origin and purport of that form of religion.

A lull in the religious controversies.

Quakerism appears in Massachusetts. — Its origin.

In the summer of 1651 Cromwell was getting ready to win the battle of Worcester against Scotch Presbyterians, royalists, and Charles Stuart. George Fox was lying in the House of Correction at Derby, committed, as Justices Bennet and Barton said, for the "avowed uttering and broaching of divers blasphemous opinions contrary to a late act of Parliament." While there in durance he was pestered by Justice Bennett to enlist and take part in the coming campaign. There seems always to have been a great opinion of his steadiness, power of command, and sway over men. The Parliament soldiers were once very angry with him because he

George Fox.

declined their offer of a colonelcy; and it led to his being thrown into a vile hole in a jail. But he would not purchase his liberty of Justice Bennett on those terms. "I told him that I was brought off from outward wars. After a while the constables fetched me up again, and brought me before the commissioners, who said I should go for a soldier." Probably a general jail-delivery was going on at this time of all promising subjects, debtors and otherwise, not absolute malefactors, to recruit the army. "But I told them that I was dead to it. They said I was alive." Truly, never was any man more so, and more valiant with all the essential qualities of a soldier. We shall see that disciples of his brought over his stiffness and heroic patience to America.



Village Church at Drayton, Leicestershire.

Fox's life and character.

George Fox was born at Drayton-in-the-Clay, in Leicestershire, in 1624. His father's name was Christopher, and the neighbors for good reason called him "Righteous Christer." The son George described himself as a grave and staid child, rather disliking that lightness and gayety of demeanor which he was always disposed to consider wanton. His youth was pure and righteous. They tried to make a minister of him, but, like Jacob Behmen, he became a cobbler. It was a habit of his to say "Verily" in all his dealings; so that people said, "If George says Verily, there is no al-

tering him." [1] At nineteen he was, with a cousin, drinking beer in a company which insisted that he who refused to drink healths should pay the whole score. Fox refused the wanton drinking, and retired, and from that day he broke off all familiarity with his relations, old and young, and fell into great despondency and spiritual trouble which lasted for some time. "I went," he said, "to many a priest to look for comfort, but found no comfort from them." One of them advised him to get rid of his megrims by singing psalms and smoking tobacco. But Fox had neither ear nor voice, and took no pleasure in "drinking the shameful," as the Wahabees style the custom which Raleigh imported into England. He went to see a very experienced adviser in spiritual matters, and "found him only like an empty hollow cask." Walking in the garden with another minister, imparting the secret ailment to him, he happened to put his foot into a flower-bed, whereupon the man of God fell into a great rage, and dispensed with the use of consolatory phrases. Another minister thought he needed physic and blood-letting, but Fox says that no blood could come out of him, so dried up was his body with sorrow. He avoided Christmas gayeties and marriage feasts, and began to seek out the company of widows and poor persons, to minister to their low estate.

His doubts and despondency.

Walking in a field on a Sunday morning the Lord opened to him that a man need not be bred at the University in order to be a minister of Christ. It was a new idea to him; as new as it was to the great majority of Englishmen. It struck at the whole hierarchy of ministers. At another time he was impressed that God dwelt in people's hearts and not in the "steeple-houses." From that time forward the sound of the Sunday bells struck at his life "at the very hearing of it," and he obeyed its summons to go to church for the purpose of clearing his conscience to the priest and the parish. He fasted, wandered in solitary places, sat with his Bible in hollow trees where it was too lonesome for mankind; walked at night, and gave himself up to the workings of that mingled imagination and spiritual feeling which he perceived to be the direct working of the Lord. "I saw the great love of God, and I was filled with admiration at the infinitude of it." "When at any time my condition was vailed" — as it frequently was by the conflict between his old conventional beliefs and this new spontaneity — "my secret belief was stayed firm, and hope underneath held me, as an anchor in the bottom of the sea, and anchored my immortal soul to its Bishop, causing it to swim above the sea, the world, where all the raging waves, foul weather, tempests, and temptations are."

The dawn of his new belief.

[1] *Journal of George Fox*, edited by Wilson Armistead.

Then everything that was carnal and unrighteous was manifested to him in this inner light which dawned beyond his ordinary mornings. And he saw the mountains burning up, "and the rubbish, the rough and crooked ways and places, made smooth and plain, that the Lord might come into his tabernacle." People soon began to come from far and near to listen to his prophecy. He dealt largely in symbols, and seemed to be endowed with an imagination like that of William Blake, the poet and artist, who earned, in our time, the reputation of insanity by believing in the external reality of his inward visions. Like Blake, Fox had an eye which translated into instantaneous solidity the imagery of his feeling. Sitting in a friend's house, he saw there was a great crack about to split the earth, and "a great smoke to go as the crack went," and a great shaking to follow the path of the crack. It was the earth in people's hearts. Walking through the main street of Litchfield he saw a channel of blood running down, and the market-place a pool of blood. Once he met Cromwell riding into Hampton Court, and before he came to him he saw a waft of death go forth against him, "and when I came to him he looked like a dead man." No doubt the Protector did so look, about a fortnight before his death in 1658, when George Fox met him.

Beginning of his preaching.

So John Woolman saw one day "a mass of matter of a dull, gloomy color, between the south and the east," and was informed that it was the misery of all human beings, and that he formed a part of it. Afterward he heard a pure and ravishing voice, as of an angel speaking to other angels, and saying, "John Woolman is dead;" but knowing perfectly well that he was alive, he greatly wondered what the heavenly voice could mean. But it meant, "I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me." It was the death and surrender of his own will.

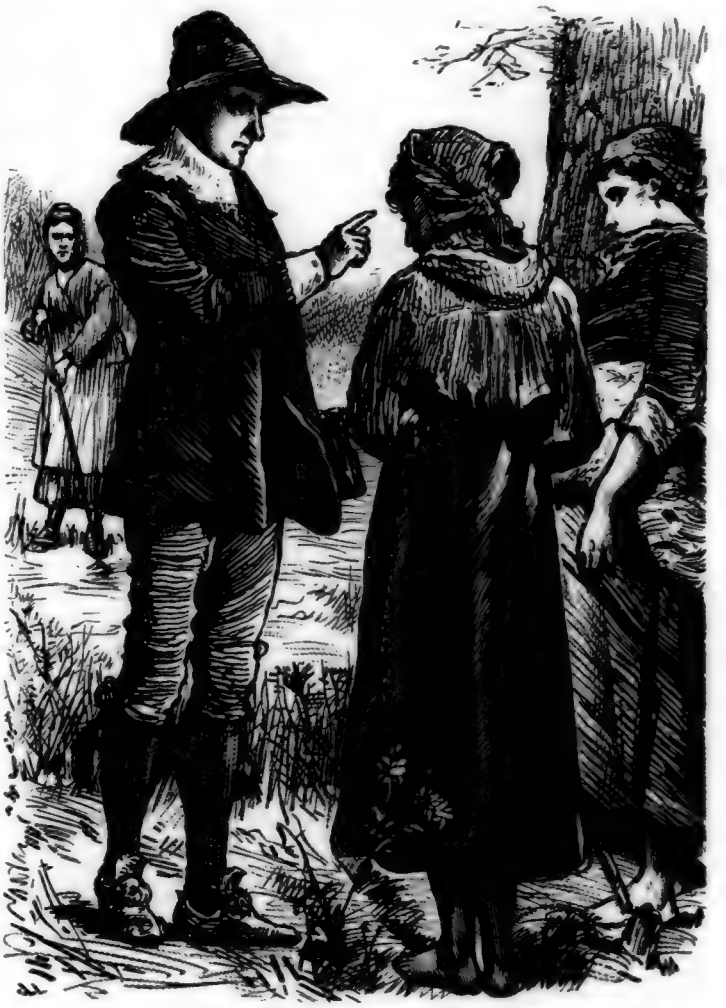
No mystics of the Middle Ages ever believed more profoundly than the early Quakers in that absolute self-abnegation and annihilation of the individual which secured to the Divine will a free course through their souls. This was a prime doctrine of Quakerism. In the strength of it they abjured all personal preferences, hazarded the prejudice and wrath of their opponents, breathed sweet air in the foulness of dungeons, where they had to lie with the mouth close to the crack beneath their cell door, to keep the beatified life in their bodies; the doctrine dulled the smart of the lash, made the hangman's noose sit lightly, and soothed the bruises of stonings and cudgellings.

The Quaker doctrine of self-abnegation

With this lively outwardness of George Fox's imagination there was combined a sense of inward discernment, a spiritual touch for the

moral condition of the people whom he met, which could hardly fail in his times to be regarded as having a supernatural origin. He perceived that some persons in his congregations were possessed by unclean spirits. He told them so; sometimes they left the room, sometimes they were converted to a cleaner life. He said that the Lord had given him a spirit of discerning. It is certain that, as in the case of Heinrich Zschokke, the Swiss novelist and historian, who could recall, without effort, and very much to the astonishment of the persons implicated, their words and sometimes the incidents of their lives, never having seen or heard of them before, but never laying claim in consequence to any preternatural gift, — so Fox felt the veiled presence of irregular dispositions. "As I was going to a meeting," said Fox, "I saw some women in a field, and I discerned an evil spirit in them; and I was moved to go out of my way into the field to them, and declare unto them their conditions." "There came also at another time another woman, and stood at a distance from me, and I cast mine eye upon her, and said, 'Thou hast been an harlot,' for I perfectly saw the condition and life of the woman." This is the test of a soul which is so chastely separated from all evil that it detects the lines which evil etches upon the face and person, and also feels an unwholesome effluence. It is not at all strange that, in those days of witchcraft, and of delusion concerning special providences, the people should accredit miracu-

Character of Fox's teaching.



Fox reproves the Women.

lous power to Fox, of whom certain stories of healing are also reported.

Fox's belief in divine judgments.

Fox's journal, like Winthrop's, abounds with cases of judgments that befell their enemies and withstanders. For it was a mental fashion of the times, belonging to the established church as well as to all the sectaries, though specially to the Boston Puritans. A rude butcher had sworn to kill Fox, and was accustomed to thrust out his tongue whenever a Friend passed him. So it fell out that one day his tongue swelled, he never could draw it in again, and died so. The judgments against Fox's enemies were so many that they would "be too large to declare. God's vengeance from heaven came upon the bloodthirsty, who sought after blood; for all such spirits I laid before the Lord, and left them to him to deal with them, who is stronger than all." This is not more sombre and inconsequent than the ordinary Puritan spirit of the times.

The doctrine of an inner light.

But the truly characteristic doctrine of the Friends exalts the intuitive feelings, and all spontaneous movements of the mind, above scholarship, instruction, Scriptures, and ordinances. This is the true Light which lighteth every man: if so, it anticipates all forms and texts, tries them all, interprets the divine Word, and tests the customs of society. When this doctrine was so consistently held, as by Fox, it became hostile to the sacraments of the church, and to the church itself with its hierarchical scale of paid clergy; hostile to governments which rested upon force, hostile to the application of force in any form. It is not at all wonderful that Fox's courageous and persistent logic should have involved his life in difficulties, and made it an almost unbroken career of imprisonment and contumely. Hireling priests did not like to be withstood in their own "steeple-houses;" justices of the peace could hardly relish Fox's superb disdain for their authority, and the cool equanimity of his answers as he stood before them with his hat on till it was knocked off his head. Many a term in jail did he serve to gratify the anger of judges excited by a demeanor which was all the more aggressive because it was so imperturbable. And he did not mince his English: his invective could assume all the power and authority of Scripture.

Fox mentions that when he went to Whitehall to speak to Cromwell, the Protector did not object to his hat. The early Friends loved to use symbolic gestures and fashions. Even modest women would sometimes violate their natural feeling and appear in a state more or less like that of Godiva when she rode through Coventry, because it was so borne in upon them from the Lord, that they must protest against the nakedness of ordinances. But these were occur-

rences of rare fanaticism belonging rather to individuals than representing the whole body of Friends. There were only two or three such cases in Massachusetts, while, on the other hand, women when publicly whipped were stripped naked to the waist — "shall be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and shall be openly whipped until his or her body shall be bloody;" were the words of the English law. The wearing of the hat was a symbol of human equality with principalities and powers. Even the Almighty could not be honored by uncovering the head. Penn wrote,[1] "The first and most pressing motive upon our spirits to decline the practice of these present customs of pulling off the hat, bowing the body or knee, and giving people gaudy titles and epithets, in our salutations and addresses, was that savor, sight and sense that God, by his light and spirit, has given us of the Christian world's apostasy from God, and the cause and effects of that great and lamentable defection."

The resistance of the Friends to outward ordinances.

That is the moral ground of the first protest of the Friends, and the just explanation of those habits and manners for the sake of which they endured with humility such scorn and ill-treatment. Said Penn, "honor was from the beginning but hat-respects, and most titles are of hate." George Keith, a contemporary of Fox, and for a time a disciple, till he lapsed and took orders, ridiculing the fashion of uncovering the head, wrote, "The preachers in Germany, and especially at Hamburgh — which I have seen with my eyes — use such gross partiality in their salutations, that commonly they have two caps under their hat; and the poor, except extraordinarily, they pass by without any notice; to others they doff the hat; others more rich in the world, they salute with doffing the hat and one of the caps; and to those whom they most honor, or rather flatter, they doff the hat and both caps. What degrees of partiality are here!" George Fox said, "Do not the very Turks mock at the Christians in their proverb, saying that 'the Christians spend much of their time in putting off their hats, and showing their bare heads to each other.'"

Their belief as to wearing the hat.

The plain garb and the plain speech well became the righteous dissent of plain livers and spiritual thinkers from the world's hypocrisies. The Quakers assumed the plain garb of a uniform color in order to be clothed in a daily protest against the gayly slashed doublet, the ribbon-knots, rapier, and trunk-hose which, as it all went ruffling through the streets of England, seemed to them to be an anti-symbol to their own, and to express the folly, dissoluteness, and subservience of the times. Samuel Fothergill wrote to a

Their dress and life.

[1] *No Cross No Crown*, Am ed., pp. 83, 85, 91, 92.

young man "who had laid aside the dress of the Society, and with it some of the moral restrictions which it imposed: 'If thou hadst appeared like a religious, sober Friend, those companions who have exceedingly wounded thee, durst not have attempted to frequent thy company. If thou hadst no other inducement to alter thy dress, I beseech thee to do it to keep the distinction our principles lead to, and to separate thee from fools and fops. At the same time that by a prudent distinction in appearance thou scatterest away those that are the bane of youth, thou wilt engage the attention of those whose company will be profitable and honorable to thee.'"

Their manner of speech.

Plainness of speech — theeing and thouing — was as tenaciously held to as the plainness of apparel.[1] But Fox's suit of leather, which subjected him to so much ridicule, seems to have been assumed by him in no spirit of ostentatious meanness, but because he found it more convenient on those incessant journeys which he took from place to place to deliver his message. It was also a protection against the foulness and dampness of the numerous cells which he tenanted; for if there was one hole in the jail more loathsome than the rest, the jailer might be depended upon to put Fox in it, and not only Fox, but many a brave, protesting woman, who had been delicately reared, to whom foul air was as poisonous as hireling doctrine.

Reasons for the Quakers' dissent from the Established Church.

The Friends did not subject themselves to persecution merely because they insisted upon speaking in the established churches. It was not unusual at that time, and the minister would sometimes accord the favor even to women who signified a desire to address his congregation after the close of service.[2] Nor was an interruption of the sermon by some remark

[1] This mode of address seemed to have some peculiar aggravation in it. People hated it worse than the doctrine. They would cry, "*Thou* me! *thou* my dog! If thou *thouest* me, I'll *thou* thy teeth down thy throat." (*Penn's Preface to Fox's Journal.*) And Fox wrote, "Oh, the storm, heat, and fury that arose; oh, the blows, punchings, beatings, and imprisonments that we underwent, for not putting off our hats to men! Some had their hats violently plucked off and thrown away, so that they quite lost them. The bad language and evil usage we received on this account is hard to be expressed; besides the danger we were sometimes in of losing our lives for this matter."

[2] "But have there not been women among the Presbyterians, who have spoke in the presence of many, both men and women, of their experiences of the things of God? I suppose T. M. may have heard of Margaret Mitchelson, who spoke to the admiration of many hearers at Edinburgh as concerning her experience, in the time of Henry Rogue, preacher there, who is said to have come and heard her himself, and to have given her this testimony (being desired to speak himself), that he was to be silent when his Master was silent (meaning Christ in that Presbyterian woman). There is a relation of her speeches going about from hand to hand among professors at this day; and I myself have heard a Presbyterian woman speak in a meeting of Presbyterians, which were a church or convention of men and women. Yea, hath not T. M. in such meetings, and consequently in assemblies of churches, invited some woman to speak and pray, and declared solemnly (whether he did it merely

of dissent unprecedented in those heated times when all men's minds were so occupied with the discussion of religious matters; and for this an arrest was seldom made. The Puritan in America could not consistently prevent that custom of speaking in meeting which he used to indulge in the old country. But the trouble lay less in the desire of the Quaker to free his conscience in the "steeple-houses" than in the substance of the message. It was also frequently couched in Anglo-



Swarthmore Hall.. Residence of George Fox.

Saxon of terrific emphasis. Ministers could hardly brook the invective, particularly when it was directed against the paying of tithes. George Fox held a meeting of his own at Carlisle one day, the Abbey having been granted to him for the purpose. After the meeting, a Baptist pastor, "a high notionist, and a flashy man, came to me, and asked me, 'what must be damned.' I was moved immediately to tell him, 'that which spoke in him was to be damned.' This stopped his mouth."

The Quakers and the Established Clergy.

A vigorous episode to divine service occurred in a Yorkshire steeple-house. The preacher had chosen a most unfortunate text for himself,

in his ordinary customary way of complimenting, that is best known to himself) that he was edified thereby? And if some of those women formerly in that respect so much applauded by T. M. be of those that now open their mouths in the Quakers' meetings, how comes it now to be Popish and heretical, more than in the days of old when T. M. did use to frequent the chamber conventicles, unless that he now hath forgotten these, because fear hath made them out of fashion with him?" — George Keith's *Quakerism no Popery*. Excerpt in Southey's *Common-Place Book*.

"Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price." Fox could not wait to hear the sermon through. "Come down, thou deceiver! Dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them? Mayest thou not blush for shame, etc." The preacher was so confounded at the closeness of this message that he left the pulpit, went out, and Fox spoke to the people. Such primitive evangelism touched the pocket too closely to be long tolerated.

There was a meeting at Leicester for a dispute in the church, attended by all kinds of sectaries, the minister of the parish being in the pulpit. When he checked a woman who desired to speak, Fox was wrapped up, "as in a rapture, in the Lord's power, and I stepped up and asked the priest, 'Dost thou call this a church? Or dost thou call this mixed multitude a church?' For the woman asking a question, he ought to have answered it, having given liberty for any to speak. But instead of answering me, he asked me what a church was? I told him, the church was the pillar and ground of truth, made up of living stones, living members, a spiritual household, which Christ was the head of; but he was not the head of a mixed multitude, or of an old house made up of lime, stones, and wood. This set them all on fire; the priest came down out of his pulpit, and others out of their pews, and the dispute there was marred." That sentence furnishes us at once with the pith and the offence of Quakerism. And here is one more paragraph to illustrate the interior states and processes of the early Friends. "One morning as I was sitting by the fire, a great cloud came over me, and a temptation beset me; but I sat still. And it was said, 'all things come by nature;' and the elements and stars came over me, so that I was in a manner quite clouded with it. But as I sat still, and silent, the people of the house perceived nothing; and as I sat still under it, and let it alone, a living hope arose in me, and a true voice, which said, 'there *is* a living God who made all things.' And immediately the cloud and temptation vanished away, and life rose over it all; my heart was glad, and I praised the living God."

Fox's definition of the Church.

How pure and sweet is the tone, and so different from that of the Ranters of that period with whom the Quakers were unjustly identified. Of them but short notice need be given. Probably the reports of their extravagant and indecent doings found their way over to Boston, and helped to confirm the minds of elders and magistrates against the Quakers when they appeared.[1]

The Ranters not allied with the Quakers.

[1] "I have a collection of several Ranters' books in a thick quarto," says Leslie, "and

But the Quakers disowned the Ranters. Fox said that he heard of persons who were imprisoned on account of their religion. Of course he went to visit them. "And as I walked toward the jail, the word of the Lord came to me saying, 'My Love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail, where the prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me, and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said they were God; but we (the Quakers) could not bear such things. After I had reproved them for their blasphemous expressions, I went away; for I perceived they were Ranters." Fox and the Ranters.

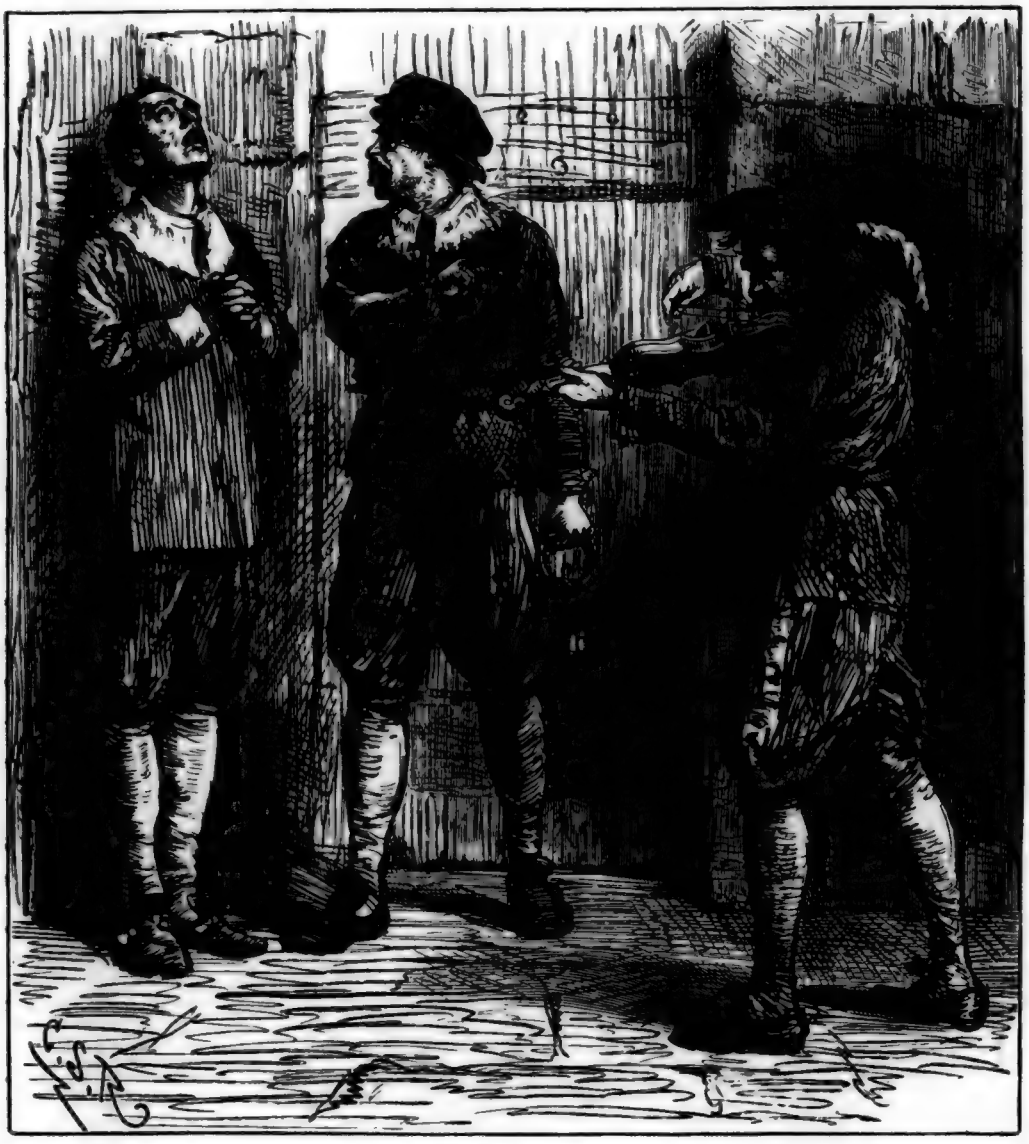
Speaking at another time of some noted Ranters, he shows the true sobriety of his own spiritual motions. "I was in a fast for about ten days, my spirit being greatly exercised on truth's account; for James Milner and Richard Myer went out into imaginations, and a company followed them. This James Milner and some of his company, had true openings at first, but getting into pride and exaltation of spirit, they ran out from truth."

And here is his first notice of the notorious James Naylor, who revived in England some of the worst extravagances of Munzer and the German Anabaptists. "The night we came to Exeter, I spoke with James Naylor, for I saw he was out and wrong, and so was his company." "The next day I spoke with James Naylor again; and he slighted what I said, and was dark, and much out; yet he would have come and kissed me. But I said, 'since he had turned against the power of God, I could not receive his show of kindness.'" Alluding to another set of people who had been cast into jail, he said, "though they were Ranters, *great opposers of Friends*, and disturbers of our meetings, yet in the country where they came, some people that did not know them, would be apt to say they were Quakers."

Fox's dealings with the deluded Ranters, and the explicit testimony left by him and his closest followers, quite overcome the scandal which migrated to America and set the minds of the chief men against Quakerism. Ann Hutchinson, whose principles sprang from

though I am pretty well versed with the Quaker strain, I took all these authors to be Quakers, and had marked some quotations out of them, to show the agreement of the former Quakers with the doctrine which their later authors do hold forth; till, showing this book to a friend who knew some of them and had heard of the rest, he told me they were Ranters, and that I could not make use of these quotations against the Quakers." This was written frankly enough, by a determined and bitter foe of Quakerism. But, after conceding the point, he hopes to cancel the concession by contradicting himself; "but though I cannot do it" — *i. e.*, make use of the quotations — "in the sense I intended, yet it may serve to better purpose, viz., to show the agreement 'twixt the Ranters and the Quakers"

the same root as Fox's, had a fairer hearing. But the clearness of Fox's tone on this vexed subject reminds us of his experience when he was in jail at Carlisle under a brutal jailer. "While he struck me, I was made to sing in the Lord's power; and that made him rage the more. Then he fetched a fiddler, and brought him in where I



Fox in Prison.

was, and set him to play, thinking to vex me thereby; but while he played I was moved in the everlasting power of the Lord God to sing; and my voice drowned the noise of the fiddle, and struck and confounded them, and made them give over fiddling and go their way."

Origin of the name "Quakers."

The Friends were first called Quakers by Justice Bennet of Derby, in 1650, because Fox bade the people tremble at the word of the Lord. The first use of the epithet in the records of parliament was made in the Journal of the House of Commons for 1654. Whenever Fox appeared the cry went abroad, "The

man in leather breeches is come;" and it was a grievous salute to the ministers.

One of the most interesting notices which we have of Fox is connected with his enforced visit to London in 1654 as a prisoner, when he was lodged at Shakespeare's and Ben Jonson's old tavern of the Mermaid, whence he wrote a paper to Cromwell against the drawing of a carnal sword. It was a document of the principle of non-resistance which has always been cherished by the Friends. Soon after he was brought before the Protector at Whitehall, and made a great impression by his speaking, Cromwell, it is said, being moved to tears, and desiring to know him more intimately. Then he was brought into a hall where the gentlemen of the palace were gathered for the noonday meal, and was invited to dine with them. "I bid them let the Protector know, I would not eat of his bread nor drink of his drink. When he heard this, he said, 'Now I see there is a people risen and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honors, offices, or places, but all other sects and people I can.' It was told him again, 'that we had forsaken our own, and were not likely to look for such things from him.'"[1]

Fox before Cromwell.

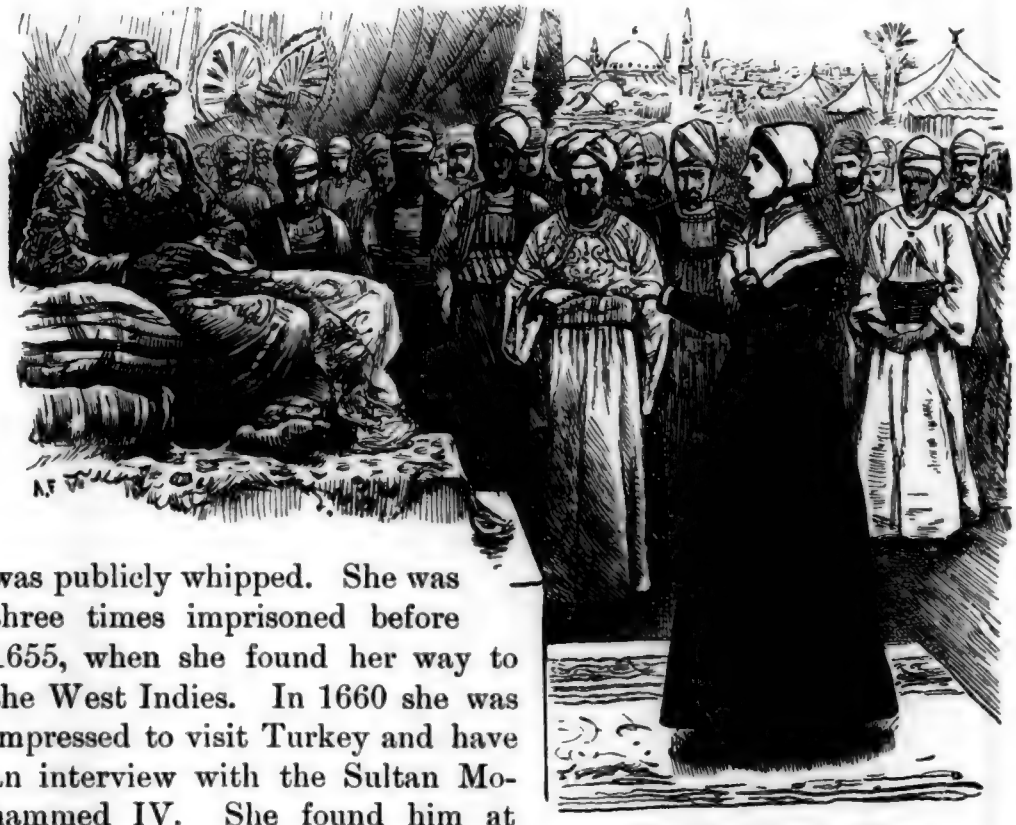
This was the style of the people whose sufferings symbolized the same sentiment in New England. Even before they came, New England held them in dread. In May, 1656, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a day of humiliation, "to seek the face of God" on behalf of England, "abounding with errors, especially those of the Ranters and Quakers," — whom they thus confounded. Then there came two months later to Boston, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, having shipped for that port at Barbadoes. This easternmost of the West India islands, first colonized by the English in 1625, seems to have been a refuge and starting-point for various opinions. The Quakers were not molested there. Henry Fell, an eminent minister of the Society, writing to Margaret Fell, who afterwards married George Fox, mentions the refreshing meetings that were held freely over the island, and adds, "Truly Mary Fisher is a precious heart and hath been very serviceable here: for here are many

Arrival of the first Quakers at Boston.

[1] Thomas Elwood, the loving friend of John Milton, describes himself as having once been "free, debonair and courtly." But he became in habit and discipline a strict convert of Quakerism. He first copied out Fox's journal for the press. Here is his portrait of Fox: "Graceful he was in countenance, manly in personage, grave in gesture, courteous in conversation, free from affectation in speech or carriage: a severe reprover of hard and obstinate sinners; a mild and gentle admonisher of such as were tender and sensible of their failings; not apt to resent personal wrongs; easy to forgive injuries, but zealously earnest where the honor of God, the prosperity of truth, the peace of the church, were concerned; very tender, compassionate, and pitiful he was to all that were under any sort of affliction; the common butt of all apostates' envy; whose good, notwithstanding, he earnestly sought."

people convinced of the truth, who meet together in silence, in three several places in the island." [1]

Mary Fisher. Mary Fisher was born in 1623. We find her convinced of Quakerism, and addressing a congregation after service at Selby, in 1652. For this she underwent imprisonment in York Castle for sixteen months. In the autumn of 1653 she, with a female companion, preached to the Cambridge students "at Sidney College gate." The mayor interfered, and they were taken to the market-cross and soundly whipped, because they despised the sacraments and the ministry. Mary Fisher was the first member of the Society who



Mary Fisher before the Sultan.

was publicly whipped. She was three times imprisoned before 1655, when she found her way to the West Indies. In 1660 she was impressed to visit Turkey and have an interview with the Sultan Mohammed IV. She found him at Adrianople, and was kindly received by him, and was everywhere through the East well treated. Of her numerous toilsome journeys by sea and land to bear her testimony we need not speak. She was unmarried at the time of her arrival in Boston; but Anne Austin was the mother of five children, and well advanced in years.

Action of the Boston magistrates. When it was known that Simon Kempthorn, master, had these two pestilent women on board his vessel, Bellingham, the Deputy Governor, Endicott being absent, refused to let them land; their baggage was searched and all their books and tracts confiscated. And at a council which was held July 11, 1656,

[1] Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, i., 37.

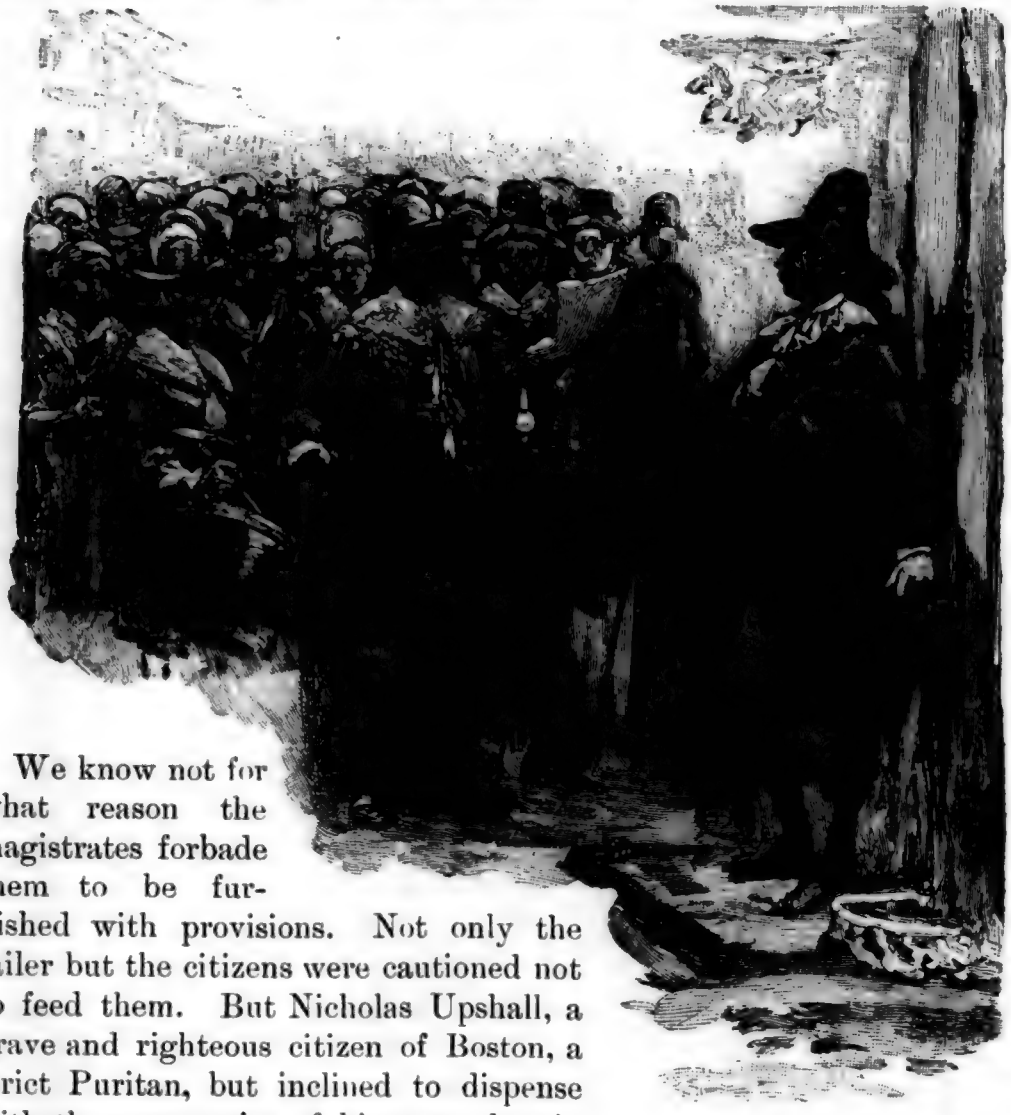
the following order was issued, which deserves to be put upon the historical record: —

"Whereas, there are several laws long since made and published in this jurisdiction, bearing testimony against heretics and erroneous persons; yet, notwithstanding, Simon Kempthorn of Charlestown, master of the ship *Swallow* of Boston, hath brought into this jurisdiction, from the island of Barbadoes, two women, who name themselves Anne, the wife of one Austin, and Mary Fisher, being of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Quakers, who upon examination are found to be not only transgressors of the former laws, but to hold very dangerous, heretical and blasphemous opinions; and they do also acknowledge that they came here purposely to propagate their said errors and heresies, bringing with them and spreading here sundry books, wherein are contained most corrupt, heretical and blasphemous doctrines, contrary to the truth of the gospel here professed among us. The Council, therefore, tendering the preservation of the peace and truth, enjoyed and professed among the churches of Christ in this country, do hereby order: First, that all such corrupt books as shall be found upon search to be brought in and spread by the aforesaid persons, be forthwith burned and destroyed by the common executioner. Secondly, that the said Anne and Mary be kept in close prison, and none admitted communication with them without leave from the Governor, Deputy Governor, or two magistrates, to prevent the spreading their corrupt opinions, until such time as they be delivered aboard some vessel, to be transported out of the country. Thirdly, the said Simon Kempthorn is hereby enjoined, speedily and directly, to transport or cause to be transported the said persons from hence to Barbadoes, whence they came, he defraying all the charges of their imprisonment; and for the effectual performance hereof, he is to give security in a bond of £100 sterling, and on his refusal to give such security, he is to be committed to prison till he do it."

This is the first legislation of Massachusetts against the first Quakers who ever reached the colony. The root of heresy was the same in all sectaries: it was an assertion of the individual conscience and the right of private interpretation. Since the days of Ann Hutchinson of the nimble tongue and distracting wit, the magistrates instinctively felt that any setting up of private reason was likely to turn out so far irrational as to defy their politics as well as their religion. But it was rather hard upon Simon Kempthorn, who innocently gave passage to these two formidable women, and had to pay their expenses in jail and carry them back again. It was a judicious hint to all shipmasters to be more cautious in assorting their cargoes for the future.

Anne Austin and Mary Fisher imprisoned.

The two women were transferred to Boston jail, and the window of their cell was boarded up to prevent intercourse with the inhabitants; for the same reason they were deprived of writing materials. Their persons were stripped and examined for the supposed signs of witchcraft, but fortunately there was not a birth-mark, scar, or mole to be discovered, otherwise they might have gone the way of Governor Bellingham's own sister-in-law.



Upshall's Protest.

We know not for what reason the magistrates forbade them to be furnished with provisions. Not only the jailer but the citizens were cautioned not to feed them. But Nicholas Upshall, a grave and righteous citizen of Boston, a strict Puritan, but inclined to dispense with the ceremonies of his own church, was much attracted by the arrival of these women. When the new law was proclaimed by beat of drum before his door, he uttered a protest, desiring to wash his hands of such a transaction. The magistrates cited him to appear before them. He warned them to take heed lest they be found fighting against God. For a conclusive reply to that they fined him £20, imprisoned him four days, ordered him out of the

Upshal's punishment for befriending them.

colony in thirty, and fined him £3 additional for each absence from worship during that time. His real offence was in giving the jailer privily five shillings a week to provide food for the prisoners. He was a weakly and delicate old man. Late in the autumn he took wife and children and proceeded on his exile, first to Sandwich in the Plymouth colony, whose magistrates, hoping to emulate the zeal of Boston, forbade any one from receiving him. But the prescript of nature proved stronger than the one that was issued by warrant, and for awhile he found shelter and succor. The governor at Plymouth tried to get him within his power, and issued a warrant for his appearance there. Upshall pleaded ill health; the inhabitants would not permit the constable to take him on the warrant. When, however, the next year opened, the Governor's pressure was so great that the good people of Plymouth were forced to send him forth into the wilderness. At last he found his way to Newport. While wandering the Indians fed and sheltered him: one of them said "Come and live with me and I will make you a good warm house." Another chief reflected, "What a God have these English, who deal so with one another about their God!"

The Indians naturally pitied the men who were the victims of a system which also encroached upon themselves. Apart from that, they always appear to have found some temper in the Quaker which enlisted their native sense of justice and drew forth a feeling of brotherhood. When, for instance, Christopher Holder and a companion "felt it required of them" to leave Rhode Island for Martha's Vineyard, the Governor of that island hired an Indian to take them away, to be paid for the service by the Friends themselves. The Friends not having a clear call to do this, refused to go. The Governor insisted that the Indians should remove them. The natives declined this office of the constable, and kept the Friends for several days during stormy weather, treating them with the utmost hospitality. The Friends offered to pay them, but they refused, saying, "You are strangers — we are taught to love strangers." So John Taylor travelled alone among Indians, holding meetings with them in the woods, exhorting and teaching, always welcomed with kindness, and finding the best in the wigwams at his disposal. And John Woolman, also, many years afterward, preaching to Indians in Pennsylvania through interpreters, received kindly treatment and hearing; one of the chief men said, "I love to feel where words come from."[1]

The Friends and the Indians.

After five weeks' imprisonment Mary Fisher and her companion were put on board the *Swallow* to be returned to Barbadoes, the

[1] Fox's *Journal*, ii., 115, 169. Woolman's *Journal*, 112.

jailer confiscating their beds and Bibles for his fees. On the whole this was good fortune for the women; for Endicott, who was absent, hearing of this comparative lenity, avowed, "If I had been there I would have had them well whipped."[1]

Arrival of other Quakers.

Hardly was the *Swallow* out of sight when a vessel from London came into the harbor, with eight Friends aboard: "four from London and four from Bristol; pretty hearts; the blessing of the Lord is with them, and his dread goes before them."[2] When, as usual, the captain submitted a list of his passengers to the Governor, and it was learned that eight of them were Friends, officers went on board with a warrant, "to search the boxes, chests, and trunks of the Quakers for erroneous books and hellish pamphlets," and to bring the Quakers before the court. Four of them were women. After a long examination upon their belief in God and the Scriptures, they were sent to jail. The examination was renewed the next day, the Friends declining to reply, and simply asking for the reason of their arrest. Endicott only deigned to say, "Take heed ye break not our ecclesiastical laws, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter." They were sentenced to be returned by the same vessel which brought them, and to be kept in jail till it was ready to sail. The jailer received an order to search their baggage as often as he saw fit. The master of the vessel was ordered to give bond in the sum of £500 to take them to England at his own cost! This at first he refused to do, not being conscious of any infraction of law; but he thought better of it after a few days in prison. After lying in jail for eleven weeks, during which their bedding and most of their effects were seized, to discharge the jailer's fees, they were put thus stripped and unprovided for on board the vessel. Some of the inhabitants, touched with pity and indignation, redeemed their goods, so that they reached London in comparative comfort.

Their treatment.

The first general law against Quakers in New England.

All these proceedings were so clearly arbitrary and illegal, and the discontent of the people was so marked, and even threatening, that the magistrates took measures to procure the sanction of law for future proceedings. So in July a letter was addressed to the commissioners of the four Confederate Colonies, who were about to meet at Plymouth, asking that they would grant authority for framing a particular law against Quakers and heretics. Procuring this, a law was passed at a General Court in Boston, October 14, 1656, enacting that any master of any kind of craft who should bring Quakers to New England should be fined

[1] Bowden's *History of Friends in America*, i., 36.

[2] Caton's collection of MS., quoted by Bowden.

£100, in default of payment to be imprisoned till the money was forthcoming: that he should carry them back, or upon refusing be imprisoned till he consent; that any Quaker who might arrive should be committed to the house of correction, be severely whipped, kept at constant labor, and forbidden from communication and discourse with any one; that whoever should import Quaker books, or "writings concerning their devilish opinions," shall be fined £5 for each book or pamphlet; that whoever should undertake to defend those writings and opinions shall be fined for the first offence forty shillings, for the second, £4; if they continue in that way they shall be put into jail till there be an opportunity to convey them into banishment; and that whoever should revile the persons of magistrates and ministers, after the fashion of the Quakers, shall be whipped, or pay £5.

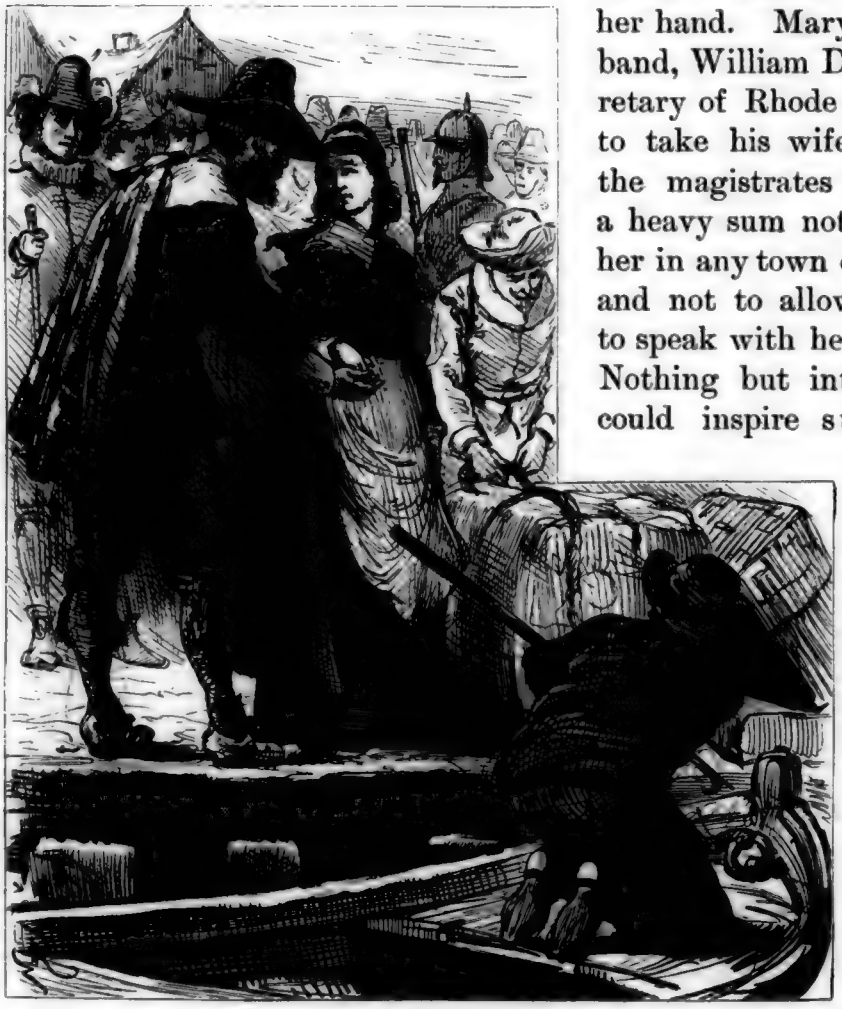
This law was adopted by the four federate colonies, and Rhode Island was urged to do the same; but the Assembly replied that they could not undertake to punish any man for declaring his mind with regard to religion; that no doubt the Quakers were very inconvenient, and their doctrines disorganizing; but that they seemed to court controversy, and persecution, and that the better policy would be to let them alone. "These people," they said, begin to loathe this place for that they are not opposed by the civil authority," — a psychological law which was beyond the comprehension of the Massachusetts Puritans. Roger Williams afterwards endeavored to get rid of Quakerism by challenging their Society to a public disputation. It lasted several days, and ended to the satisfaction of both parties, each being convinced of a triumphant refutation. Williams wrote "George Fox digged out of his Burrow," and Fox replied with "A New-England Firebrand quenched, being an Answer to a lying, slanderous Book by one Roger Williams, confuting his blasphemous Assertions."

Rhode Island refused to adopt it.

But the bit of parchment on which the law was engrossed could not keep Quakers out of New England. Early in 1657, Mary Dyer and Anne Burden sailed into the Bay. Mary Dyer — a woman "of a comely and grave countenance, of a good family and estate, and a mother of several children" — belonged to Rhode Island, but came this time from England. So also did Anne Burden, to collect some debts contracted in Boston to her husband now deceased. They had both been disciples of Ann Hutchinson, and banished on that account. Of course they were immediately arrested and strictly confined. Anne Burden pleaded lawful business, but only received for reply that she was a plain Quaker and must abide the law. After three months of suffering she was transferred to shipboard. Some pitying citizens collected a portion of the money due to

Mary Dyer and Anne Burden.

her, and invested it in goods that would find a market in Barbadoes, hoping that she might be carried thither. The magistrates refused this, and sent her to England, advising the reluctant master to get his pay out of her goods. He was bold enough to decline; whereupon the magistrates distrained her goods to cover her passage money, and ordered that the remainder should not be shipped. This act of delicate consideration robbed the widow of everything but six shillings, which a debtor slipped into her hand. Mary Dyer's husband, William Dyer, the secretary of Rhode Island, came to take his wife home; and the magistrates held him in a heavy sum not to stop with her in any town of the colony, and not to allow any person to speak with her on the way. Nothing but intense bigotry could inspire such abject dread.



Departure of Anne Burden.

While Anne Burden was thus sailing back to England, six of the eight Friends who had been banished were fully impressed that their duty was to return. At the same time five others agreed to join them. Of these eleven persons four were women. What conviction, deep as the human heart, must have rested in these persons, who knew to a certainty the reception they would meet. No vulgar love of notoriety, or itch to invite persecution, sent them bearing their testimony across stormy seas. "They were," wrote William Dewsbury to Judge Fell's wife Margaret, "in their measure, bold in the power of God: the life did arise in them." The little, uncomfortable vessel sailed from London in April, 1657,

and in consequence of rude weather put into Southampton, whence William Robinson also wrote to Margaret Fell: "Dear Sister, my dear love salutes thee in that which thinks not ill, which was before words were, in which I stand faithful to him who hath called us, and doth arm us against the fiery darts of the enemy, even in the fear and dread of the Almighty. I know thee and have union with thee though absent from thee."

Return of the banished Friends.

Robert Fowler, who built the little vessel and proposed to carry its cargo of Quakerism across, has left an interesting account, entitled, "A True Relation of the Voyage undertaken by me Robert Fowler, with my small vessel called the 'Woodhouse'; but performed by the Lord, like as he did Noah's Ark, wherein he shut up a few righteous persons and landed them safe, even at the hill Ararat." His crew, besides himself, consisted of two men and three boys. While he waited in Southampton for a fair wind, he says, "the ministers of Christ were not idle, but went forth and gathered sticks, and kindled a fire, and left it burning." He was, of course, all through the voyage in the mood to attribute his own tact and seamanship to the Lord. Several escapes were due to divine intervention. "The sea was my figure, for if anything got up within, the sea without rose up against me, and then the floods clapped their hands." "We see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head." In two months the little vessel landed its passengers at New Amsterdam, five of them waiting there, while the rest, taking passage again, reached Rhode Island. Of these, Mary Clark felt impelled to go to Boston. It is singular what keenness on the trail of Quakerism the magistrates possessed. She was arrested, and imprisoned after a severe whipping, inflicted with a three corded whip, "laid on with fury."

We have already mentioned Christopher Holder, who went to Martha's Vineyard. He was one of Fowler's passengers. The Indians put him ashore at Sandwich, much to the confusion and dismay of that settlement. Thence he and a companion found their way to Plymouth. A warrant was issued against them "as extravagant persons and vagabonds." A man at whose house they held a meeting was fined ten shillings, and they were reconveyed to Rhode Island.

Alarm in Boston at the increase of Quaker immigration.

Now Boston became seriously alarmed at the influx of Quakers into Rhode Island, which became a kind of port for repairing and refitting, whence Quakerism could sally out to desolate the land. Commissioners sent a remonstrance to the Governor of that colony, dated September 12, 1657. It contained a vague menace in these words: "We apprehend that it will be our duty seriously to consider what provision God may call us to make

to prevent the aforesaid mischief." The General Assembly of Rhode Island, meeting in January, 1658, returned a prudent reply, but it was based upon the statement that "freedom of different consciences, to be protected from enforcements, was the principal ground of our charter" — "which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world," and more noble words of like import, embedded in which was the politic proposition to refer all difficulties that might arise from the presence of Quakers to the supreme authority of England. A letter was also dispatched to the agent of the colony in England, stating that "for the present we have no just cause to charge them (Quakers) with the breach of the civil peace." The agent was instructed "to have an eye and ear open, in case our adversaries should seek to undermine us in our privileges granted to us, and to plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbors about us do frequently practice, whereof many of us have large experience, and do judge it to be no less than a point of absolute cruelty." Sweet and solid words, showing that the Rhode Islanders were capable of appreciating Friends, and fit to protect and entertain them.

Rhode Island and the Commissioners' protest.

In the mean time Holder and Copeland felt a call to go to Salem, where they arrived in July, 1657. They made converts there, though when Holder attempted to speak after service in the meeting house, he was held violently down by the hair and a glove and handkerchief thrust into his mouth. A man, Samuel Shattock, whose feelings were shocked into a conviction of the truth of Quakerism, interfered. He was arrested with the two Friends and sent to Boston. After the usual subtle and protracted examination, the Friends were sentenced to receive thirty lashes each. The executioner, with that notorious three-corded and knotted knout which was used on these religious occasions, "measured his ground and fetched his strokes with all his might." Then with lacerated flesh they were sent to jail, without even straw to lie upon, and kept for three days without food. There they remained nine weeks. Shattock was released on bail to answer afterward. Two other sympathizers, Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, were also arrested; Cassandra was kept seven weeks in jail. Another member of the party of eleven was discovered in Dedham: he received thirty lashes and was sent to prison to join his friends.

Holder and Copeland go to Salem.

They are sent to Boston and punished.

During Holder's confinement he wrote a Declaration of Faith, and also a paper setting forth the unscriptural nature of the persecution against Friends. This so enraged the magistrates that, at the instance

of Endicott, they resolved that all Quakers who were then in prison should be soundly thrashed twice a week, to begin with fifteen lashes and add three each time!

But all this starving, this compendious brutality and flourishing of whips, availed nothing. Already there were many secret converts. It was plain that the first law of 1656 failed to keep foreign Quakers out of New England, and threatened to create native ones. Then, with curious short-sightedness, the men — whose historical vista was crowded with images of the pillory, the branding-iron, the whipping-post, the ear-shears, from whose expansive cruelties they had escaped beyond the sea — concluded to repeat the experiment which they had proved to be a failure by outliving and subduing it. Another law was passed in August, 1657, in effect as follows: that whoever shall bring into the jurisdiction, or cause to be brought, any member of the "cursed sect" of Quakers, shall forfeit £100, and be put in jail till the money is paid: that whoever shall entertain or conceal a Quaker, or other blasphemous heretic, shall forfeit forty shillings for every hour of such entertainment, and be imprisoned till all the reckoned forfeitures are paid; that every male Quaker who shall presume after commitment by the previous law to come into the jurisdiction shall have one ear cut off and be kept in jail till a chance occurs to get rid him; that for a second offence the other ear shall be cut off, and he "kept at the house of correction as aforesaid;" that every woman Quaker, previously committed, who shall appear again, shall be severely whipped, and kept in the house of correction till she can be sent away "at her own charge;" that every Quaker, "he or she," who shall offend for the third time shall have the tongue bored with a hot iron and then be kept at hard labor in the house of correction until they can be got rid of "at their own charge." And furthermore it is ordered, "that all and every Quaker, arising from amongst ourselves, shall be dealt with and suffer the like punishment as the law provides against foreign Quakers." "You are to take with you the executioner" — runs a warrant to the marshal, signed Edward Rawson, Secretary, in pursuance of this law — "and repair to the house of correction, and there see him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers."

A new law passed.

Endicott's private and illegal luxury of having the imprisoned Quakers whipped twice a week so shocked and excited the inhabitants that the heretics had to be discharged. The new law was read to them, and they were exiled from the colony.

A growing popular sympathy for the Friends appeared also in Plymouth, and drove the magistrates into an imitation of the Boston method. A law was passed that no person should entertain a Quaker

under a penalty of five pounds for each offence, or to be whipped for it. If he could declare on oath that the person entertained was not known by him to be a Quaker, he would be free of the penalty.

Proceedings at New Haven.

It would be superfluous to mention each individual case of suffering and persecution of members of the Society, and to dwell upon its features. In fact the cases were too numerous for that. In New Haven a key was tied in Humphrey Norton's mouth to prevent his speaking; he was sentenced to be whipped in the stocks,



Norton's Punishment.

to be branded in the hand with the letter H for heretic, to be fined ten pounds, and to be banished. Every detail of this sentence was carried out with an alacrity and heartiness that disgusted the bystanders. Norton had no money, but a Dutch settler paid his fine and prison fees. Afterwards Norton and a companion venturing to visit Plymouth, the authorities, baffled in their efforts to convict them on

the charge of heresy, laid a trap by demanding of them to take the oath of allegiance. This, George Fox would never do; and no Friend after him could be induced to recognize thus a carnal authority. Norton and Rous were both severely whipped. The barbarous action made converts among the spectators.

And so the ineffectual work of the colonial authorities went on. Women were stripped for a whipping; one of them was whipped with a lately born babe clinging to her breast; the record of fining, starving, imprisoning, banishing, and miscellaneous cruelty becomes monotonous. The whole spirit and disposition of the sufferers were so prayerful, so forgiving, so lifted apparently beyond the reach of pain, yet so resolved to endure unto the end, that a profound impression was made upon the people. But the magistrates, though secretly alarmed at this, showed no sign of relenting, but rather sought to stamp out the rising sympathy by redoubled severity. Meetings of Friends sprang up in many towns, and notably the largest gatherings were made in places where the application of the law had been severest. And all these people refused henceforth to attend the regular public worship.

Spread of the Friends' doctrines.

Something more decisive must be done. The ministers, with John Norton at their head, persuaded the magistrates to pass a law holding the penalty of death over Quakers once banished. The law, however, was only passed by the accident of the absence of a deputy who was ill. He was a deacon, but would have voted against it. Hastening to the Assembly he besought that his vote might still be received. The magistrates, however, had procured what they wanted, and were in no humor to gratify the deacon. This Massachusetts law was passed October 20, 1658. It also included a provision for imprisoning sympathizers, publishers of Quaker opinions, truants from church assemblies, attendants upon Quaker meetings, and also for banishing obstinate recusants upon pain of death.

The death penalty enacted against banished Quakers in Massachusetts. 1658.

But what shall we say of the action of the General Court in the case of the two children of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick? Their parents had been banished under penalty of death. The children, who stayed behind in extreme poverty, could not pay the fine levied on them for non-attendance upon regular worship. That fine must somehow be paid; and this was the way that Massachusetts men expected to secure their pound of flesh, — namely, under this order: "Whereas, Daniel Southwick and Provided Southwick, son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, absenting themselves from the public ordinances, having been fined by the courts of Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have no estates, and resolving not to

The case of the Southwick children.

work, the Court, upon perusal of a law which was made upon account of debts, in answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolves, That the treasurers of the several counties are and shall be fully empowered to sell the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines." This brother and sister, it was hoped, might bring ten pounds each, and the treasury incur no loss. But let it be remembered that there was not a sea-captain in the port of Boston who would turn slave-dealer to suit the General Court. One of them objected that such passengers would spoil the ship's company. Of that the officer assured him he need have no fear, for, he said, "They are poor, harmless creatures, and will not hurt anybody." "And will you" — was the sailor's retort — "offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?" So the children lingered in their poverty till a more favorable opportunity might offer.

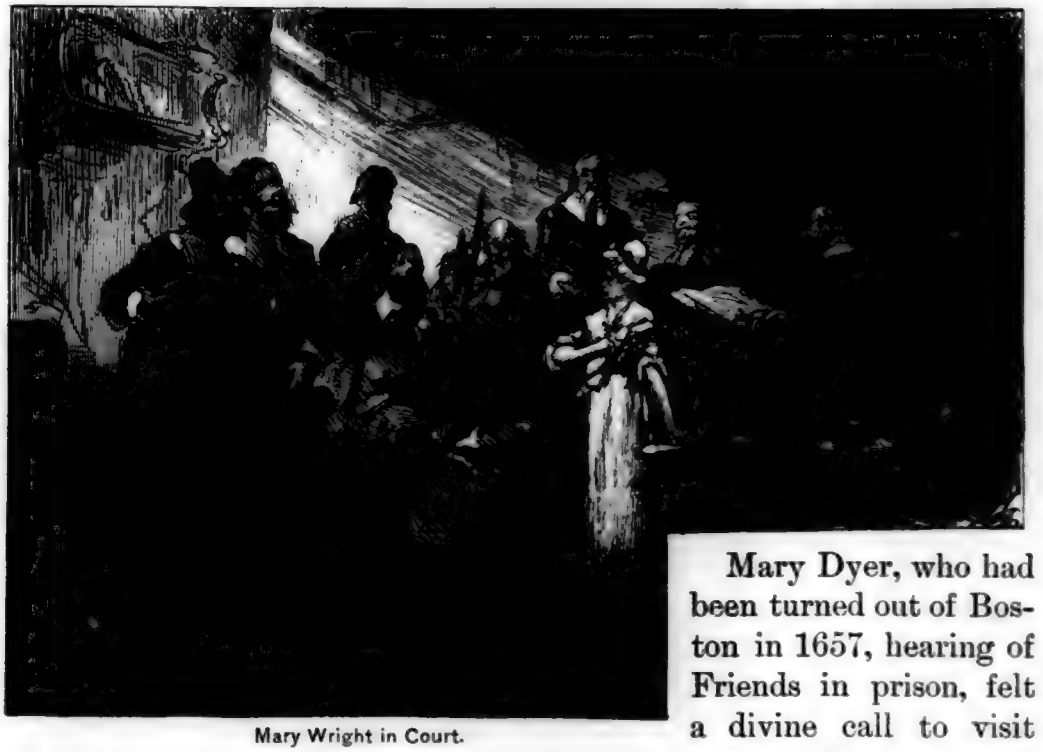
Heretics to be sold as slaves.

Later an attempt was made to dispose of a mature person in the same way, who was fined for non-attendance on public worship, and was too poor to discharge it. Again no vessel could be found to transport him to a market. Notwithstanding these hints of the popular displeasure, the General Court drafted its intention into a law, as follows: "That all children and servants and others, that for conscience sake cannot come to their meetings to worship, and have not estates in their hands to answer the fines, must be sold for slaves to Barbadoes or Virginia, or other remote parts." Thus the record stands.

But if death be a darker and more piteous fate than slavery we shall now see the record darken. About the middle of April, 1659, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson arrived in Boston, under a deep feeling of religious duty, to protest against the intolerance of rulers. It was a day of public fast, and the two Quakers attended church and tried to address the people. They were of course arrested and thrown into prison. Two other Quakers, Nicholas Davis and Patience Scott, who were in Boston at the same time, were also arrested and put in the same prison. Davis came to Boston on business; but Patience Scott, a remarkable child, only eleven years old, had come from Providence where her parents lived, thinking that she had a message of the Spirit to bear. After an imprisonment of three months, at her examination she conducted herself with such discretion, and a wisdom far above her years, as quite to baffle the magistrates, who could not help admiring her. It would not do to banish such a child, so the Court considering that "Satan is put to his shifts to make use of such a child," ordered her to be sent home.

In the guileless earnestness of children there was an appeal which

even those stern, hard men could not always resist. Mary Wright, a child of thirteen or fourteen years, whose sister had been banished from Massachusetts, found her way from Long Island to Boston that she might warn the magistrates to desist from the persecution of the innocent. She appeared before the court and delivered her message. "This saying so struck them at first, that they all sate silent."[1] Perhaps some of them were thinking when and where it was said — "of such are the Kingdom of Heaven." But Secretary Rawson was quick to discern this unwonted mood. "What!" he cried out, "shall we be baffled by such a one as this? Come, let us drink a dram!"



Mary Wright in Court.

Mary Dyer, who had been turned out of Boston in 1657, hearing of Friends in prison, felt a divine call to visit them. Very soon, by a warrant for her arrest, they all met under one roof. Their examination occurred in September, and they were sentenced to banishment under the penalty of death. Robinson rebuked the Court in terms so galling to its pride that he was gagged with a handkerchief; and when he persisted, the Court, in a rage at his astonishing perversity, had him taken out, stripped to the waist, and well whipped.

Return and arrest of Mary Dyer Her banishment.

Davis and Mary Dyer went home. Robinson and Stevenson, under an impression of religious duty, went to Salem, where they held meetings in the woods, which many of the inhabitants attended. Thence they went to Portsmouth. While this was going on, Mary Dyer

[1] Sewel's *History of the Quakers.*

could have no peace of her soul unless she returned to Boston to visit a Friend in prison. She was recognized and arrested. Soon Robinson and Stevenson appeared in Boston; coming through Salem a party of Friends, four of whom were women, joined them, and the sad journey was made. One of the women "brought linen to wrap the dead bodies of those who were to suffer." The Salem people understood the temper of Endicott. They were all arrested; Robinson and Stevenson were chained in a separate cell. "There were now," says Bowden, "no less than seventeen persons in the jails of Boston for professing Quakerism."

Final trial of Robinson, Stevenson, and Mary Dyer.

The three banished ones were brought before the General Court. Great was the embarrassment of the magistrates, for indeed they shrunk from inflicting the death penalty. The prisoners all said that they returned in obedience to a divine call. For that day they were remanded to jail. Next day, however, John Norton preached, and gave the magistrates a piece of his cruel and unrelenting mind; and putting the cases of the Quakers on the ground of the public danger and the damnable injury done to the salvation of souls, he so stiffened up the Court that Endicott, still with some misgiving which, it was said, was betrayed in his voice and on his face, managed to pronounce sentence of death on the three. He recovered his tone when the superb tranquillity of Mary Dyer nettled him, and he cried, "Take her away." "Yea, joyfully shall I go," she said.

Preparations for their execution.

The 27th of August, the day appointed for the execution, was a sermon day in Boston; and while John Wilson was keeping up the spirits of his hearers to the standard of the gibbet, a great crowd of amazed and sympathizing people gathered at the prison. Robinson exhorted them from a window till an officer came in and thrust all the Quakers down-stairs and locked them into a room. A company of soldiers could not prevail upon the crowd to disperse.

Now the procession starts for Boston Common, with a great force of soldiers; the drummers receive instructions to rattle vigorously if the Quakers should try to speak, which several times they did. Said Mary Dyer, "This is to me an hour of the greatest joy I ever had in this world. No ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which I now feel." Surely there was nothing feigned or fantastic in her feeling. So lofty was the strain of her soul that when at the last moment she was reprieved, she seemed reluctant to accept the fresh lease of life.

Mary Dyer reprieved.

Robinson was the first to suffer; and even that penalty did not

exempt him from insult from Wilson, the minister. "We suffer," he said, "not as evil doers, but as those who have testified and manifested the truth." Wilson interrupted him, "Hold thy tongue — thou art going to die with a lie in thy mouth." Then came Stevenson, who simply said, "Be it known unto you all, this day, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience sake." How strange it is that the tone of these men did not remind magistrates of the early apostolic days. No — those lay dead and buried in their Bibles.

Robinson and Stevenson hanged.

Mary Dyer stood by and calmly saw these bodies dangle, waiting her turn. The rope was adjusted, her clothes tied around her feet, for the



Mary Dyer led to Execution.

General Court is decent. At the last moment the cry of her reprieve came sounding across the Common, extorted by the pleadings of her son; and Wilson will have to wait awhile. The government would not incur the expense for coffins; the bodies were stripped and thrown into a pit unburied, in spite of the remonstrance of many people.

Mary Dyer was only reprieved for two days. But at the end of that time the magistrates saw that it would be more prudent to banish her again, and she returned alone to Rhode Island.

The usual effect followed of a propagation of Quaker sentiment.

Several people were fined, imprisoned, and whipped in consequence. The other Quakers in the prison were also whipped and discharged. Some of them refused to pay their prison fees, but there were plenty of aggrieved and compassionate citizens to undertake that charge.

Effect of these measures.

Then Mary Dyer returned again to Boston, as it was required of her, she said, to finish her sad and heavy experience in that bloody town. She came in March, 1660. "Are you the same Mary Dyer that was here before?" asked Endicott. "I am the same Mary Dyer," she answered, "that was here the last General Court." A letter soon followed from her husband, who was not a Quaker, to Governor Endicott. It contained a touching appeal that the life of his wife might be preserved. "If her zeal be so great as thus to adventure, oh, let your pity and favor surmount it, and save her life." "I only say this, yourselves have been, and are, or may be, husbands to wives: so am I, yea, to one most dearly beloved. Oh, do not deprive me of her, but I pray give her me once again. Pity me! I beg it with tears, and rest your humble suppliant."

But Endicott asked — "You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?" "I own myself to be reproachfully called so," was her answer. Then the Governor pronounced the sentence of death against her before the General Court. "This," said she, "is no more than thou saidst before." "But now it is to be executed: therefore prepare yourself for nine o'clock to-morrow." And as she spake concerning the motives for her return, Endicott impatiently ordered her away. So next day, with a strong body of soldiers, for fear of the people, and with drummers before and behind to drown the dreadful, accusing voice, she reached Boston Common again. There she refused to purchase her life at the expense of not performing her present mission from the Lord. She declined the prayers of any elder; this was offered gratis to her. Wilson called out to her not to be so deluded by the devil. "Nay, man, I am not now to repent," she answered. Some one taunted her with having said that she had been in Paradise. "Yea, I have been in Paradise several days," Then came the end. "She did hang as a flag," said one of her judges scoffingly, "for others to take example by."

Mary Dyer resentenced by Endicott.

Her execution

In this year monthly meetings of the Society were set up in many places in New England. Quarterly meetings were established a few years later.

William Leddra was a banished Quaker who dared to return in the same year. Early in 1661 he was brought before the Court, bound with chains to a log which he dragged behind him. His examination

swarmed with trivial questions and absurd replies to his responses. But the court tried to persuade him to recant his opinions and save his life. "What! join with such murderers as you are! Then let every man that meets me say, Lo, this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation." So on a day when a sermon was to be delivered he was sentenced to be executed. After the conclusion of it he too found his way to Boston Common, and died there as tranquilly as his predecessors.

Execution of Leddra.

This was the last execution in Boston for cause of religious opinion. A great many Quakers were still languishing in prison; among them was Wenlock Christison, a returned banished Quaker, and liable to be hanged. He happened to return on the day that Leddra was sentenced and entered the Court at the moment of pronouncing the sentence. His presence struck dumb the magistrates. But he was soon brought to the bar, briefly questioned, and sent to prison. On the day when Leddra was hanged, he was brought to the bar again, the magistrates hoping to frighten him into a recantation. They offered him that or death. He preferred the latter, in such a style of speech and sweetness of temper as greatly to confuse his persecutors, which being noticed by Endicott much disturbed him. He was remanded until the next General Court, when a strong minority appeared against the death penalty; but Endicott passionately sentenced him. And he prophesied: "If you have power to take my life from me, the which I question, I believe you shall never more take Quakers' lives from them. Note my words." Sure enough; and they were notable; for about this time the news of the Restoration reached Boston, and there was no Cromwell of any name to countenance the doings of the Puritan. This, coupled with the growing anger of the people, led to a general jail delivery of Quakers, including Christison. A new law was passed, substituting for the death penalty banishment on pain of a whipping from town to town; and several were so treated. Josiah Southwick — an elder brother of the two children who were sentenced to be sold as slaves — said, on hearing his sentence, "Here is my body; if you want a further testimony to the truth I profess, take it and tear it in pieces; it is freely given up; and for your sentence I matter not. It is no more terrifying to me than if ye had taken a feather and blown it in the air." Then he was whipped through Boston, Roxbury, and Dedham, and cast off into the wilderness.

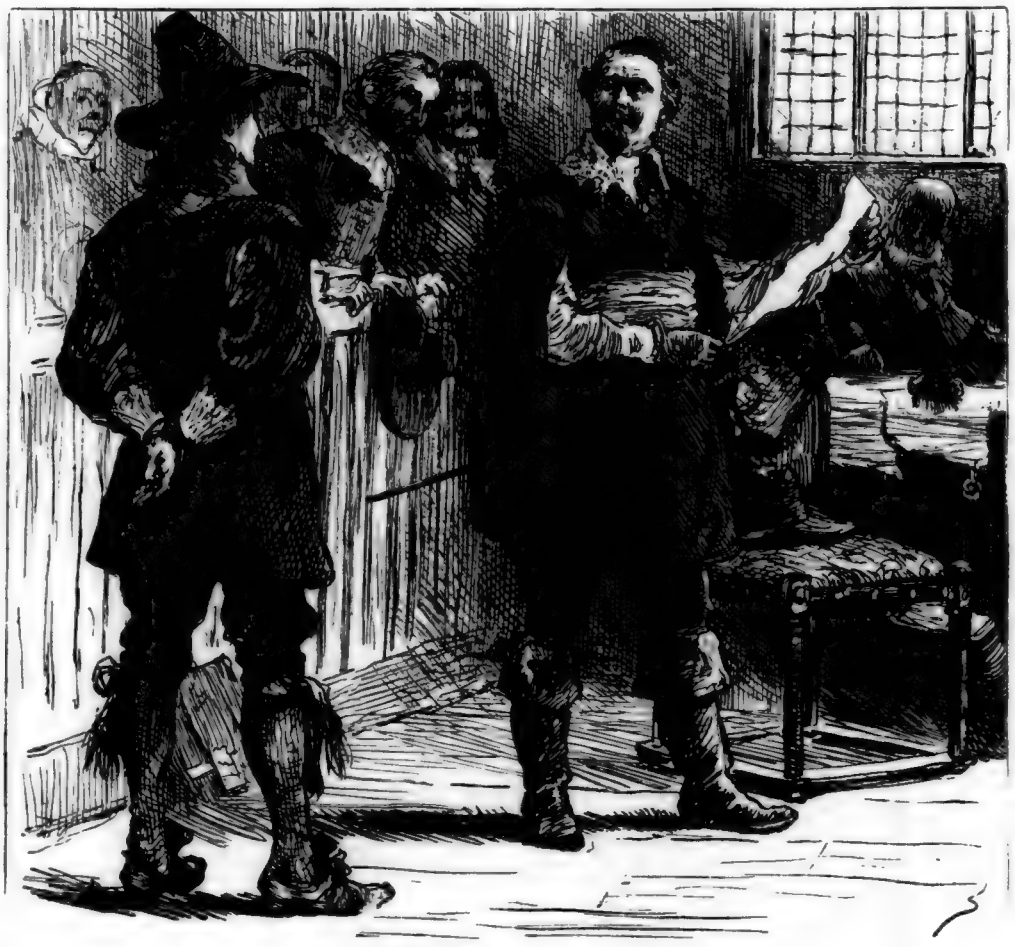
Trial of Wenlock Christison.

The Restoration. The imprisoned Friends released.

It seemed advisable to enlighten Charles II. upon the opinions and practices of the Quakers, to make it appear that they were of such a nature as to justify the General Court in its exercise of the late severities. An address was prepared and sent to the King,

An address to the King.

setting forth the necessity of extreme measures against those enemies of religion and government. The Friends in London furnished the King with a counter-declaration which took up severally the charges in the address, and showed how unlikely to be true they were, and how contrary to the principles of the Society. A book, entitled "New England Judged, written by a Friend, giving a minute account of the persecutions in the colony," was also put into the hands of the King, who was particularly struck by a passage that reported remarks by a prominent enemy of the Society, to this effect: "This year ye will go



Shattock's Commission.

and complain to the Parliament; and the next year they will send to see how it is; and the third year the government is changed." Whether or not this was accurately repeated, it had a great effect upon the King. "Lo, these are my good subjects of New England, but I will put a stop to them." And when about this time the news of the execution of William Leddra reached England, it was plain to the Quakers that they might count upon the royal interposition.

At the personal solicitation of Edward Burrough, a prominent and

influential member of the Society, the King put into his hands an order "To our trusty and well-beloved John Endicott, Esq., and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations," etc., commanding them to forbear to proceed any further against their prisoners, but to send them over to England, with the charges against them. With excellent policy and fine irony the order was entrusted to Samuel Shattock, a Quaker, banished under penalty of death; the Society hired a vessel and sent him over with dispatch.

Charles interposes to protect the Friends.

It was a pardonable and not unnatural weakness in Shattock if he felt some satisfaction when he came into the presence of Endicott with his hat on and that order in his pocket. The captain of the vessel, also a Quaker, accompanied him. Endicott ordered Shattock's hat to be removed, and was proceeding to make the old brutal interrogations preparatory to sending him to prison, when Samuel presented his credentials and the order. A sight of the Governor's face at that moment might have atoned for a good deal of persecution. In his amazement he handed back Shattock's hat to him, and took off his own in deference to the presence of the King's authority, then slowly read the papers. He withdrew awhile to collect himself, then took Shattock with him to the Deputy Governor, Bellingham. After a brief conference with him, Endicott simply said, "We shall obey his Majesty's commands."

Shattock presents the King's order to Endicott. Its results.

But should the prisoners be sent to England? That would be to send loud and swift witnesses against their own doings. How, then, should the exigency be met? Simply by not having any prisoners! William Salter, keeper of Boston jail, was at once ordered to release and discharge all the Quakers in his custody.

When soon after John Norton, the minister, and Simon Bradstreet were sent as commissioners to England to assure the King of the loyalty of Massachusetts — which there was good reason for doubting — the question of the treatment of the Quakers was one pretty certain to confront and trouble them. They were met in London by Friends, among them John Copeland, whose mutilated ear was a swift witness against them of the trials and persecutions he and his fellows had suffered in Boston. George Fox himself was present at this conference, and questioned the Commissioners so closely that they soon became confused. William Robinson's father, who was not a Friend, might, it was suggested, institute an investigation as to the death of his son. Some there were who proposed that the Commissioners should be held personally responsible for the persecution of Friends in Massachusetts. When the Commissioners returned to Boston and they were received with marked ill-favor because their

Mission of Norton and Bradstreet to England.

mission was less successful than it was hoped it would be, the disappointment and chagrin was supposed to have caused Norton's death. At any rate he soon died suddenly, and this was of course accepted by the Quakers as a judgment.

Severities against the Friends revived.

But when the magistrates found that the feeling against them was abating, and that no warrant would be likely to issue from England, they revived their exercises against the Quakers, so far as to have them whipped whenever they could be found delivering their message. Men and women were tied to the cart's tail and scourged from town to town; and this happened also in New Hampshire, which then belonged to the jurisdiction of the Bay. Three women preaching in Dover were driven thus from constable to constable through several towns, receiving ten lashes in each town. This was in December, 1662, and the season was inclement also. Two bystanders who expressed commiseration were clapped in the stocks. In Cambridge a woman was thrown into the jail without food, and nothing to lie upon. A Friend brought her some milk; he was fined five pounds and put into the same jail. The woman was whipped through three towns. She returned several times to Boston, and was whipped each time. The last occasion happened in 1665, on the day when Endicott was buried. She attended the funeral, and making, probably, some unpalatable remarks, was imprisoned. She was then sixty-five years old.

Further instructions from the King.

The cases of these persecutions are too numerous to mention singly, and they all have a revolting sameness. They lasted ten years, and did not come to an end until the King, offended by the prohibition of Episcopacy and of the reading of the Liturgy, issued sharp injunctions. To Massachusetts he said, "It is very scandalous that any person should be debarred the exercise of his religion, according to the laws and customs of England, by those who were indulged with the liberty of being of what profession or religion they pleased." To Connecticut he sent, "All persons of civil lives might freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the worship of God in that way which they think best." So it came to pass that Quakerism conquered a life in New England.

Penn's statement of doctrine.

"We own," wrote Penn from his cell in Newgate, — "we own Civil Government, or Magistracy, as God's Ordinance for the punishment of Evil-doers and the praise of them that do well; and though we cannot comply with those laws that prohibit us to worship God according to our Consciences, as believing it to be His alone Prerogative to preside in matters of Faith and Worship, yet we both own and are ready to yield Obedience to every Ordinance of Man relating to Human Affairs and that for Conscience-sake."

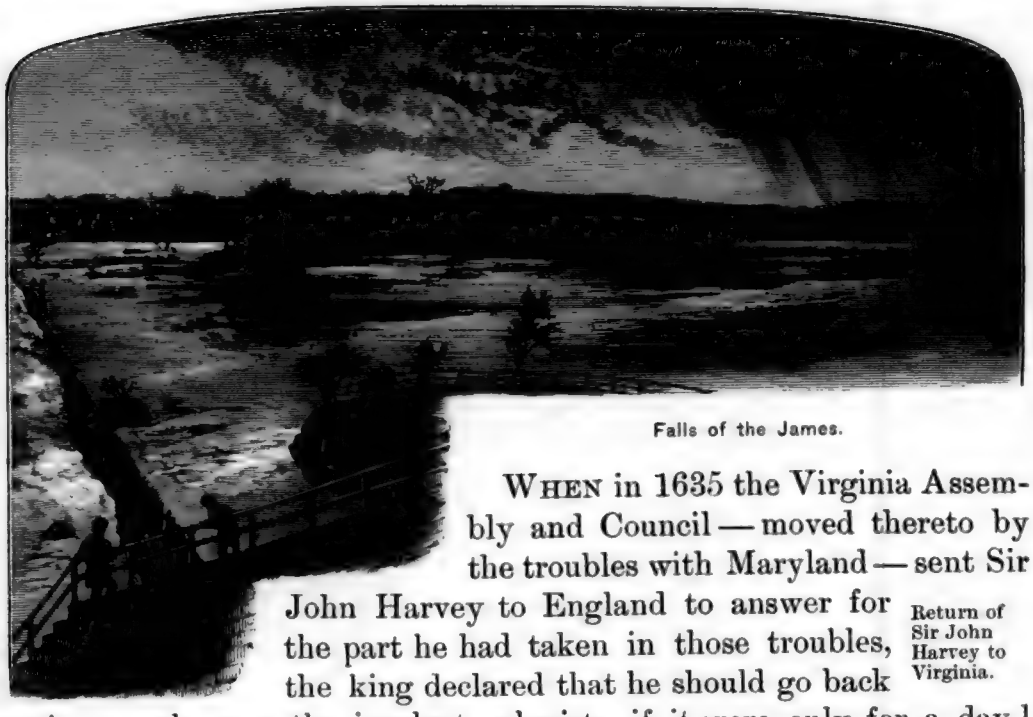
Through long years of suffering and tribulation this was the unvarying rule of the Friends. So even and self-possessed was their temper that it was only in rare instances that outrage and hardship provoked some ill-balanced disciple to extravagance and fanaticism. "To conceit," wrote Penn when a prisoner in the Tower of London, "that men must form their Faith of things proper to Another World by the Prescriptions of mortal Men, or else they can have no right to eat, drink, sleep, walk, trade, be at liberty, or live in This, to me seems both ridiculous and dangerous." [1] Eminent common sense like this was united, in them, with a noble courage and a power of endurance which nothing could overcome. They disobeyed human law only in obedience, as they believed, to the divine law, taking the consequences without resistance. Prisons, loss of worldly estate, scourgings, mutilations, the rage of mobs, ruin and persecution in every form, were visited upon them in the blindness of an intolerant age. But it was only by the Puritans of Massachusetts that they were hanged.

[1] *Select Works of William Penn.*

CHAPTER IX.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH.

RETURN OF SIR JOHN HARVEY TO VIRGINIA. — HIS NEW ADMINISTRATION. — SUCCEEDED BY WYAT. — SIR WILLIAM BERKELEY APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — THE PURITANS AND ROYALISTS OF VIRGINIA. — LAWS AGAINST THE FORMER. — INDIAN INSURRECTION IN 1643. — DEATH OF OPECHANCANOUGH. — GROWTH OF THE COLONY. — EMIGRATION OF CAVALIERS TO AMERICA. — SURRENDER OF VIRGINIA TO THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONERS. — REDUCTION OF MARYLAND. — CHARACTER AND CAREER OF WILLIAM CLAYBORNE. — ATTEMPTS OF LORD BALTIMORE TO RETAIN MARYLAND. — GOVERNOR STONE'S PROCEEDINGS. — FIGHT ON THE SEVERN. — THE CONTROVERSY ENDED. — RESTORATION OF BERKELEY IN VIRGINIA. — NEW LAWS UNDER THE ROYAL GOVERNMENT. — SLAVERY. — THE TOBACCO TRADE AND THE NAVIGATION ACT. — NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INTERESTS.



Falls of the James.

WHEN in 1635 the Virginia Assembly and Council — moved thereto by the troubles with Maryland — sent Sir John Harvey to England to answer for the part he had taken in those troubles, the king declared that he should go back again to rule over the insolent colonists, if it were only for a day.[1] The threat was made good, and within two years Harvey returned, bringing with him as colonial treasurer, Jerome Hawley, one of Calvert's first councillors, and Richard Kemp as colonial secretary.

Return of Sir John Harvey to Virginia.

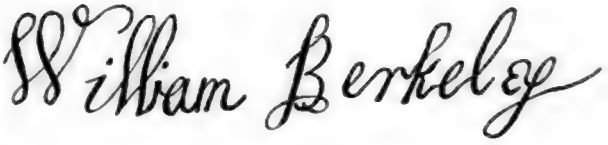
[1] Vol. i., p. 504.

Both men were fit coadjutors for Harvey, who showed in his conduct of affairs for the next two years the same overbearing temper which before had made him so obnoxious. The records of his new administration are meagre, for he permitted no assembly to be called, and took all power into his own hands, except so far as he chose to share it with the treasurer and secretary. In the differences between Maryland and Virginia his sympathies were unchanged. Hawley, he permitted, while still treasurer and councillor of Virginia, to sit as a member of the Maryland Assembly of 1637–8, — that Assembly which tried Thomas Smith for piracy and murder, and condemned him to be hanged for acting as second in command to Warren in the fight between him and Cornwallis;[1] and which passed, at the same time, a bill of attainder against Clayborne, and pronounced a forfeiture of all his property in Maryland.

Kemp was also the friend of Lord Baltimore, and soon became equally unpopular with Harvey and Hawley; for there was no abatement of feeling among the Virginia people as to the Maryland controversy. The official acts, however, which made the secretary disliked, are not so well remembered as that he built the best brick mansion-house in the colony, and that it was "the fairest ever known in this country for substance and uniformity."

Harvey's administration continued for about two years only, when Sir Francis Wyat succeeded him for the two years following. The best known of all the Virginia colonial governors, — whose occupation of that office was the longest, and the events of his administration the most important and interesting of that period, — Sir William Berkeley, followed Wyat, arriving at Jamestown early in 1642. His appointment was popular and his reception enthusiastic, though there was nothing in his instructions to warrant the hope of any change for the better in the government of the colony. Indeed, so far as the royal orders differed at all from those which had been given to preceding governors, they were inimical to the best interests of the colony in proposing some new regulations in regard to the trade in tobacco. The Governor, however, seems not to have given offence by any serious attempt to enforce a royal command, which, a few years later, became an imperative law in the far more stringent and injurious measures of the Navigation Act of the Long Parliament.

Wyat succeeds Harvey.



Signature of Berkeley.

But no shadow of coming trouble darkened the beginning of Berke-

[1] Vol. i., p. 507.

ley's administration. The Assembly was soon convened, and entire harmony was assured between the royal governor and the colonial legislature. One of its first acts was to send a protest to England against a project to revive the old charter and reëstablish the old Company. Against so unpopular a measure Governor, Assembly, and councillors were cordially united. The proposition had been urged upon Parliament by George Sandys and others, and a petition in its favor had even been sent forward from Virginia, signed, however, by only a few persons. The Assembly remonstrated with great earnestness, contrasting the condition of the colony when under the rule of the Company, with its condition when delivered from that rule. The king gave a prompt and positive assurance that there should be no change.

Sir William Berkeley Governor.

Charles was at York when he sent this answer. The remonstrance to which it was a reply was full of assurances of the loyalty of Virginia and of devotion to his own person. He was, at that moment, arming for the struggle which was to cost him his throne and his head, and this interchange of cordial feeling probably helped to confirm that fidelity to the royal cause which Virginia, alone of all the colonies, maintained to the last.

There was, nevertheless, a growing Puritan, as well as a Royalist party in Virginia, and hostility between the two soon made itself manifest. In New England religious zeal had often determined purely political measures; in Virginia the order was reversed; political causes produced the first decided action ever taken in the colony upon the question of religious observance. Up to the time of Berkeley the laws for enforcing conformity to the Church of England were practically a dead letter. But the Puritan was now a political as well as a religious dissenter. A royalist province, ruled by a governor whose devotion to the king had the earnestness of a religious faith, was ready to resort to any measure for the punishment of disloyal citizens.

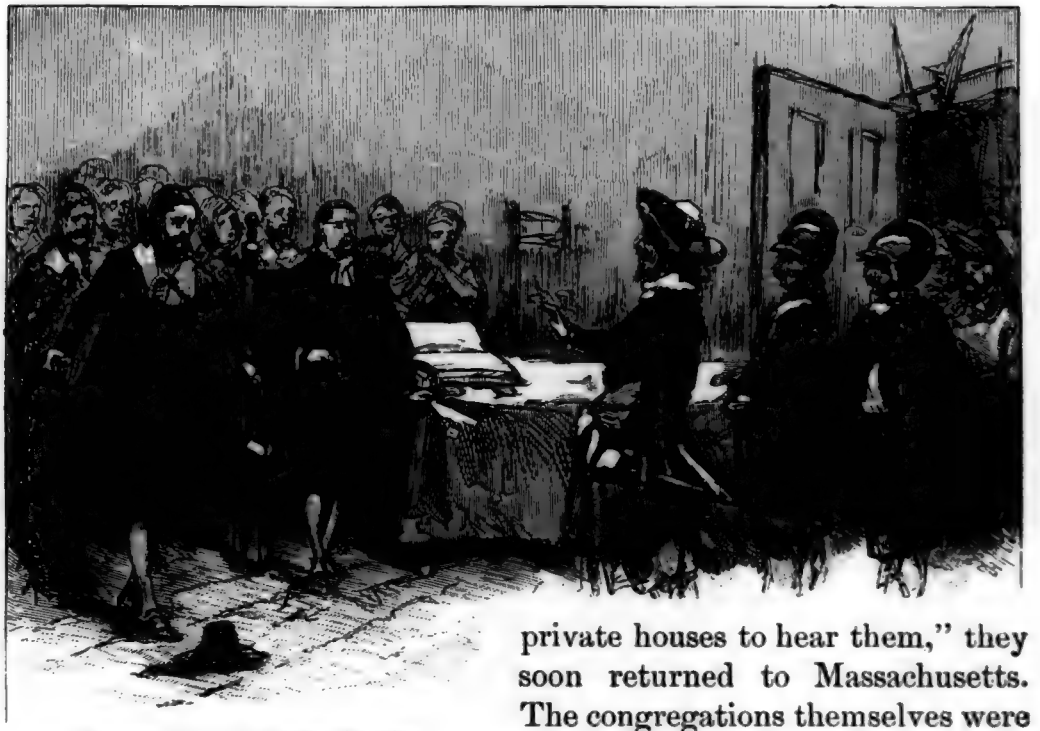
In March, 1643, the Assembly enacted that "for the preservation of the purity of doctrine and unity of the church," . . . . "all ministers whatsoever, which shall reside in the colony, are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England and the laws therein established; and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach, either publicly or privately; and that the governor and council do take care that all non-conformists, upon notice of them, shall be compelled to depart the colony with all convenience."

The Puritans persecuted.

In the preceding year a number of Puritans living in Virginia had begged of the Boston elders that ministers might be sent to them from New England. In accordance with this request three Massachusetts

clergymen had gone down to Jamestown, and had been settled over goodly congregations in different parts of the province. This was not without objection from the authorities, though they were commended by the government of Massachusetts to that of the sister colony. But it was enough for the preachers that they found "the hearts of the people much inflamed with desire after the ordinances."

It was upon these men and their churches that the Assembly's prohibition, speedily reinforced by a proclamation from the Governor, fell with its first force. Their congregations were broken up; and though for a time (according to Winthrop) "the people resorted to them in private houses to hear them," they soon returned to Massachusetts. The congregations themselves were soon dispersed, some passing the Maryland border to become there ere long a cause of serious dissensions; others taking refuge in New Netherland. It was only the most stout-hearted that remained, hoping for Parliamentary successes in England to ameliorate their condition. Such successes, indeed, were already near, and Marston Moor was soon to lend new courage to American as well as to English Puritans.



Breaking up of a Puritan Meeting.

Hardly a twelvemonth had passed, however, after the passage of the Act of March, 1643, when there came upon Virginia that sudden and terrible calamity of which Winthrop says, many, even of Virginia, were forced to give "glory to God in acknowledging that this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among

Trouble with the Indians.

them." For twenty years the peaceful relations between the English and the natives had been, for the most part, unbroken. But the great massacre of 1622 was remembered as a fearful era in the history of the colony, and the more exposed settlements never forgot to be cautious nor ceased to be anxious at the approach of any large body of savage guests or traders. Not long before the coming of Sir William Berkeley, some Indian outrages upon some of the frontier farms, and an increase of theft and treachery among the natives who hung about the villages, increased the general apprehension and mistrust. The Assembly, at length alarmed, as these signs of coming trouble grew, declared in 1643, that "no peace" should be maintained with the Indians, and that they should be treated as enemies. Thus made an outlaw, a savage might anywhere be shot by the whites with impunity.

Insurrection under Opechancanough.

It was an ill-judged and cruel measure, certain to give fresh intensity to the longing for vengeance among the Indians, already alarmed and exasperated by the increasing encroachments of the white men upon their hunting-grounds. They knew that a great war was waging among the English at home; they saw that the colonists were divided among themselves; and their venerable chief, Opechancanough — over whose head had passed nearly a hundred winters — summoned them to rid the land of their hated enemies.

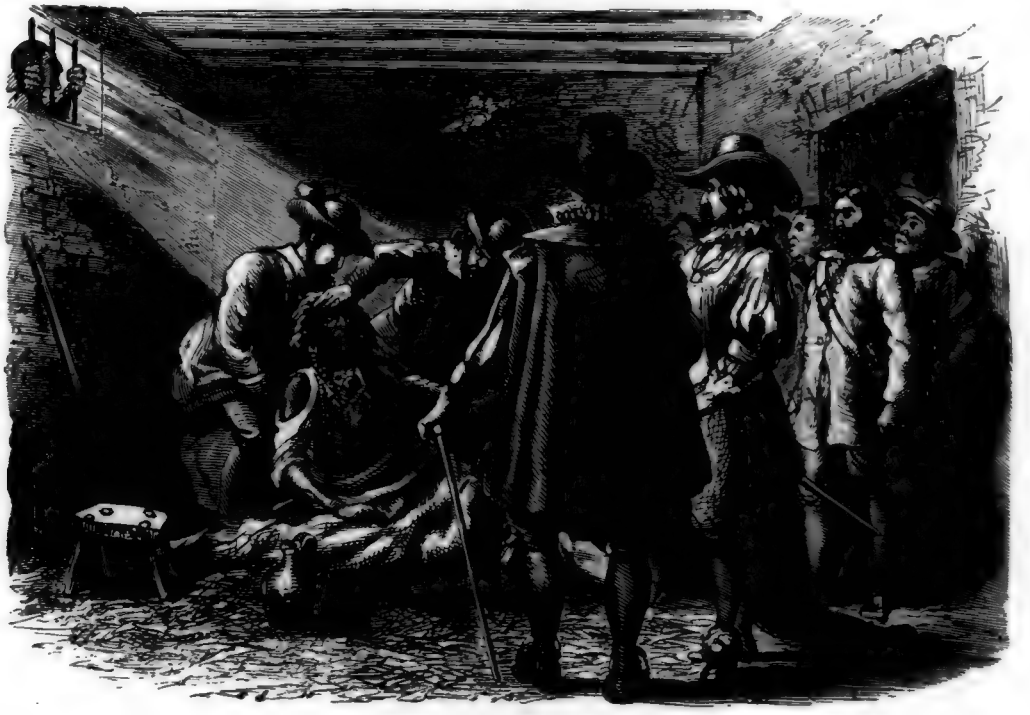
On the 18th of April, 1644,[1] an attack planned with all the cunning that had everywhere distinguished Indian massacres, was made upon the outlying settlements, and from three hundred to five hundred of the English slaughtered. For some unexplained reason, but probably the sudden recollection of the sharp vengeance that would be sure to overtake them, the Indians were seized with a panic. The massacre ceased when it had barely begun; the savages hurriedly retreated to the woods before even an attempt at resistance had been made.

The blow was a terrible one; yet in the condition the colony had now reached, it was light as compared with the similar outbreak of twenty-two years before. Such a calamity, in a province of more than thirty years' standing, well-organized for defence and with rulers prepared to act promptly, was a different matter from the annihilation of a great part of a struggling settlement of scattered planters, under the unpopular and inefficient government of a feeble Company. Sir William Berkeley turned upon the savages with all the forces of

[1] The date of the massacre is only guessed at by the older historians — some of them putting it in one year, and some in another; — but it is fixed by Winthrop's *Journal*, ii. 165, and Savage's note, and by Hening's *Statutes* for 1645. See also Campbell, 203.

the colony; and after driving them from one point to another, severely punishing all such as could be actually met in battle, he succeeded, with a troop of mounted men, in capturing Opechancanough himself and bringing him in triumph into Jamestown. He is taken prisoner.

The Indian king was altogether broken and enfeebled by his great age. He hardly lived, except in that vigor of will and in that hostility to his English foes which could end only with his life. He could no longer walk; his captors carried him in a rough litter made of branches. Partial paralysis had robbed him of his strength; he could not even unclose his eyes to look about him at the people who came



Death of Opechancanough.

crowding around his bed. Those who attended him were accustomed, when he asked it, to lift up his eyelids so that his rapidly failing sight could show him what was passing; but, with true savage stoicism, he seldom made the request, and passed the greater part of his time in an apparent stupor. He was imprisoned in the town, and it was said that Berkeley intended taking him to England, to show the English a man who had been for years the terror of their colony. But he had hardly been placed in confinement when one of his guards, perhaps irritated by some remembered injury, wantonly shot the wretched prisoner through the back,[1] giving a wound that soon proved fatal, and saved the dying savage the misery of a death away from his own country. As he lay dying — the tradition runs — His death.

[1] Beverley, 57. Burk, ii., 53, note.

he asked for the last time that his eyelids should be raised; and looking dimly at the crowd about him, said indignantly to the Governor, that had it been his fortune to have taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, "he should not meanly have exposed him as a show to his people."

Opechancanough was the last of the great chiefs who ruled in absolute and undivided sovereignty over the confederation of Virginian tribes which had formerly called Powhatan their king. His successor, Necotowance, after two years of unavailing warfare, made formal submission to the whites by a treaty in the autumn of 1646. From that time Virginia suffered, like other colonies, only from the hostilities of scattered tribes, or from the sudden raids of independent bands, never from a great organized attack of a whole savage nation, aroused, as Opechancanough had aroused them, by the hope of a complete extermination of the strangers.

In the early summer of 1644, Sir William Berkeley sailed for England for a year's visit, and left Richard Kemp as his deputy in charge of the province. It was a time when an Englishman of property and influence at home — a courtier and a soldier, as well as a member of a family which had every interest at stake, — could hardly sit quietly in his colonial governorship, and watch from beyond seas the conflict for life in which his king and his brothers were fighting. The storm of the Civil War was sweeping over his own county of Gloucestershire when Berkeley reached it; and before he returned again to Virginia — to which he seems to have hurried back with the conviction that he could serve the king better there than in the field, — the battle of Naseby had been fought, and the royal cause was lost. There was little leisure now in the Parliament for any attention to colonial affairs; in the four years that followed, the American province was left to govern itself in its own way. It could hardly have had a better ruler than the vigorous cavalier Governor.

Growth of the colony.

These four years saw an unusual addition to the population of the colony — unusual both in numbers and in character. At a time when emigration to New England had greatly fallen away, — the English Puritans seeing a better day in their own land and having few of the old motives to leave it, — precisely opposite reasons brought to Virginia companies of royalists whose fortunes the war had wrecked, or who had with difficulty saved a little competence from the impending ruin. They came by hundreds to the one spot in the new world in which their king, their traditions, and their church were still respected; and they brought with them their old way of life, — the way of court and camp; the careless luxury and the careless morality which were abominations to their Roundhead adver-

saries. The death of Charles sent many even of his most persistent adherents to America; "for," — writes one of them, Colonel Norwood, — "if our spirits were somewhat depressed in contemplation of a barbarous restraint upon the person of our king in the Isle of Wight, to what horrors and despairs must our minds be reduced at the bloody and bitter stroke of his assassination at his palace of Whitehall? . . . . The sad prospect of affairs in this juncture gave such a damp to all the royal party who had resolved to persevere in the principle which engaged them in the war, that a very considerable number of nobility, clergy, and gentry, so circumstanced, did fly from their native country as from a place infected with the plague." [1]



Cape Hatteras.

This Colonel Norwood left a narrative of his own and his companions' perilous and eventful voyage away from "so hot a contagion," that is as vivid and as entertaining as the story of the wanderings of a new Ulysses. "The cavaliers changed their clime but not their habits," [2] wrote a Virginian historian; and one sees how true this was in reading the adventures of this exiled royalist, with his jollity in the midst of adversity, and his characteristic mixture of bravery, sentiment, and cynicism. How the voyage began merrily enough (after the ship had kept them waiting "until our money was almost spent at Deal"); how they touched at Fayal for water, and caroused there for days together over their Madeira and "handsome plenty of fish and fowl;" how they met with a wonderful Portuguese beauty, whom Norwood describes with glowing eloquence, and with whom they drank the health of their respective kings "with thundering peals of cannon;" how finally they sailed away westward — their ship barely escaping a water-spout which would have "made her do the supersalt;" — all this is probably not unlike many another

The narrative of Colonel Norwood.

[1] Norwood's Voyage, in Force's *Hist. Tracts*, iii., 10th paper, p. 1.

[2] "*Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.*" — Horace.

Virginian voyage. But as they neared the American coast their troubles began. Escaping by a lucky chance from the Shoals off Hatteras, where they were aground for a little time, they beat to sea again, only to be driven far out by "mountainous tow'ring northwest seas" and a furious gale, their ship dismasted, their provisions and water nearly exhausted. For nearly sixty days they beat about, until, after many adventures, they came to anchor off the mouth of a creek in an unknown region.

Here Norwood and a large party going ashore for water, were basely abandoned by their comrades. They were in reality upon an island on the coast of Virginia; though some distance from the main; and for ten days or more they endured the extreme horrors that fall to the lot of shipwrecked men and women. The living devoured the bodies of those who had "the happiness to end their miserable lives;" and "terrible storms of hail and snow at northwest" beat upon their wretched bodies in the bitter January weather. Finally, about the tenth day, Indians came to them from the shore, who proved friendly, took them to the main land, and brought them to an Indian village where they were feasted royally. All manner of strange things happened to them among the savages, no word of whose language they could understand; and they were almost doubting whether this friendliness was not a cover for intended treachery, when suddenly an English trader from Jamestown appeared among them. Norwood, from the beginning the acknowledged leader of the party, who had held them together throughout with his unwearied courage and readiness in expedients, now hurried southward with a guide, to the hospitable settlements along the Chesapeake. He was everywhere received with great hospitality as he went from plantation to plantation, and on arriving at the house of Captain Wormly, not far from York River, he found "feasting and carousing," his old friends Sir Thomas Lundsford, Sir Henry Chichely, Sir Philip Honeywood, and several more, all recently come from England, but with better luck than he. The next morning, on a good horse, he was on his way to Jamestown, to his kinsman Berkeley.

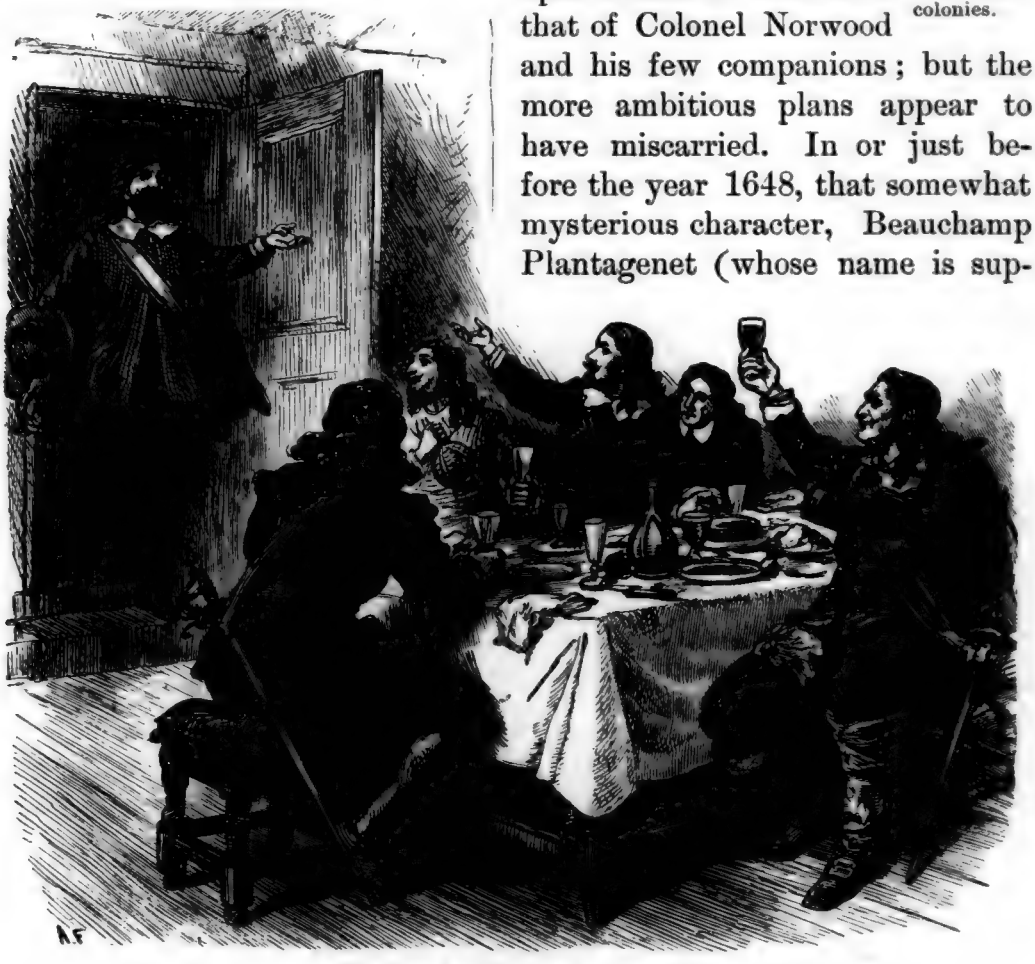
Apart from the interest of his narrative there is no account of so early a date, that gives so clear a picture of the class of men which, at this time, went to Virginia. Each substantial manor was filled during these years with guests enjoying the liberal hospitality of a time when crops were plenty, and the abundance of fish and game had not been diminished.[1] For a while the little capital of Jamestown was lively with these shabby cavaliers, their pockets as empty, their swords

[1] A Virginia law ordered that "if any inhabitant received any stranger Merchant, or border into their houses, and did not condition in Writing with him or them so entertained

as ready in a brawl, their hands as averse to labor, and their spirits as irrepressible as the most reckless and most worthless of their kind at home. Some at length took up plantations for themselves, waiting the more prosperous days of the Restoration, while others who were altogether as ruined in purse as in reputation became dispersed among the ordinary people of the province.

All the projects for the emigration of distressed cavaliers to America during these years of their adversity, were not conceived upon a scale so modest as that of Colonel Norwood and his few companions; but the more ambitious plans appear to have miscarried. In or just before the year 1648, that somewhat mysterious character, Beauchamp Plantagenet (whose name is supposed to be a pseudonym of Sir Edmund Plowden or Ployden) visited Virginia and Maryland to look for a desirable site whereon the "New Albion Company" could plant a colony; but finding one spot too wet and another too dry, one too exposed to savage attack and another to diseases, he went further north to continue his search.

Plowden's visit to the colonies.



The Cavaliers at Wormly's house.

Widely different was the scheme of the English poet, Sir William

on what tearms he received them, it should be supposed an invitation, an no satisfaction should be allowed or recorded in any Court of Justice." — *Leah and Rachel*, in Force's *Hist. Tracts*, iii., 14th paper, p. 15.

Davenant's proposed colony.

Davenant, for leading a colony to the one province which seemed to him faithful to the king and cause for which he had suffered and been exiled. This was a true poet's scheme — to take out from France a little company of French artisans, vine-growers, and silk makers, and to plant a new Arcadia, where there should be no more noise of wars and overthrow of thrones, but peace, and pleasant toil, and pastoral simplicity. He had, no doubt, thoughts of a pure and patriarchal government, made up (to take a line from one of his own old poems) from "the assembled souls of all that men held wise."[1] The exiled royal family and the French government aided him in carrying out his plan; his company was brought together, and the expedition sailed for America with high hope of success. But a short distance off the coast the vessel was discovered by the English fleet, captured, and taken to an English port. Davenant, well known as a prominent and staunch royalist, would, it is said, have been condemned to death by the Puritan rulers, had it not been for the intercession of Milton, who pleaded successfully for the lesser poet's life.

Virginians were by no means calm spectators of the bitter strife among their countrymen at home, but the great body of the older settlers, whose chief interests were in Virginia, did not let political excitements interfere with the steady progress of the colony. Trade was comparatively unrestricted, for there was laxity in enforcing regulations while the rights of conflicting parties were in question. More than thirty vessels annually brought out English goods and took back cargoes of native products. Men did not cease to smoke Virginian tobacco because they were passing through a great political convulsion; and that continued to be the great staple of the colony, though the price had sunk to threepence the pound. As the planters increased in wealth they added to their plantations, and attached themselves to their homes by building spacious mansions, and surrounding them with all the appliances of generous and luxurious living at their command. There was no lack of skilled labor, for among the fifteen thousand English[2] who made up the population of the colony in 1648, there were workmen in every branch, and new experiments were making in all directions — in smelting iron, in hemp and flax culture, in vine-raising, in the making of indigo, and the manufacture of brick. There are few years in the early colonial history of Virginia more marked by general activity and prosperity than those four during which England was convulsed with civil war, and the province was left practically to its own devices.

Condition of the colony.

The Long Parliament turned, at length, when some signs of tran-

[1] Davenant's *Gondibert*, book ii., Canto v.

[2] *A Perfect Description of Virginia*, etc., in *Force*, ii.



THE SURRENDER OF JAMESTOWN.

quillity at home permitted, to the subjection of those distant colonies which hitherto had remained faithful to the royal cause. Barbadoes, Bermuda, and Antigua had refused to recognize the government of the Commonwealth; the Assembly of Virginia had openly denounced the execution of the king, and enacted a law, making it treason to asperse his memory or question the lawful succession of his son. The neighboring province of Maryland was looked upon with suspicion, though Lord Baltimore had spared no effort to gain the favor of the party in power. In October, 1650, Parliament had decreed the prohibition of trade with the uncompliant colonies, and appointed commissioners to bring them to obedience.

Sir George Ayscue was sent to the islands with a formidable fleet; soon after, in September 1651, Captain Robert Dennis was ordered to sail with a smaller squadron to the Chesapeake. The expedition carried a regiment of soldiers and a hundred and fifty prisoners from the battle of Worcester, who were to be sold as servants in Virginia. Dennis found Ayscue at Barbadoes, and with his regiment, assisted by the prisoners, enabled him to take the island where for two months his landing had been bravely resisted.

Parliamentary commissioners sent to Virginia.

When the fleet arrived in the James River, early in March 1652, it was under the command of Captain Edward Curtis, also a commissioner, for Dennis in his ship the *John* had been lost at sea, and with him Stagg, the third commissioner. Jamestown was at once summoned to surrender. Berkeley, it is said, sought to arouse his fellow-officials, but this is improbable, as such resistance would have been useless, though perhaps the sturdy cavalier vented his feelings in some last defiant speech to his more vacillating council. At all events, the colony's submission was not long delayed, and on the twelfth of March the Governor signed articles of capitulation, and handed over the affairs of the province to the Parliamentary Commissioners.

Surrender of Berkeley.

The terms of the surrender were liberal, including an act of amnesty and oblivion for past offences; liberty to the Governor and Council to refrain for a year, if they desired to do so, from swearing allegiance to the Commonwealth; a confirmation of the right of assembly, and a promise that no taxes should be imposed upon the province without its consent; and a provision that all land grants, deeds, debts, and rights in private property, should be unimpaired by the change of government. With a liberality rare in Puritan dealings with religious matters, it was also set forth in the capitulation that "the use of the book of common prayer" should be permitted for one year ensuing, provided that such parts as related to "Kingshipp" and the royal government should not be used in public. To Berkeley and his officers

great courtesy was shown; liberty was granted them to sell their estates and remove from the colony whither they pleased within a year; meanwhile their property was exempted from examination or seizure, and protection and "equal justice" were promised to them under the new government.

Besides the commissioners who sailed from England in the fleet — Dennis, Stagg, and Curtis (or Courteis) were two others — Richard Bennett, a Virginia Puritan whom persecution, it is said, had driven to England, and William Clayborne, already distinguished in the history of the colony. Curtis probably soon returned in his ship to England, and the power and responsibility therefore devolved upon Bennett and Clayborne, who established a provisional government with Bennett at its head. That both men were highly esteemed by all the colonists seems evident in the ready acquiescence with which their rule was accepted.



Supposed Portrait of William Clayborne.

No Virginian was more deserving of such esteem, or more fit to be entrusted by Parliament at this time with the conduct of affairs, than Clayborne. If his career had hitherto been turbulent, it was so in the maintenance of the rights of the colony; if he had been unfortunate, it was because of the injustice of the king. His family, of the county of Westmoreland,[1] was an ancient and influential one, and was zealous, perhaps distinguished in the north of England, in upholding the Protestant faith. It is neither improbable nor impossible that there should have been enmity between such a family and that of the Calverts, of the neighboring county of York, so devoted to the church of Rome. Clayborne certainly opposed the settlement of a colony of Catholics on Chesapeake Bay, before any question arose as to the possession of Kent Island. The desire to secure this small portion of his grant seems hardly an adequate motive for the hostility which Baltimore showed to Clayborne.

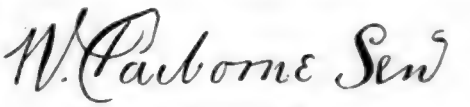
Character of William Clayborne.

[1] He was the second son of Sir Edmund — not Edward as Neill says in his *English Colonization of America* — Cleiburne (or Clayborne) of Cleiburne Hall. The portrait is that of William or his son — it is not quite certain which.

They may have simply hated each other with that fervor then thought so becoming to all good Christians travelling different roads to Heaven; but there is, besides, the suspicion of a tenderer influence in the conduct of Calvert. He had failed in his suit for the hand of Agnes, the lovely daughter of the rich and powerful Sir Richard Lowther of Lowther, where Thomas Clayborne, William's elder brother, was successful.

At any rate Clayborne's ancient grievance was well grounded. Kent Island was within the boundaries of the patent of the Virginia company; he, who was the secretary of the colony, and its surveyor general, had taken possession of this island and established there a trading-post by virtue of a royal commission for trade and discovery, and a similar permit from the Company. There was not only priority of date in his favor, but he could enforce that plea — afterward used so successfully by the Dutch and the Pennsylvanians in relation to the region on Delaware Bay — that the grant to Lord Baltimore, whatever might be its nominal boundaries, limited him to the possession only of lands hitherto uncultivated — *hactenus inculta*. In the course of that long and bitter controversy the Governor and council of Virginia had declared in 1634 that they were in duty bound to maintain their right to the Isle of Kent, and a royal order had decided in Clayborne's favor and against Lord Baltimore. Whatever may have been his motives, the influence of Baltimore at court was strong enough to procure a reversal of this decision in spite of Clayborne's complaint that the royal order was disregarded, and his offer to pay a large rental for the lands which were his by right of discovery and occupation.[1]

It was not in Clayborne's nature to be a lukewarm partisan, even if he had not had the remembrance of such wrongs, extending over a period of nearly twenty years, to influence him. But he was a Parliament man both from religious and political convictions, and not that he might gain his personal ends. That he did not permit his private griefs to shape his public acts is clear from the moderation of his conduct now that Maryland was, in a measure, in his power. It was fortunate for both colonies that the conduct of affairs was entrusted to two such men as he and Bennett, for the latter, as Governor of Virginia, seems never, for his part, to have remembered that under Sir William Berkeley he had been compelled to escape persecution by flight.



Signature of William Clayborne.

[1] MS. notes upon Clayborne, collated in England by Mr. C. J. Hubbard of Portsmouth, N. H. — *English State Papers.*

The commission from Parliament empowered them to reduce "all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake," and there is nothing in all the negotiations to which the subsequent troubles gave rise to suggest that this commission was not meant to embrace Maryland. The commissioners assumed that it did, and after the submission of Jamestown they sailed on board the *Guinea* for Saint Mary's, the capital of Maryland, and demanded of Governor Stone (the successor of that Thomas Green whom Leonard Calvert had appointed on his death-bed),[1] an oath of conformity to the laws of the Commonwealth. If this were given, they declared, they would not interfere in any way with the government of the Lord Proprietary or disturb his officers. This, at first, Stone refused, and the Commissioners deposed him and his council, and appointed a provisional council in their place. But on a subsequent visit of the Commissioners the Maryland governor reviewed his former decision, and was restored to office on condition that he should issue his writs and other official papers "in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England by authority of Parliament," while he was still "to reserve and save to himself" his oath to Lord Baltimore as proprietor of the province, till "the pleasure of the state of England be further known."

It would have been impossible for the Commissioners to be more moderate and considerate, and to have obeyed at the same time, in any degree, the instructions, as they understood them, of Parliament. Indeed, the advantage was on Stone's side, so far at least as to gain time, for he held in reservation the right of Lord Baltimore. The expedient, as might have been foreseen, led in due season to inevitable trouble.

Before those troubles came, however, one act of tardy justice was done. At the first sitting of the court after the return of Stone to his office of governor, a commission was appointed — consisting entirely of residents of Maryland with the exception of Governor Bennett of Virginia — to conclude a treaty of peace with the tribe of Susquehanocks. Its first article conveyed to the English the country from the Patuxent to the Susquehanna, on the west side of Chesapeake Bay, and from the Choptank to the Elke on the east side, with the islands, rivers, creeks, etc., etc., "and whatsoever else to the same belonging, excepting the Isle of Kent and Palmer's Island which belong to Captain Clayborne." The acknowledgment may have been an act of political expediency, but it was none the less one of simple justice.

There were grievances and differences enough still remaining. Lord Baltimore, when tidings of events in Maryland reached him, appeared

[1] Vol. i., p. 514.

by petition, in August, 1652, before the Long Parliament, setting forth his claims to the colony and asking for redress.[1] From that body he obtained little consideration, though he urged on his own behalf that while Virginia had adhered faithfully to the king, Maryland, like New England, had not declared against the Parliament. Humble as this submission was from one who had been so devoted a friend to the late king, it availed nothing; for nearly eighteen months later (January, 1654) the Governor and Assembly of Virginia are advised by the Council of State that the Lord Protector, to whom, with successive parliaments, the government of the Commonwealth was now intrusted, had taken upon himself the settlement of the differences between Lord Baltimore and the Virginians.[2]

Lord Baltimore protests.



Oliver Cromwell.

It may be that the hope of redress either from Parliament or Cromwell, induced Lord Baltimore to submit, for a while, to the compromise which Stone had made with the Parliamentary Commissioners. As late as November, 1653, the Governor of Maryland gives as the reason for not holding a general court that it was requisite that "some directions out of England touching the government here," should be received before there could be anything for a general court to do;[3] and, he says, there had been no arrival of English ships.

Instructions from the proprietary were on the way. Satisfied, no doubt, that however much he might abase himself he could gain nothing of the Long Parliament, nor of Cromwell himself, when he had dispersed that body and assembled its successor, Baltimore wrote to Stone, reproaching him for submitting to the Commissioners, accusing him of cowardice, ordering him to restore the proprietary government, to issue all public papers in the name of the lord proprietor, and to demand the oath of fidelity to him from the land-holders of the province. In January, 1654, Stone issued a decree in accordance with these instructions.

Fresh instructions from Lord Baltimore.

[1] Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, p. 338.

[2] Sainsbury's *Calendar*, p. 412.

[3] Bozman's *History of Maryland*.

The unhappy Governor found it hard to serve two masters. Not many weeks after he had thus reversed the order of affairs in obedience to Baltimore, tidings arrived of the dispersion by Cromwell of his second Parliament. Thereupon Stone issued, early in May, another proclamation acknowledging Cromwell as "the lord protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging," and declaring the government of Maryland under the lord proprietary to be therefore "subordinate unto and dependent upon" that commonwealth. In commemoration of this solemn event he proclaimed a general pardon for all offences committed in the province with certain exceptions. But these exceptions he declared, before the month had expired, were — beside murder, treason, and unsatisfied forfeitures — "rebellion, conspiracy, combination, or endeavour used at any time heretofore by any person against the lord proprietary's right and dominion over this province."

Such a declaration could only have been meant to be a defiance of Bennett and Clayborne, the Parliamentary Commissioners. That there should be no doubt, however, on this point, Stone issued, a few weeks later, another proclamation relating to affairs in Calvert County, — where, by Lord Baltimore's express order, he had removed the Puritan sheriff from office, — in which he charged the Commissioners with leading the people into "faction, sedition, and rebellion" against the lord proprietor.

Bennett and Clayborne, however, were not men to be frightened by proclamations. They in their turn issued a manifesto, and by authority of commands which, they declared, they had "lately received" from Cromwell, brushed away with little ceremony all that Stone had lately done on behalf of the proprietary government, removed the Catholic officers, and appointed a board of commissioners to govern Maryland in the name of the Protector.[1] Stone yielded without resistance, though not without some "opprobrious and uncivil language," and resigned his office.

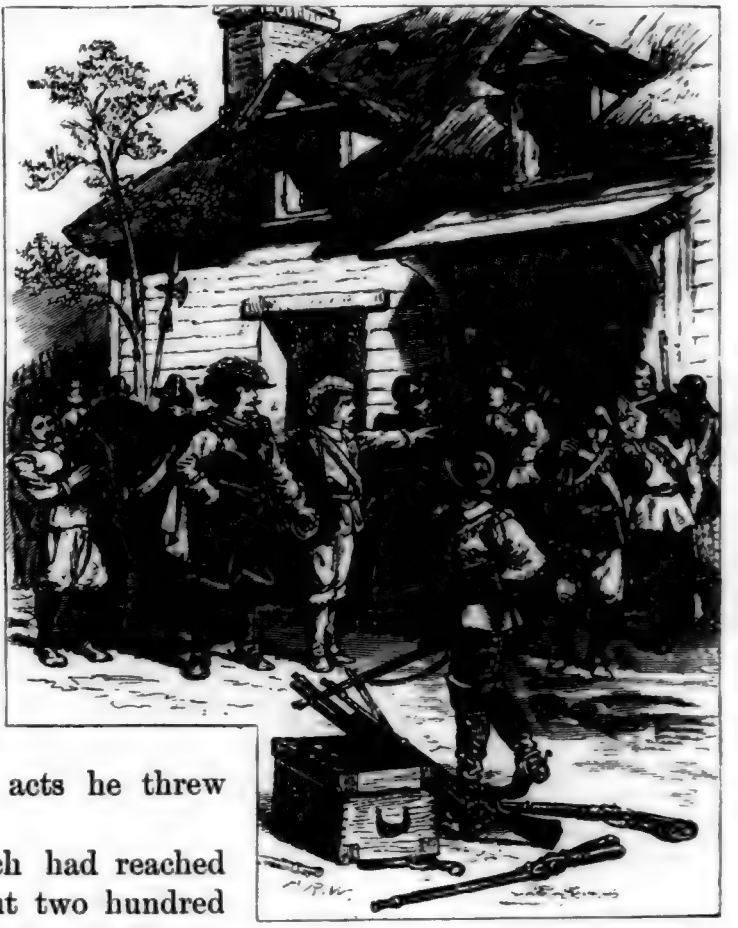
Under the new Commissioners there followed some months of undisputed Puritan rule, and of that peace which Puritans so often secured by tolerating no religious faith but their own. Lord Baltimore again protested, however, when the tidings reached England, against this infringement of his rights, again reproached Stone with faithlessness and cowardice, and sent an agent to the colony to make this protest and these reproaches the more emphatic. Stone, yielding as usual to the influence last brought to bear upon him, resolved upon another revolution.

In January, 1655, he issued military commissions and rallied his

[1] Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, p. 121.

forces. The Commissioners had removed the archives from St. Mary's to their new capital, the house of a Mr. Preston on the Patuxent. Stone's first object was to recover and bring them back. At Preston's house there was deposited a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, which Stone also seized. It is said[1] that he issued at the same time a proclamation to persuade the people of Patuxent and of Providence — now Annapolis — that in restoring the proprietary government he had no unfriendly purpose toward them, who were Puritans. He, nevertheless, searched other houses than Mr. Preston's for arms and ammunition, and when the Commissioners sent messengers to ask the meaning of his acts he threw them into prison.

Military preparations by Governor Stone.



Stone at Preston's House.

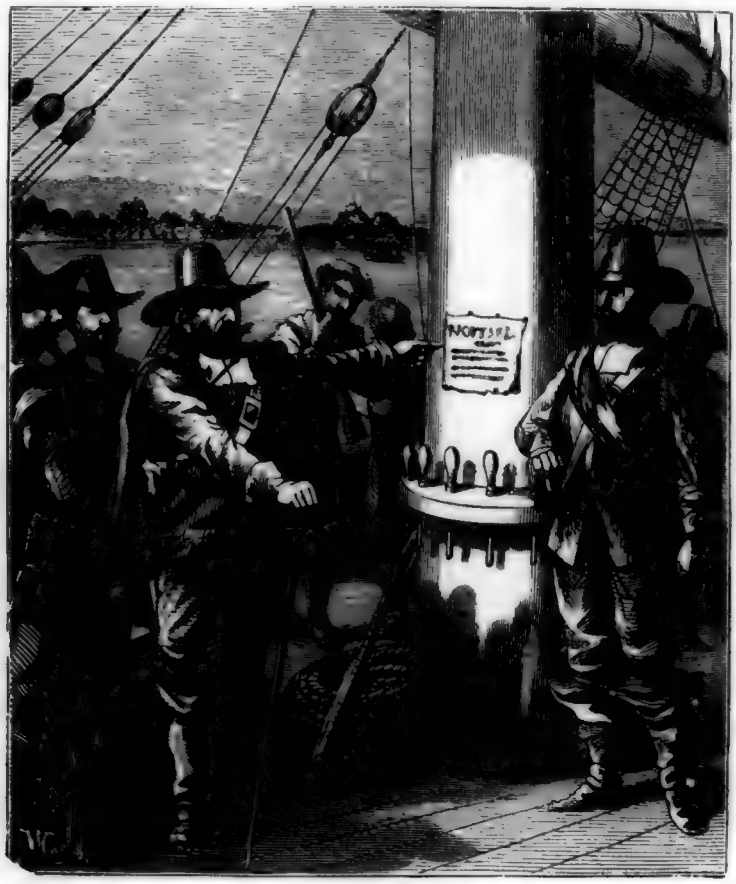
His force in March had reached the number of about two hundred men, and then he abandoned all pretence of a peaceful return to power. He resolved to compel the Puritans of Anne Arundel County by arms to submit to his government, and to that end embarked his men on board twelve boats to go up Chesapeake Bay to the Severn opposite Kent Island. It was in this neighborhood that the Puritan settlements had chiefly been made, as those of the Catholics were about St. Mary's.

The fleet of boats was met on its way up the Bay by messengers who protested against this hostile approach, and declared, if no terms of settlement could be agreed upon, that those who sent them were ready to "die like men rather than live like slaves." Stone seized these men and their boat, but a part of them escaped

Expedition up the Bay.

[1] Bozman.

and returned to report the character of the expedition. Somewhere on the Bay he chased and fired into a New England vessel.[1] At Herring Creek he captured one of the Commissioners and detained him as a prisoner. From this point or near it he sent forward one Dr. Barber and a Mr. Coursey, to demand the surrender of the Puritans and to publish a proclamation to the people of Anne Arundel County, declaring that he came with no hostile intent, but that he sought to reclaim them by fair means only.[2] Nevertheless the fleet proceeded, and on the 24th of March, twelve days after its departure from St. Mary's, anchored at the mouth of the Severn.



Posting the Notice on the "Golden Lion."

The battle on the Severn.

In the Severn lay a large merchantship, the *Golden Lion*, and on her mainmast, William Durand, the Puritan secretary of the Colony, had affixed an official order requiring her commander in the name of the Protector to aid in the defence of the people against the approach of Stone. A shot from the ship met the advancing fleet as they came into the outer harbor, and another fell among the boats as Stone ordered his men to land on Horn Point, a part of the present city of Annapolis, between the Severn and a creek which is the southern boundary of the peninsula. Stone took his vessels further up the

[1] Papers relating to Maryland in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. v.

[2] Barber's letter to Cromwell in Bozman. Neill's *Terra Mariæ* and *English Colonization in America*. McSherry's *History of Maryland*. There are incongruities in the different narratives which it is difficult to reconcile. It is said that Barber was promised the governorship, if Stone did not obey the orders of Baltimore, while on the other hand he is represented as being a friend of Cromwell, as having been attached to his family, and serving in the Parliament army. Apparently his sympathies were with Stone.

creek, and landing his men marched inland, probably out of reach of the guns of the *Golden Lion*, whose captain, Heamans, returned a defiant answer to Stone's remonstrance.

The invading party were elate and confident, making their landing "with drums and shoutings," calling out for the "Round-head dogs and rogues," threatening them with "whole bagfuls of chewed Bullets rolled in powder," and crying "The Devil take him that spares any."[1] But Stone had blundered. In the course of the night the *Golden Lion*, with several smaller vessels, had sailed up the creek, and when day broke they opened fire across the point upon Stone's force and compelled them to march still further up the peninsula.

But when they had put themselves out of the reach of this attack in the rear, they suddenly found themselves confronted by a hundred and twenty men, who had marched out from Providence to intercept their advance. Retreat was useless, even if it were possible in the face of the fire from the ships, for one John Cutts, in a small New England vessel, had taken possession of all their boats and the provision and ammunition left on board.[2] The enemy confronting them on land was under the command of Captain Fuller, the head of the board of Puritan commissioners. He ordered his men, it is said, not to strike the first blow.[3] But the first blow had been struck already when Captain Heamans of the *Golden Lion* had fired upon Stone's men and killed one of them. There seemed nothing else to do but fight or surrender. Should they lay down their arms before a force they outnumbered? At least they were not cowards.

With the cry of "Hey, for St. Mary's!" they rushed on the enemy. The Puritans met blow for blow, and cry for cry, shouting "In the name of God fall on! God is our strength!" The battle was furious while it lasted, but it did not last long. The Puritans were always good fighters; religious zeal was stronger than numbers. They were inspired with a belief in "the glorious presence of the Lord of hosts, manifested in and towards his poor oppressed people."[4] Against men so inspirited the Catholics "could not endure, but gave back." Fifty were slain and wounded; four or five only escaped by flight; the rest were taken prisoners, and the whole field "was strewed with Papist beads." On the other side two only were killed in the fight, and two died afterwards from their wounds.

This success was followed up with more vigor than mercy. A

[1] *Virginia and Maryland* in Force's Tracts, vol. ii.

[2] *Leah and Rachel.* Force's Tracts, vol. iii.

[3] *Babylon's Fall in America*, the fullest narrative of these occurrences. It was written by Leonard Strong, who was one of Fuller's associates on the Board of Commissioners, and meant to tell the best story possible for his own side.

[4] *Ibid.*

court-martial was speedily summoned, and four of the leaders, one of them a councillor, were sentenced to death, and so also was Stone.[1] The four were executed, but Stone's life was spared at the intercession of some who had fought against him. The lives of the rest of his councillors were saved by the petitions of the women and some other friends.[2]

The battle was fought, the Catholics were deposed, and Puritan government firmly established in Maryland, before a letter was re-



The Battle at the Mouth of the Severn.

ceived from Cromwell, which, had it come sooner, might have prevented these events. The Protector, moved by the entreaties and representations of Lord Baltimore, had written in January to Governor Bennett of Virginia, forbidding any intercourse with the affairs of Maryland till all questions in regard to the boundaries between Virginia and Maryland had been settled in England. "We . . . . will and require you," said the latter, "to forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his officers, or people in

Letter of Cromwell to Governor Bennett.

[1] *Leah and Rachel.*

[2] Letter of Mrs. Stone to Lord Baltimore in Neill's *Terra Mariæ*, p. 124.

Maryland, and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you." [1]

Though the question of boundaries was the point specially referred to, it might be doubted whether the Commissioners had not been ignorantly acting against the wishes of the Protector. It was, no doubt, to justify himself, and to explain the condition of affairs to the Protector, that Governor Bennett went to England, soon after the fight on the Severn, as agent for Virginia with Captain Mathews. The exigency was quite serious enough for a personal explanation. English subjects had been killed in battle; officers appointed under Lord Baltimore's patent had been ignominiously hanged; the proprietary government of Maryland had been completely subverted; and all the while a letter from the Lord Protector was on its way which perhaps was intended to forbid any interference whatever in the affairs of that colony. The turbulence of the times, indeed, might make such things seem comparatively of little moment; but disobedience to the orders of one who had never brooked opposition to his will might well excite the gravest apprehensions. It was for this reason, no doubt, that the Council of Virginia made haste, after the departure of Bennett, to disavow all responsibility for what had been done in Maryland.

Bennett, nevertheless, was so far successful in his mission that Cromwell wrote in September another letter, explaining that of the previous January. It was intended only, he said, "to prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the plantations of Virginia or Maryland from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds," but did not mean to intimate that a stop should be "put to the proceedings of those commissioners who were authorized to settle the civil government of Maryland." That the Commissioners had not exceeded the power entrusted to them to reduce "all the plantations within the Bay of Chesapeake" to obedience to the Commonwealth of England seems conclusively settled by this letter.

But the civil government of Maryland was not settled, notwithstanding the success of one party and the defeat of the other, for a doubt still prevailed for a time as to the right of either. While Bennett and Mathews were pleading their case before the Protector, Baltimore sent out to Josias Fendall a commission as his deputy governor. Fendall had been in the fight on the Severn, under Stone, and the commission found him just released from prison, even if he was not still within the walls of a jail. He made good use of his lib-

[1] This letter, which Bozman thought was lost, has been recovered, and is published by Campbell.

erty, however, when he gained it, and attempted, with more or less success, to establish the authority of the proprietor, with the assistance of Philip Calvert, an illegitimate son, it is said, of the first Lord Baltimore, as secretary. On the other hand, Captain Fuller, on the part of the Commissioners, asserted their jurisdiction, called a meeting of the General Assembly, enacted laws, and assumed the control of the affairs of the colony in the name of the Protector. The Puritans on the Severn and the Patuxent recognized and obeyed one government; the Catholics about St. Mary's recognized and obeyed the other.

Meanwhile the questions at issue were under consideration and debate in England. Cromwell referred them to the Council of State, and the Council of State handed them over to the Commissioners of Trade. It was two years before any conclusion was reached; but in November, 1657, an agreement was entered into, in England, between Lord Baltimore and the agents, Bennett and Mathews. This, in March following, was first modified and then ratified in Maryland by Fendall on the one side, and Fuller and his council on the other, and the leading men among both Catholics and Puritans, as the representatives of the people at large. It was provided that all past offences be condoned; that there never should be, with the assent of Lord Baltimore, any interference with the liberty of conscience; that from those then resident in the colony no oath of fidelity to his lordship should be required, but simply a promise of submission to his authority, which was again paramount as Lord Proprietor; that land warrants should be granted, and acts of past assemblies held to be legal, without regard to the differences and disturbances of recent years.

Settlement of disputes between Virginia and Maryland.

When Bennett resigned the office of Governor of Virginia, in 1655, to take that of agent in England, Edward Digges, who was also a member of the Parliamentary party, was chosen by the Assembly to take his place. He remained in office, however, only a year, when he also went to England as agent, where his influence proved to be potent in bringing about the final settlement of affairs in Maryland. Mathews succeeded him as governor, and continued in that office, it is supposed, till his death, in 1659, though he seems to have been in England in 1657, when his signature appears to the agreement between Lord Baltimore and the Virginia agents.

Edward Digges chosen governor of Virginia.

Succeeded by Mathews.

For an interval of several years the colony has no history except in the quiet enactment of laws which show, in their aim at regulating the ordinary conduct of the citizens, that no great affairs of state engaged their attention. Thus the keeping of the Sabbath was enjoined by law; a penalty was pronounced upon those

Legislative acts.

who invented or spread untruthful reports; attorneys at law were expelled from the courts and prohibited from taking fees; the weight and dimensions of a hogshead of tobacco were limited by statute, and an export duty upon that staple levied when in foreign bottoms or shipped to foreign ports; the food, the clothing, and the good treatment of servants were cared for; servitude as a legal penalty was abolished; the right of suffrage was secured to all who paid taxes; the Indians were protected in the possession of their lands, and the kidnapping of their children was prohibited.[1] Such legislation marked a period of tranquillity and progress.

Decline of Puritanism.

Puritanism, which had never made any very deep impression in Virginia, gradually lost its influence and control after the death of Cromwell. A cause that was declining in its stronghold at home, could hardly gain in the colony where it had little strength of its own. During the year in which England was preparing itself for the restoration of the King by putting aside the new Protector, Richard Cromwell, the assembling and dispersion of the old House of Commons and the election of a new one, and the march of Monk from Edinburgh to London, Virginia was without a governor. From the death of Mathews, in the spring of 1659, till the spring of 1660, the people awaited events at home.

Sir William Berkeley recalled.

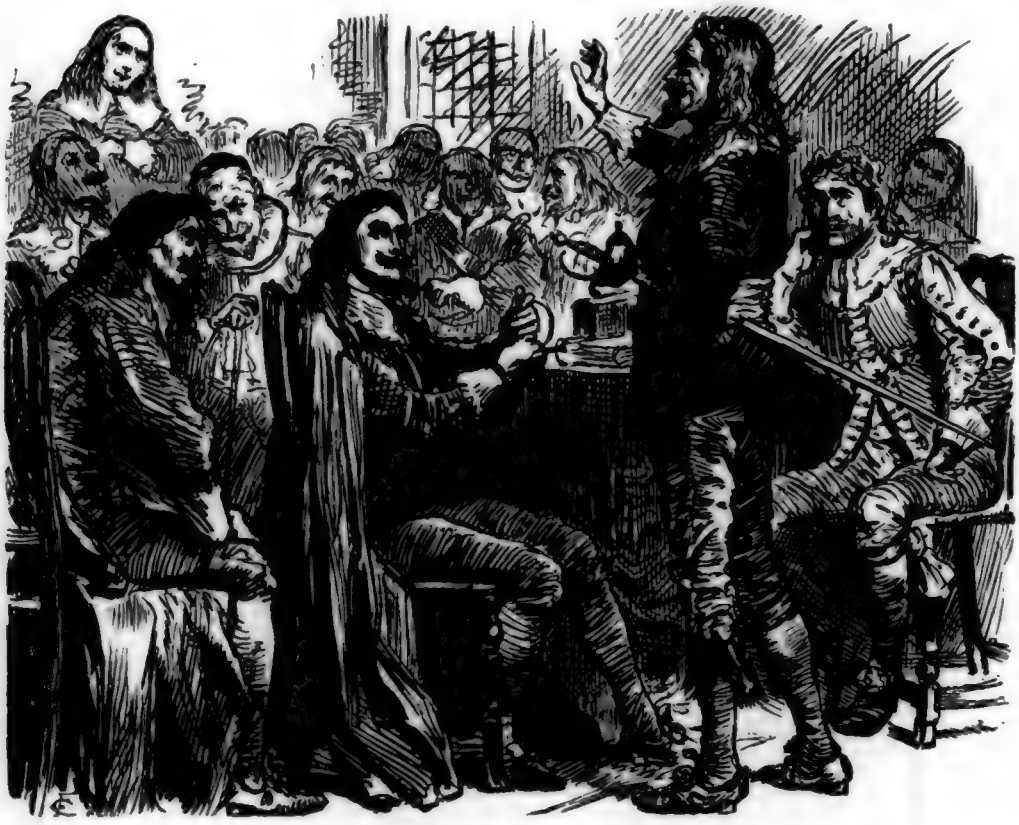
In March the General Assembly, after declaring that as the state in England had no acknowledged head, and that the government of the colony vested in itself, elected Sir William Berkeley governor, afterward confirmed by a commission from the King. Though this was in some sense a triumph of his party, the address of the old royalist was cautious and conciliatory. "I do, therefore," he said, "in the presence of God and you, make this safe protestation for us all, — that if any supreme settled power appears, I will immediately lay down my commission, but will live most submissively obedient to any power God shall set over me, as the experience of eight years has shewed I have done." He candidly confessed that he had unwillingly surrendered to the Parliament, — "God pardon me!" he said, as he recalled it, — and that he "would not voluntarily have made choice" of those who had been set over him "for his supremes;" but he wished to make "this truth apparent," that he had lived like a good citizen "under all these mutable governments of divers natures and constitutions." That he would not have held office under the Commonwealth, and would not now if it continued, was the tenor of his speech; but he left his hearers to infer the unexpressed hope, which doubtless a considerable majority of them shared, that the house of his "ever honored master" would

[1] Hening's *Statutes, passim.*

soon regain the throne. Two months later this wish was fulfilled, and the news of the restoration of the King was welcomed generally in Virginia, as it was received with joy by the Governor himself.

Address to Charles II.

When the new commission was sent by Charles II. to Sir William Berkeley, the faithful cavalier in reply sent a delighted letter, saying that he had only held office during the interregnum, as one who had leaped "over the fold to save your Majesty's flock, when your Majesty's enemies of that fold had barred up the lawful entrance into it and enclosed the wolves of schism and rebellion." The Assembly also voted an address to Charles; and referred in bitter terms to the Commonwealth that had governed them so well, as "that



Berkeley's Address to the Assembly.

execrable power that so bloodily massacred the late King Charles the First of ever blessed and glorious memory" — a memory that should now be kept alive in the colony, as they decreed, by an annual fast upon the thirtieth of January, the anniversary of his execution. Perhaps the Puritans of the Assembly were reconciled to these proceedings by the personal consideration that was otherwise accorded them. Bennett, the late Puritan Governor, was first named in the Council of State, and Clayborne, who had been secretary under Bennett, Digges, and Mathews, was continued in that office by Berkeley.

A considerable change in the character of the government of the colony was, however, soon made apparent. The new Assembly of 1661, which was almost exclusively royalist, empowered the Governor and Council to levy taxes for three years, dispensing, thereby, with the necessity of calling the House together oftener, except in case of some unusual emergency. At the same session the right of prorogation was granted, and as a consequence there was for the next fifteen years no popular election. Hitherto, the representatives had been paid by the counties that elected them; but the Assembly, which had provided for its own permanence, fixed also the rate of remuneration of its members at about two hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco a day, or about nine dollars. The salary of the Governor, which was in the same tobacco currency, was not less exorbitant according to the money value of the time, and was equal to the whole annual expenditure of the colony of Connecticut.[1] The virtual monopoly of the trade with the Indians was also given him by prohibiting any traffic in furs except under his commission. The colonial laws generally, were from time to time revised, and on the third revision in 1662, under the direction of Francis Morrison and Henry Randolph, it was ordered that all those which "might keep in memory our forced deviation from his Majesty's obedience" should be erased from the statutes. The laws relating to the Indians, however, aimed more than any laws had hitherto done to secure their well-being. Encroachment upon, or even purchase of their lands was forbidden. None were to be sold as slaves, though they could be indented as servants for a limited period, as the English themselves were; and while they were generally to be responsible to the law, they were to be under its protection.[2]

Character of the new government.

Legislation upon the slavery of the blacks had no such humane purpose. The common law of England, that the children of mixed parentage should follow the condition of the father, was reversed and the maxim of the Roman law adopted, that the children should be bond or free according to the condition of the mother — *partus sequitur ventrem.* All of mixed blood, therefore, — and the hybrid race began to be manifest from the first introduction of African women — were born slaves for life. If there were any exception, it was in the case of the offspring of free white women and slave fathers, and that may seem in our time too improbable to be noticed. But it should be considered that the antipathy to the African, — no deeper naturally than that which always exists between different races — has been intensified by two centuries of servitude. It exercised but little influence two hundred years ago, when whites

Laws relating to negro slaves.

[1] Bancroft.

[2] Hening's *Statutes.*

as well as blacks were slaves in Virginia, and where the larger proportion of these white slaves were from the lowest dregs of English society, — from the gutters, the jails, and the brothels, — and were hardly more than half civilized. That the women of this large class of the population should intermarry with negroes was not merely possible; it was common enough to become in Maryland the subject of legislation. It was provided in that colony, in 1663, that any free-born English woman who should marry a slave should serve his master during the life of her husband, and that all her issue should be "slaves as their fathers were." [1]

The spirit, if not the letter of the law, however, in regard to black mothers, was undoubtedly the same then in the two colonies as it was in later times in all the slave-holding portion of the country. Servitude was the penalty for any admixture of African blood on the mother's side. Literally the sins of the fathers were heavily visited upon the children, while it soon ceased to be a question whether there could be any serious immorality in a relation which legislators were careful, without condemning, to turn into a source of so much worldly wealth.

By the revised code it was provided that the Church of England be the established church of the colony. But there was at the same time some pretence of toleration. It was declared that no man was to be "molested or disquieted in the exercise of his religion, so he be content with a quiet and peaceable enjoying it;" yet the oaths of obedience and supremacy — those parts of which relating to the establishment the Puritans could not conscientiously take — were exacted, and the non-conformist was not permitted to teach even in private.[2] In 1662 a fine of two thousand pounds of tobacco was imposed upon all "schismatical persons" who, "out of their averseness to the orthodox established religion, or out of the new-fangled conceits of their own heretical inventions," refused to have their children baptized; and those attending meetings of Separatists were heavily fined for the first and second offence, and banished on its repetition a third time. Such penalties had long been enforced against the Friends, whose presence in Virginia had been no more tolerable to the Puritans than it was now to the Established Church. Many of these persecuted people were driven into North Carolina, for the laws were enforced against them with much more severity than against any other class of dissenters.

Religious intolerance.

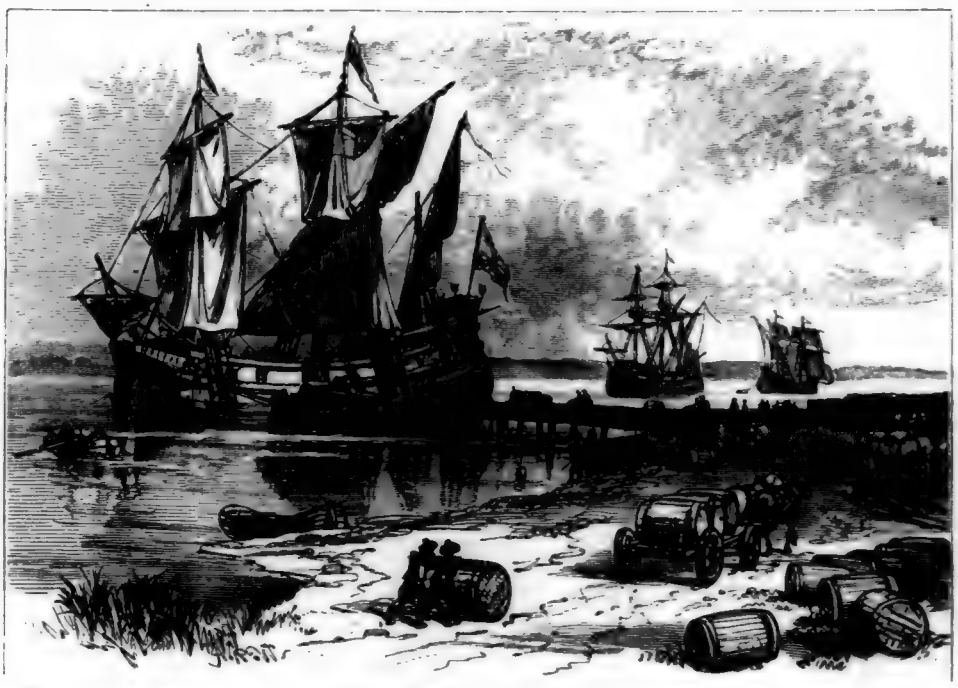
Much uneasiness and alarm was aroused when the news arrived

[1] *A Sketch of the Laws Relating to Slavery in the Several States in the United States.* By George M. Stroud, 1827.

[2] Anderson's *History of the Colonial Church.*

that the first Parliament of the restored king had made the Navigation Act more than ever obnoxious to the interests of the colonies, and that it was to be rigidly enforced. This was a grievance about which Royalist and Puritan were of one mind. Sir William Berkeley went to England in May, 1661, to represent how seriously the prosperity of the colony was hindered by the enforcement of such a law against its trade. He remained in England more than a year, Francis Morrison acting as governor in his absence; but his mission, so far as the Navigation Act was concerned, was fruitless, though he was more fortunate in the advancement of his own interests, for he obtained a grant for himself and others of that part of Virginia territory afterward known as North Carolina.

The Navigation Act.



Tobacco Ships in the James.

The interests of the colony, nevertheless, were stronger than acts of Parliament, for its prosperity depended largely upon free trade in the one great staple, tobacco. Even without interference from Parliament, there was enough to contend with, for the supply of that staple usually exceeded the demand. To regulate its production — to force by penalties the raising of more corn and less tobacco — was from the beginning of these settlements the constant aim of legislation in Virginia and Maryland; but the attempt to set aside the natural law of political economy by statute was as futile here as the attempt to prevent the trade to foreign ports when the tobacco was ready for shipment. Equally futile was it to expect

Trade in and cultivation of tobacco.

to create by legislative act towns into which the people should gather. The people were planters, and, with their servants and slaves, were scattered on the great plantations along the banks of the James and other rivers. The planters with these large grants of land were comparatively few; the slaves and servants many. To live in towns and to be supported by diversified industry was impossible to such a people, for slaves can be devoted only to unskilled labor. To raise tobacco, therefore, to be shipped directly from the river-bank — usually the water-front of the plantation — was the chief employment and support of the colonial planters, and it was equally difficult to limit production by local laws or to confine the foreign trade to an English channel.

Northern and Southern interests.

The last especially, it was found impossible to do, so long as the Dutch Colony of New Netherland offered every facility for a contraband commerce which English law could not reach, and in which both English and Dutch vessels could so easily engage. The grant to the Duke of York of the territory of the Dutch was not merely a royal gift to the brother of the King. It was meant to add to the revenues of the King himself, by making it possible to enforce the Navigation Act, and to control the tobacco trade of Virginia. That the Dutch province on the Hudson should belong to the English was sure in the end, whatever might be the ulterior purposes of Charles, to be a benefit to New England. To the people of Virginia, it was of no territorial advantage, but a direct interference with their freedom of trade and an immediate injury to their prosperity. It was the inevitable antagonism of free and slave labor.

A plot discovered among Cromwellian soldiers.

The severity of the laws in the early years of the restored royal government, and perhaps, the evident intent of the colonial Assembly to grasp at irresponsible power, caused much discontent among the people. In 1663, after the return of Berkeley from England, a plot was discovered to overthrow the government. But as it seems to have been confined to some of Cromwell's soldiers who had been sent out and sold as servants — a disposition of prisoners to which both parties resorted — it had its origin, probably, in a general political and religious discontent, rather than in any special complaint of particular laws. It was suppressed, however, without much difficulty, though it was thought to be serious enough to warrant the execution by hanging of four of the ring-leaders, and for setting apart the 13th of September, the day fixed for the insurrection, as a day of annual thanksgiving.



Governor's Island and the Battery.

CHAPTER X.

THE LATTER YEARS OF NEW NETHERLAND.

NEW AMSTERDAM INVADED BY INDIANS. — DESTRUCTION OF PAVONIA. — MASSACRE AND DEVASTATION ELSEWHERE. — JUDICIOUS POLICY OF THE DIRECTOR. — CONTRAST IN FRENCH AND DUTCH TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES. — THE RESULT. — THE ESOPUS WAR. — STUYVESANT'S DETERMINATION TO ESTABLISH RELIGIOUS UNIFORMITY. — PERSECUTION OF THE LUTHERANS AND QUAKERS. — INDIFFERENCE OF THE DUTCH TO RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY. — STUYVESANT REBUKED BY THE AMSTERDAM CHAMBER. — CRUEL PUNISHMENT OF A QUAKER. — BANISHMENT OF JOHN BOWNE AND HIS TRIUMPHANT RETURN FROM HOLLAND. — GROWTH OF NEW NETHERLAND.

A MORE prudent ruler than Stuyvesant would have hesitated to take between six or seven hundred men from New Amsterdam, even for so important a purpose as the reduction of New Sweden. However confident he might feel that the New Englanders would be faithful to the terms of the recent treaty of peace, he would have known how little reliance could be placed upon any promise of friendship from the Indians. It needed only the smallest pretext at any time to arouse the savages, eager for plunder and thirsty for blood, to carry desolation and death into the villages and farms of the whites; and the more certain they were that their victims would be defenceless, the shriller would be their war-cry and the louder their boasts of their own prowess and bravery. When Stuyvesant sailed for the South River with so large

a proportion of the fighting men of New Netherland, it does not seem to have occurred to him how imminent a danger he left behind.

New Amsterdam surprised by Indians.

While he was busy before Fort Christina, New Amsterdam was aroused one September morning to find its streets swarming with nearly two thousand naked warriors, gathered of several tribes from far up the North River, from the extremity of Long Island, and from the mainland of Connecticut. All day they roamed through the town, breaking into houses on the pretence of seeking for northern Indians, and hinting at redress for the death of a squaw whom Van Dyck, the late Attorney-general, had shot at his farm on Staten Island, for stealing fruit from his garden. Persuasion was wiser than resistance against so large a body, many of whom were well armed, and the frightened burghers with their wives and children submitted for hours to insolence and outrage they did not dare, or thought it more prudent not to resist.

The invaders agreed at last to leave the town at sunset, to paddle over to Nutten (Governor's) Island, and there await the result of a conference to be held between their chiefs and the magistrates. But a conflict could only be delayed, not avoided, even if the savages meant anything more by their promise than to gain time for the advantage of confusion in a night attack. Either the Indians grew bolder or the Dutch less prudent, for a fight was begun by one side or the other, and there was an end then of all talk of peaceful negotiation.

Van Dyck was brought down with an arrow in the breast; Captain Van der Grist was cloven to the ground with an axe. Shouts of alarm and cries of murder rung through the streets, and the timid and the feeble ran to put themselves under the protection of the stronger and bolder, or to hide themselves in some place of safety. The military, who had been prudently ordered to the fort to be ready for an emergency, marched to the rescue of the citizens. An organized attack was too much for the savages; they were driven to their canoes, but their defence was so desperate that they left three dead warriors upon the beach. In the assault, two of the Dutch were killed and three others wounded. Mobs are dispersed now with results quite as serious; it was a respectable Indian fight in the seventeenth century that counted even less than half a dozen dead.

The fleet of canoes pulled out into the stream. They did not go to Nutten Island, and were lost to sight in the darkness, though over the water came out of the night their yells of vengeance and defiance. The people of New Amsterdam, relieved from the terrible fear of an immediate massacre, watched anxiously along the shore, straining their eyes and ears to catch any sign of the purpose of the enemy. They had not long to wait.

Over Pavonia and Hoboken sprung a sudden light. Along the beach of Manhattan Island the pitying people gathered, dreading what next the night might bring forth, watching the forked flames as they shot into the reddening sky, listening helplessly for the mingled shrieks of agony and despair, the whoop of savage hate and fury, the crackling of the fire as it leaped from house to house, the moans and cries of terror from maddened beasts. Pavonia in a little while was a heap of burning coals and ashes; not a house was spared; save in a single family not a man was left alive; the cattle were all dead, the crops destroyed; with a rare mercy only the women and children were spared and carried off as prisoners.

Pavonia destroyed.



Destruction of Pavonia.

It would be easy to see from the shores of Staten Island, over whose beautiful hills were scattered many pleasant boweries, the burning village of Pavonia. But the cause of the fire may not have been known. When its work was done, the savages, drunk with success and blood, sprung to their canoes and paddled across the Bay straight for the Island. In the farm-houses on the peaceful hill-sides slept ninety people, men, women, and children. The paddles of between sixty and seventy canoes broke the silence of the night; the alarm was given in time for many to escape; others were too late or lost their lives in a vain attempt at defence. Twenty-three were killed, and the morning sun rose upon the new silence of death and desolation, upon ruined homes, on desolate hearth-

Raids upon Staten Island, and elsewhere.

stones, on dead cattle lying among the trampled grain, where the night before smiled peace, and plenty, and content.

For three days bands of exultant savages harried the villages and farms about the Bay and along the river. At Gravesend lived a Lady Moody, — an English lady whom religious intolerance had driven out of Massachusetts more than a dozen years before, and to whom Kieft had made a grant of lands for the bravery of her followers in defending themselves against the Indians in the war of that period. Her house was now again attacked, though discrimination usually was made in favor of the English, for it was the Swannekins — the Dutch — who in the other English towns were threatened with massacre; a new settlement at Esopus, on the North River, was so sore beset that its people abandoned all their possessions and fled to New Amsterdam to escape from death; on all Manhattan Island no farm was safe, and their owners sought refuge in the town; consternation and ruin spread with this savage outbreak over all New Netherland; many plantations with their buildings, crops, and cattle were destroyed; three hundred of the people were reduced to want; one hundred were killed; one hundred and fifty were taken prisoners.

A summons was sent to Stuyvesant to hasten back from the South River to the defence of New Netherland. Prompt and energetic in action, though often unwise and rash in judgment, he was always ready to meet an emergency. His very presence inspired confidence in the panic-stricken people. All who had not already sought refuge in the town he ordered to leave their farms till peace could be restored. The citizens were enrolled in a military organization; new defences were added to the fortifications of New Amsterdam; military detachments were sent out to meet and drive off the Indians wherever they appeared most formidable, and effectual measures were taken to meet the additional expense incurred by all these measures.

But when some of the more rash and hot-headed of the colonists urged that war be declared against the tribes who had brought such calamities upon the colony, the Director counselled moderation. He advised that friendly relations be cultivated with the savages, while the settlers should keep nearer together in villages, with a block-house, capable of defence, to fly to in the event of an attack. It was better, he thought, to subdue the Indians if possible, by kindly treatment, rather than exasperate them by declaring a war of extermination, which the Dutch were not strong enough to bring to a successful issue. So judicious was the course he pursued that in a few months the unfriendly tribes again made promises of lasting peace, and the prisoners taken in the recent raids were all released, though heavy ransoms were paid for them in gunpowder and lead.

The savages pacified.

At Rensselaerswyck they did not wait for the suggestion of this policy from Stuyvesant, and escaped, therefore, the calamity which fell upon other parts of New Netherland. When the tidings of the atrocities committed by the Indians in the neighborhood of New Amsterdam reached the Patroon, his people looked at once to their own safety. By timely gifts and promises they induced the Mohawks to renew the old treaty of amity and peace which for many years had been advantageous to the whole province of New Netherland and profitable especially to themselves. It may have been because theirs was the frontier settlement that the people of Van Rensselaer's manor had always aimed to maintain friendly relations with the powerful tribes who occupied that vast region on the west as yet almost unknown to the white men. But whether the policy was one of choice or of necessity, they determined to keep on good terms with the savages for the sake of trade, and the result justified at least their worldly wisdom.

The French and the Indians.

Where the Dutch had succeeded in gaining and in keeping the good-will of the Indians, the French, with a far higher purpose to the same end, had signally failed. For years the missionaries of the French, sometimes singly, sometimes in companionship, had sought the Iroquois in their remotest villages in friendly contest for their friendship with the Dutch. The desire to bring these benighted heathen within the pale of the church took precedence of any political or commercial aim with the government of Canada. It was not that trade and territorial acquisitions were esteemed by them as of little value; that treaties were not made to secure both; that well-appointed expeditions were not sent out to gain a foot-hold within the territory of the present State of New York; but that it was above all and before all made almost a reason of state that the cross should mark every advancing step of the white man, and that the subjugation of the savages should be the triumph of the Church.

But the trader was received as the missionary of peace and good will where the servant of religion provoked only strife. The Five Nations, whose domain was south of the St. Lawrence, extending from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and whose most powerful tribe was the Mohawk,[1] were in almost perpetual hostility with the French of Canada through all the years that New Netherland was a Dutch province. More than one of the gentle and devoted Jesuits died deaths of torture or privation in return for their zeal for the salvation of the souls of their unrelenting enemies. In the little box in which Father Jogues carried the simple furniture for an altar in the wilderness

[1] Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, Coll. Am. Ant. Soc.*, vol. ii.

the savages believed the "black gown" concealed an Evil Spirit. To save themselves from the dire disasters that would come with its release, they tore the flesh from his arms in strips before they could be merciful enough to end his torments with death.[1] But they were slow to detect the devil in the brandy, the gunpowder, and the lead which the Dutch trader brought, and they welcomed him as a friend.

Fate of Father Jogues.



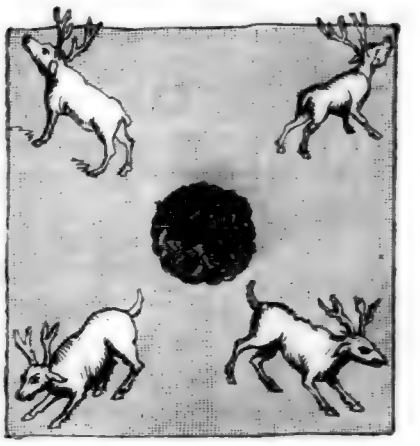
Portrait and Signature of Father Jogues.

The trader and his wares the Indians understood; the crucifix and the missal appealed only to their superstitions and their fears. At times the enthusiastic missionaries were persuaded that the light of the gospel had penetrated into the dark recesses of those savage souls. No such pious aspiration disturbed the minds of the dealers in peltries. The Dutch were careful to cultivate the friendship of the Mohawks, to be kind to them in the way of strong waters and fire-arms, and the colony on their borders on the upper Hudson increased in wealth and strength. But the handful of Frenchmen who at length, in 1655, clustered about the bark chapel of the Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon, near the Salt Springs of Onondaga, were glad in less than three years to escape with their lives, leaving all their possessions behind them, while the Indians, who had come to massacre them, lay in a drunken sleep.[2]

[1] Father Jogues was treacherously murdered, in 1646, by the Mohawks in the Mohawk Valley, called thenceforth in the annals of the Jesuits "The Mission of the Martyrs." An interesting sketch of the singularly devoted and romantic life of this Father is given by J. G. Shea in his edition of the *Novum Belgium*, written by Jogues, in 1644. He was the first European, probably, to explore Lake George, which he named Saint Sacrament in commemoration of the festival of *Corpus Christi*, the day on which he reached it. The Indian name was Andiatarocte.

[2] Le Moyne, a Jesuit Father, discovered the Salt Springs of Onondaga in 1654, and on a visit to New Amsterdam four years later told the Dominie Megapolensis of a spring at the source of a little lake which the Indians did not dare to drink, because, they said, there was a devil at the bottom of it. The Father tasted it and found it as salt as the water of

The conflict between Stuyvesant and the authorities at Rensselaerwyck had little intermission till in the latter years of his administration the supremacy of the company was acknowledged in the payment of a fixed subsidy in wheat by the Patroons. But the Director always had reason to be grateful to them for their steady adherence to that policy which preserved friendly relations with the Five Nations. In 1658 trouble again broke out with the river Indians, which might have been far more disastrous had not the Mohawks remained neutral.



Totem or Tribe-mark of the Five Nations (from La Hontan).

The Director had persuaded the people of Esopus, when they returned to their farms, after the massacre of three years before, to find mutual protection in a compact village surrounded with defences. The confidence that very precaution gave may, perhaps, have made them careless of provoking the hostility of the savages. A band of these, who had been engaged to assist in the harvest, were fired upon by the villagers, for no greater offence than being noisy and offensive in a drunken revel for which the Dutch themselves had supplied the means. Retaliation followed, and the whites, as usual, suffered in the devastation of their farms and in loss of life. The Esopus war.

This Esopus war, as it was called, continued intermittently till 1664, and might have been ruinous to the settlements along the banks of the Hudson had not the Mohawks been persuaded to continue faithful to the peaceful and friendly relations which had been so long maintained. Even without the aid of that tribe the Esopus Indians were a formidable enemy. In the course of the war some of those who had been taken prisoners by the Dutch were sent to the plantations of Curaçoa as slaves. The wrong was one not to be forgotten nor forgiven. In June, 1663, the village of Wiltwyck or Wildwyck — as Esopus was then named — was almost totally destroyed. Although the ostensible cause of this particular attack was the building of a new Ronduit, a little fort, at the neighboring village, — thence known ever since as Rondout, — in every blow that fell from the tomahawks of the savages was the memory of the slaves, their brothers, across the sea.

It was at high noon, while Stuyvesant was conferring, in the open

the sea. The Dominie repeated this in a letter to the Classis in Amsterdam, but adding "whether this be true or whether it be a Jesuit lie, I do not determine." — *O'Callaghan.*

fields outside the town, with the chiefs who had agreed to meet him on pretence of making a treaty, that the warriors, scattering themselves through the village apparently in friendly mood, suddenly fell upon the unsuspecting people. The houses were plundered and set on fire; some were killed, and some were seized and carried off as prisoners; men at work in the fields, hurrying in at the sight of the burning houses, to protect their wives and children, were shot down from within their own doorways. When, after a fierce and desperate fight, the savages were driven off, they left behind them a heap of ruins in which were the charred bodies of twenty-one of the murdered villagers, but they carried away more than twice that number of women and children as prisoners. It was, however, the last event of the war; the Indians were vigorously pursued and punished; and in the course of the next few months a treaty was concluded, the last ever made between the Dutch and the Indians.



New Amsterdam in the middle of the Seventeenth Century (from Vischer's Map in Asher's New Netherland).

But notwithstanding these Indian wars and massacres, from which no colony was altogether free, New Netherland slowly grew and prospered. At New Amsterdam Stuyvesant yielded, when longer resistance was useless, to fresh innovations upon the prerogatives of the Director-general, though none of them took much from his power, or added much to the power of the people. Whatever gain there was to popular government came not through any such well-defined purpose as existed in New England, of deriving the right of governing from the will of the governed; but only that the privileges belonging to citizenship in the fatherland should be preserved in the new home. So far as popular freedom existed in Holland it was to be maintained in the New Netherland; but wherever a limit or a barrier had been set

Progress of New Netherland.

up at home it was also to be set up in the colony. The burgher government, which was wrested from the unwilling hands of the company, was limited subsequently, by a division of burghers into Great and Small, giving certain exclusive privileges to those who were rich enough to buy admission into the first rank, and denying those privileges to the poor. It was the system of Amsterdam, and was therefore adopted by the colonists, though peculiarly burdensome to the people of a new country; it was not long, however, before it was modified by an experience of its inevitable evils.

The policy of the Director.

But whatever concessions Stuyvesant made to the popular will and to the rights of the people he made upon compulsion, not convincement. It was his most firm conviction that the powers that be are ordained of God. He governed in that belief, and his temper was not one to mitigate the severity of a rule that appealed to such authority. Naturally he was as intolerant of any approach to religious freedom as he was jealous of any encroachment upon the authority and privileges of the company whose vicegerent he was. As a rigid and zealous Calvinist he was impatient and scornful of any other doctrinal belief, or any other form of ecclesiastical government. No Boston Puritan could be more positive than he that there was but one road to the Heavenly Kingdom, though he was equally sure that the road the Puritan had chosen was the wrong one.

Persecution of the Lutherans.

For the Lutherans — the Dutch non-conformists of New Netherland, — the Director had little mercy. Aided by the Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, he determined upon their suppression so soon as they asserted their difference of faith. The right they asked for, of public worship among themselves, he denied, not only because such worship was not in accordance with that sounder belief and better rule which belonged to the Reformed Church, but also because if the door were once opened to one set of schismatics it would be hard to close it upon others. The Independents of the English towns would be only too glad to avail themselves of a new pretext for insubordination. In religious as in civil affairs there should be, the Director determined, uniformity and obedience to the established order.

The duty of this uniformity and obedience he enforced upon the Lutherans, so soon as they were numerous enough to attract attention, by proclamations. He refused to grant them a meeting-house of their own in New Amsterdam. When the more zealous among them preferred the dictates of their own consciences to the commands of the Director, he punished them by fines and imprisonments. When they sent to Holland for a minister of their own persuasion, he was soon made to see that a proper discharge of his duties was impossible, and he was driven out of the colony.

This policy, however, was the policy of Stuyvesant himself, and his allies, the New Amsterdam clergymen, rather than of the West India Company. In this, as on so many other occasions, the Director-general ran before he was sent. The Amsterdam Directors were governed by that spirit which had made Holland an asylum for all, of whatever faith and whatever country, who were sufferers and exiles for their religious convictions. Stuyvesant was rebuked by his superiors for his want of charity as well as for his want of judgment. There might be, they thought, a "needless preciseness" as to the formulary of baptism, which was the essential point of difference between the Calvinists and the Lutherans, and the Directors hinted that the Company would feel constrained to permit the Lutherans to have a church of their own, if the harsh measures toward them should be continued.

Disapproval of the Amsterdam Chamber.

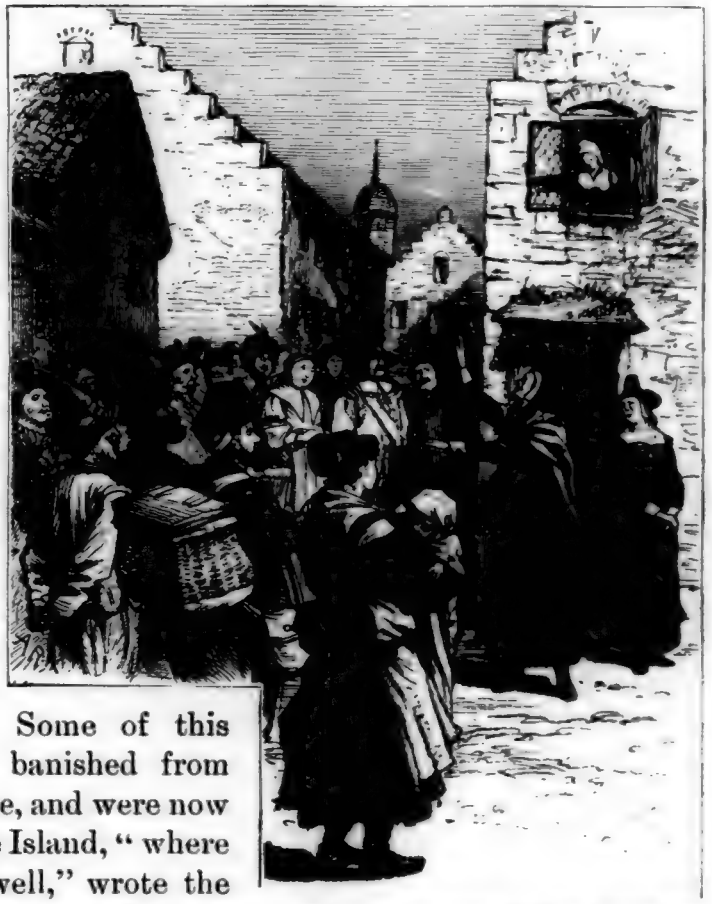
That zeal for religion which so absorbed the New Englanders had far less power over the Dutch. Stuyvesant and his clerical advisers were earnest enough and strong enough to prevent the Lutherans from having a place of their own for public worship, so long as New Netherland was a Dutch colony. But the fervor of the Director and the clergymen seems to have had as little support in popular sympathy as it had from the Company's Directors in Holland. The people at large were not much disposed to the rigid method of enforcing uniformity of belief and religious observance in which Stuyvesant was inclined to follow the example of the New England Puritans. This difference between them and their New England neighbors was one of race rather than the result of a more humane disposition or a wider intelligence; but to that difference it was due, no doubt, that there were fewer heretics among them. A novel doctrine loses much of its attractiveness if no penalty is attached to entertaining it, and the preacher of that doctrine is sure to avoid a people among whom he cannot command even attention enough to be controverted.

The outward observances of religious duty could hardly have been of paramount interest among a people who did not build on all Long Island, for the first thirty years of its occupation, a single church, or settle among them a single minister of their own faith. For that long period they were content to depend, for such spiritual comfort and instruction as they required, upon occasional visits to New Amsterdam, or occasional services in the rural districts from her clergymen. Whether such a state of things showed contentment or indifference, in either case it was plain that this was stony ground for the sowing of the seed of new doctrine. It was not so much, probably, that the Director feared the people might be led away from a faith they professed so coldly, as from a sincere

Dutch indifference to novel religious doctrines.

disapproval of what he believed to be error, that he visited heretics with punishment.

The prohibition of public worship, meant at first for the Lutherans only, was extended to others. At Flushing, among the English, in 1656, were a few Anabaptists. A poor shoemaker, from Rhode Island, one William Wickendam, felt himself called upon to expound the Word, and to give new baptism to his disciples in the river. William Hallett, the sheriff, permitted his house to be used for the conventicles of these people, where Wickendam preached and administered the sacraments. Stuyvesant commanded that the ordinance be enforced against them, and both the sheriff and the shoemaker were fined and banished, though Wickendam, because of his poverty, was permitted to go without payment of the fine.



Quaker Women preaching in New Amsterdam.

The next year a ship arrived at New Amsterdam, having on board several of the "cursed sect of heretics" — as they were called in the Massachusetts statute — of Quakers. Some of this company had been banished from Boston the year before, and were now on their way to Rhode Island, "where all kinds of scum dwell," wrote the Dominies Megapolensis and Drisius, "for it is nothing else than a sink of New England."[1] Among them were two women, whose names, "after the flesh," as they said, were Dorothy Waugh and Mary Witherhead. Both were of that number who, the autumn before, had been first imprisoned in Boston, and then compelled to reëmbark for Barbadoes; both, no doubt, had listened with stern approval to Mary Prince, as from the window of the Boston jail she bore her testimony against Governor Endicott, as he passed by in the street, crying unto

The Quakers in New Netherland.

[1] Letter to the Classis in Holland, cited by Brodhead.

him, "Woe unto thee, thou art an oppressor"[1] When they landed at New Amsterdam they emulated the example of that zealous woman. They asked neither for a place of public worship nor for permission to preach, but going from street to street, through the town, they announced the new doctrine, and declaimed against the steeple-houses, the hireling priesthood, and their pernicious teachings. To many of the gaping, and probably amused crowd of Dutchmen who followed them, they spoke in an unknown tongue, and upon questions which gave them little concern, even if they could have understood the preachers. But the preaching nevertheless was a defiance of authority and law which the Dutch Director was as little disposed as any Puritan governor to brook. The women were seized, and thrown into separate prisons — "miry dungeons" they are called — infested with vermin. After eight days' endurance of this punishment, their hands were tied behind them, and they were sent back to their ship to finish their voyage to Rhode Island.[2]

Persecution of Robert Hodshone.

With another of the company, Robert Hodgson (or Hodshone), it fared still worse. He proposed to remain in New Netherland, and was welcomed at Heemstede by a few of his own way of thinking, with whom he soon held a meeting. He was arrested and word sent to Stuyvesant, who ordered him to be brought to New Amsterdam. His knife and his Bible, the latter with him the more dangerous weapon, were taken away from him. Tied to the tail of a cart in which rode two young women, one with a baby at her breast, offenders like himself, and under a guard of soldiers, he was driven, pinioned, in the night-time and through the woods, "whereby he was much torn and abused," to the city. On his arrival the gentle Friend was led by a rope, like some dangerous criminal, to the prison, "a filthy place full of vermin."

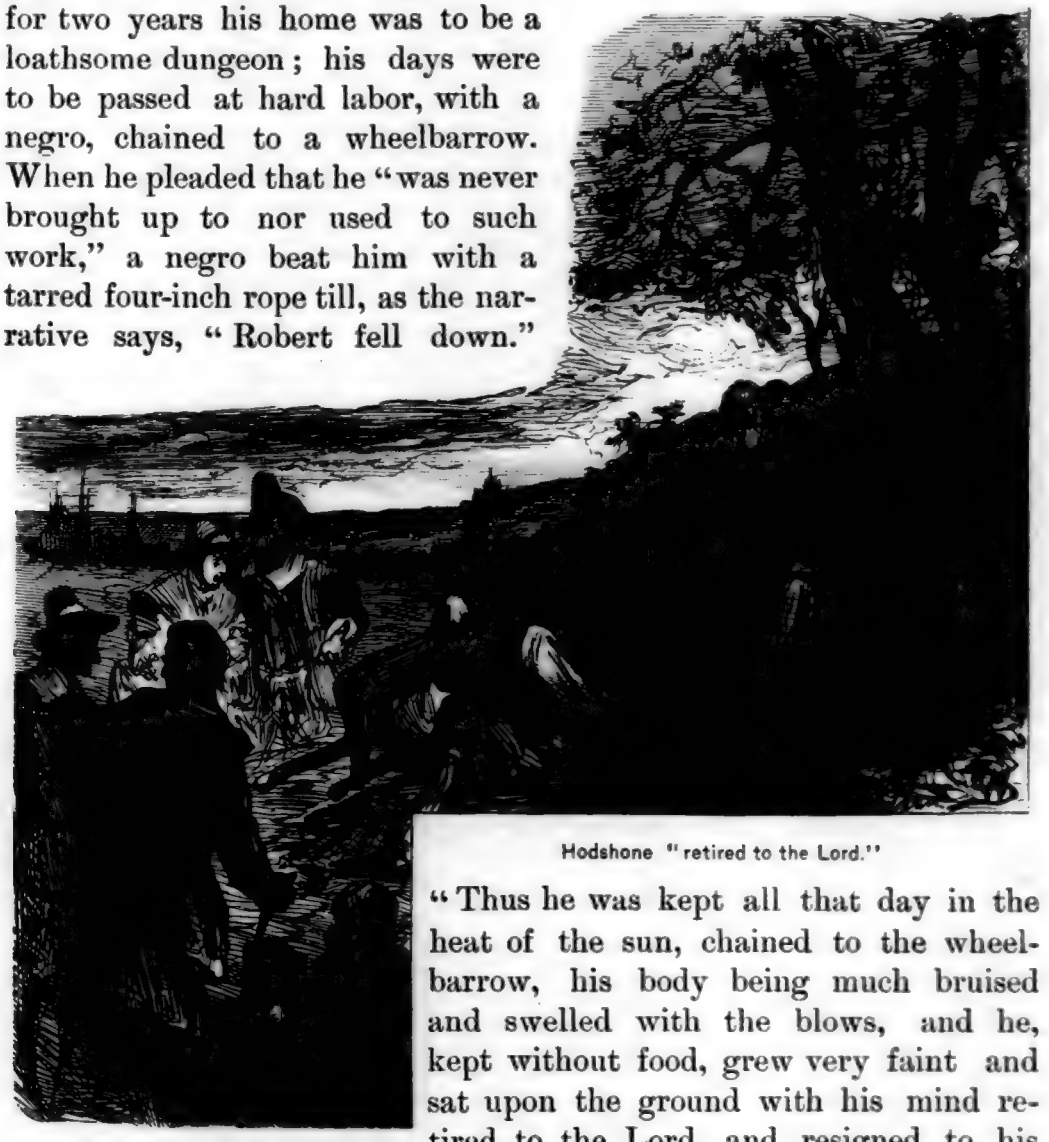
What was done with the young women does not appear, but not being preachers they were probably dismissed without further punishment. Hodshone's principal accuser seems to have been Captain Willett, again apparently an influential adviser of Stuyvesant, though three years before he was appointed to the command, with Standish, of the Plymouth troops in the proposed invasion of New Netherland. He "had much incensed the governor" against the prisoner, it is said, though it is easy to conceive that Stuyvesant's rage would need no prompting in an encounter with one of that sect who feared no wrath but the divine wrath, and respected no authority but the authority of

[1] Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts.*

[2] Notwithstanding her sentence of banishment from Massachusetts, Dorothy Waugh went back to Boston, where she and Sarah Gibbons were imprisoned and whipped for speaking in the meeting-house after the lecture.

God. A prisoner who would not even remove his hat in the presence of the court would seem to such a judge as the Director as hardly deserving of other consideration than that hat and head should come off together.

The forms of law were of little moment with an offender of this kind. No defence was permitted him, and his sentence was read to him only in Dutch. Its meaning, however, was not long left in doubt; he was to pay a fine of six hundred guilders; for two years his home was to be a loathsome dungeon; his days were to be passed at hard labor, with a negro, chained to a wheelbarrow. When he pleaded that he "was never brought up to nor used to such work," a negro beat him with a tarred four-inch rope till, as the narrative says, "Robert fell down."

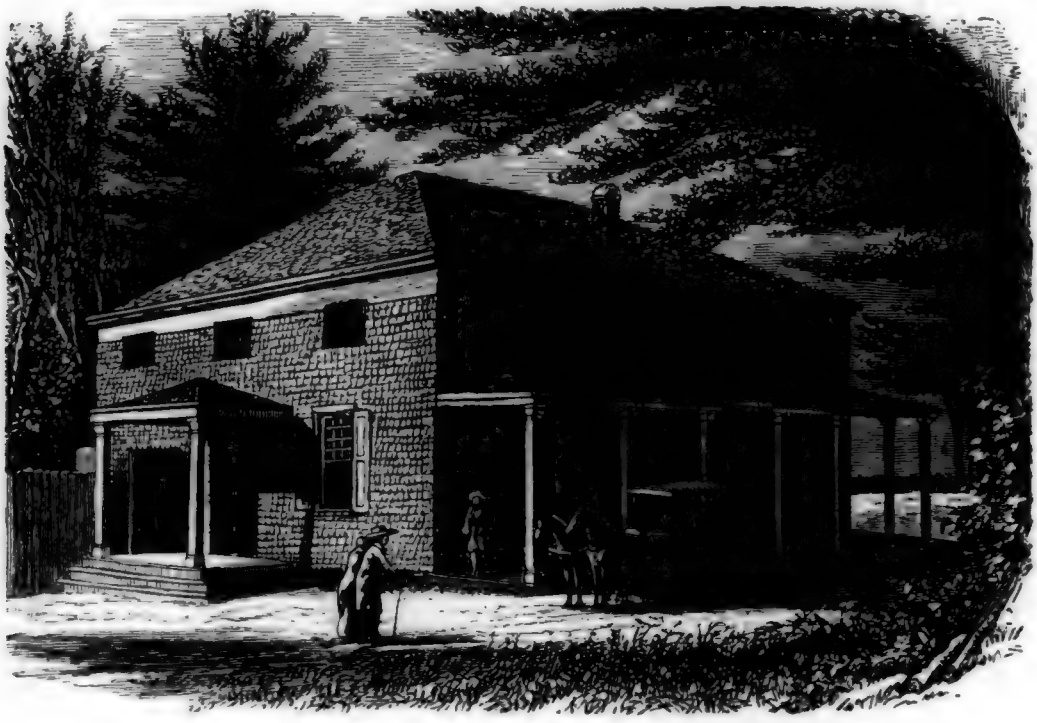


Hodshone "retired to the Lord."

"Thus he was kept all that day in the heat of the sun, chained to the wheelbarrow, his body being much bruised and swelled with the blows, and he, kept without food, grew very faint and sat upon the ground with his mind retired to the Lord, and resigned to his will, whereby he found himself supported."

So "retired to the Lord," so resigned and so supported, he endured such punishment for three days, — the dungeon at night, the barrow and its chains, the negro and his tarred rope, by day. Again he was taken before the Director, less able than ever to work, as little disposed as ever to submission. "What law have I broken?" he

demanded. He should work, he was told, or be whipped every day. Again he was chained to the barrow and threatened with even worse punishment if he dared to speak to any one. But the threats did not move him; "he did not forbear to speak to some that came to him, so as he thought meet and convenient." The worse punishment followed. Hung up by the hands, his feet tied to a log, his bare back was torn with rods till he became almost insensible to torture. A country-woman was permitted to enter his prison to wash and dress his wounds and nurse him back to life; others interceded with the authorities on his behalf, for many even among the Dutch were moved with pity. Some would gladly have paid his fine, but he refused



Friends' Meeting-house in Flushing.

mercy on such terms, lest it should be construed into an acknowledgment on his part of conscious wrong.

When sentence was first pronounced upon him it was displeasing to many of the Dutch, as "did appear by the shaking of their heads." More scandalous and inhuman it seemed to many of them when, after the cruel and repeated punishment of one whose sole offence was obedience to his own conscience, he was again led out, still chained to his barrow, to labor upon the public highway. Some openly expressed their sympathy, at least for his sufferings if not for the cause for which he suffered. Among those who exerted themselves on his behalf was the widow Anna Bayard, a sister of the Director. She was full of compassion, perhaps of indignation, and at her prayers and expostula-

tions her stern brother relented. Hodshone was released at length, and the fine remitted, but he was banished from the colony.[1]

Intercession of Madam Bayard.

To the interference of the good Mrs. Bayard the Friends owed more, probably, than the release of a single one of their number from the severe treatment of the Director. No others of that sect were subjected to such cruel persecution as had been visited upon Hodshone, though meetings were held, and the obnoxious doctrines preached, at Jamaica, Flushing, Heemstede, and Brooklyn, from the first appearance of Friends in New Netherland. Neither imprisonment, fines, nor an act forbidding all persons to entertain a Quaker for a single night under a penalty of fifty pounds, could abate the zeal or enforce the silence of these people. If no house was open to them, they assembled in the woods for worship after their manner. They were willing to endure whatever should be inflicted upon them, for conscience' sake; but happily after the release of Hodshone, they seemed no more obnoxious to the Director than other dissenters. In 1663, even the comparatively mild persecution of enforcing the law against those who most persistently defied it ceased.

Banishment of John Bowne.

One John Bowne, of Flushing, had in that year become a convert to the doctrines of Friends and had opened his house for their meetings. There was, perhaps, something more than usually exasperating in the quiet and patient firmness with which the sturdy English farmer endured three months' imprisonment, and refused to pay a fine, for the council ordered that he should be sent out of the province by the first ship ready for sea. He went as a prisoner to Holland, Stuyvesant writing to the Directors in Amsterdam that if others did not take warning by his banishment they would be even more severely dealt with.

Bowne defended himself before the Amsterdam chamber with complete success. So far from approving what Stuyvesant proposed to do, the Directors rebuked him for his previous course. Though they preferred that there should be neither Quakers nor any other dissenters in the colony, they doubted the wisdom of attempting to suppress them by vigorous measures. It was poor policy, they thought, in a commercial colony to repel men by persecution for opinion's sake. "Let every one," they said, "remain free as long as he is modest, moderate, his political conduct irreproachable, and as long as he does not offend others or oppose the government." This "maxim of moderation" had been the rule of the magistrates of Amsterdam. "Tread thus in their steps," they exhorted the Director, "and we doubt not you will be blessed." Stuyvesant had the grace to accept this wise

[1] Sewall's *History of the Quakers: An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers for the Testimony of a Good Conscience.* London, 1733.

and humane counsel. The Friends were not again molested. Bowne returned to New Amsterdam, and, when they met, the Director "seemed ashamed of what he had done." [1]

But these religious persecutions had little to do with the material progress of New Netherland. They neither helped nor hindered it, and they were rather individual than national — less the outgrowth of the character of the people than indications only that Stuyvesant was as earnest and passionate on the religious as on other sides of his nature. If the ordinary Dutchman cared little what his neighbors might think or do about the affairs of the life to come, it was because he was not prone to trouble himself very much about affairs of any



Bowne's House.

kind. His temperament led him to live, so long as he lived in this world at all, a quiet, not over-anxious nor over-active life, and to accept without question and without much thought the teachings of established authority. If he was more tolerant than his English neighbor of differences of opinion on sacred as well as civil subjects, more merciful in punishment when punishment seemed to be called for, it was not so much that he was more just, but that he was less susceptible. It came to pass therefore, that his own province of New Netherland was indebted for whatever progress it made very much to the English, whose restless energy, much more than any diplomatic policy, urged them to "keep crowding the Dutch."

[1] *Alb. Rec.*, cited by O'Callaghan and Brodhead.

It was not till 1661 that any serious efforts were made to extend the border settlement at Fort Orange. In that year the "Great Flat" stretching from the fort to the Mohawk country was conveyed to Arendt Van Curler, one of the earliest settlers of Rensselaerswyck, and the commissary and secretary of the first Patroon. But it was three years later before the first settlement was made upon the tract at Schaenhechstede, now Schenectady. Gradual growth of the colony.

In the same year of this purchase by Van Curler, Melyn finally parted with his manor of Staten Island, the whole of which became the property of the West India Company. A new village — still called New Dorp — soon sprung up a few miles south of the Narrows; grants of land were made in other parts of the island to some of the French Waldenses who were among the earlier emigrants, and to Huguenots from Rochelle, whose descendants have clung tenaciously from generation to generation to the soil which their fathers first cultivated. In 1656, Jamaica — a corruption of the Indian name, Jimeco — was settled by Englishmen, though the Dutch name was given it of Rust-dorp, or Quiet Village. Westchester was reluctantly recognized as Oost-dorp, or East village, for this also was settled by Englishmen, between whom and Stuyvesant there was frequent conflict. One Thomas Pell was the first English purchaser of land within the boundaries of the present Westchester County; the tract he bought of the Indians included the spot where Ann Hutchinson and her family sought a last refuge from Puritan persecution and became the victims of an indiscriminate savage ferocity. New Haerlem was large enough in 1660 to be entitled to a village government. The next year two new towns, New Utrecht and Boswyck — now Bushwick — were incorporated on Long Island, on the south side of the bay; and on the other side, the first municipality in the present State of New Jersey was established at Bergen. Gradually the number of farms was enlarged, and agriculture became a more important element in the industry of the province. Among a people with whom beer was a necessary of life breweries were never wanting; but to those other manufactures had from time to time been added, especially of brick and delft. In 1660 New Amsterdam contained three hundred and fifty houses, which was an increase of two hundred in four years.

It was about this period that the trade in African slaves began to assume some activity. A free trade in slaves was among the privileges which the colonists had long thought the Company should grant them, for only with such laborers was it deemed possible that agriculture could flourish. A promise of aid of this sort had more than once been given, but the number of negroes in the province, till after the middle of the seventeenth century, was probably small. In 1648, an attempt

was made to encourage an exchange of colonial products with Brazil for slaves, apparently with small result. In 1652, permission was granted for direct importation from the African coast; but two ships only seem to have availed themselves of this privilege. It was not, indeed, till two years later that the trade became established, and the slaves after that date were brought chiefly, if not entirely, from Curaçoa, — the principal Dutch depot for this traffic in the West Indies. The importations to New Netherland were chiefly in the interest of the Company, though some share in them was granted to the municipality of New Amsterdam. Those brought on account of the Company were sold on arrival at public auction for beaver-currency, or its equivalent in provisions, with the proviso that they should not be exported from the colony. Stuyvesant was among the few who had the privilege — limited, perhaps, to official persons — of importing slaves for his own use. Director Beck of Curaçoa, writes him in August, 1659, that he had purchased for him two boys and a girl, who, according to the bill of lading, were shipped on the *Spera Mundi*, "all dry and well conditioned, and marked with the annexed mark." In February of the next year Beck writes again that he hopes soon to send him some "lusty fellows." Four or five years later, ships counted their living freight by hundreds. Though the Dutch were the first to bring the African slave to this continent,[1] and the trade was thus successfully established in their colony,[2] slavery was earlier made an important element of their social system by the English in Virginia.

[1] See vol. i., p. 302.

[2] *Voyages of the Slavers St. John and Arms of Amsterdam*, 1659, 1663; *together with additional Papers illustrative of the Slave Trade under the Dutch. Translated from the Original Manuscripts.* By E. B. O'Callaghan.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SURRENDER OF NEW NETHERLAND.

ENCROACHMENTS OF THE ENGLISH. — THE SOUTH RIVER COLONY. — LORD BALTIMORE'S CLAIM, AND CONTROVERSY WITH MARYLAND. — A NEW PATENT GRANTED TO CONNECTICUT. — DISSATISFACTION OF NEW HAVEN. — OTHER ENGLISH TOWNS ACCEPT THE PROTECTION OF CONNECTICUT. — CONFEDERACY OF LONG ISLAND TOWNS UNDER JOHN SCOTT. — HIS ATTEMPTS TO COERCE THE DUTCH. — NEW NETHERLAND AND PART OF NEW ENGLAND GRANTED TO THE DUKE OF YORK. — THE NICOLLS COMMISSION. — NEW NETHERLAND INVADED. — ITS SURRENDER. — NICOLLS PROCLAIMED GOVERNOR. — CHANGE OF NAMES. — NEW AMSTEL TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH.

THESE later years of Dutch rule in America were anxious years to Stuyvesant. Notwithstanding the growing prosperity of his own province he watched with jealous eyes the encroachments and increasing influence and power of the English, even if he had not actual prevision of their ultimate supremacy over all New Netherland. Massachusetts, who claimed that her patent extended indefinitely westward, proposed to settle a colony on the upper waters of the Hudson, and claimed the right of navigation upon that river to reach her alleged possessions. The right was denied on the ground of priority of discovery, but the claim was none the less a source of anxiety to the Director. By the treaty of Hartford a large proportion of Long Island was ceded to the English, and both there and in Westchester they were pressing hard upon the Dutch, with no very strict observance of boundary lines. "Place no confidence," wrote the Director to the Amsterdam Chamber in 1660, "in the weakness of the English government and its indisposition to interfere in affairs here. New England does not care much about its troubles, and does not want its aid. Her people are fully convinced that their power overbalances ours tenfold; and it is to be apprehended that they may make further attempts, at this opportunity, without fearing or caring for home interference." Nor was there much in the relations of the mother countries to lead him to hope that in colonial affairs the interests of his colony would be protected. Holland was not left long in doubt as to how much reliance there

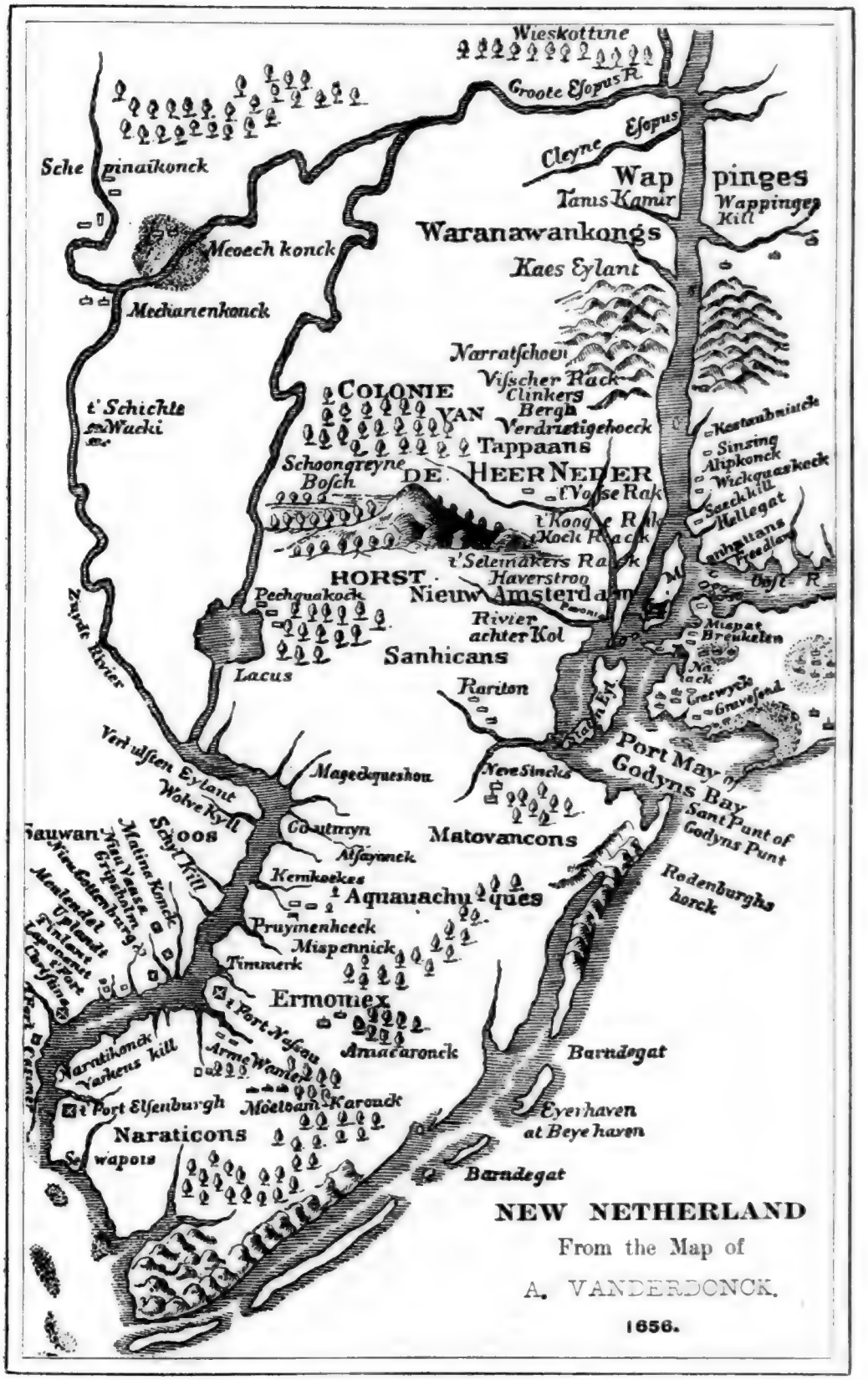
Encroachments of the English.

might be upon the acts of the restored king, Charles II., for the fulfilment of the promises of an exiled prince.

Affairs on the South River.

On the South River the Director was beset by never-ceasing perplexity and anxiety, relieved by no perspective of general prosperity. No increase of population, no extension of agriculture, no growth of manufacturing industry cheered the company and encouraged to fresh exertions on behalf of that colony. The absence of all healthful energy and enterprise in that portion of New Netherland was due to conditions under which all such energy and enterprise were well-nigh impossible. A wilderness lay between it and the capital of the colony, and none of the advantages which might come from nearness to the seat of power could influence its affairs. It was only the province of a province, governed or misgoverned by the deputy of a deputy, claimed now by one nation, now by another, a bone of contention gnawed by each in turn. Half of the community had almost always been in the wretched position of a subjugated people. The strength and vitality without which the work of the pioneer must be an irremediable failure were paralyzed by contention, dependence, and uncertainty.

Not the least of the difficulties which Stuyvesant had to meet in the management of the affairs of this portion of his government was that which confronted him everywhere in fending off the English. The enterprising New Englanders pitied, no doubt, the distresses and hardships which beset the people on the South River, so far as they came from natural causes. But they were not unmindful, nevertheless, of the good chances for trade which those distresses opened to them. Beeckman, whom the Director-general had appointed as governor of the company's colony, purchased of the Indians the territory south of the Boomtjes (Bombay) Hook to Cape Henlopen, and established at Horekill a trading-post, putting in it a small garrison, near the spot where De Vries and Godyn had planted their colony of Swaanendael a quarter of a century before. This gave to the Dutch a valid claim to the whole river from the capes to the Schuylkill; but the New Englanders gave no heed to the few Dutch soldiers who guarded, or attempted to guard, the passage of the Delaware, and defied the laws which prohibited their trading along its banks. Where ships of all nations now ride safely at anchor off the quaint little village of Lewes, under the lee of the Delaware breakwater, awaiting orders for the great staples of American commerce, or seeking a refuge from the storms outside the capes of Henlopen and May, more than two centuries ago the little vessels of New England lingered for wind and tide with their cargoes of peltries gathered along the shores of the Delaware, and laughed at the handful of Dutch soldiers


Wieskottine
Groote Esopus R.
Cleyne Esopus
Sche ginaikonck
Wap pinges
Tamis Kamur
Wappinges Kill
Waranawankongs
Meoech konck
Kaes Eylant
Mechanenkonck
Narratschoen
Visscher Rack
Clinkers Bergh
COLONIE VAN
Verdrietigehoeck
t' Schichte
Wacki
Tappaans
Schoongreyne Bosch
DE HEER NEDER
t' Vosse Rak
t' Koog e Rak
Hoeck Rack
t' Seleinakers Rack
HORST
Haverstroo
Nieuw Amsterdam
Pechquakock
Rivier achter Kol
Zuyde Rivier
Sanhicans
Lacus
Rariton
Vert uijtsen Eylant
Wolve Kyll
Magedqueshon
Neve Sincks
Port May
Godyns Bay
Sant Punt of Godyns Punt
Rodenburghs horck
Schuylkill
Coutmyn
Matovancons
Alsayanck
Kenhoekes
Aquauachuques
Pruymenheeck
Mispennick
Timmerk
Ermonex
Port Nassau
Armewamen
Amacaronck
Barndegat
Narratikonck
Yarkens kill
Port Elsenburgh
Moetoam
Karonck
Eyerhaven at Beye haven
Naraticons
Barndegat
NEW NETHERLAND
From the Map of
A. VANDERDONCK.
1656.

on the Horekill, who were powerless to resent this infringement on the territorial and commercial rights of the West India Company.

Trouble from another direction was even more threatening. The rendition of the fugitives to Virginia and Maryland was demanded by Stuyvesant as Director-general, and a controversy was provoked which came near producing a quite unlooked-for result. These people who had fled, not only from legal obligations, which they considered unjust and oppressive, but from trials and afflictions which were the natural consequences of their settlement in a new country, must, nevertheless, have represented that country as one worth possessing. The English from the southward began quietly and gradually to encroach upon the Dutch boundaries, and in reply to Stuyvesant's demand that the fugitives should be compelled to return to the jurisdiction from which they had fled, Lord Baltimore renewed his claim, that the whole South River region was included within his patent, the northern boundary of which was the fortieth parallel. Contest with Maryland.

A delegation from Maryland, at the head of which was Colonel Nathaniel Utie, appeared at New Amstel, with a summons from Governor Fendall for the surrender of the province. The official gentlemen had reason enough to be alarmed at such a summons, for there were not more than twenty-five soldiers at their command in the whole province, and two thirds of these were stationed at Horekill; but possibly the people had little share in these apprehensions. Worn out with sickness and sullen with discontent, they were in a state of mind to listen to Utie, whose instructions were to "insinuate unto the people there seated" that they should have "good conditions," and "have protection in their lives, liberties, and estates."[1] Alrichs, in his letter to Stuyvesant, on the arrival of the Maryland delegation, says "the citizens are few in number, and unwilling to fight, because, as they say, the city has not kept its conditions, but curtailed them,"[2] and he reports Utie as saying: "We [that is the Dutch] ought to take hold of this opportunity, as our men had chiefly deserted us, and they who are yet remaining will be of little or no aid; therefore it is our intention to take hold of this occasion, as we will not let it pass by, convinced as we are of your weakness."

There was no hope in resistance, and the Dutch wisely resorted to protracted negotiation, which they carried on with great skill. Alrichs and Beeckman replied courteously — much to Stuyvesant's disgust when he heard of it — but firmly to the Maryland envoys, representing that the right of the Dutch to the South River was founded

[1] Proceedings of Council of Maryland; in Hazard's *Annals*, p. 257.

[2] *Albany Records*, cited by Hazard.

on priority of discovery and occupation; that such "procedures and treatment by Christians and Protestant brethren "appeared" unexpected and strange;" that they were contrary to the peace and harmony existing between the republic of England and the States General; that such a question should be submitted to their respective rulers; and, finally, that they ought to have three weeks to communicate with the Director-general at New Amsterdam. Utie acceded to the latter proposition and returned to Maryland to await the event.

Stuyvesant's anger when he received the tidings from Alrichs and Beeckman was more than usually intemperate. "I did see," he says, "with no less regret than surprise . . . . the frivolous conclusion of Nathaniel Utie, and your not less frivolous answer, and further proceedings with him on such a frivolous fabricated instructions . . . . much more so yet, that you permitted the aforesaid Utie to sow his seditious and mutinous seed among the community, ... who rather deserved to have been apprehended as a spy and conducted hither, than to have obtained an audience upon such a frivolous fabricated instruction without a commission." There was no limit to the absurdities into which his ungovernable temper would not hurry the Director. He must have known that Utie's instructions were from Governor Fendall of Maryland; that the mission was undertaken by order of Lord Baltimore himself; that there was ample power behind it, — five hundred men, it was soon reported, being ready to move upon the Dutch; and, on the other side, he well knew that the whole force on which Alrichs and Beeckman had to rely consisted of five and twenty men, two thirds of whom were at a distance of seventy miles, and that the colony generally, if they did not welcome a change of government, would look upon it with the coolest indifference. But Stuyvesant's anger was not merely absurd; it became outrageous when, to punish the governors of the South River for conduct which under the circumstances was altogether judicious, he insulted them by sending his secretary, Cornelius Van Ruyven, and Captain Martin Kregier, to take charge of affairs.

But, as usual, however unreasonable Stuyvesant was in temper, he was rational in action. On the same day that he so berated his subordinates who received Utie, he wrote to the governor of Maryland, and appointed two commissioners, Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron, as bearers of the letter, and with power to enter into negotiation upon the subject of Utie's mission. He was not so blinded by anger as not to see that the only course open to him was precisely that for adopting which he so blamed Alrichs and Beeckman. They knew that if the claim presented on behalf of Lord Baltimore could be defeated at all, it could only be by an appeal, not to arms, but to

reason and argument. Stuyvesant knew they were right, and, while he humiliated them with reproaches he justified their conduct by resorting, as they had done, to pretexts for delay and offers of negotiation. Though he made a show of armed defence by sending sixty soldiers to the South River with Captain Kregier, his real reliance was upon his ambassadors, Heermans and Waldron, who were to push on to Maryland, armed only with his letter of remonstrance.

The negotiation with the governor and council of that province was conducted, on the part of the Dutch commissioners, with a good deal of ability and tact. The invasion of the rights of the Company, they contended, was contrary to the law of nations and to treaties existing between England and the States General; that the colony of the city of Amsterdam, which Maryland specially claimed had intruded upon Lord Baltimore's patent, was a colony

Arguments of the commissioners.



The Maryland and New Netherland Ambassadors.

within the jurisdiction of New Netherland, and that the West India Company had planted the colony in the South River region from thirteen to fifteen years before any grant of lands along that coast was made to Lord Baltimore; and while they professed a strong desire to live in peace and amity with their neighbors, they firmly avowed the determination to submit to no wrong.

In the course of the discussion the Baltimore patent was shown to the commissioners, who at once detected and fastened upon that clause which limited the grant to lands "*hactenus inculta*" (hitherto

uncultivated), and inhabited only by the Indians. On this point the Dutch commissioners immediately presented a supplementary declaration, confining themselves to the single argument that the South River region was distinctly excluded from Lord Baltimore's patent by its own terms, inasmuch as when the grant was made that country no longer belonged to the Indians, but had been bought of them by the Dutch, who were in possession of it, and had been for years, at the date of Lord Baltimore's patent.

To this presentation of the case there seems to have been no answer. It was unanswerable, indeed, as between the contending parties, if the assumption of the Dutch was admitted, —that early and long occupation carried with it the title to the country. But one party chose to ignore, and the other did not know or unaccountably forgot, that if by possession something more than mere military tenure was meant, there was still a third nationality whose right was better than any that could be given by royal patent or company's charter.

It perhaps occurred to the Dutch commissioners that the English might make use of the fact that the Swedes had so long maintained jurisdiction over the South River as an argument against the claim of the West India Company; for they allude in their first declaration to the Swedes as "Dutch Swedes," who in common with the Dutch had settled in several places on that river, and when Governor Fendall of Maryland asked what was meant by "Dutch Swedes," the commissioners answered that "they had been partners and associates residing for a time under jurisdiction of the Company, or rather connived at, but who became more insolent, so as at length, in a traitorous manner, they surprised Fort New Amstel, before called Fort Casimir, by which director-general and council in New Netherland were compelled to cleanse that neighborhood of such a vile gang."

This ingenious misrepresentation of the order of events of more than twenty years on the South River seems to have been accepted as true by the English. Either they did not know or did not choose to assert that the "vile gang" was still the larger though now a subject portion of the people of the province, and that during the long administration of John Printz at least, so far from being "connived at" as associates and partners under the jurisdiction of the Company, they were the masters of the Dutch, whose presence they had hardly tolerated. The commissioners were as careful to present all the argument in their own favor as they were to anticipate any possible rejoinder on the other side. While they thus ignored the Swedes, whose jurisdiction could be used as a strong point against them, they reminded the English of that Sir Edmund Plowden who called himself earl palatine of New Albion, and claimed that New Albion was granted

to him by James II., and extended from the North River to Virginia. The title of Lord Baltimore to the Delaware was, they said, no better than this of Plowden, who "in former time would make us believe he hath unto, when it afterward did prove and was found out, he only subreptiff and obreptiff hath something obtained to that purpose which was invalid." It was a shrewd reminder to the Maryland people that their own rights were not undisputed, and that among rival claimants possession was the better title.[1]



Swedish Soldier of the Seventeenth Century.

The difficulties of the question, and the able presentation of it by Stuyvesant's ambassadors, quite confounded the Maryland magistrates. The subject was referred to Lord Baltimore, then in England, for further consideration. The consideration was not wanting, but no adjustment of the conflicting claims was ever reached. In 1660 we hear of Captain James Neal, the attorney of Baltimore, demanding of the College of XIX at Amsterdam the cession of New Amstel, and of the reply of the college that "they will use all the means God and nature have given to protect the inhabitants." Two years later Beeckman writes to Stuyvesant that he hears of the arrival of the son of Lord Baltimore in Maryland, and that "nothing further is mentioned there of any intentions upon this district."

Apprehension of trouble from that quarter, nevertheless, increased in the Amsterdam Chamber. In less than a year from the time of Beeckman's hopeful letter, the Company transferred all their posses-

[1] The Plowden patent has been the cause of a good deal of controversy. The truth about it seems to be that Sir Edmund Plowden asked for a grant from King Charles of the country from Virginia to the North River, to be called New Albion, but the request was refused by the king, and a worthless patent was obtained from the viceroy of Ireland, who had no authority to give it. *A Description of the Province of New Albion, etc., etc., etc.*, by Beauchamp Plantagenet (a supposed assumed name for Plowden). Hazard's *Annals*. Note by Henry C. Murphy in his translation of the *Vertoogh*, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. ii.

sion on the South River to the city of Amsterdam; and the reason given is that the colony may be protected, without expense to the Company, against encroachments from the English on the south. For, from the English on that side, the Directors declare, as little favor is to be expected as from the English on the north, and that these "are continuing in their usurpations." It was the shadow of the coming event. In less than a year thereafter New Amsterdam became New York, and New Amstel, Newcastle, and the Dutch, except for a brief subsequent interval, ceased to contend with England for colonial power in North America.

Transfer of the colony to the city.

But these later years of Dutch possession on the South River were not otherwise years of prosperity or of peace. Alrichs died while the controversy was going on between Stuyvesant's commissioners and the magistrates of Maryland, and was succeeded by D'Hinoyossa. The administration of this new governor of the Colony of the City was marked by little else than quarrels with Beeckman and intrigues against him. "He feels himself again pretty high," Beeckman writes of his rival, "and is strutting forward in full pride. He is boasting that he will recover all the effects of the deceased Alrichs, and sings already another tune." This was when D'Hinoyossa was appointed Director, and the antagonism it shows between the two men had from that moment no abatement. A struggle for supremacy in the colony left little time to look after its real interests; industry was crippled by constant fear of Indian hostilities; idleness and the want of a good example in the rulers led to general immorality and lawlessness.[1]

Last years of the Dutch colony on the Delaware.

D'Hinoyossa, probably, as well as fear of the English, had something to do with the transfer of the South River to the city of Amsterdam. The governor had sometime before gone secretly to Holland, and when he returned it was as sole governor where hitherto he had held only a divided command. But his triumph over Beeckman was short-lived.

At the north events were hurrying on the inevitable conclusion. After the restoration of Charles II., John Winthrop the younger was sent by the general court of Hartford as the agent of that colony to England, with instructions to procure a new charter from the king, whom Connecticut had hastened to acknowledge. Mr. Winthrop was successful. The boundaries of the

A new patent granted to Connecticut.

[1] There could have been little respect for either law or justice where the wife of the Swedish priest eloped with a young man, and when the priest broke into the young man's room in search of the woman, was compelled by the authorities, because he took an inventory "of a few old stockings," to assume all the debts which his wife's paramour had left behind him. The priest sought consolation by marrying himself immediately to another woman, though this was pronounced illegal till he had obtained a divorce.

original patent, conveyed by the Earl of Warwick to Lord Say and Seal and others, which the colony had afterward purchased of Fenwick, were confirmed in April, 1662, by new letters patent with enlarged privileges. It gave to the patentees one hundred and twenty miles from the Narragansett River along the coast "toward the southwest, west and by south," and from that line westward in its full breadth to the Pacific, or, as it was then called, the South Sea, with all the islands along the included coasts of both oceans.[1]

Dissatisfaction of New Haven.

New Haven and other English towns along the Sound and on Long Island, which had hitherto been independent, were thus brought under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Some of them submitted cheerfully; those, especially, near the boundary line of New Netherland gladly welcomed the protection of such a union. But these were the weaker towns. New Haven, strong and self-reliant, protested with vehemence against this disregard of her rights by purchase and settlement. Her legislature called the act "the great sin of Connecticut," as one "contrary to righteousness, amity, and peace." The magistrates of that colony were accused of bad faith in the measures they took to procure the new patent; of treachery in the course they pursued in arousing discontent and animosity among the people, that New Haven might be disorganized and become the prey of Connecticut. Whether the charges were true or not, the assertion of jurisdiction was the source of perpetual trouble for the two years that the controversy lasted; it was so easy to evade the payment of taxes within the boundaries of New Haven by the plea that allegiance was due to the new government only.

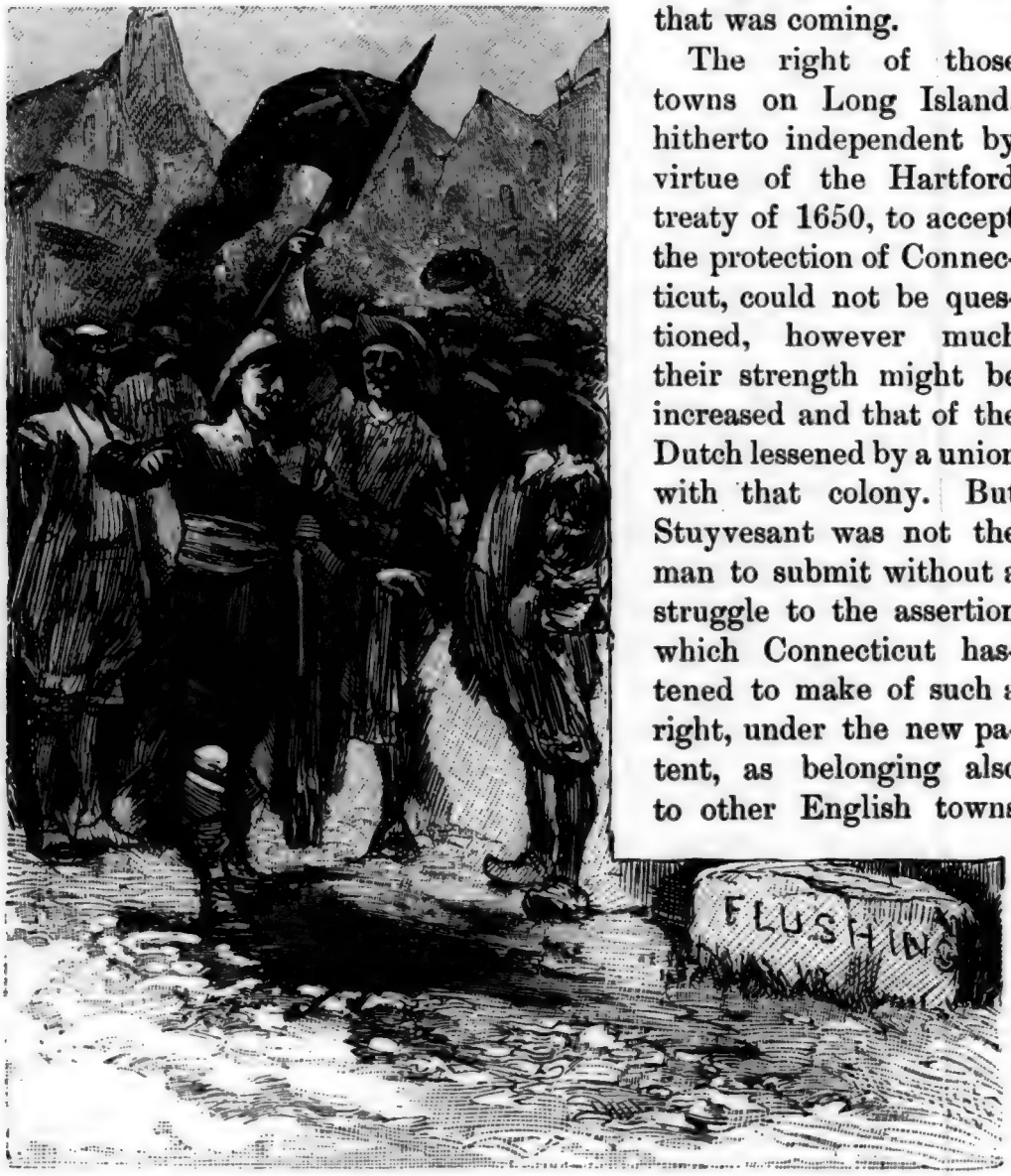
Consanguinity and common interests were sure to heal such political dissensions among the English in the end. It was quite otherwise with the Dutch. The new patent covered not only Long Island but all Northern New Netherland. Stuyvesant saw and comprehended the situation. Years before he had conceded the line of the Hartford treaty to these encroaching English. Even within that line

[1] At the time of Winthrop's presentation of the petition of Connecticut for a new charter, Lord Say and Seal held the privy seal, and the Earl of Manchester, another warm friend of the colony, was chamberlain of the royal household. Both, says Trumbull (*History of Connecticut*) were instrumental in forwarding Winthrop's purpose. It is also said that Winthrop presented to the king an extraordinary ring, given by Charles I. to Winthrop's grandfather, which the king was glad to recover. There is another tradition that the king, Charles II., gave his miniature to Winthrop. The miniature, however, — now in the possession of Miss Elizabeth W. Winthrop, a descendant of the governor, — is undoubtedly the portrait, not of Charles, but of the Chevalier St. George, the "Old Pretender," who was not born till twenty-six years after this visit of Winthrop to England. Such traditions are to be received with caution. That about the ring may have as little foundation as the story of the portrait. Adam Winthrop, John's grandfather, was a plain country gentleman, unconnected with the court, who died before Charles I. became king.

there were English towns which he could only with the greatest difficulty hold in subjection to Dutch rule. That difficulty now was immensely increased by the assertion of English title to the whole of Long Island and the North River region by a new patent from the English king. The Dutch could hardly fail to see the end that was coming.

Embarrassment of Governor Stuyvesant.

The right of those towns on Long Island, hitherto independent by virtue of the Hartford treaty of 1650, to accept the protection of Connecticut, could not be questioned, however much their strength might be increased and that of the Dutch lessened by a union with that colony. But Stuyvesant was not the man to submit without a struggle to the assertion which Connecticut hastened to make of such a right, under the new patent, as belonging also to other English towns



The English Agitators re-naming the Towns.

within the boundaries of New Netherland. For two years he carried on a hopeless struggle, cheered sometimes by temporary success, but on the whole gradually and certainly losing ground. A visit to Boston and a conference with the commissioners of the united New England colonies availed him nothing; he was defeated by that old policy

of delay with which the New Englanders had always met the Dutch in any attempt at negotiation. He sent commissioners to Hartford only to be baffled by a similar result.

English proceedings in New Netherland under the Connecticut patent.

Meanwhile, within the limits of his own province the English were steadily aggressive. One Captain John Talcott was sent from Connecticut, in the autumn of 1663, to Westchester to encourage the people in their hostility to Dutch rule. He bettered his instructions by fostering discontent in all the English towns on the west end of Long Island. Two months later Anthony Waters and John Coe, at the head of a considerable force, marched from town to town, changed the names of several of them, calling Flushing Newark, Newtown or Middelburgh Hastings, Jamaica Crafford, and Oyster Bay Folestone; deposed the magistrates and appointed new ones; and proclaiming Charles II. king, declared these places to be part of his dominions. The Director was glad now to accept the compromise which his commissioners had rejected in Hartford only a few weeks before, — that there should be mutual forbearance, the Dutch and English towns to be free respectively from interference from either government.

It was a virtual surrender on the part of Stuyvesant, but he had no alternative. The treasury was empty; help from the Company there was none till it was too late; an assembly of the people could devise no remedy with which to arrest the encroachments of the English. And it was while the Director was thus made almost desperate with troubles from without, destroying the integrity and threatening the existence of his colony, that he was called upon to defend the settlements on the North River from the renewed attacks of the Esopus Indians.

Attempted revolt of John Scott.

In the earlier differences between New Netherland and the New England colonies, one John Scott had been conspicuous on Long Island in efforts to unite his countrymen of the English towns against the Dutch, and had been punished by imprisonment. He claimed to have purchased of the Indians large tracts of country, and returning to England at the restoration he petitioned the king to bestow upon him the government of the whole of Long Island. He was not without a valid claim to the royal favor, for he had served in the army under Charles the First, and his father had spent his fortune, and at last laid down his life, in the cause of that unhappy king. The Committee of Foreign Plantations, to whom his petition was referred, gave him a commission to return to America, arming him with large powers, but in conjunction with George Baxter, another well-known opponent of the Dutch, and Samuel Maverick of Boston.

The commissioners were instructed not merely to examine into English titles upon Long Island; they were ordered to look into the question of the "intrusion" of the Dutch; their power, commerce, government; their disregard of English law, especially of the Navigation Act, that early protective policy which proposed to shut out all foreigners from trade with the English colonies; and finally of the means whereby this people could be brought most readily to submission, or failing that, to expulsion. As Scott bore royal letters of commendation to the colonial governors, such instructions if carried out would be almost tantamount to a declaration of war.

On his arrival, Scott was joined in a commission, with Talcott and others from Connecticut, to annex all Long Island to that province. To accept such an office seems hardly compatible with the instructions from the Committee of Plantations; but as he needed force to back his pretensions, he was ready, perhaps, to accept aid from any quarter.

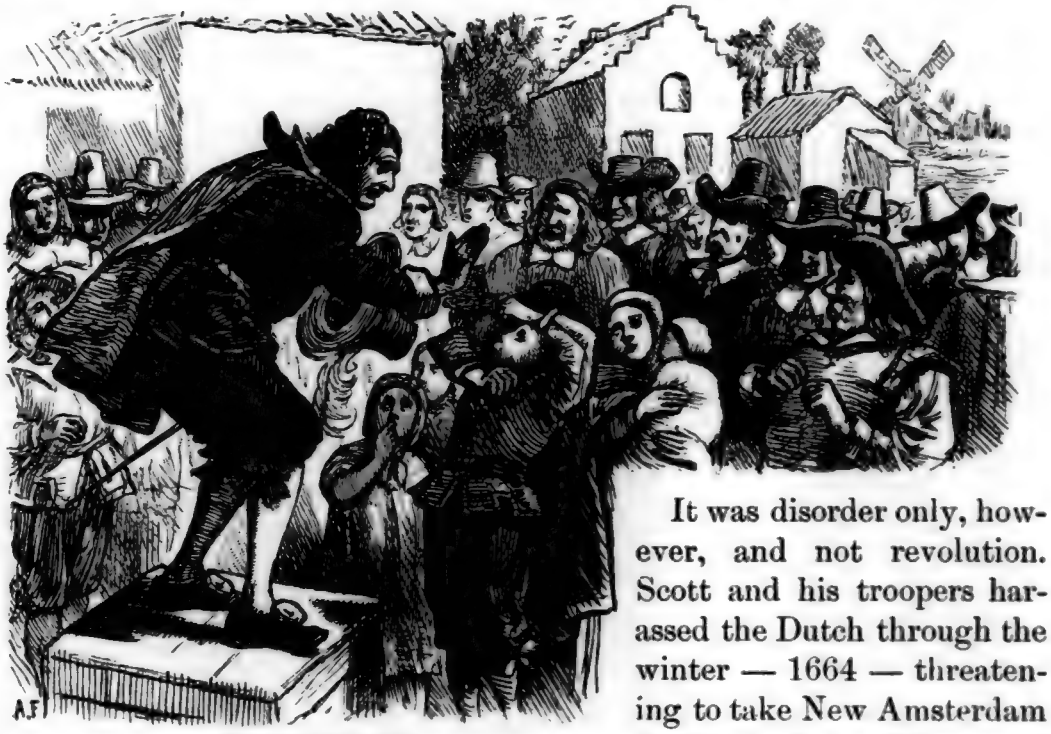
Confederacy of English towns.

Circumstances favored him. The towns on the western side of the Island, within the boundaries of New Netherland, had become, by the agreement between Stuyvesant and the magistrates at Hartford, free from allegiance either to Connecticut or the Dutch. But the people were divided among themselves. They were glad to be no longer counted as Dutch colonies; but the Baptists, Quakers, and other dissenters among them, dreaded coming under the Puritan rule of New England. "Wee ware put," they wrote to Scott, "uppon proclaiming the King by Capt. John Youngs, who came with a trumpet to Heemstede, and sounded in our ears that Conecticot would do great things for us." But the promise had been redeemed by nothing but "if so bees and doubtinghs." On the other hand the Dutch authorities threatened, some actually abused them, and they appealed, therefore, to Scott to come to their aid.

He came, and came with the unexpected announcement that the king had granted all Long Island to his brother the Duke of York. It was welcome news to the English, and harmonized all differences. Heemstede, Gravesend, Flushing, Newtown, and Jamaica, at once united for their mutual protection, choosing John Scott as their president, until the Duke of York or the king should establish a permanent government. At the head of a force of a hundred and fifty men, President Scott took the field to reduce the Dutch towns to obedience to the English king. At Breukelen he addressed the people, telling them they were no longer Dutch subjects. He was asked to wait upon the Director-general. "Let Stuyvesant come here with a hundred men," he answered; "I shall wait for him and run a sword through his body."[1] Perhaps he meant it, for turning round he gave a blow to a lad —

[1] O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*.

knocked off his hat, probably — for refusing to uncover to the English flag. "He had better strike men, not boys," shouted one of the crowd. The remark, however just, was ill-timed, and four of Scott's men immediately fell upon the new offender and put him to flight. The "usurper," as he was soon called, marched from town to town, everywhere proclaiming Charles II. as the rightful sovereign of New Netherland, and creating disorder wherever he went.



Scott at Breukelen.

It was disorder only, however, and not revolution. Scott and his troopers harassed the Dutch through the winter — 1664 — threatening to take New Amsterdam in the spring. Stuyvesant called a meeting of delegates, for such a threat was more serious than any lawlessness in the outlying villages. The Stadt-Huys and the fort of the capital in possession of the English, a Director-general and his council overawed or imprisoned in the name of Charles II., would be actual revolution. The emergency was met with promptness and energy. Money was raised and measures taken for defence, though there was hot dispute whether the city was bound to do more than take care of itself, leaving the rest of the province to the protection of the Company. Scott's career, at any rate, was checked. A conference was held between him and the Director, and affairs, it was agreed, should be restored to the old order: the English towns to remain under such government as they should deem fit, the Dutch to be unmolested for a twelve-month, while the question of jurisdiction and boundaries should be referred to the home governments.

For a brief period it seemed to the Dutch that better days were coming. In the spring the war with the Esopus Indians was brought

to a successful end, and Stuyvesant made with them that treaty of peace and amity which proved to be his last. The commissioners, who had been sent the autumn before to Holland, returned with assurances of protection from the States-General, and letters to the English towns enjoining them to return to their allegiance to the Dutch.

Scott imprisoned at Hartford.

But it was a deceitful lull in the storm. The magistrates at Hartford imprisoned Scott, but it was for asserting his own authority and disregarding theirs, not for high crimes and misdemeanors in the peaceful province of an unoffending neighbor. The letters of their High Mightinesses of the States-General to their English subjects were disregarded, — in some instances were not even opened. The copies that were sent to Hartford were pronounced to be forgeries, as a convenient way of paying no heed to them. Winthrop openly visited the English towns to induce them to submit to the rule of Connecticut, and in an interview with Stuyvesant and the burghers of New Amsterdam firmly maintained that under the new charter all Long Island belonged to her. By virtue of that charter, Pell bought of the Indians all the country lying between Westchester and the North River, including Spuyten-Duyvil Creek, which the Dutch had purchased fifteen years before.



Portrait of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

Grant of territory to the Duke of York by the king.

The overwhelming calamity was already certain. In March the king granted to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, a large portion of the province of Maine, and the country from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay. This grant included Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, all Long Island, and the whole of the territory of New Netherland. The next month a fleet of four ships, with a force of three or four hundred men, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, as the lieutenant-governor of the Duke, sailed for New England. With Nicolls were joined as commissioners, Sir Robert Carr, Sir George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, with extraordinary

powers for settling all difficulties in the New England colonies, as well as to take possession of the Dutch province and reduce its inhabitants to obedience.

A rumor of the coming of this fleet, and its purpose, reached New Amsterdam in July. Captain Willett was the first to hear it, and he hastened to inform Stuyvesant, who proposed at once the most energetic measures for defence. The fortifications were to be repaired and enlarged; money was to be raised, ammunition to be brought from New Amstel, provisions to be stored, and the city put in a condition to withstand a siege. But before those preparations could be made, dispatches came from the Company's directors in Holland. It was, they said, to reduce the New England colonies to obedience and uniformity in state and church, that the fleet was sent; New Netherland had nothing to fear. Willett, who had done so much to arouse alarm, now did all he could to quell it. Stuyvesant, with restored tranquillity, left the city for Fort Orange, on some official business.

Purpose of commissioners sent by the duke.

The Directors of the Company were so far right, that the commissioners had almost plenary powers bestowed upon them in regard to all the affairs of the New England colonies. The English government had no doubt taken care that this should be well known in Amsterdam. But Nicolls and his associates were also enjoined to reduce New Netherland; and though this was not known in Amsterdam, the commissioners, on their arrival in Boston, were anxious to have it understood that this part of their mission was of primary importance. The conquest of New Netherland would be the easier, if the Dutch were kept carefully ignorant of such a purpose. When New England was gratified by that conquest, it would be time to develop the ulterior purposes in regard to those colonies. This astute policy was entirely successful so far as New Netherland was concerned. She was not in the least prepared to meet the impending calamity. The dispatches from Amsterdam allayed all fears and put aside all precautionary measures.



Signature of Nicolls.

On the arrival of the commissioners in Boston, late in July, they made known their designs against New Netherland to the governments of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and asked for their coöperation. Connecticut was ready to render at once every aid in her power; but the Governor of Massachusetts, who probably knew that the commissioners had a private letter of royal instructions as well as the public letter which they presented, was less disposed to lend

assistance.[1] Her people had never, like those of the other New England colonies, been eager for the conquest of the Dutch province, and if the Governor knew the character of the private instructions to the commissioners he knew that Massachusetts had more to dread than to hope from their visit.

An English fleet in the bay of New Amsterdam.

There was a delay of nearly a month after the arrival of the fleet at Boston before the expedition sailed for New Amsterdam. Some preparation for a resistance that would, at least, have delayed the catastrophe, might in that interval have been made had not the assurances of the Company's Directors removed all sense of danger. The flag-ship was sailing up the bay before Stuyvesant, who had been recalled by a hasty message, could reach the city from Fort Orange; he had been at home only three days before the whole squadron was at anchor in Nyack Bay, just below the Narrows on the Long Island side. The block-house on the opposite shore of Staten Island was at once seized by the English; the harbor was effectually blockaded; the people of the neighborhood were forbidden to carry supplies to New Amsterdam; and proclamation was widely made that none should be molested who submitted quietly and acknowledged allegiance to the king of England.

Stuyvesant's resistance to the summons for surrender.

Stuyvesant met the emergency with his usual energy. Every third man was ordered out to work upon the defences of the city; additional guns were mounted; a requisition was made upon Fort Orange for help, and all the soldiers were called in from the outlying posts. But the requisition on Fort Orange was disregarded: the farmers on Long Island refused to come in to the defence of the city, on the plea that their own homes were in danger. The Director was left with only about a hundred soldiers and the panic-stricken citizens of New Amsterdam to rely upon. From the outset it was evident that there could be no effectual resistance.

Nevertheless, on Friday, the 29th of August, a deputation was sent to Nicolls, demanding his purpose, and by what authority he made this invasion. The next day came a formal summons for the surrender of the town and all the forts belonging to it, with a proclamation promising protection of life and property to all who would submit "to his majesty's government, as his good subjects ought to do."

It was with great reluctance that Stuyvesant consented that this answer of the English commander should be made public. It would "discourage the people," he said; but the principal burghers and other magistrates, and the officers of the guard had already met, and had shown themselves to be utterly destitute of any manly courage.

[1] Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. ii., p. 583.

The most spirited resolution to which they could bring themselves was, that they would make some pretence of defence, in the hope that the enemy would think it worth while to propose more favorable conditions. But protection to life and property were already offered by the proclamation; what could be expected, if this were known, from a populace ready to surrender even without that promise? The Director



Stuyvesant and the English Letter.

was compelled to yield to the public clamor and give up the dispatches, but he must not, he said, be held "answerable for the calamitous consequences."

This conclusion had been reached on Monday, when Governor Winthrop — who had joined the fleet with a reinforcement of Connecticut volunteers — came up the bay under a flag of truce and presented

another letter from Nicolls. Stuyvesant read it in the presence of the council and the burgomasters. The terms it offered were still more favorable. Trade with Holland in Dutch vessels would not be interfered with; emigrants from the mother-country could come and settle in New Netherland as hitherto; the colony would be under English jurisdiction, instead of that of the Company, but otherwise the condition of the Dutch colonists would hardly be interfered with. Those who favored surrender were all the more anxious that the people should see this second letter; Stuyvesant all the more dreaded the effect it would have upon them. The debate was hot and furious, till Stuyvesant in a rage ended it by tearing the letter in pieces and scattering the fragments upon the floor, — "dilacerated" it, exclaimed the indignant and baffled burgomasters.

Conflict between the Director and the people.

Hitherto there had been some show of labor upon the fortifications, but now they were abandoned, and an exasperated mob surged about the Stadt-Huys. They demanded to see the Governor; to offer resistance to such a force as threatened them would be, they said, "as idle as to gape before an oven." When Stuyvesant appeared he was greeted with shouts of "The letter! the letter!" Reproaches and curses were showered upon him and the Company. Defeated and helpless he returned to the council chamber; the fragments of the "dilacerated" document were gathered up and put together, and a copy delivered to the burgomasters to do with it what they would.

The question of surrender was, nevertheless, still in the hands of the Director. He sent to Nicolls a long answer, defiant, didactic, and argumentative. He defended the rights of the Dutch to the country by discovery, settlement, and possession; he protested against this infringement of the treaty between England and the States-General; he urged the agreement between himself and Scott which was to stand good for a twelvemonth: he feared no threats, and he trusted in God, who could as well preserve with a small force as with a great army.

Nicolls, nevertheless, though he may have been quite as pious as the Director, had great reliance on superiority of force. A company of regular cavalry and the Connecticut militia were already encamped on Long Island just below Breukelen; these he ordered should be reinforced with all the troops of two of the ships, in readiness for an attack by land and in the rear, while the two other frigates were to sail up in front and bring their broadsides to bear upon the town.

Preparations for the assault of the city.

Standing on the walls of the fort, by the side of a gun, the gunner ready with his lighted match, Stuyvesant watched the ships as they

came up the harbor, and then swung to their anchors in the channel between Nutten (Governor's) Island and the fort. Had he ordered the gunner to fire, the ships would at once have bombarded the city. He gave no such order. Perhaps his own prudence restrained him, for though a violent man, his good judgment — as we have sometimes seen — often controlled his anger; perhaps he was restrained by the Dominies Megapolensis, father and son, who begged him not to be the first to shed human blood in such a contest. At any rate he gave no order, and no shot was fired. The city was quietly put under the guns of the two ships, and Stuyvesant left the fort with a hundred of the garrison to be prepared to resist a landing. The Directors of the West India Company afterward reproached him that he permitted himself to be influenced by the two clergymen and "other chicken-hearted persons," and allowed himself "to be led in from the bulwarks between two preachers" while the hostile frigates passed the fort and the mouths of twenty pieces of cannon. But he did, no doubt, the best he could; he alone could not serve the twenty guns; and not another man, save he, in fort or city, seems to have thought of resistance.

Again he wrote to Nicolls, and again declared he should stand an assault, but sending at the same time a deputation of magistrates to come, if possible, to some agreement with the English commander. Nicolls would listen to no proposal but that of surrender; he should come, he said, the next day with ships and soldiers, and he would be a bold man who came on board unless the white flag was hung out from the fort.

When this answer was known the utmost panic spread through the town. The Director was beset with weeping women and children; in the City Hall a tumultuous assembly met, and a remonstrance was adopted, signed by all the principal citizens — among them Stuyvesant's son — begging that the terms offered by the English might be at once accepted. The fort, they said, could not stand a three days' siege; the offer of the enemy was generous; their conduct had been forbearing; unless now there should be an immediate surrender they could foresee nothing but "misery, sorrow, conflagration, the dishonor of women, murder of children in their cradles, the absolute ruin and destruction of about fifteen hundred innocent souls." Still Stuyvesant declared "he had rather be carried a corpse to his grave" than yield.

Stuyvesant beset by popular tumult.

The situation was, in truth, desperate. The town on the north was defended only by an embankment three feet high, surmounted by a fence of rotten palisades; this was overlooked by the hills outside within gunshot range commanding all the houses; and on both sides

the town was open to the rivers. The fort itself a council of war declared was untenable; there was not powder enough to last a day; there was no store of provisions for a lengthened siege. Moreover and worse than all, the garrison was mutinous. "Now we hope," they cried, "to pepper those devilish traders who have so long salted us; we know where booty is to be found, and where the young women live who wear gold chains!"

Nicolls came as he said he would, yielding nothing of his conditions, except that he promised the fort and city should be restored "in case the difference of the limits of this province be agreed upon betwixt his majesty of England and the high and mighty States-General," — a promise most safe to make. The terms of surrender, which were merciful to the Dutch — the protection of life and property, a guaranty of religious liberty, freedom of trade, of emigration, of the public debt, of the laws of inheritance and contracts, and of a representative government — were agreed upon on Saturday by a board of commissioners. On Monday the articles were ratified by the Director-general.

The surrender of New Amsterdam.

And on Monday morning, the 8th of September, 1664, there marched out of Fort Amsterdam on the Beaver Street side, at the head of the poltroons who knew where the young women lived who wore gold chains, the stern old wooden-legged soldier who would rather have been carried out a corpse to his grave. As they went on board ship in the East River for Holland, six columns of English soldiers filed through the streets of the city; English soldiers mounted guard at the Stadt Huys and at the city gates, while over the fort floated the English flag which a corporal's guard had hoisted as Stuyvesant passed out from beneath the shadow of the walls he would have so gladly defended. The obedient burgomasters proclaimed Nicolls as Governor; Fort Amsterdam was named Fort James; New Amsterdam was changed to New York; twelve days later Fort Orange surrendered without resistance to Sir George Cartwright, and the name of Albany, the duke's second title, was given to it.



Signature of Sir George Cartwright.

New Amstel was still to be reduced, and in the course of the month Sir Robert Carr sailed with three ships and a body of troops for the Delaware. This display of force only was necessary. On Sunday, the first day of October, Fort Casimir surrendered, and though there was no resistance and almost no parley, there was less consideration shown to the Dutch than there had been in New Am-

New Amstel taken.



THE SURRENDER OF NEW AMSTERDAM.

sterdam. Arms and amunition, live stock, stores, provisions, and their crops were taken from the people. Some were permitted to return to Holland; others were seized as prisoners of war and sold into bondage in Virginia. D'Hinoyossa, the Governor, was sent back to Holland, but his estate — consisting in part, if not wholly, of one hundred and fifty acres of meadow-land on the Delaware near the fort, and of an island called Swarton Natton of about three hundred acres at the mouth of Christina Creek — was confiscated to the use of Carr. Beeckman and others went back to New York, where he is afterward heard of as an alderman of the city. Many, both Dutch and Swedes, remained in the colony, and the Swedes, especially in and about Newcastle and Wilmington, long preserved their national characteristics in language, habits, and religion, though faithful in their allegiance to the English, as they had been peaceful citizens before when finally brought under the rule of the Dutch.



Signature of Sir Robert Carr.



Seal of New Amsterdam.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CAROLINAS.

THE CAROLINA PATENTS OF 1663 AND 1665. — THE PATENTEES. — EARLIER GRANTS AND PROJECTED SETTLEMENTS. — FIRST SETTLERS ON ALBEMARLE SOUND. — NEW ENGLAND MEN AT THE MOUTH OF CAPE FEAR RIVER. — THE COLONY UNDER YEAMANS. — ORGANIZATION OF THE ALBEMARLE COLONY. — LOCKE'S "FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS." — INDEPENDENT LEGISLATION AT ALBEMARLE. — GOVERNORS AND PROGRESS OF THE CAPE FEAR SETTLEMENT. — JOSEPH WEST. — DISSENSIONS IN THE NORTH UNDER CARTERET AND MILLER. — THE PASQUOTANK INSURRECTION. — GOVERNOR SOTHEL.

BY the capture of New Netherland, that "New English Nation" which Raleigh had hoped to see, stretched for the first time in an unbroken line along the Atlantic coast, from James River, in Virginia, to Nova Scotia. And nearly half a century had passed away, after Raleigh was led to the scaffold, before a permanent colony was planted in the more southern region, where his first attempts had so unhappily failed.

First grant of Carolina. 1663.

Only the year before the King bestowed upon the Duke of York that munificent gift of a province which not only was not his to give, but did not even belong to England, either by right of possession or by right of discovery, the same generous monarch granted to some other gentlemen about the court a patent of a wide tract of country south of Virginia. The grant extended from about the thirtieth to the thirty-sixth parallel of latitude, — or from the St. John's River, in Florida, to nearly the present southern boundary of Virginia, — and from the Atlantic to that vague South Sea, still thought to be within reach of a moderate journey. One of its early governors wrote of this region that "it was indeed the very Center of the habitable Part of the *Northern* Hemisphere . . . . lying parallel with the Land of *Canaan* . . . . not being pestered with the violent Heats of the more Southern colonies, or the extream and violent Colds of the more Northern Settlements."[1] And another of its earliest historians says that from its latitude and situation Carolina must needs be "a delicious country, being placed in that girdle

[1] *Description of that Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina*, etc., etc. By John Archdale. [London, 1707.] In Carroll's *S. C. Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii.

of the world which affords wine, oil, fruit, grain, and silk, with other rich commodities, besides a sweet air, moderate climate, and fertile soil . . . . blessings that spin out the thread of life to its utmost extent, and crown our days with the sweets of health and plenty." [1] There is something of that love of hyperbole which belongs to the writers of that period in these descriptions, — something of an evident desire to attract emigration by means not unknown in later times. Much may be pardoned to these influences, even as we pardon the want of strict scientific accuracy in the author of the history we quote from, who, in the list of "Insects" of Carolina, gives the first place to alligators and rattlesnakes.

The first charter was dated (old style) the 24th of March, 1663; two years later this was amended by a second, — June 30, 1665, — which extended the boundaries a degree southward, and a half degree further north.

The Second Charter. 1665.



Portrait of Shaftesbury.

The patentees on whom the king thus bestowed a territory including all of the present States of North and South Carolina and Georgia, with its indefinite Western boundary of the South Sea, were Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor; Monk, the Duke of Albemarle, the leader in the Restoration; the Earl of Craven; Lord Berkeley; Lord Ashley (later the Earl of Shaftesbury) Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkeley, of Virginia, Lord Berkeley's younger brother. Shaftesbury was the leader in this enterprise, and he was chiefly responsible for all that the proprietors did, or left undone. Home affairs occupied his associates; but they never entirely diverted him from the affairs of the colony. Almost every document connected with it shows traces of his influence, and he hoped to find in it an opportunity for carrying out those political ideas which were otherwise impracticable in his time.

The patentees.

[1] *The History of Carolina, containing the Exact Description and Natural History of that Country*, etc., etc. By John Lawson, Gent., Surveyor General of North Carolina. [London, 1714.]

Earlier grants and projected settlements.

The territory thus defined as Carolina had not been altogether neglected while colonies were planted in other places. As early as 1630, the attorney-general of England under Charles I., Sir Robert Heath, had secured a grant of almost the same region, under the name of the Province of Carolana, on condition that he should "in a reasonable time" colonize it,[1] "and Christianize the native Indians." But neither he, nor Lord Maltravers (afterwards the Earl of Arundel), to whom Heath transferred his title, succeeded in making any permanent settlements. This claim, and another by the heirs of Sir Richard Granfield, were revived when the grant of 1663 was made to Clarendon and his associates, but the patents were recalled, on the ground that their terms had never been fulfilled.[2]

Companies of adventurers had, at different times, scattered themselves along the coast and on the banks of rivers not far distant from the parent colony of Virginia. Some of these were in pursuit of Indian trade; others were restless spirits to whom even the lax discipline of Jamestown and its neighborhood was irksome; and some, perhaps, were of those whose religious beliefs exposed them to annoyance, if not persecution, in a region where the Established Church was formally maintained. As early as 1609 there were outlying plantations about the Nansemond River, and doubtless many unrecorded expeditions, if not settlements, were made in the territory to the south of this district, in the twenty years following, before the grant was made to Heath. In the winter of 1621–2 John Pory, sometime Secretary of Virginia, a great traveller, and the friend of Hakluyt,[3] explored as far as the Chowan, where he found "a very fruitful and pleasant country, yielding two harvests in a year, and much silk grass."[4]

In 1643, the Virginia Assembly, without regard to Heath's patent, made trading grants to a company which purposed to traffic along the Roanoke; though perhaps their design included only the upper part of the stream, which was outside the patent, for they described it as the river lying southwest of the Appomattox.[5] Later attempts and grants of the same kind are also obscurely mentioned; but there is no record of their results, and it seems probable that nothing more

[1] See vol. i., p. 487, note.

[2] Letter of the Lords Proprietors to Sir William Berkeley, in Chalmers' *Annals*.

[3] Pory visited Plymouth in 1622, and Bradford says of him, "Himselfe after his returne (to England) did this poore plantation much credite amongst those of no mean ranck." He was a scholar, and a man of a good deal of influence among the early adventurers, but became at last a penniless and rather disreputable vagabond. See a sketch of him in Neill's *History of The Virginia Company*.

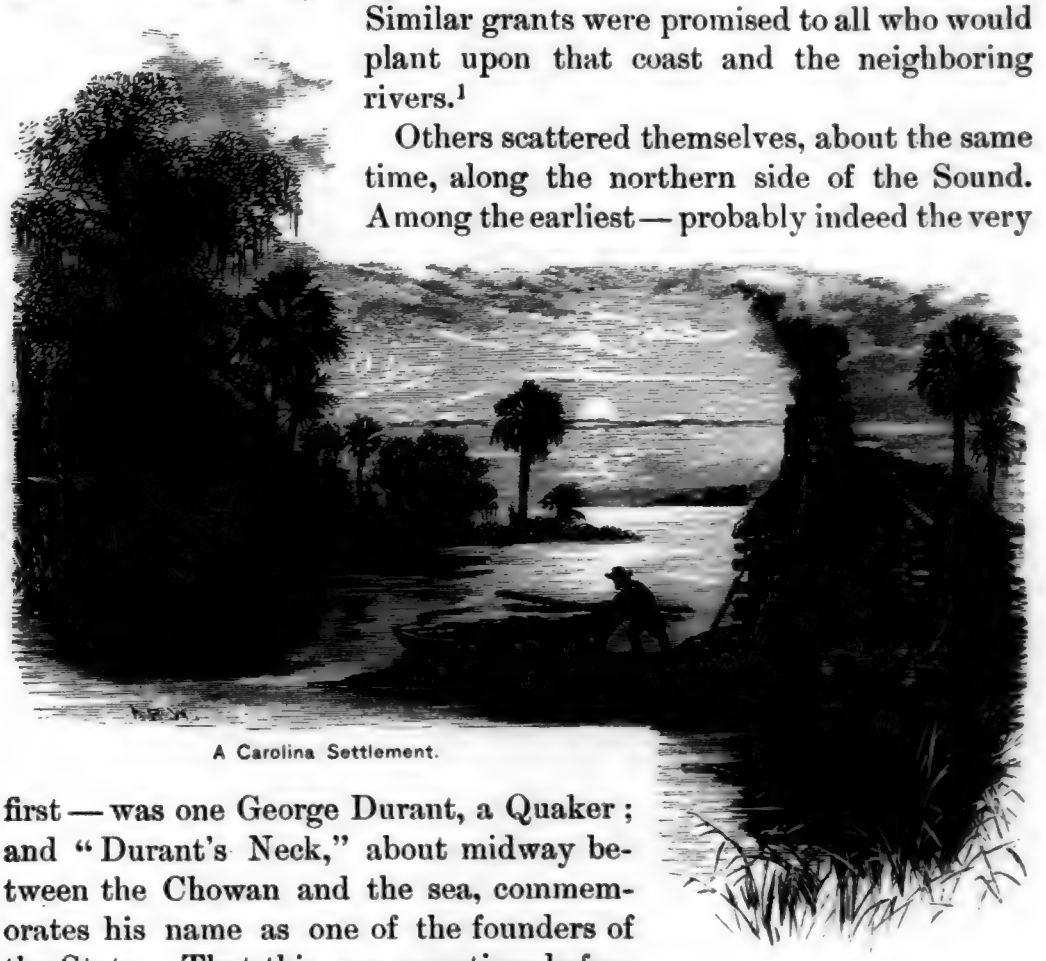
[4] Smith's *History of Virginia*.

[5] Hening's *Virginia Statutes*, i., 552.

than a fair knowledge of the upper part of North Carolina was gained through all of them until 1653. In July of that year, Roger Green, a clergyman, and a party from the Nansemond region, penetrated to Albemarle Sound, and a grant of land was made by Virginia to Green himself of a thousand acres. Similar grants were promised to all who would plant upon that coast and the neighboring rivers.[1]

Settlements of Green and Durant.

Others scattered themselves, about the same time, along the northern side of the Sound. Among the earliest — probably indeed the very first — was one George Durant, a Quaker; and "Durant's Neck," about midway between the Chowan and the sea, commemorates his name as one of the founders of the State. That this was sometime before 1662 is shown by the records of the Court of Chancery of North Carolina.



A Carolina Settlement.

A suit was tried in 1697 between the heirs of George Durant and the heir of one Edward Catchmaid, for possession of the lands first occupied by Durant. Catchmaid, who was entrusted by Durant to procure for him a grant of these lands from Governor Berkeley of Virginia, treacherously took out the patent in his own name. The deed of restitution which he was compelled to make, and which was produced in evidence on the trial, bore the date of March, 1662 (new style, 1663). Catchmaid must therefore have been in the country for some time previous to that date; and the record further shows that when he came it was by Durant's

Probable date of the Chowan settlement.

[1] Hening's *Virginia Statutes*, i., 380.

invitation, who was then in the occupation of lands, having "come in with the first seaters," and "did for the space of two years bestow much labor and cost in finding out the said country."[1] By "first seaters" were evidently meant the first in the province of Carolina,—not merely the first in that particular neighborhood; and it is to them, probably, that Lawson refers when he says: "A second settlement [second, that is, after Raleigh's time] of this country was made about fifty years ago, in that part we now call Albemarl County, and chiefly in Chuwon precinct, by several substantial planters from Virginia and other plantations." Lawson's visit was in 1700.

Explorations and settlement by New Englanders.

There were probably few bays or rivers along the coast, from the Bay of Fundy to Florida, unexplored by the New Englanders, where there was any promise of profitable trade with the Indians. The colonist followed the trader wherever unclaimed lands were open to occupation. These energetic pioneers explored the sounds and rivers south of Virginia in pursuit of Indian traffic, contrasted the salubrity of the climate and the fertility of the soil with that region of rocks where they had made their homes, and where winter reigns for more than half the year. In 1660 or 1661, a company of these men purchased of the natives and settled upon a tract of land at the mouth of Cape Fear River. Their first purpose was apparently the raising of stock, as the country seemed peculiarly fitted to grazing, and they brought a number of neat cattle and swine to be allowed to feed at large under the care of herdsmen. But they aimed at something more than this nomadic occupation, and a company was formed, in which a number of adventurers in London were enlisted, to found a permanent colony. Discouraged, however, either by the want of immediate success, or for want of time to carry out their plans, or for some less creditable reason, the settlement was soon abandoned.

Abandonment of the New England settlement.

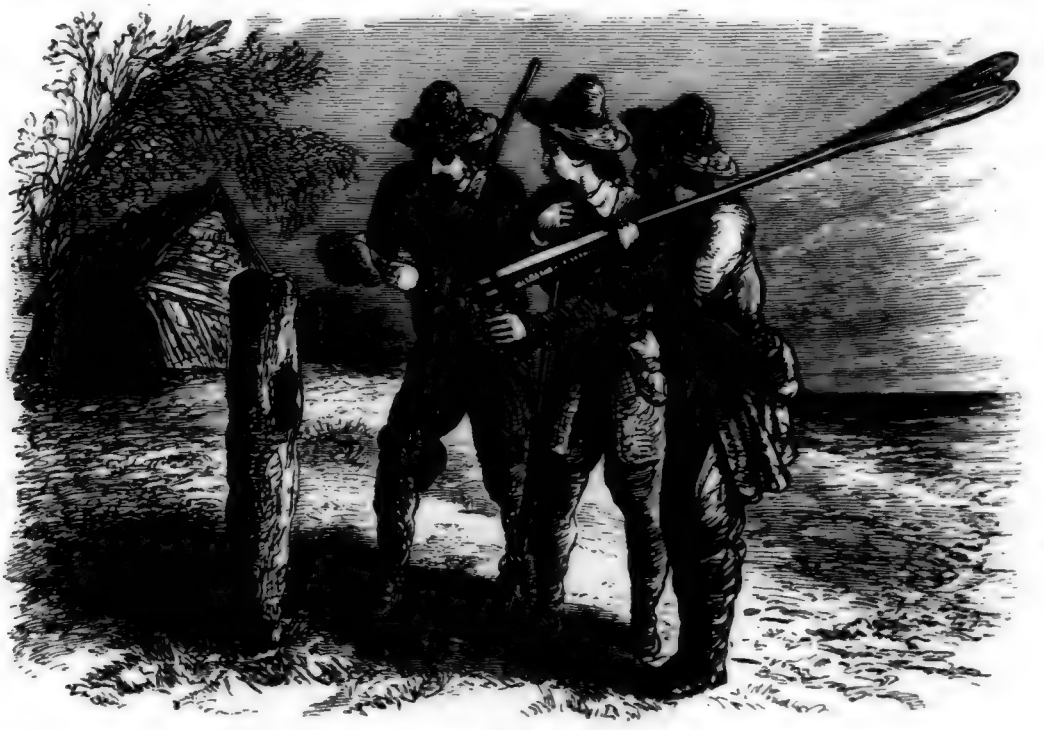
On this point there is sufficient evidence. In 1663, some persons from Barbadoes were on the coast in search of a suitable place for the planting of a colony. They visited the spot where the New Englanders had been, and their report is that they found "a writing left in a post at the point of Cape Fear river by those New England men that left cattle with the Indians there, the contents whereof tended not only to the disparagement of the land about the said river, but also to the great discouragement of all such as should hereafter come into those parts to settle."[2] So, also, the London associates of this New England Company declared, at a meeting held in August, 1663, "that at the pres-

[1] Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, vol. ii., p. 132.

[2] Lawson's *History of Carolina*.

ent the undertaking of the plantation of the said Charles River lieth under some obloquy, that hath given a check to it; some that were sent from New England thither, in order to the carrying on the said settlement, being come back again without so much as sitting down upon it; and for the better justification of themselves in their return, have spread a reproach both upon the harbour and upon the soil of the river itself." [1]

Was there sufficient ground for this "reproach both upon the harbor and the soil?" The explorers from Barbadoes, at least, did not think so. "In answer to that scandalous writing," as they called it, found affixed to the post, they affirm, "that we have seen, facing both sides the river and branches of Cape Fair aforesaid, as good



Finding the Message of the New England Men.

land, and as well timbered, as any we have seen in any other part of the world, sufficient to accommodate thousands of our English nation, and lying commodiously by the said river's side." It was a quite sufficient answer, as the future showed.

It is not impossible, however, that justification was sought for to cover up the real reason for failure. Lawson, in commenting upon the report of the Barbadoes men, — which he preserved in his history, — gives as a reason why the New Englanders "did not only take off themselves, but also their stocks of cattle,"

Reasons for its failure.

[1] *Hutchinson Papers* in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., 3d series.

that there were "irregular practices of some of that colony against the Indians, by sending away some of their children (as I have been told) under pretence of instructing them in learning and the principles of the Christian religion, which so disgusted the Indians, that though they had then no guns, yet they never gave over till they had entirely rid themselves of the English by their bows and arrows." Perhaps this was the "obloquy" to which the London associates referred.

The New England Company, nevertheless, asserted their right to the lands in question by virtue of their purchase from the Indians. Their friends in London, at the meeting in August, 1663, just referred to, presented their views upon this claim for the consideration of the new patentees. The New England colonies, they said, have ever had "full liberty to choose their own govenours among themselves; to make and confirm laws with themselves; with immunity also wholly from all taxes, charges, and impositions whatsoever, more than what is laid upon themselves by themselves." But unless these privileges were "preserved entire to them," it was "feared that all thoughts of further proceeding in the said river will be wholly laid aside by them."[1]

Action of the Carolina proprietors.

A month later, — September, 1663, — the Proprietors wrote to Governor Berkeley, informing him that they had received their charter from the King. They empowered him to appoint a governor, or governors, for the people who, they understood, were already settled on both banks of the Chowan. In response to "a paper from persons that desired to settle near Cape Fear," — by which they meant the New England Company, — the only proposals they have to make with special reference to that company relate to the allotment of land, declaring it to be "our resolution and desire that you persuade or compel those persons to be satisfied with such proportions as we allot to others."[2]

Character of their projected government.

The character of the government had already been decided at the first meeting of the Proprietors in the preceding May. There was to be full liberty of conscience; the governor and assembly were to be chosen by popular election; and duties from customs were not to be enforced.[3] In the proposals sent with this letter to Berkeley in September, these conditions were repeated. This repetition was intended, doubtless, for the instruction and assurance of emigrants from New England, or anywhere else, who should choose to avail themselves of such an offer. But that they were not a concession to the demand of the New England claimants is manifest, as

[1] *Hutchinson Papers*, as above.

[2] Letter from the Lords Proprietors to Sir William Berkeley. Chalmers' *Annals*.

[3] Chalmers' *Annals*. Martin's *History*. *Papers in State Paper Office*, London; cited in *Coll. Hist. Soc. of South Carolina*, vol. i.

their remonstrance to the Proprietors could not at the time of this meeting in May have been received, — was not, probably, even written.[1]

Nothing more is heard of the New England Company. If any influence was exerted from that region upon the new province, it was through individual citizens, who chose to make it their home. Of these there were many in the early settlement of North Carolina, — more, however, probably upon the Chowan than the Cape Fear River. "Make everything easy to the people of New England," wrote the Proprietors to Sir John Yeamans, in 1665, "from which the greatest emigrations are expected, as the southern colonies are already drained." [2]



Landing of Yeamans.

Yeamans came with a colony of several hundred persons, and landed at Cape Fear River on the 29th of May, 1664.[3] The party

[1] The abortive attempt to settle a New England colony at the mouth of Cape Fear River, and its influence upon the character of the constitution of the new province, have been a source of much controversy and misunderstanding. The mistake in regard to it seems to have originated with Chalmers, who, assuming that the "proposals" sent to Berkeley in September were made "at the desire of the New England people," overlooked the fact that they were simply a repetition of the form of government decided upon by the proprietors at their first meeting in May. Their charter then was only a little more than a month old, and no protest in regard to it could at that time have reached England from America.

[2] Chalmers.

[3] *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina, on the Coasts of Florida.* London, 1666 Republished in Hawks' *History.* The colonists landed on the 8th of June, new style.

sent from Barbadoes to explore the coast of Carolina, — whose indignation was so aroused by the warning put up by the New England herdsmen on the Cape Fear River, — had bought of the Indians a tract of thirty-two miles square, and the proprietors were asked to confirm the purchase by a grant. Though this was refused, the terms granted to the colonists were satisfactory. Their settlement, which was "up the river, about twenty or thirty miles"[1] they called Charles-town. The province or county of which Yeamans was appointed Governor, was named Clarendon, and extended from Cape Fear to the St. John's, in Florida.

The colony under Yeamans.

Meanwhile Sir William Berkeley, in accordance with the instructions given by the Proprietors in their letter of September, 1663, established a government on the Chowan. He appointed a governor — William Drummond — and a council of six, who, with an assembly chosen by the people, were to enact laws, subject to the approval of the proprietors; possessions of lands were confirmed, and new grants were made, with an allowance of three years for the payment of quit-rents. In 1666, however, the Assembly protested against the payment of these quit-rents, and prayed that the tenure of lands should be the same as that established in Virginia. The petition was granted with regard to those who then held possession, but the rule was enforced upon all subsequent entries.[2] An Assembly was probably convened as early as 1663,[3] though Albemarle County was not included within the boundaries of Carolina till after the issue of the second charter, in 1665.

Organization of the Chowan Colony.



Portrait of Locke.

In the elaboration of a Constitution for the new province Lord Shaftesbury called to his aid the great philosopher and statesman, John Locke. It was not till 1669 that the first of these "Fundamental Con-

[1] *A Brief Description*, etc. It was, Hawks says, "in Brunswick county, at or near the junction of Old Town Creek with the Cape Fear."

[2] Chalmers' *Annals*.

[3] Hawks.

stitutions" was finished. By it the eight Lords Proprietors were constituted supreme rulers, the eldest to be Palatine of the province, and upon his death the eldest of the survivors to succeed him. The seven other offices, of admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, chief justice, high steward, and treasurer, were to be divided among the others, the eldest always to have choice of a vacant place. To the proprietor was given the privilege, until the year 1701, to relinquish or dispose of his proprietorship to any other person. All his rights were hereditary in the male line; in default of direct male heirs, male descendants through the female line succeeded, and after them "heirs general;" in default of any heirs, the surviving proprietors filled the place by election from the next of the orders of hereditary nobility. Of these orders there were two — Landgraves and Cassiques, each Landgrave possessing four baronies, and each Cassique two. The domains of the Proprietors, on the other hand, were called seigniories; and eight seigniories and eight baronies, with twenty-four "colonies" which could be owned by "the people," made up a county. Each seigniory, barony, and colony contained twelve thousand acres; each county, therefore, consisted of 480,000 acres, of which twenty-four parts (or three fifths) were to be owned by the people, and sixteen parts (or two fifths) by the hereditary nobility — "that so in setting out and planting the lands," say the constitutions, "the balance of the government may be preserved." There would thus be, of course, just as many Landgraves as counties, and only twice as many Cassiques; but every member of both these classes of nobles was to be, "by right of his dignity," a member of the parliament, whereas every "colony" was not to have a member — only every "precinct" which was still another division formed for convenience of six colonies. There were but four popular members to a county, therefore; and the further restriction was made, that "no man should be chosen a member who had less than five hundred acres of freehold within the precinct;" while only those who had fifty or more acres of freehold could take part in electing him. The parliament thus chosen was to sit "all together in one room, and have every member one vote."

John Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions."

Officers and orders of nobility.

Divisions of the country.

The Parliament.

The privileges thus given to the hereditary nobility were further hedged about with provisions absolutely prohibiting the entrance of others into the titled class. The highest dignity attainable under them was the lordship of a manor, which must consist of not less than three thousand, or more than twelve thousand acres; and even such a freehold could only constitute a manor "by the grant of the Palatine's court." Under the nobility

Lords of manors and leet-men.

and lords of manors were "leet-men," and these were "under the jurisdiction of the respective lords of the said seigniory, barony or manor, without appeal from him." "All the children of leet-men shall be leet-men, and so to all generations."

The Courts.

There were to be eight supreme courts, — the highest consisting of the Palatine and the other proprietors, the others each of a proprietor, six councillors, and a college of twelve assistants chosen by the Palatine's court, and by Parliament from the nobility. Nobles could only be tried by the chief justice's court. The Palatine's court had a veto power over all parliamentary measures; and each of the other courts had its special controlling functions, — the chancellor's having power over land grants, treaties, etc.; the chief justice's over all civil and criminal appeals; the constable's over military matters; the admiral's over matters of marine; the treasurer's over finance; the high-steward's over public works, etc.; the chamberlain's over "all ceremonies, precedency, heraldry, reception of public messengers, pedigrees, the registry of all births, burials, and marriages," and also over the regulation of "all fashions, habits, badges, games, and sports!" The happy province was to be governed even down to the amusements of its children, and the fashion of its women's gowns. Finally, the proprietors, and the forty-two councillors of the other courts, were to constitute a "Grand Council," or final court of appeal, in case of any dissensions among the rest.[1]

Other provisions of the Constitutions

Of the hundred lesser offices, or of the detailed regulation of civil, military, and judicial affairs, it is not necessary to speak; yet some minor provisions still remain to be cited, without which no sketch of the Constitutions could be complete. Lands, for instance, could not be subdivided even at the death of the Proprietor, but must descend entire. Proprietors need not live in Carolina to exercise their rights, but might, in carefully prescribed ways, appoint their deputies, who could not, however, confirm laws, or appoint Landgraves or Cassiques. A singular regulation prescribed that "to avoid multiplicity of laws," all statutes should, "at the end of an hundred years after their enacting," become null and void, and to avoid "multiplicity of comments," the publication of any commentary on the "Fundamental Constitutions" was prohibited. In trials by jury a majority was to decide. It was forbidden to take pay for pleading in courts of law. "Absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion whatsoever," was given to every freeman.

Finally there were some remarkable provisions as to religion and

[1] Grahame, *History of the United States* (ii., 87), says the functions of this body were like those of the Scotch "Lords of the Articles."

the liberty of conscience. They were singularly contradictory; for, against the wishes of Locke,[1] some of the chief proprietors inserted, in the second draft of the Constitutions, an article making the Church of England alone entitled to maintenance, and pronouncing it the "only true and orthodox" religion. Yet fortunately his own provision was also left as he had written it; and had the form of his scheme of government been left unchanged, this would undoubtedly have been the only reference to religious matters to be found in it. "In the terms of communion of every church or profession," he wrote, "these following shall be three; without which no agreement or assembly of men, under pretence of religion, shall be accounted a church or profession within these rules: —

Religion.

"1. That there is a GOD.

"2. That GOD is publicly to be worshipped.

"3. That it is lawful and the duty of every man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to truth; and that every church or profession shall, in their terms of communion, set down the external way whereby they witness a truth as in the presence of GOD, whether it be by laying hands on or kissing the Bible, as in the Church of England, or by holding up the hand, or any other sensible way. . . . . No person above seventeen years of age shall have any benefit or protection of the law," etc., "who is not a member of some church or profession."

Even earlier in the Constitutions it had been prescribed that "no man shall be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a GOD, and that GOD is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped." Locke returns to this with frequent insistance; yet this one point granted, he concedes, in a long subsequent article, that all other distinctions form no justification for the interference of the state; and prescribes further that no man shall interfere with or "use any reproachful, reviling or abusive language against the religion of any church or profession — that being the certain way of disturbing the peace, and of hindering the conversion of any to the truth."

It is a significant commentary on this complicated piece of political machinery, that while it was assuming definite shape, the people of Albemarle had taken the matter of law-making for the new country into their own hands. All unconscious that they were to be only "leet-men," or at best "lords of manors," amid a magnificent prospective population of seigniors, landgraves, and cassiques; and ignorant of the vast system of councils, courts-

Legislation of the Albemarle people.

[1] Locke's *Works*, folio ed., vol. iii., p. 676, note, as cited by Grahame, ii., 89, and as quoted in note to Carroll, ii., 384.

leet and courts-baron which was to regulate their lives, amusements, and dress down to the smallest detail, these practical pioneers had quietly drawn up such simple regulations as their situation seemed to need.

Since Berkeley's visit to the Albemarle region it had received several additions, and now there were settlements all the way along the north shore of the Sound. The original Virginian plantations had been supplemented by several made by New-Englanders, and as far east as the Pasquotank River a colony of Bermuda people had taken up lands. Drummond had been succeeded in October, 1667, in the governorship by Samuel Stephens, and the proprietors in England, pending the completion of their great scheme, had authorized a temporary government of a council of twelve, half of them to be chosen by an assembly of the settlers.

Character of the Albemarle laws

It was such an assembly which now sent to London the simple code which it believed to have become necessary for the increasing population — or perhaps it should rather be said, needful to secure its further increase. Exemption from taxation for a year was secured to every new settler; but, to guard against a monopoly of lands by absentees, it was declared necessary to live in the country two years before such land-grant should form a complete title. The traffic with the neighboring Indians was reserved to the people of the district; stringent means were to be used against the participation of traders from outside. In addition to these inducements to emigration, the proposed laws gave to the country the very questionable advantage of forming a virtual asylum for runaway debtors; no debt contracted outside of Albemarle could be sued for within five years, nor could any colonist accept a power of attorney to demand such a debt from another. A tax of thirty pounds of tobacco on every lawsuit, while it provided for the expenses of the Governor and Council, was also intended to check the litigation so likely to arise in a new country where titles to land were a source of frequent dispute.

Laws concerning marriage.

Marriage was declared to be only a civil contract. Parties appearing before "the governor, or any member of the council, or a few of their neighbors, and declaring their mutual consent, were declared to be man and wife." It has been conjectured that such a law was deemed expedient in the scarcity of clergymen, in a widely scattered community. Perhaps it was also meant to encourage matrimony and the emigration of women. A contemporary pamphlet, written in the interest of the proprietors, holds out as an inducement to such an emigration, that, "if any Maid or single Woman have a desire to go over, they will think themselves in the Golden Age, when Men paid

a Dowry for their Wives; for if they be but Civil, and under 50 years of Age, some honest Man or other will purchase them for their Wives."[1] This sufficient constitution continued, with all its faults, to regulate Northern Carolina for more than forty years, till in 1715 it was deliberately reënacted by the people.

The Duke of Albemarle was the first Palatine under the Constitutions, and at his death the office passed to Lord Berkeley. But the "Fundamental Constitutions" never became the law of the land. From the time they were first adopted by the Proprietors, in 1669, till they were finally rejected by the Assembly of South Carolina, in 1698, they were four times amended, till their articles were reduced from one hundred and twenty to forty-one. Their onerous and impracticable provisions were so ill adapted to the condition of colonists in a new country, that hardly was respect enough paid to them even to attempt their serious enforcement.

Fate of the "Fundamental Constitutions."



Portrait of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

The Proprietors had made, meanwhile, their first direct attempt to plant in the province a colony of their own. Albemarle was an off-shoot of Virginia; Cape Fear of Barbadoes; the new settlement was to be supplied directly from England, and furnished with means by the lords themselves.

In July, 1669, Captain William Sayle, who had already made explorations of the coast in the proprietaries' service, was commissioned governor of that part of Carolina "lying south and west of Cape Carteret" or Cape Romain,[2] a region which had been especially excepted from the jurisdiction of Yeamans. In 1670 Sayle and Joseph West, a commercial agent of the proprietaries, set sail from England with two ships loaded with emigrants and stores.

William Sayle governor, 1669.

They sailed in January. But they touched first at some port in Ireland before they were fairly off on their long voyage for Carolina

[1] *A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina on the Coasts of Florida*, etc., London, 1666.

[2] Romain was its earliest name; then it became Carteret; now it is Romain again.

by way of Barbadoes. It was months before they reached Port Royal, to which they were ordered, no doubt because it was the best known point on that coast. Whether they did more than enter that beautiful bay is not certain, though some of the early writers think they attempted a settlement. It is more probable that they thought a port so accessible from the sea was less desirable for an infant colony than a place more difficult of approach. At any rate, they did not remain at Port Royal, but before the year was out, Sayle, who knew the coast, sailed up the present harbor of Charleston, and landed his people about three miles above the mouth of the Ashley River. The place they named Charles-town.

Death of Sayle. — Yeamans governor.

Sayle before long fell a victim to the climate, and Sir John Yeamans, who had been made a landgrave, succeeded him as governor by virtue of that rank, though West would have been preferred by the people. For several years the colony was in a languishing condition; nor did the Proprietaries conceal their discontent at the steady drain it kept up upon their treasury, while the possibility of its becoming self-sustaining seemed to grow no nearer. New emigrants were sent out, but, like the first settlers, they appear to have been of the class least likely to make successful pioneers. The climate discouraged Europeans from the only kinds of planting which could have proved profitable, and the hard labor of clearing and tilling was in great part done by negro slaves, a few of whom had been sent from Barbadoes, or brought thence by Yeamans and his companions to Cape Fear.[1] There was a small number of industrious and experienced men from the northern colonies,[2] and apparently there were a few English emigrants of more spirit and persistency than the rest; but the great majority was made up from the broken-down and vicious class which was drawn upon so largely by all the proprietary colonies.

Languishing condition of the colony.

The proprietors, not without grumbling, continued for some time to respond to the calls for supplies, for which no return was made in colonial products. But no provision could be made for the proper distribution of what was sent, and supplies were furnished to idle and industrious alike; the founders of the colony found themselves supporting a majority of useless paupers, where they had relied upon returns which the minority of hard-workers was not strong enough to secure. By the beginning of 1674 a heavy debt — some thousands of pounds — had accumulated on account of the plantation. Sir John Yeamans — who appears to have taken advantage of his position to direct what little export trade there was toward Barbadoes, where he could turn it to his own profit — was

[1] Hewit, in Carroll's *Hist. Coll.* [2] Chalmers.

removed, and, much to the general satisfaction, Joseph West was appointed governor in his place.

Yeamans, broken in health by the climate, but with a large fortune acquired during the years of his administration, retired again to Barbadoes, and the popular and prudent West soon changed the condition of affairs for the better. Emigrants were now willing to go to the province "at their own expense. Men of estate ventured where they were assured of fair dealing," says one of the older historians, and all accounts concur in representing the confidence in the new Governor as giving an immediate impetus to the settlement and progress of the place, while his management seems also to have checked for the time the complaints of the proprietaries. The colonists, it is true, did not pay the large indebtedness already contracted, nor even the Governor's salary, as they promised when his

West governor, 1674.



View of Charleston Harbor.

administration began. But this latter point was settled, in 1677, by the Proprietors' assignment to West of all their stock, unused supplies, and overdue debts in the province, thus giving him a new motive for the improvement of the colony. For themselves, they doubtless considered it a favorable state of things if even the drain on their treasury was stopped. The idea of large profits must have been given up by this time even by the most sanguine "seignior" among them, while the more fortunate landgraves and cassiques, some few of whom had been appointed, must have rejoiced that their barren honors had been so cheaply purchased.

Improvement in the Colony's affairs.

This prosperity, which was to last for several years, was hardly established, when the condition of affairs in their northern colony de-

manded the attention of the vexed Proprietors. The people of Albemarle had become thoroughly discontented. The code of temporary laws sent to them had been openly disregarded, and the Assembly seems to have gone on without paying attention to any other code than its own. All manner of disquieting rumors had been spread abroad concerning the intentions of the proprietors regarding this particular settlement, — how they intended to give it to Sir William Berkeley for his own, separating it from the rest of the province, or how they favored their own colony at the south at the expense of the north. In 1674, to make confusion worse, Stephens, the Governor, died; and Carteret, chosen in his place pending advices from England, proved indifferent to or dissatisfied with his duties, and sailed for home after an administration of little more than a year.

Discontent at Albemarle.

In 1675 the fear of the colonists as to the dismemberment of the province, and Berkeley's dreaded rulership over it, led to an address to the Proprietors. Their prompt denial of the rumor, and their acknowledgment that they had "neglected Albemarle," did not check the excitement. At the same time one Thomas Miller was the object of great suspicion, and was sent to Jamestown for trial, charged with sedition. He was acquitted by a Virginian jury; but this did not allay the popular discontent. That, probably, was increased by the fact that he was taken out of the colony for trial.

Address to the Proprietors.

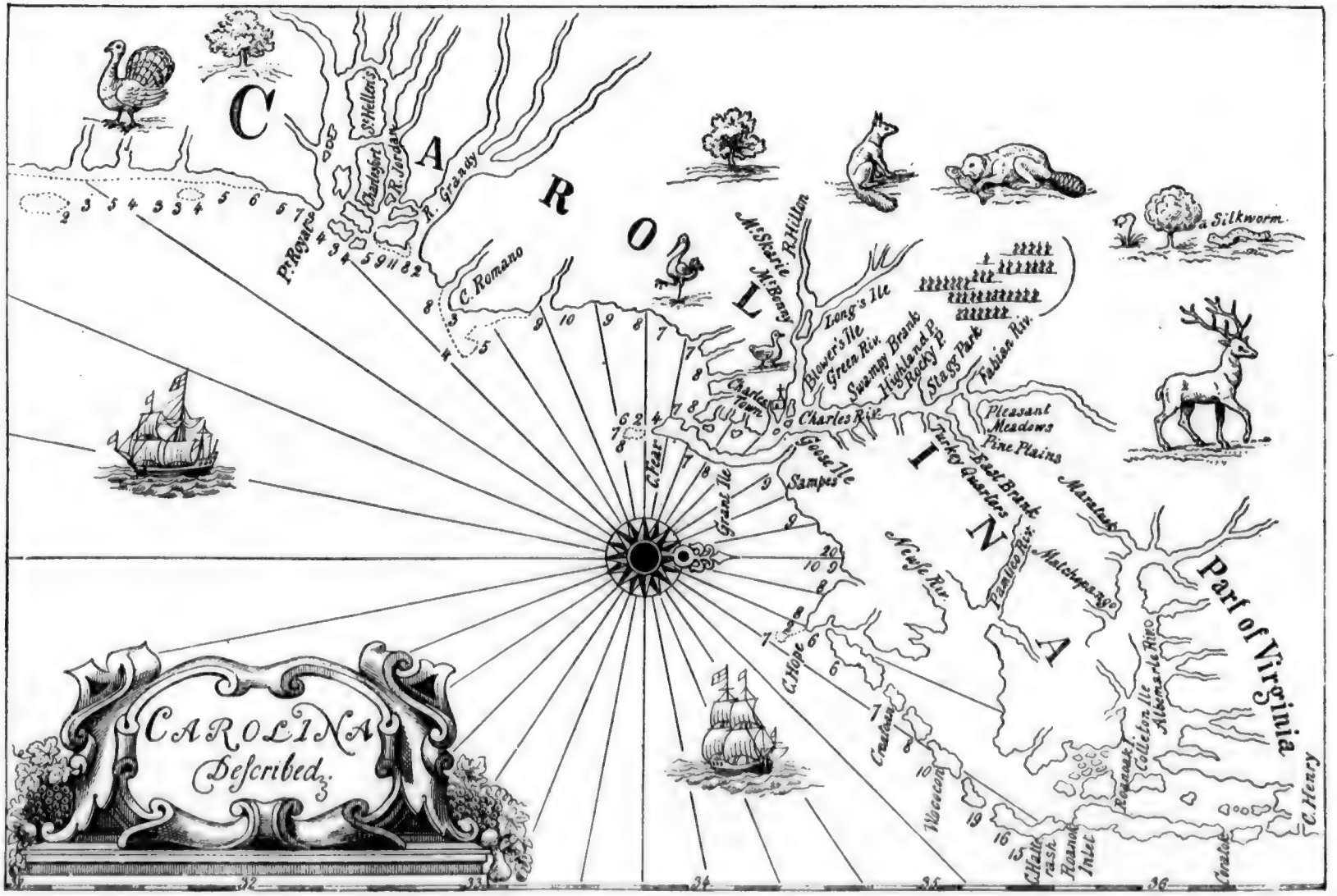
The case of Thomas Miller.

In 1676 the Assembly decided to send an intelligent representative to England, to lay before the Proprietors the disorderly condition of the colony, to ask redress for various grievances, and to secure a governor who should understand their necessities, and satisfy their reasonable wants. Thomas Eastchurch, the speaker of the Assembly, was chosen for the duty; and about the time of his setting out, Miller also sailed for England, to demand redress for the injuries done him.

Eastchurch sent to England.

Eastchurch succeeded so well in his mission as to secure his own appointment to the governorship, with a set of instructions which he thought would quiet dissension and satisfy the people. But though Eastchurch was made Governor, Miller was no less successful in obtaining redress for his private grievances. The Proprietors acknowledged that he had been wronged in being taken to Virginia for trial, even if there was any ground for the trial itself. He who had been foremost in denouncing their rule in the colony, now became their servant. He was made collector of the customs, secretary, and Lord Shaftesbury's deputy in Carolina. Nor was this all; for, when the two newly-appointed officers sailed together

His success and appointment as Governor.



FAC-SIMILE FROM THE "DESCRIPTION OF CAROLINA."

for the colony, and landed first in the West Indies, Eastchurch fell in love with a Creole heiress in Nevis Island, and sent his companion to rule at Albemarle, with full powers as his deputy, "till the chain that bound him proved too weak to hold him, or strong enough to enable him to draw the beauty who had imposed it." Miller probably did not object to this arrangement, but proceeded promptly to the colony, where, on his arrival in July, 1677, the people received him, no doubt with deep disgust, but with outward signs of submission.

Miller Deputy-governor.

Albemarle had now a population of fourteen hundred "taxables," or persons between sixteen and sixty years of age, one third of them being women, negro slaves, and Indians. How these colonists had been ruled during Carteret's absence does not appear; probably chiefly by their own Assembly, with perhaps an executive named by the Council, whose name has not been recorded. One thing seems certain, however, — that the fourteen hundred colonists had proved themselves as difficult of tranquil government as many populations of ten times their numbers. Affairs had been left "in bad order and worse hands," said the Proprietors; and Miller found the place full of all the elements of turbulence that a combination of plantation and trading-post could furnish. A degree of anarchy must inevitably have resulted from the uncertainty caused by attempts to enforce first one and then another code of laws; but apart from this, the population was made up of the most diverse classes, among whom quiet would have been impossible. Puritan New Englanders, not feeling themselves at ease under ultra-royalist proprietors of a kind whom all their traditions led them to oppose; adventurers, who saw in any kind of strong government the prospect of taxes and restrictions on their profits; refugees from the political troubles in Virginia, finding safety in a province which refused to give them up, — all these mingled with the original colonists to make up a people peculiarly difficult to control. The principal trade was with New England, and the men who carried it on added to the disorder by a systematic evasion of the English customs-dues, which were perhaps unjust enough, yet which the proprietary governors were instructed to enforce.

Continued disorder.

It was on the question of this trade that the first open conflict arose between Miller and the colonists. As collector for the king, he assessed a duty of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported to other American colonies. By this tax he collected in the first six months thirty-three hogsheads of tobacco and more than five thousand dollars.[1] The indignation was great, particularly among the New

[1] Martin. See also Williamson and Hawks.

England trading-captains. Every device of smuggling and concealment was resorted to in order to evade the law.

In December, a northern trader named Gillam, commanding an armed vessel from New England, was arrested for violation of the law, and was bound in a thousand pounds to abide his trial. He threatened the people that he would bring them no more supplies at such risk. In the district of Pasquotank, where the arrest took place, the people rose at once, and the insurrection was almost immediately joined by the planters of other districts. Miller and several of the Proprietors' deputies were imprisoned by the insurgents led by one Culpepper, a man who had already been prominent in agitations on Ashley River. The funds of the revenue officers — some three thousand pounds — were seized, and a popular assembly was called, new courts established, and all matters of administration taken under the control of the successful rebels.

Insurrection against Miller in Pasquotank.

The people of Pasquotank published a proclamation or "remonstrance," addressed "to all the rest of the County of Albemarle," in justification of their conduct. Miller was accused of preventing a free election, which deprived them of a free parliament whereby their grievances could be made known to the Lords Proprietors. The chief of these grievances was that the tax on tobacco was enforced, and that trade was interfered with; and they relate with an almost ludicrous pathos the circumstances of Gillam's arrest — who had come "with three times the goods he brought last year," — which, of course, he meant to dispose of in a contraband trade, in tobacco — of Miller's boarding his vessel "with a brace of pistols," and presenting one of them at George Durant's breast, whom he seized as a traitor.

"Remonstrance" of the Pasquotank people.

The grievance in truth was serious enough. Their chief production was tobacco. The tax was a heavy burden upon colonists inevitably poor; and the enforcement of the Navigation Act was to shut them off from a trade with New England upon which they were dependent almost for the necessaries of life. The arrest of Gillam was the one thing needed to make a crisis. "Three times as many goods as the year before," but safely under hatches in Gillam's vessel, and not to be exchanged for the tobacco on which, nevertheless, the tax was inexorably levied — here was palpable oppression to be borne no longer. The insurrection was completely successful.

When Eastchurch arrived — having won his bride at last in the West Indies — he found that the delay had cost him his governorship. He appealed to Virginia for aid, but before he had time to put his plans into operation, he died.

Arrival of Eastchurch. His death.

The colonists, however, had no intention of setting the Proprietors

altogether at defiance. But it was nearly two years before they thought fit to offer any justification of their conduct in deposing one officer and refusing obedience to another. In 1679, Culpepper and Robert Holden were sent as commissioners to England to lay their grievances before the Proprietors. Miller and his companions in imprisonment succeeded in escaping and in securing passage on a homeward-bound vessel, and appeared in London not long afterward. The majority of the Proprietors seem to have been much puzzled by the contradictory accounts thus simultaneously brought before them. But Lord Shaftesbury, finding that the commissioners were willing to yield every thing to the proprietaries if only Miller should be permanently displaced and the insurgents pardoned; feeling also, perhaps, that the colonists really had grievances which should be redressed; but especially seeing, no doubt, that the successful rebel was much more of a man than the governor he had deposed,—used his influence in Culpepper's favor. No thought seems to have been entertained of returning Miller to the government. A commission as governor of Albemarle had been previously issued to Seth Sothell, who had lately become a proprietor by purchasing the share of Lord Clarendon.

Action of the Proprietors.



Arrest of Durant.

Sothell started for the colony probably late in 1678, or early the next year. But he was captured by the Turks on his outward voyage, and taken into Algiers. The Proprietors consequently decreed

that a temporary government should be continued under one John Harvey, to whom a commission for the time being seems to have been granted previously — perhaps because he was already in Carolina, and in a position to govern till a new officer's arrival.[1] But the expedient proved unsuccessful; his power was derided because it was known that it was to last but a little time. Indeed, he seems to have been virtually deposed in the summer of 1680, one John Jenkins succeeding him for a few months. In February, 1681, still another governor was commissioned pending Sothell's coming — Captain Henry Wilkinson, whose credentials call him "governor of that part of the province of Carolina lying five miles south of the river Pamlico, and thence to Virginia."

Sothell appointed governor.

Governors *ad interim*

In the mean time Culpepper, when he was about to reëmbark for the colony after having apparently gained all his ends, had been arrested, at the instigation, it has been suggested, of the proprietors opposed to Shaftesbury,[2] and brought to trial by the commissioners of customs, for unlawfully acting as collector in the colony, and for high-treason. He begged in vain to be tried in Carolina, where the act was committed; this was refused him on the ground that "by a Statute of Henry VIII., foreign treason may be either tried by special commission or in the King's Bench by a jury of the county, where that court sits."[3] He would undoubtedly have been convicted and sentenced by the King's Bench, had not Shaftesbury pleaded for him that there never had been a regular government in Albemarle, and that the rebellion had therefore been only a quarrel between factions of the colonists. Culpepper was acquitted. This trial occurred in Trinity Term, in the summer of 1680, that is, some months after Sothell's appointment, departure, and capture; and there is obviously no ground for the general assumption that Sothell was sent to the colony as a consequence of Culpepper's acquittal.

Arrest of Culpepper.

His acquittal.

In the province itself dissensions were far from ended; nor did the conciliatory measures which the Proprietaries now adopted do much good. Instructions were given to the Governor to "pardon" the insurgents; a measure which naturally seems to have been laughed at by a faction which was almost as strong as the one now nominally in power; and as naturally disregarded by the Governor himself, who knew that to keep his place at all he must rule with a strong hand.

[1] State Papers cited in *Coll. Hist. Soc. of S. C.*, vol. i., p. 102.

[2] Grahame, ii., 107.

[3] Ventris's *Reports*, 349. Cited by Chalmers.

Severe measures of punishment, on the one hand, and of retaliation on the other, appear to have kept Albemarle in constant anarchy during a period too turbulent to have left us any clear records; and when Sothell, who had escaped from captivity, arrived in Carolina in 1683, he had every reason to find affairs in as bad a state as ever.



Seal of the Proprietors of Carolina.

CHAPTER XIII.

VIRGINIA UNDER BERKELEY.

CONDITION OF VIRGINIA IN 1670. — ABUSES AND POPULAR GRIEVANCES. — THE GRANT TO ARLINGTON AND CULPEPPER. — INDIAN HOSTILITIES AND THEIR RESULTS. — INEFFICIENCY OF BERKELEY. — INDIGNATION OF THE COLONISTS. — NATHANIEL BACON TAKES THE FIELD IN DEFIANCE OF THE GOVERNOR. — HIS INDIAN CAMPAIGN. — BERKELEY PROCLAIMS HIM A REBEL. — POPULAR UPRISING. — CONCESSIONS FORCED FROM THE GOVERNOR. — BACON'S ARREST, SUBMISSION, AND ESCAPE. — HE CAPTURES JAMESTOWN. — SECOND INDIAN CAMPAIGN. — RENEWED ATTEMPTS OF BERKELEY TO SUPPRESS THE POPULAR MOVEMENT. — BACON'S RETURN. — HE SEIZES THE GOVERNMENT. — FLIGHT OF BERKELEY. — THE CONVENTION. — AIMS OF THE BACON PARTY. — REVIVING FORTUNES OF THE DEPOSED GOVERNOR. — BACON AGAIN CAPTURES AND BURNS THE CAPITAL. — ILLNESS AND DEATH OF BACON. — CLOSE OF THE REBELLION. — PUNISHMENT OF THE REBELS. — ARRIVAL OF ENGLISH COMMISSIONERS. — RECALL AND DEATH OF BERKELEY.

IN the year 1670, the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, in London, asked of Sir William Berkeley a report upon the condition of his colony. Apart from mere statistics, more may be inferred from his response than he saw fit to tell, — more, perhaps, than he really knew. But even the facts he gives are valuable.

Condition of Virginia in 1670. The people.

There were forty thousand people in Virginia at this period: of these, only two thousand were negro slaves; but there were six thousand white servants bound to service for a term of years. It is not a violent supposition that these were not contented subjects. The best of them had been soldiers of the Commonwealth, — men who had risked their lives for the sake of political and religious liberty, and were not likely now to submit quietly to personal servitude. Others were of an even more dangerous class, for the Assembly of that year had listened to complaints, from members of the Council and other gentlemen, of the dangers that threatened the colony by the introduction of felons. The annual importation of white servants was fifteen hundred; the Assembly hoped at least to mitigate the evils of such an emigration by prohibiting the landing in Virginia of convicts from the English jails. Upon these indented servants and the negro slaves the colony depended for its labor. That their lives were held cheaply is plain, for four fifths of

them died when put upon new plantations. It was cheaper to buy new servants than to keep old ones alive by sanitary measures.

Virginia owned but two small vessels of her own, though eighty ships came yearly from England to take away her tobacco and bring in exchange those commodities of luxury or necessity that her people could not do without. Nothing could be exported except to the king's dominions, and nothing, therefore, of much value, could be imported from anywhere but England. No improvement could come, the Governor thought, to the trade of Virginia till she was allowed to sell her tobacco, her staves, her timber, and her corn in the best market, and buy what she wanted in return where it could be bought cheapest. In 1671, she exported sixteen thousand hogsheads of tobacco, on which the export tax was two shillings a hogshead. The price in London ruled the price at which it was put on board the English vessels at the river-banks of the plantations, the planters taking goods in pay. The price of the tobacco was at the lowest, that of the goods at the highest, to which monopoly could bring them. The merchant made an enormous profit on both. More than one old writer says that the remuneration to the planter would hardly find him in clothes; but it was, no doubt, the four fifths of the servants who died that went without the clothes, and not the planters on their great estates, with their generous living and large hospitality. The colonial trade.

The militia of the province could muster eight thousand men. On the James were two forts; on the Rappahannock, the York, and the Potomac, one each. They were meant, however, less for protection than as ports where ships should load and unload, that the restrictions upon trade might be the easier enforced than when cargoes were discharged and received at the plantations. For a year only, however, was that regulation obeyed. The great fire in London in 1666 reduced the number of ships that came out that season; and the fear that the plague which followed it might be introduced into the colony and spread by the aggregation of people at these ports, scattered the ships again along the rivers wherever a market could be found. But the forts were kept up, and the taxation for that purpose was a grievous burden for which there was no return. The militia.

The religious condition of the colony did not altogether suit Berkeley; with him religion meant conformity to the Established Church, and the church a form of prescribed belief and worship with which the constable should have as much to do as the priest. He hated non-conformity and dreaded any appeal to or reliance upon the human reason. He believed devoutly in authority, and every Puritan that went back to New England, every Quaker Religious affairs.

that sought refuge in Carolina, was a good riddance to a ruler who recognized the perfection of human government under Charles I. and Charles II. There were forty-eight parishes in the colony, and in these, Berkeley said, "our ministers are well paid; by my consent, should be better, if they would pray oftener and preach less. But as of all other commodities, so of this, — the worst are sent us, and we have had few that we could boast of, since Cromwell's tyranny drove divers men hither." But some of these parishes were sixty or seventy miles in length, and better authority, perhaps, than the Governor's, asserted that many of them were for years without pastors. Nor were clergymen, when employed, held in much esteem, — in many cases were not deserving of it. Parishioners were often indifferent whether the parsons prayed or preached most, or whether they did neither. Not unfrequently a lay reader was employed at the lowest possible wages for which a substitute for a minister could be hired. This saved a clergyman's salary, and filled at the same time the Governor's requirement of religious teaching, — no preaching and more prayer-book.

Education.

But if the Governor was a little doubtful as to the religious state of the colony, he had no misgivings of the perfectly healthful condition of the merely secular mind of his people. To this consideration he turns with the keenest satisfaction. "But," he adds, "I thank God there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best governments. God keep us from both."

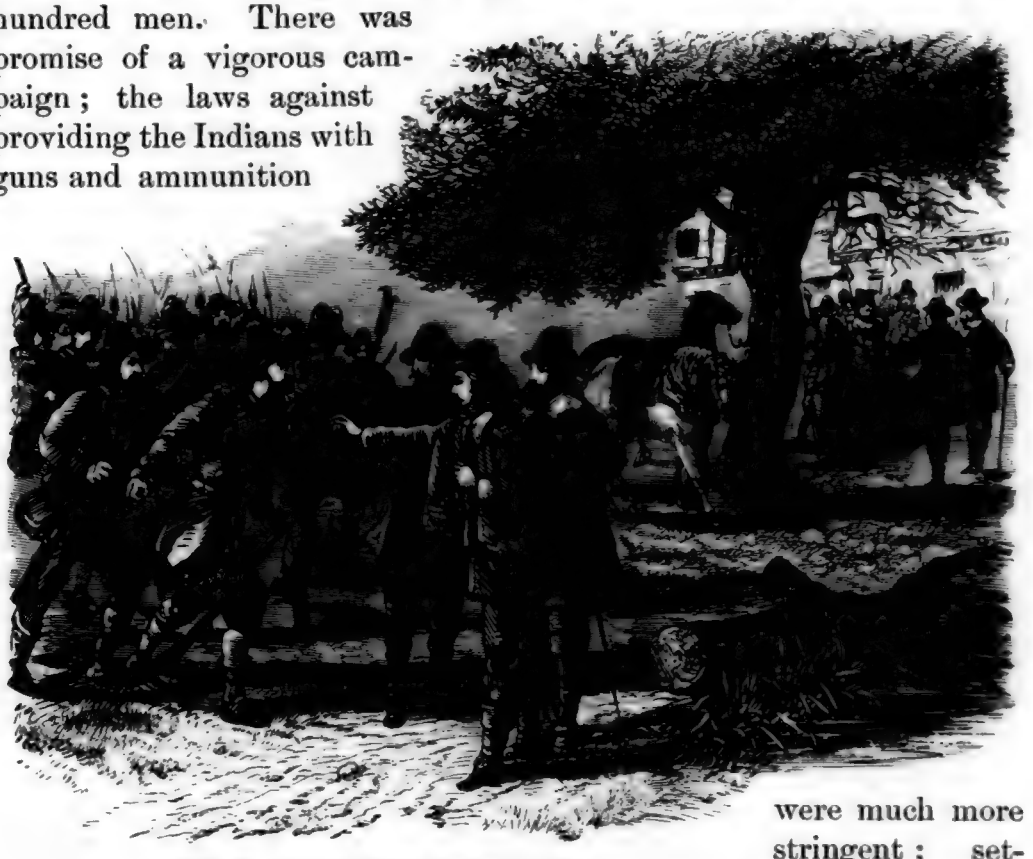
From 1660 to 1676 there was no election of representatives to the Assembly of Virginia. That body preserved its power from year to year by prorogation, and rendered any interference with it the more difficult by restricting the right of suffrage. Industry was paralyzed; the taxes were enormous; official tyranny was intolerable; monopoly absorbed all trade; the people had no voice in the government. In 1673 the whole territory, occupied already by nearly forty thousand Englishmen, was given by the king to two of his favorites, the Earl of Arlington and Lord Culpepper, — the former the father-in-law of the king's bastard son, the Duke of Grafton, by the profligate and beautiful Lady Castlemaine, afterward the Duchess of Cleveland. The grant was a new source of taxation to the oppressed colonists, who were compelled to pay heavily for the support of agents in London in vain efforts to procure the restoration of their homes to the rightful owners. The condition of the colony seemed well-nigh hopeless, and only some pretext for revolt was needed to arouse the people to resistance. In 1674 some

Virginia granted to Arlington and Culpepper.

disturbances, which promised to become a revolution, were with difficulty allayed by a proclamation from the Governor and the intercessions of some influential citizens of his party.

But the insurrection, which so many causes combined to make popular and inevitable, was only postponed for about a year. The Indians on the frontier — either the local tribes instigated by Senecas from the north, or the Senecas themselves — became so troublesome that the forts were put in a condition of defence, and Sir Henry Chicheley, the Lieutenant-governor, prepared to march, in the spring of 1675, against the enemy at the head of five hundred men. There was promise of a vigorous campaign; the laws against providing the Indians with guns and ammunition were much more stringent; settlers were warned to take their arms to church; days of fasting were ordered, and the whole colony seems to have been animated with the hope that something was at length to be done whose end was the common good. But when Chicheley and his little army were ready to move, an unaccountable and unexplained order to disband was received from Governor Berkeley.

Indian hostilities.



Gathering of the Virginia Planters in 1674.

Whether this was done in the interest of the Indian traders, — which was Berkeley's own interest, — or whether the Governor sincerely believed that the danger from the Indians was exaggerated, and would disappear if let alone, the effect upon the colonists was

unquestionably exasperating. If the Governor would not defend them, they determined to defend themselves.

Murder of Hen.

The occasion was not long in coming. One Sunday morning, in the summer of that year, some persons in Stafford County, on their way to church, found lying at his own door, wounded and dying, a man named Hen, and near him a friendly Indian, quite dead. Hen lived long enough to tell his friends that the Doegs were the murderers.

Punishment of the murderers.

Alarm was spread through the neighborhood, and thirty men started at once in pursuit. For twenty miles up the Potomac the trail was followed, till, crossing the river, it divided into two paths. The force separated to follow both, — one party under Captain Brent, the other under Colonel Mason. Brent soon came upon a wigwam, which he surrounded with his men. A chief came out at the Captain's summons, who accused him of having murdered Hen, and, as he attempted to fly, shot him down. His companions within the wigwam made some show of defence, and then, as they rushed out to escape, ten of them fell before the fire of the Virginians. They were of the Doeg tribe, and, very likely, the murderers.

Attack on a Susquehannock wigwam.

The other party, who also reached a wigwam in the woods, waited for no parley. The Indians, aroused by the noise of the firing of Brent's men, rushed to the door, and, as they appeared, fourteen of them were shot dead before the assailants could be made to understand that these were not Doegs, but Susquehannocks. But the murder of Hen was fully avenged. The sun had risen but once over his grave, before — as the Indians believed — twenty-four of their people followed him into the valley of darkness.

Retaliation was inevitable. Susquehannocks, Doegs, Senecas, Piscataways, — all the Indian tribes of the region were aroused by the slaughter in a single day of so many warriors. Two of these tribes mourned for their own; the third was accused of the act that had brought upon them so terrible a calamity. All had now cause to hate the whites; some of them — perhaps all — proved by new atrocities how eagerly they accepted the lesson. In Maryland and Virginia alike, the isolated planters knew that at any moment they might stand face to face with death.

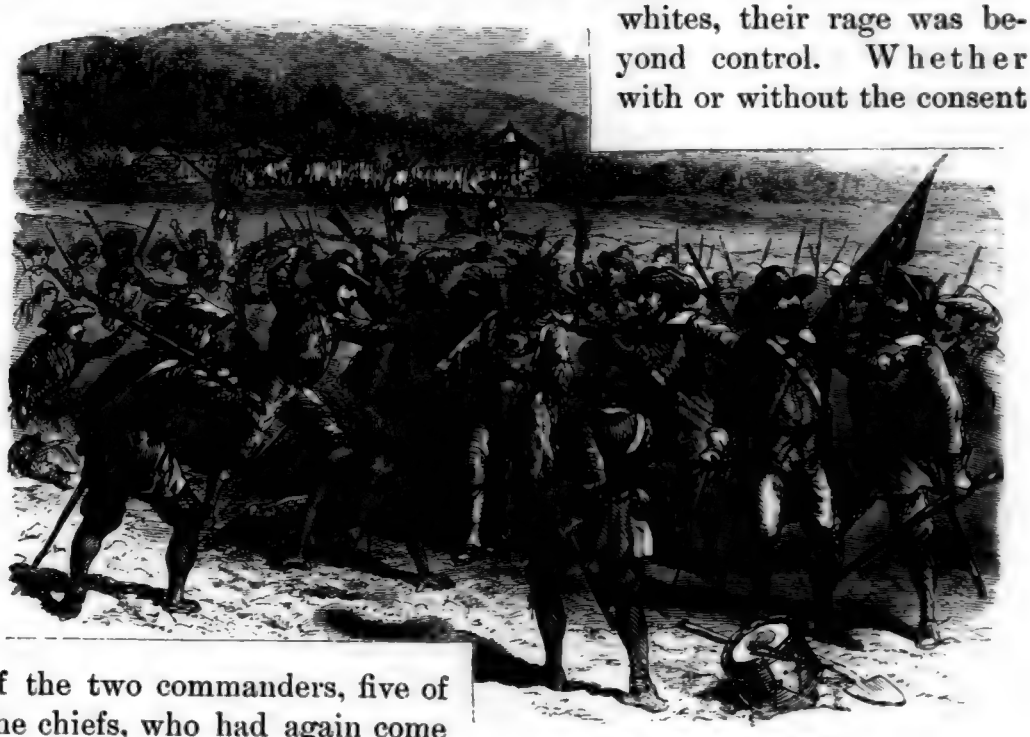
Expedition against the Susquehannocks.

The two colonies united in an expedition, and a thousand men were sent out under Colonel John Washington, — George Washington's great-grandfather, — of Virginia, and Major Thomas Truman, of Maryland. The Susquehannocks had taken refuge with their women and children in a strong fort on the Piscataway, and this the combined force surrounded.

Six of their chiefs were summoned from the fort, that negotiations might first be tried. They denied that their people were guilty of any hostile acts against the whites, and charged them to the Senecas, who had already fled northward. Truman accepted their explanations, and promised them protection, but the Virginians were not satisfied.

The next morning, a detachment brought into the camp the mutilated bodies of one Hanson and some members of his family who had been recently murdered. The act was known before, and was one of those now under consideration. But when this visible evidence of Indian atrocity was laid before the whites, their rage was beyond control. Whether with or without the consent of the two commanders, five of the chiefs, who had again come out of the fort for a parley, and who, under the rules of war, were entitled to protection, were instantly bound and led out to execution.

Killing of the Indian envoys.



The Killing of the Chiefs.

The act was too atrocious to be sustained even by the public opinion of that time. Truman was brought to trial by the Legislature of Maryland, and found guilty in that he did "in a barbarous and cruel manner cause five of said Indians to be killed and murdered, contrary to the laws of God and of nations." How he was punished does not appear, for the records are lost.[1] When Colonel Washington returned to Jamestown, and took his seat in the Assembly, Berkeley said, in his opening address, "If they [the Susquehannocks] had killed my grandfather and my grandmother, my father, my mother,

[1] For the fullest narrative of all these transactions, see a lecture before the Maryland Historical Society, by S. F. Streeter, published in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. i.

and all my friends, yet, if they had come to treat in peace, they should have gone in peace."

Indian retaliation.

This public rebuke was Washington's only punishment. Their revenge the Indians took into their own hands. Though the fort on the Piscataway was strong and capable of defence, they had laid in no provisions for a long siege. In the night, while the camp without slept unsuspicious of danger, the Susquehannocks, with their women and children — leaving behind only a few old men — crept out silently among their enemies, killing ten of them as they went, and escaped to the forest.

Arousing other tribes, they spread dismay along the Rappahanock and the James. Through the following winter they spread through Virginia, almost to Jamestown itself. Their object was rather revenge than plunder. "In these frightful times," says a narrative written a few years afterward by one of the planters who related what he saw,[1] "the most exposed small families withdrew into our houses of better numbers, which we fortified with pallisadoes and redoubts; neighbours in bodies joined their laborers from each plantation to others alternately, taking their arms into the ffields and setting centinels; no man stirred out of door unarm'd, Indians were (ever and anon) espied, three, 4, 5, or 6 in a party, lurking throughout the whole land; yet (what was remarkable) I rarely heard of any houses burnt . . . . or other injury done besides murders, except the killing a very few cattle & swine." Sixty of the colonists, before the spring came, had fallen victims to this savage warfare along the York, the James, and the Rappahannock.

Inefficiency of Berkeley.

In this season of dire distress Berkeley was strangely inefficient or unpardonably indifferent. Even the Susquehannocks, satisfied with their bloody work, made overtures of peace, to which they received no answer; the colonists appealed to him for protection, but he was moved neither by their sufferings nor their prayers. The time had come when they must depend upon themselves for safety. In securing that, came the opportunity to redress much other wrong.

Nathaniel Bacon.

Among the owners of plantations on the James was young Nathaniel Bacon, the cousin and heir of a rich and well-known Jamestown citizen of the same name. Although he was not yet thirty, and had joined his relative in Virginia less than three years before, he was already of sufficient mark in the province to have been appointed member of the council, and to have gained an influence among his neighbors that implied unusual qualities in so

[1] *The Beginning, Progress, and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion.* By T. M. Republished in *Force's Tracts*, vol. i.

young a man. He lived upon an estate called Curles, on the river, a little distance below Richmond; but he also owned a plantation near the falls of the James, — perhaps where the place called "Bacon Quarter Branch" still keeps his name.[1] Here, in the late winter or early spring of 1676, a band of savages stole into the clearing, and killed two persons, — a servant, and Bacon's overseer, whom he held in high esteem.[2]



Bacon Quarter Branch.

The young man had been already greatly excited by the distresses of the people about him, and it needed only this appeal to personal interest and feeling to move him to action. His neighbors, one and all, looked to him as their leader; and he and they had "sent oftentimes to the Governor, humbly beseeching a commission to go against those Indians at their own charge." But no commission came. "The misteryes of these delays were wondered at," and the minds of the people, bitter with other grievances, were filled with "surmizes and murmurings." The climax came when Bacon himself, struck at last in his own family, swore that he would avenge his overseer's death,

[1] Campbell's *History of Virginia.*

[2] There are several contemporary accounts of Bacon's Rebellion. The so called "Burwell Account," found among the papers of Captain Nathaniel Burwell, of Virginia, and published in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Second Series, vol. i., is incomplete. That by "T. M." in Force's *Hist. Tracts*, i., is the fullest. See also *An Account of our Late Troubles in Virginia*, by Mrs. An. Cotton, of Q. Creeks, in Force, i., 9th paper; *A List of those Executed for the Late Rebellion in Virginia*, etc., ibid., 10th paper; and the documents in the appendix to chap. v. in Burk's *History of Virginia*, vol. ii.

and that should news of another murder reach him, he would march out against the savages, "commission or no commission."

Such news was but a little while in coming; and he kept his word. A force whose numbers are differently stated at ninety, three hundred, and even six hundred men,[1] gathered about their leader. But even on the eve of their march, they sent once more to Berkeley for authority, warning him that should he not send it by a certain day, they would go without it. It did not come, and at the appointed time the expedition moved. It had gone only a short distance, before it was overtaken by a messenger, bearing in hot haste a proclamation from the Governor, denouncing all as rebels who did not disperse and return to their homes before a given date. This was decisive, and the line must be drawn at once between such as would brave the final threat of the authorities and such as would turn back while it was yet possible. Fifty-seven of his company kept on into the wilderness with Bacon; "those of estates," who feared their confiscation, returned with discontented obedience to save their property.

Bacon takes the field.

Bacon and his party had not accomplished that most difficult and dangerous part of Indian warfare, the finding of the enemy, when their supplies began to run low. Coming upon the fortified village of a friendly tribe, they asked the savages for provisions, with offers of pay. If the white men would wait till the next day, they should have what they asked, was his answer. It shows what was the popular opinion of the Governor, that a suspicion at once arose among the Bacon party that these Indians were acting by his direction. It was absolutely necessary that food should be had. Wading "shoulder deep" through the creek that ran before the palisades, they pressed their request. A shot, coming from some unseen enemy as night was falling, killed one of the troop, and aroused a suspicion that the Indians were reënforced. An attack was made, the fort taken and burned, and, according to Bacon's own account, one hundred and fifty Indians were put to the sword. It was the annihilation of the tribe of Susquehannocks. That, it was thought, must put an end to all further trouble from the savages, and the colonists dispersed.

Attack upon friendly Indians.

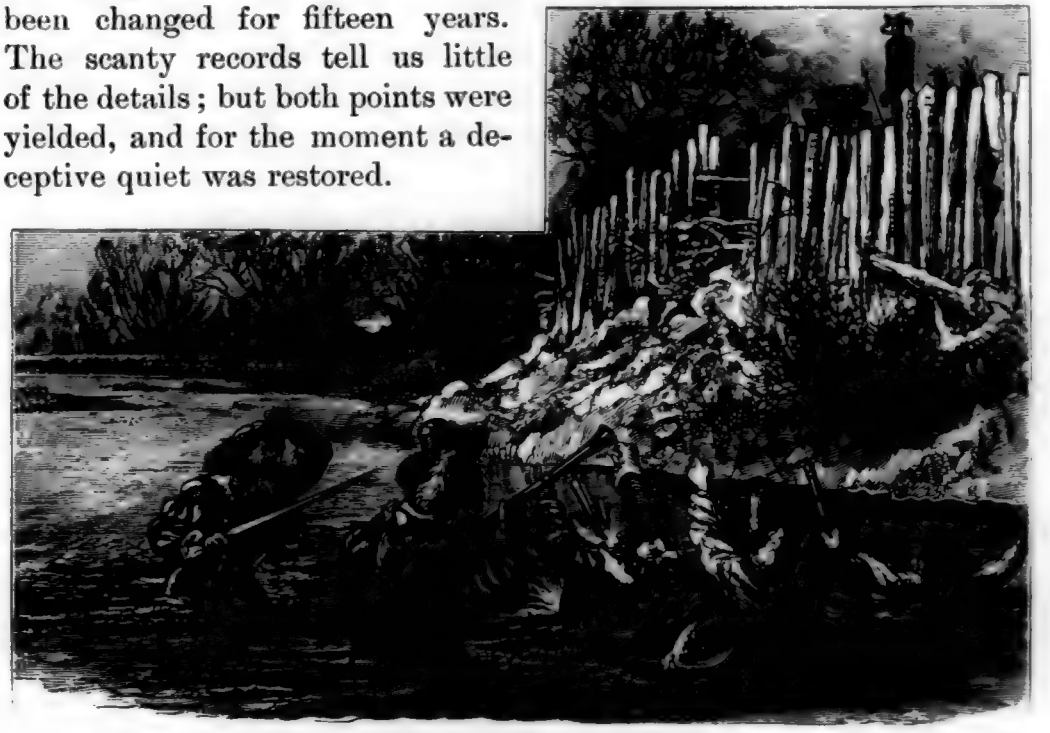
The supposed collusion of Sir William Berkeley and the Indians had this much color of probability, — that the Governor, so soon as he was satisfied of the determined purpose of Bacon and his men, had taken a troop of horse and set out in pursuit. He did not reach them; but his desertion of the capital, at

Berkeley in pursuit of Bacon's force.

[1] Burk, ii. 164, says six hundred; Burwell, p. 10, says "about seventy or ninety persons;" T. M., p. 11, says three hundred men.

this critical moment, proved an ill-judged step. No sooner was he well away, than a revolt broke out among the planters to the south. In the absence of the Governor, the Assembly hesitated and temporized, and allowed the rebellion to gain headway. Hurrying back, Sir William found the country everywhere in such commotion that he was compelled to make concessions. Among the first demanded was the abolition of taxes for the useless forts, — their uselessness now doubly shown, — and the dissolution of that long Assembly which had not been changed for fifteen years. The scanty records tell us little of the details; but both points were yielded, and for the moment a deceptive quiet was restored.

Popular disturbance. Berkeley's concessions.



Bacon's Troops crossing the Creek.

The elections to the new Assembly, for which writs were immediately issued, resulted almost everywhere, as might have been expected, in favor of the popular party. A great majority of the delegates were men pledged to demand redress of the people's grievances. Bacon, whose great popularity was increased by his action in the Indian matter, was among the new members. Notwithstanding his recent defiance of the Governor, he did not hesitate to start for Jamestown on the day appointed. This audacity even a weaker man than Berkeley might have resented. As Bacon sailed down the river from his home at Curles, on his way to the Assembly's session, his sail-boat was brought to by an armed vessel, and he was carried to the capital under arrest. "Mr. Bacon," asked the old Governor, as the culprit was brought before him, "have you forgot to be a gentleman?" — "No, may it please your honor."

New elections.

The arrest of Bacon.

—"Then," said the old soldier, with a courtesy not forgotten in severity, "I will take your parole;" and the popular leader took his seat unhindered among the burgesses.[1]

The burgesses met on the morning of the 5th of June; and when they had chosen a speaker, the Governor summoned them before him. In "a short, abrupt speech," as we have already related, he rebuked



Bacon's Submission.

Colonel Washington for the murder of the Susquehannock chiefs. Then, after seating himself for a moment, he rose and surprised the house by saying, "if there be joy in the presence of the angels over one sinner that repenteth, there is joy now; for we have a penitent sinner come before us. Call Mr. Bacon." "Then," says an eye witness, "did Mr. Bacon, upon one knee at the bar, de-

Bacon's submission.

[1] T. M.'s *Narrative.*

liver a sheet of paper confessing his crimes and begging pardon of God, the king, and the governor." There was a brief silence broken by Berkeley's saying, with real emotion, "God forgive you — I forgive you." [1]

There seems to have been in the veteran officer a warm personal regard for the brilliant young man before him. A moment after pronouncing his forgiveness, he started up again from his chair and said, "Mr. Bacon, if you will live civilly but till next quarter court — but till next quarter court — I'll promise to restore you again to your place there," — pointing to Bacon's vacant seat in the council. "And in th' afternoon," says the narrator of the incident, "passing by the court door in my way up to our chamber, I saw Mr. Bacon on his quondam seat . . . . which seemed a marveilous indulgence to one whom he had so lately proscribed as a rebell." [2]

It is not easy to credit the assertion that all this action on Sir William Berkeley's part was treacherous ; that his kindness and his emotion were both feigned ; and his reception of Bacon a mere device to conciliate the excited planters. Yet Bacon and his adherents believed this, or at least, doubted that Berkeley meant to heed their just complaints. A few days later, while the Assembly was still engaged in a stormy debate upon the Indian question, "one morning early a bruit ran about the town — 'Bacon is fled — Bacon is fled!'" [3]

The rumor speedily proved true. Leaving no other excuse for breaking his parole, than the insufficient one that he believed he was meeting treachery with treachery, — "having information that the Governor's generosity . . . . [was] no other than previous weadles to amuse him and his adherents and to circumvent them by stratagem," — the young man had left Jamestown to rejoin his neighbors. Some said his cousin had given him "timely intimation to flee for his life;" for that the Governor — "seeing all quiet," and noticing that the turbulent country people who had come to the capital had dispersed again on seeing justice apparently done to their favorite, — had issued "private warrants to take him againe." But it should not be forgotten that the contemporary narratives, on which we must rely for the details of these events, are not impartial and may, therefore, be unjust to Berkeley. Narrow-minded, arbitrary, and destitute of any regard for the rights of the common people, and — as he soon showed himself to be — careless of human life, the whole career of the Governor hardly justifies the belief that he would stoop to gain his ends by deceit and treachery. That Bacon, however, believed him capable of it, is the only justification of his own conduct.

His flight.

[1] "Thrice repeating the same words," says T. M.

[2] T. M.'s *Narrative*.

[3] *Ibid.*

Bacon's adherents of course accepted his conclusions, and all hope, therefore, of a peaceful solution of the troubles ended with his arrival among his friends.

Bacon marches on Jamestown.

Only a few days of excitement and alarm had passed since his escape, when news reached Jamestown that the rebel was marching thither at the head of "an army" of four or five hundred men, who had mustered some thirty miles or more up the river. With almost every hour expresses reached the capital with news of his approach. Berkeley tried vainly to collect the militia for defence; but many of them were already with the insurgents, and no sufficient body could be gathered. On the fourth day after the first news of their coming, the horse and foot under Bacon entered the town without resistance. They were bivouacked upon the green close by the state-house, and the proper disposition made of them to hold all the streets. This done, they disarmed all the inhabitants, and would permit none to enter the town without giving up his weapons.

His interview with Berkeley.

Amid this confusion the Assembly was called together by beat of drum. Barely had its session been begun, when Bacon, with a double file of fusileers, took up a position near the corner of the state-house. The members of the Assembly crowded to the windows, while the Governor and Council went out to treat with the rebel leader. It was a scene of wild confusion; in the midst of "the hubbub" Bacon raged up and down between his files of men, "with his left arm on Kenbow, flinging his right arm every way;" the crowd about him clamoring with such violence that, says the narrator, "if in this moment of fury that enraged multitude had faln upon the Governor and Council, we of the Assembly expected the same immediate fate." Berkeley, as excited as Bacon, thrust himself between the lines of troops, and baring his breast to their weapons, cried "Here — shoot me! 'Fore God, fair mark! Shoot!" To which the rebel, still commanding his temper, as it seemed, answered, "No, may it please your honor — we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's; we are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised; and now we will have it before we go!" The Governor turned, and walked toward his private apartments, followed by the Council; and Bacon, now losing his self-command entirely, followed him with "outrageous postures," "often tossing his hand from his sword to his hat," and seeming like one delirious with rage. "Dam my bloud!" he shouted, "I 'll kill Governor, Council, Assembly, and all, — and then I 'll sheathe my sword in my own heart's bloud!" — and turning to his men he ordered them to point their fusils at the windows filled with anxious faces.

For a moment there was wild excitement; the people clamored for the commission with shouts of "We will have it! we will have it!" and the fusileers cocked their pieces; when a person at the window waved a handkerchief, and called out that they should be satisfied. "'T was said," — continues the narrative, — "Bacon had given a signall to his men . . . . that if he should draw his sword, they were on sight of it to fire and slay us; so near was the massacre of us all that very minute, had Bacon in that paroxism of phrentick fury but drawn his sword before the pacifick handkercher was shaken out at window!"

Excitement among the people.

Excited as the people were, both they and the fusileers, as well as Bacon himself, had recognized the person who waved the handkerchief as one of the most influential citizens, and believed that he had both will and power to keep his promise. The soldiers lowered their arms, and Bacon, after a moment's consultation, marched them away to the main body of his troops. In an hour he came back alone, and going into the Assembly's room, addressed that body vehemently, demanding that the commission be issued to him at once. A large majority favored his request, but no one dared to act decisively. Bacon's own colleague, Bruce, hesitatingly said, "it was not in their province or power," or any one's save the Governor's. No one else spoke; Bacon retired "dissatisfied," and for the rest of the day comparative quiet reigned.

Bacon addresses the Assembly.

The anxious night that followed seems to have produced a change of policy on the part of both Berkeley and the burgesses. The former saw himself at last forced to another compromise, and the majority of the Assembly came together the next morning with no sign of the hesitancy of the day before. The only difficulty was to restrain the motions for the redress of popular grievances long enough to permit the all-important Indian question to be finally disposed of. Bacon's commission was speedily passed, and was promptly confirmed by Governor and Council. But, in the altered state of feeling, this was not by any means enough. The house was in perfect accord and sympathy with the people, and its boldness increased with every concession. It next passed an Act of amnesty toward Bacon and his followers, and directed the preparation of a letter to the King justifying their action. A letter written by the Governor, in which he complained to His Majesty that he was "encompassed with rebellion like waters," was submitted, and received by the burgesses with due respect; but it was doubted, nevertheless, that "his hono'r sent all he wrote." Other versions of affairs, however, than that of the Governor's, were sent to England by several delegates.

Action of the Burgesses.

Then followed rapidly a multitude of reformatory measures. The franchise was again extended to all freemen. The county magistrates, who had long had local taxation in their own hands, were now compelled to associate with them a board of delegates elected by the people. The privileges of members of the Council were curtailed. No one was to be appointed to an office who had not for three years resided in the country. Propositions — possibly never carried out — were made for an examination of the colonial accounts. The Governor's fees in certain cases were restricted; his virtual monopoly of the fur trade was abolished. The majority, now altogether under the influence of Bacon and his chief advisers, Lawrence and Drummond, effected in a few days more radical reforms than the boldest would have believed possible a week or two before. That they should be bitterly opposed by the minority, and only confirmed by the Governor under the pressure of necessity, was a matter of course. Some of the debates upon them were very stormy; and party feeling ran so high that, according to one historian, it founded feuds of a century's duration between members of the different factions. The whole time occupied by all this legislation was barely a week, and at the end of it Berkeley succeeded in dissolving an Assembly which had suddenly become so formidable, — the hasty dissolution probably meeting with but little opposition, because it was felt that all that could be done at the moment had been accomplished.

Reformatory measures.

Bacon — who had meanwhile been occupied in organizing the thousand men allowed him by the act, and in wisely appointing as his subordinates men who were already known as officers in the regular militia — now set out for a vigorous campaign against the Indians; and, in a short time after the breaking up of the Assembly, was hotly engaged in the Pamunkey country, driving the savages successfully before him. No sooner was he at a safe distance, however, than events showed that the acquiescence he had extorted from the Governor in measures of reform was to be but short-lived. By a petition which came to him from the people of Gloucester and Middlesex counties (on the peninsula between the Rappahannock and the York), Berkeley was led to believe that the people of that region were still loyal to him, and opposed to the insurgent party. He crossed the York, and called a muster of the militia of the peninsula. Twelve hundred men collected; and relying upon their adherence, he once more declared Bacon a rebel, and called upon them to join in a march against him and his army. He was speedily convinced of his mistake. Immediately "arose a murmuring before his face, 'Bacon! Bacon! Bacon!' and all walked out of the field, muttering as they went,

Bacon's second Indian campaign.

Renewed proclamations of Berkeley.

'Bacon, Bacon, Bacon,' leaving the Governor and those that came with him to themselves."

Bacon was approaching the head of York River when news came that Berkeley had again proclaimed him an outlaw, and was seeking volunteers to pursue him. Answering angrily "that it vexed him to the heart that while he was hunting wolves which were destroying innocent lambs," the Governor and his followers should seek to put him "like corn between two mill-stones," he turned his army instantly and hurried across country. It was the unlucky Berkeley, and not the rebel, who now found himself likely to be

Bacon's return. Flight of Berkeley.



Berkeley and the Gloucester Men.

"ground to powder." Failing completely in his efforts to gain popular support, he fled precipitately to Accomac, across the Chesapeake, and left the province at the mercy of his opponent.

Bacon was now virtually the Governor of Virginia, and the first uses made of his power justified the popularity that he enjoyed. Marching his force as rapidly as possible into Gloucester County, — where, in spite of Berkeley's failure to arouse the people at large, there was still a party in his favor, — he deployed a large detachment to patrol the country, and to arrest Berkeley's adherents. These were put under parole; but they suffered in no other way, and his whole course seems to have been generous and conciliatory. He is credited with offering to spare the life of a spy captured by his men, provided a single voice out of the whole

The Bacon party in power.

little army should be raised in his behalf;[1] "which no man appearing to do," the prisoner duly suffered death. And it was said that during the whole course of the rebellion this was the only man put to death in cold blood by the insurgents, while not a single house, even of the Governor's immediate and most obstinate adherents, was plundered or molested.

Convention of the colonists.

When Bacon issued a call for a convention of the leading men of the province to meet him at Middle Plantation, fifteen miles from Jamestown, it was very widely responded to. A large assemblage gathered in the month of August, and listened to propositions for the reorganization of the government. An oath was to be administered to the people, without distinction. Those who took it were to promise to aid Bacon in a war against the Indians; to oppose Berkeley in any attempt to interfere with them in so doing; and to resist any force which might arrive from England, until its leaders should grant such terms as would include a hearing in England of the popular complaints against Berkeley's administration. The first two clauses were agreed to without hesitation; but to the third, as an act of flat rebellion against the Mother country, there was a determined opposition, and a "bloudy debate" of twelve hours followed.

The new oath of allegiance.

It is said to have been turned in Bacon's favor, after he had eloquently contended in vain against his opponents, by an unlooked-for incident. While the discussion was at its height, a gunner arrived from Fort York, to report that the Indians had made a raid under the very walls, as it were, of that post; that several persons had been killed; and that others had thronged into the works for protection. Bacon's point was instantly and forcibly made; he asked the gunner how it could be that this threatening aspect of affairs could exist close by the strongest work in that part of the province? The reply was that Berkeley, sailing into the York, had on the very day before the murders removed all the powder from the fort into his own vessel. This turned the scale, and the majority consented to Bacon's oath at once. A clause was inserted in the preamble to the oath setting forth that "Sir William Berkeley, Knight, Governor of the Country," having sought to divert the country's army from its pursuit of the Indians, and having failed therein, had "withdrawn himself, to the great astonishment of the people;" and then followed an explanation of the calling of the convention. Thus introduced, and signed by the members of that body, including some of Berkeley's government, and many of the leading men of the whole province, it was published immediately to the citizens at large. Writs for an Assem-

[1] T. M.

bly were issued, under the names of four members of the Council who took part in the convention's proceedings, and had sided throughout against the Governor.

Spirit and aims of the Bacon party leaders.

The feeling among the leaders who had taken upon themselves the responsibility of these decisive measures was that of men who had begun a war of independence. There was no telling to what lengths they might be called upon to go. Their talk was earnest, resolute, and grave, — a forecast of that which, just a century later, was to be heard at Philadelphia in a greater cause. Richard Lawrence and William Drummond, the former governor of Carolina, who appears to have been the brain of the enterprise of which Bacon was the right hand, saw clearly whither their action tended, and guided each step with prudent firmness. Beside them, at a council of which record is preserved, stood Drummond's wife, taking part, with an influence rarely given to a woman of that day and place, in their debates upon the future. The spirited words she spoke seemed half prophetic. "The child that is unborn shall have cause to rejoice for the good that will come by the rising of the country," she said; and to a cautious gentleman, who warned them of "a greater power from England," that would certainly prove their ruin, she answered, "I fear the power of England no more than a broken straw." "Now we can build ships," she added, "and, like New England, trade to any part of the world." If all she uttered was not to be fulfilled in her own time, her great-grandchildren were to see it carried out with a broader significance.

Berkeley at Accomac.

Berkeley, meanwhile, was gathering at Accomac such of his people as could reach him in his disadvantageous position; but, at the best, the force which he could collect was a very small one, and his prospects seemed almost hopeless until the coming of aid from England, when suddenly accident and the bravery of one of his followers changed the whole current of affairs. The first direct act of hostility which the insurgents attempted against him resulted in giving him the very means he wanted to make head against them.

Bland's expedition.

Giles Bland, collector-general of the royal customs in Virginia, was one of Bacon's warmest partisans, besides being a personal enemy of the Governor. In the zeal which grew out of both these relations, he suggested, and was appointed to carry out, a plan for Berkeley's capture. Taking advantage of his office, he was to board the ship of a certain Captain Laramore, that lay near the mouth of the York River, and, while pretending to examine her cargo, was to put his men in possession and take her commander prisoner. Accompanied by a smaller vessel, under one Captain Carver, he was then to sail for Accomac, where the defenceless Governor could easily be captured and returned to Jamestown.

The plan worked admirably as far as the seizure of the vessel went, and Bland, with his armed men, soon had her captain shut up in his cabin, while they and the captured crew weighed anchor and made ready to set sail. But Laramore, feigning complete submission, assured Bland of his willingness to take part in the expedition, proclaimed himself an enemy of Berkeley, and so won Bland's confidence that he was again put in charge of the ship, and forthwith made himself conspicuous in furthering the preparations. Followed by Carver's vessel and a sloop, all manned by more than two hundred men, the collector — or the lieutenant-general, as Bacon had commissioned him — bore away for Accomac. In the bay he compelled another sloop to accompany his fleet, and so arrived at the eastern shore as the admiral of four well-armed craft.

Bland's fleet betrayed into Berkeley's hands.

On the news of the arrival of this hostile force, Berkeley despaired of defence, and proposed to surrender. But while he was debating with his companions, a message was brought to him which changed the aspect of affairs. Laramore had succeeded in smuggling ashore a note, in which he promised, if the Governor would send a force to aid him, to deliver Bland, Carver, and their men, into his hands, and to put the vessels and their crews at his disposal. There was a moment's hesitation, for Laramore's reputation was not of the best, and it was thought that he might be merely acting the decoy. But Philip Ludwell, one of Berkeley's warmest adherents, decided the doubtful question by offering to take charge of the force Laramore proposed, and thus insuring success if the captain were acting honestly, or making at least a stubborn fight if he were treacherous.

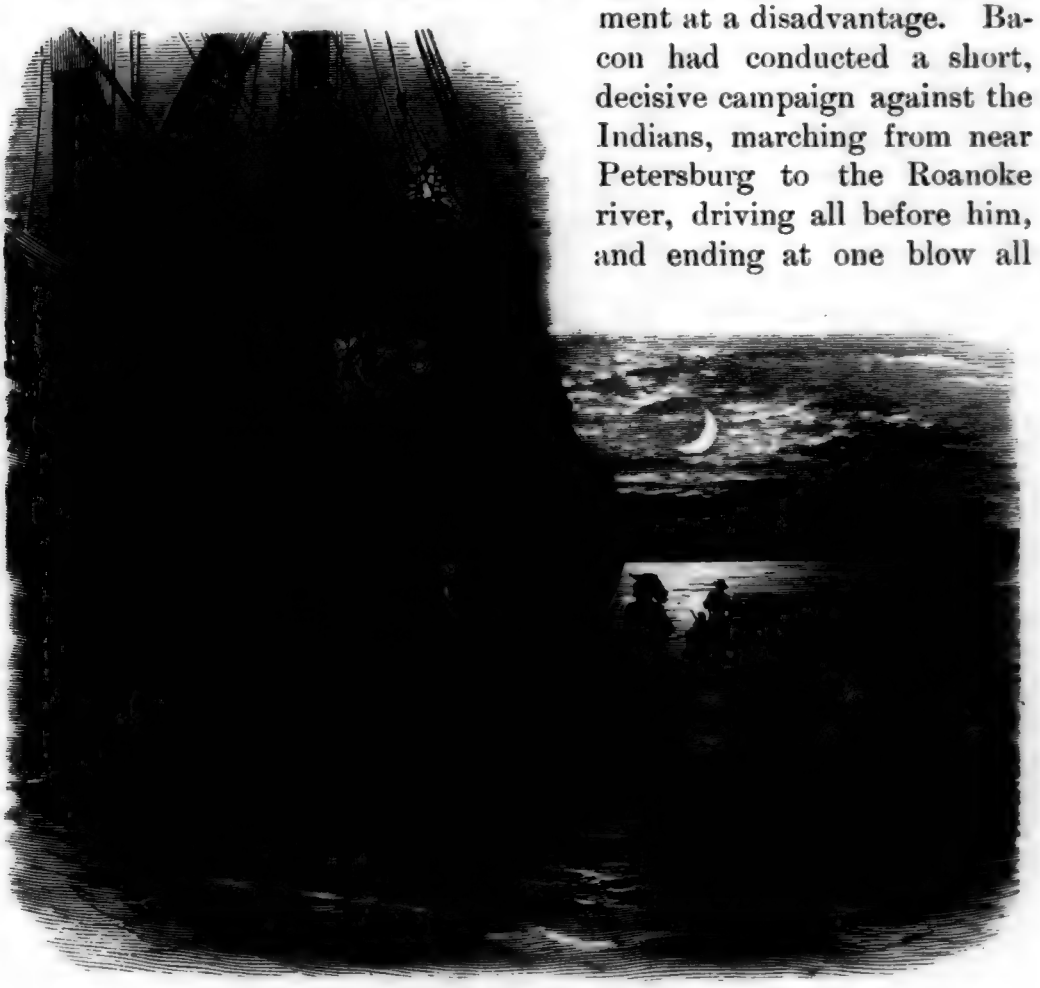
At midnight, Ludwell and a company of twenty-six picked men pulled silently alongside the ship. Laramore proved faithful, and the sleeping men on board, waking in confusion and seeing an armed party pouring over the sides, were overpowered before they knew the weakness of their captors. It was only needful to turn the guns of the larger vessel upon her smaller tenders; and without the firing of a shot the formidable little fleet was taken. Berkeley emphasized his triumph by hanging Carver a few days afterward, upon the shore of the bay; and why Bland and the other leaders escaped a similar fate is not clear. Perhaps the Governor — who, while the Laramore plot had been maturing, had sent for Carver under a safe-conduct, and tried to bribe him to desert the Baconites — owed the stout sailor a grudge for turning a deaf ear to all his arguments.

The hesitating loyalists, who had kept prudently aloof while Berkeley was altogether without defence or resources, now rallied, reanimated by Ludwell's exploit. Fourteen sloops and other small craft

were soon added to the four captured vessels, and, with six hundred men ready to follow him, Berkeley found himself at the head of a formidable force. Crossing the bay, he took possession of Jamestown, on September 17, without meeting any attempt at resistance, and at once proceeded to restore his friends to their offices, to reëstablish his old government, and to issue a new proclamation proclaiming Bacon and his followers, for the third time, traitors, rebels, and outlaws.

Rally of the Governor's party. Jamestown recaptured.

The Governor's sudden movement caught his opponents for a moment at a disadvantage. Bacon had conducted a short, decisive campaign against the Indians, marching from near Petersburg to the Roanoke river, driving all before him, and ending at one blow all



Taking of Bland's Fleet.

possibility of any formidable Indian war for years to come. His work thus thoroughly accomplished, and regarding Berkeley as now altogether powerless, he returned to the neighborhood of the James and disbanded the main body of his men; and as nearly all of them were planters, they quickly scattered to their homes. He was in this position when the news of the capture of Jamestown reached him through Drummond and others of his adherents who had fled from the place; but acting with his usual energy, he turned at once to the offensive.

Gathering a small force, to which he added as he marched, he came rapidly across the country, and appeared before the capital just as the Governor had finished his hurried preparations for defence by running a palisade across the neck of Jamestown peninsula. Before the besieged enemy knew his whereabouts, — for he had moved "with a marvellous celerity, outstripping the swift wings of fame," — they heard his trumpet blown from the high ground near the town, and the cannon shot with which he warned them of his presence. It was at sunset that he appeared before the palisades; and by the morning his men were sheltered behind earthworks, which they had finished in apparent carelessness of the "3 grate guns" the Governor had planted on his ramparts, and of the ships, lying "almost close aborde the shore . . . . with their broade sides, to thunder upon him if he should offer to make an onslaute."

He appears before the capital.

An account hostile to Bacon avers that he made up for "the paucity of his numbers" by a stratagem that was anything but creditable. Sending some of his horse to scour the country near at hand, he ordered them to take and bring to him certain gentlewomen living near by, whose husbands were in the town, that he might hold hostages, as it were, to secure the granting of all his demands. When they arrived, he "sends one of them to inform her owne and the others Husbands, for what purposes he had brought them into the camp, namely, to be placed in the fore frunt of his men at such time as those in town should sally forth upon him." According to the writer of this story, which is not elsewhere confirmed, "these Ladyes white Aprons" naturally "became of grater force to keep the besieged from falling out, than his works (a pitiful trench);" and either "these considerations or some others . . . . kep their swords in their scabbards." Yet he goes on to say that the gentlewomen were after all soon taken out of danger, but that a party sent out by Berkeley to make an attack on Bacon's works, "went out with heavie harts, but returned home with light heels;" — were, in short, driven back disgracefully by the Baconites, to the disgust of the Governor, "which he exprest in som passionate terms."

The next day, when Bacon mounted three guns upon his works, actually to begin the reduction of the place, Berkeley and his adherents gave up all hope of a successful defence. Before the rebels had fired a single damaging shot, the fleet dropped silently down the river, under cover of the darkness, carrying Governor, officials, troops, townspeople, and even their household goods, and leaving Jamestown a mere collection of empty houses.

When Bacon entered, the next morning, he found a deserted capital, the guns spiked, and nothing left but a few horses, "two or three

sellers [cellars] of wine, and some small quantity of Indian Corne with a grate many tanned hides." No army could subsist upon such plunder; nor would it have profited Bacon to hold the empty place. A council was called; and though among his people there were many property-holders of the town, it was decided to destroy it, that it might not serve again as a harbor for the enemy. Lawrence and Drummond applied the torch to their own houses, at nightfall; and that night Sir William Berkeley, lying at anchor twenty miles below, saw the dark sky lighted by the flames of the first English town built in America, — the historic settlement of Smith, Newport, and Wingfield. The destruction was complete, "not so much as sparing the church — and the first that ever was in Virginia." Nor was the place ever rebuilt.

Jamestown taken and burned.



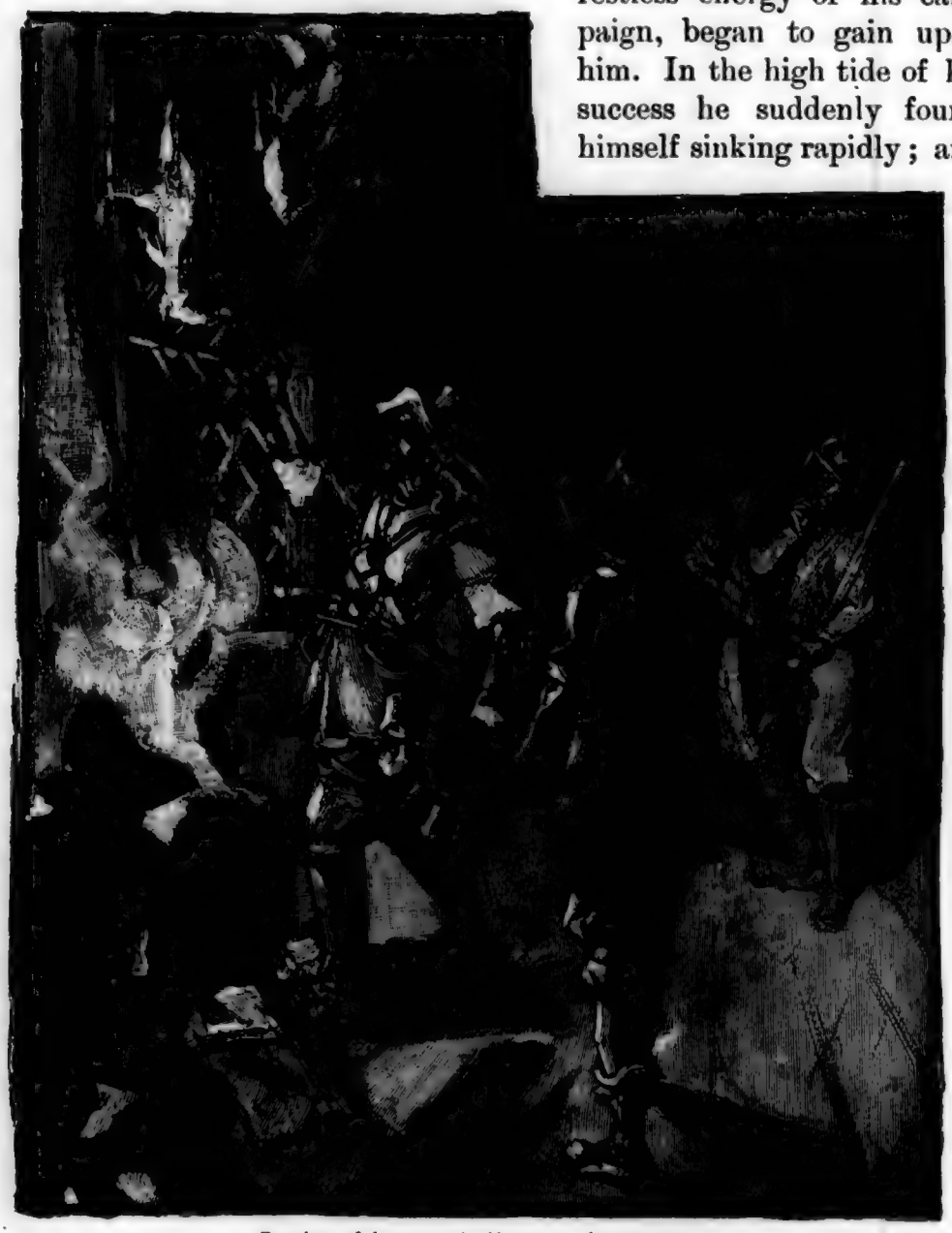
Bacon and the Jamestown Gentlewomen.

Crossing the long peninsula between the James and York, Bacon now established himself at Gloucester Point, expecting to be attacked there by Colonel Brent, who was known to be approaching from Northern Virginia, at the head of a thousand men. But this attack, says a contemporary, "like the hoggs the devill sheared, produced more noyse than wool;" for Brent's men nearly all deserted before they came in face of the enemy advancing to meet them, and left their leader "mightily astonished." Bacon was thus left free to attempt once more the organization and quieting of the province; and began it by calling a convention of the uncertain peo-

Bacon again in power.

ple of Gloucester County, to whom he administered the oath before resolved upon. Then, yearning to make his Indian victories even more final and complete, he began to plan another expedition into the interior.

While thus engaged, a trifling illness which he had neglected in the restless energy of his campaign, began to gain upon him. In the high tide of his success he suddenly found himself sinking rapidly; and



Burning of Lawrence's House at Jamestown.

despite all the efforts of his people, nothing checked the course of his disease. And so, says his hostile biographer, not without an unholy exultation, "all his strength and provissions being spent, [he] surrendered up that Fort he was no longer able

Death of Bacon

to keepe, into the hands of that grim and all conquering Captaine, Death." He died on the first day of October, 1676, in the house of Dr. Pate, near Gloucester. His burial-place was kept a secret that has never been revealed.[1]

The command of Bacon's forces passed into the hands of his lieutenant-general, Joseph Ingram; but the dead leader had left no one behind who was precisely fitted to take his place. Lawrence and Drummond, wise advisers as they had proved themselves, had not the influence of their more active associate over his followers; and the loss of the energetic and brave commander dealt the revolution a blow from which it could not rise. The speedy capture and execution of several leading insurgents, by a party of Berkeley's adherents, served to intensify the despondency and panic that prevailed among the great body of the Baconites; and in the country at large the rebellion suddenly died. A large part of the insurgents scattered quickly to their homes, following the impulse to save themselves from the fate of a lost cause; and only the leaders, the men who had the courage of their convictions, or for whom pardon was believed to be impossible, were left with a small force to make a final struggle.

The insurrection without a leader.

The closing scenes.

Ingram established himself at West Point, on the upper York River, a place which Bacon himself had designed to make his "prime Randevouze, or place of Retreat," because of its natural facilities for

[1] The grief of Bacon's friends and the joy of his enemies have each left a rhymed epitaph, that show the fervor with which he was both loved and hated, and correspond to the two views that have been and are still taken of his action and his restless life: —

"Death why soe crewill! what, no other way
To manifest thy spiteene, but thus to slay
Our hopes of safety; liberty, our all
Which through thy tyrnny, with him must fall
To its late caoss?
. . . . Now we must complaine
Since thou, in him, hast more than thousand slain,
Whose lives and safetys did so much depend
On him there lif, with him their lives must end.
. . . . . .
While none shall dare his obseques to sing
In desarved measures; untill time shall bring
Truth crowned with freedom, and from danger free
To sound his praises to posterity.
Here let him rest; while wee this truth report
Hee 's gone from hence unto a higher Court
To plead his Cause where he by this doth know
Whether to Ceaser hve was friend or foe."

In the other epitaph is lavished a flood of abuse on "his flagitious name":—

"The braines to plot, the hands to execute
Projected ills, Death Joyntly did nonsute
At his black Bar. And what no Baile could save
He hath committed Prissoner to the Grave:
From whence there 's no reprieve. Death keep him close,
We have too many Divells still goe loose."

defence. Here the principal insurgents gathered; but there were smaller bodies at Greenspring, a place belonging to Berkeley himself, somewhat further down the river; and at an estate belonging to Bacon's cousin, probably in the same neighborhood. The whole insurgent force remaining under arms to garrison these three final strongholds probably numbered not more than four hundred men; while in the region about them — now that the death of Bacon led to the appearance of a host of concealed adherents of the Governor, and time-servers who wished to seem so — there were at least as many enemies as friends.

Berkeley lost little time in taking advantage of the new turn of



West Point, Virginia.

affairs. His first step, when the news of Bacon's death had reached him, had been the sending out of that party which, as already mentioned, had captured and executed several leading revolutionists. But he was making preparations to return in person when he dispatched this preliminary expedition, — "a winged messinger, to see if happily the Delluge was any whit abated." Then he ventured out from his "Ark" at Accomac, and appeared in the York River with four ships and "two or three sloops," carrying a force of some one hundred and fifty men. From the people along the lower York he met with no resistance; his return appeared to be taken as a matter of course; and his adherents in Gloucester County volunteered in large numbers

to help him drive out the still troublesome "vermin" from "their warm Kennil." A proclamation of amnesty followed, from which, however, most of the Baconite leaders still in resistance to his authority were excepted, while the bitterness of his enmity to Lawrence and Drummond was shown by a special mention of them.

Driving out the last stubborn rebels did not prove easy work. They again and again defeated parties sent against them, until at last their stronghold at West Point was lost through treachery. Two accounts are given of its surrender: one, that the Governor sent a messenger, one Grantham, who by arguments and promises persuaded Ingram to deliver up the place; the other, that he wrote to Wakelet, Ingram's second in command, offering him pardon and a reward for the same betrayal of his comrades. Ingram escaped in safety, and Wakelet appears to have received his pay, so that it is probable both were concerned in the matter. But, at all events, the position was given up to Berkeley's officers, together with the less important strongholds at Greenspring and at Bacon's house. As an organized insurrection, the rebellion was at an end; it lived only in the embittered spirit of the great majority of the people, who had at one time or another been engaged in it, and who, though wanting courage and persistence to carry it on after the death of their leader, still adhered in secret to the cause which he had so nearly made successful.

Final suppression of the Bacon party.



Drummond before Berkeley.

Of the other chief actors, Lawrence escaped into the wilderness; but Drummond, seeking safety by hiding himself for a time in the swamp of the Chickahominy, was captured there in the dead of

winter, overcome by cold and hunger. On the 20th of January, the day after his capture, he was brought before Berkeley at Bacon's house, the former station of one of the smaller bands of insurgents. The old Governor's triumph had come. This man and Lawrence were regarded by him as his bitterest enemies, and he hated them with a positive ferocity. He greeted the prisoner with a low bow. "Mr. Drummond," he said, "you are very welcome; I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour." Drummond answered with courage and dignity, "What your honor pleases;" and when, three hours later, his sentence was carried out at Middle Plantation, he met death bravely. He was, says one of the narratives, a sober Scotch gentleman of good repute, and he left a name which few even of his enemies treated with disrespect, except in the one matter of his political action.

Fate of the leaders.

Berkeley used the power that victory gave him without mercy. For a time there was in Virginia an actual reign of terror, and no man knew when he might be seized, condemned, and executed. Drummond's little plantation was seized, and his wife and five children were driven from it "to wander in the woods and desarts till they were ready to starve." It was proposed to expose the bones of Bacon hung in chains upon a gibbet; but his body had been so carefully concealed that all attempts to find it proved useless. Punishments of all kinds — fine, confiscation, imprisonment, banishment, and many ingenious minor penalties — were inflicted right and left, until even the Governor's friends expostulated. Their counsel would perhaps have been in vain, had not a sudden check of a more powerful sort been put upon the angry knight's revenge.

Punishments inflicted by Berkeley.

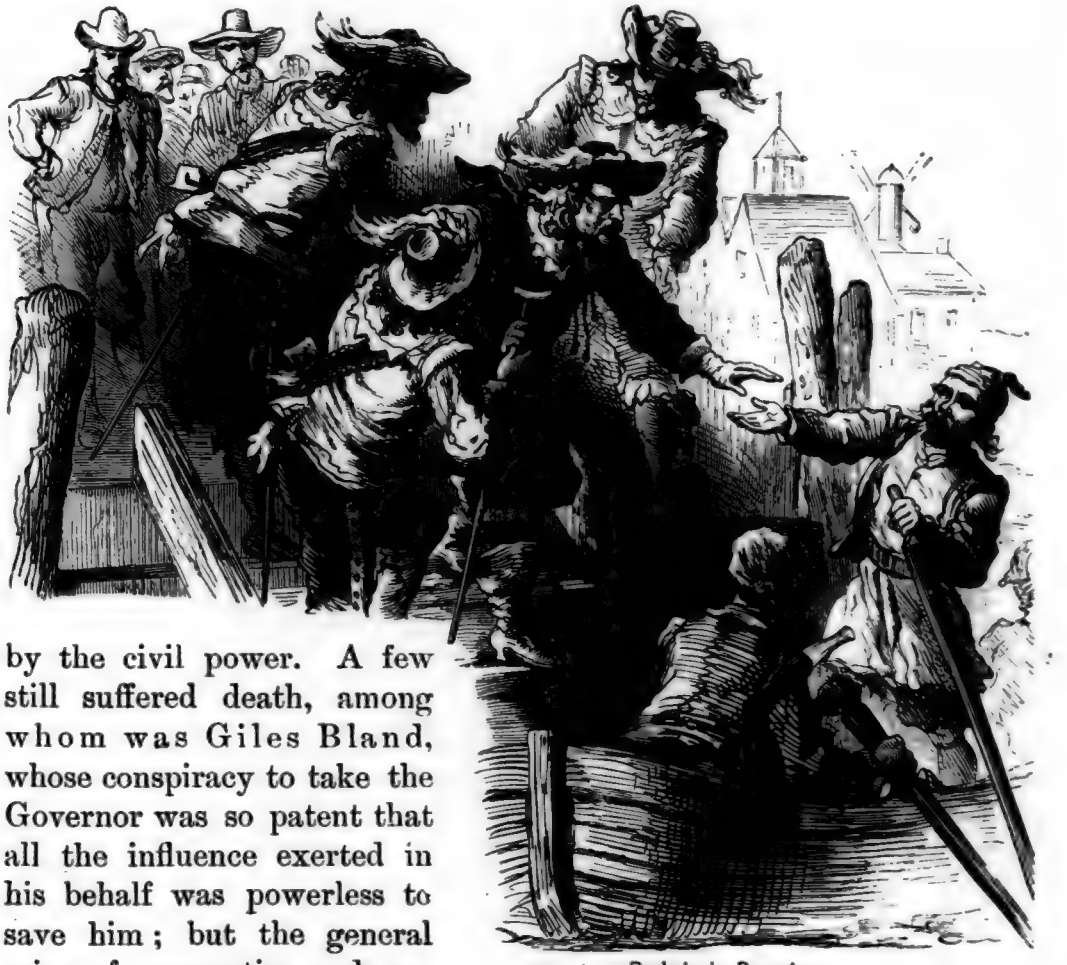
At the end of January, 1677, the tardy assistance sent from England, in reply to Berkeley's petition of many months before, arrived in the James River. But it did not come precisely in the form which the Governor's party wished. In the small fleet that anchored below the ruins of the capital was Colonel Herbert Jeffreys, armed with a commission to succeed Sir William in his office, while he, as well as Sir John Berry, the admiral, and Colonel Morrison, who had been Berkeley's substitute for awhile in 1661, brought appointments as commissioners to investigate the causes of the rebellion, and to attend to the settlement of affairs after its suppression. Berkeley was, it is true, to aid them in this work; but in reality his own conduct was under examination, and he found himself at once in the attitude of a defendant. The instructions of the commissioners authorized them to grant amnesty to those who should submit and give bonds for future good behavior, excepting Bacon,

Arrival of commissioners from England.

whose death was not known, of course, when the fleet left England; but still, a discretionary power to punish other leaders and those especially obnoxious was left in their hands.

The English officials put a speedy end to the system of drum-head courts-martial, by which the Governor had brought so many of his enemies to execution. From the time of their arrival (soon after which an Assembly met at Green Spring) the trials of Baconite prisoners were conducted with due form and caution

The punishments checked.



Berkeley's Departure.

by the civil power. A few still suffered death, among whom was Giles Bland, whose conspiracy to take the Governor was so patent that all the influence exerted in his behalf was powerless to save him; but the general reign of persecution and cruelty ceased with the Commissioners' interference. Local courts winked at the means — sometimes ludicrously ingenious — by which the spirit of ignominious punishments was generally evaded, even when the letter was carried out. John Bagwell and Thomas Gordon wore "small tape," and William Potts "Manchester binding," instead of the halters with which they were ordered to appear in public. Some fifty persons were excepted from the amnesty, including those already executed or banished, and acts of attainder were passed against twenty; but it does not appear certain that all the measures decided

upon were at all rigidly carried out. In their report, Jeffreys, Morrison, and Berry spoke in the severest terms of Berkeley's course in trying men by martial law after peace had been reëstablished; and their investigation of the charges which the people made against him seems to have been made with a positive leaning toward the side of his accusers. Gradually the country became quieter. Protected by the presence of the Commissioners, the Assembly took a more independent tone, and the Virginians, encouraged for a moment to believe that they had gained something of that redress for which they had hoped, gradually settled back into the quiet life of their plantations. Bacon's rebellion had cost the colony a hundred thousand pounds, the loss of many lives, and months of anarchy; but it had shown the people their own power, and had developed an independence that was to bear fruit long after. When, in October, 1677, the royal Commissioners seized the Assembly's journals for investigation, and that body indignantly protested that "such a power had never been exercised by the King of England, and could not be authorized even by the great seal," they virtually asserted the principle of colonial legislative rights for which their descendants fought a hundred years later.

The Commissioners' report.

Results of the rebellion.

When the fleet of the Commissioners returned to England in April, Berkeley went with it, leaving Jeffreys Governor. The old cavalier was ill and broken in spirit. The bitter outbreak of his revenge was possibly, as it was urged on his behalf, a result of the "peevishness" and irritability of age. He had one longing left, — to justify his conduct in the eyes of the King, whose approval would have consoled him for all else. But he seems to have been altogether disappointed. Opinion both in Parliament and at court he found to be bitterly against him. It is said by one writer that he was received by Charles with kindness; but it was generally believed that he was treated with entire neglect, and did not see the King at all, — sinking rapidly from the time of his arrival, until, in a few weeks, he died broken-hearted and disgraced. There came back to Virginia one who had been his servant on his voyage and till his death, "from whom a report was whispered about, that the King did say, 'that old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than he had done for the murther of his father.'" This speech, says the gossiping writer who records it, coming to the old Governor's ears, hastened his death: So that "he dyed soon after without having seen his Majesty; which shuts up this tragedy."

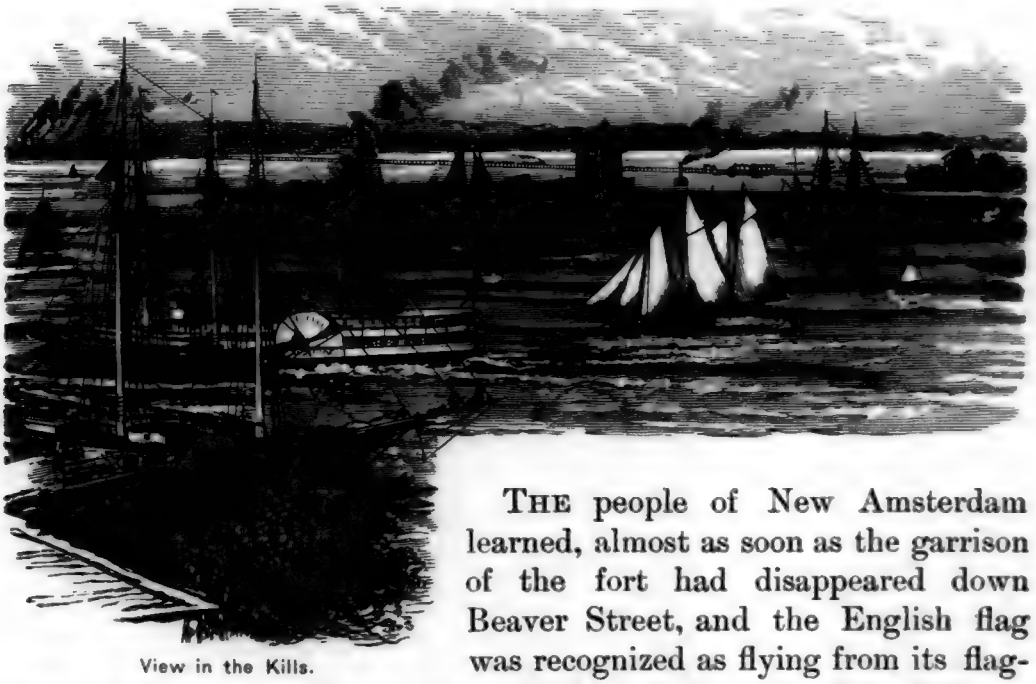
Berkeley returns to England.

His illness and death.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEW YORK.

QUIET BEGINNING OF THE ENGLISH RULE. — THE ADMINISTRATION OF NICOLLS. — THE NEW JERSEY GRANT. — ARRIVAL OF CARTERET. — SETTLEMENT OF NEWARK AND ELIZABETH. — THE CONNECTICUT BOUNDARY. — THE NAMES AND DIVISIONS OF THE PROVINCE. — THE "DUKE'S LAWS." — ENGLISH OFFICIALS. — THE WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS. — DISCONTENT IN LONG ISLAND. — NEW YORK AND CANADA. — THE FRENCH AND THE MOHAWKS. — THE PEACE OF BREDA. — ADMINISTRATION OF LOVELACE. — PROGRESS OF THE PROVINCE. — THE TOWN OF NEW YORK. — RENEWED WAR IN EUROPE. — THE RE-CONQUEST OF TEW NETHERLAND. — COLVE'S ADMINISTRATION. — NEW NETHERLAND CEDED TO ENGLAND BY THE PEACE OF WESTMINSTER.



View in the Kills.

THE people of New Amsterdam learned, almost as soon as the garrison of the fort had disappeared down Beaver Street, and the English flag was recognized as flying from its flagstaff, that the change which had taken place was not, to their dull sensitiveness, a very essential one. Stuyvesant, no doubt, when he had seen his troop safely embarked for Holland, stumped back into the town in profound depression. But depression may have turned to rage as he met the cheerful burghers who had insisted on his surrender, and who could congratulate themselves,

Quiet beginning of the English rule.

and almost reproach him, upon the faithfulness with which the English were observing its terms. There was no plundering, no disorder; the Connecticut men, whom the Dutch had the most reason to fear, were kept on the other side of the river; private property was everywhere respected; the property of the Company was protected from molestation; the course of trade was no more interrupted than in any other brief interval of unusual excitement; and the ordinary affairs of life returned almost immediately to their usual channel. Nicolls wisely acted as if he were receiving a repentant province that had for a season forgotten its true allegiance, rather than as taking possession of one he had conquered. Perhaps the Dutch made no very nice distinctions; but they could remember some heavy grievances under the rule of the Company; this new power promised, at least, that things should be no worse, and it was clearly meant that the promise should be kept.

Organization of Nicolls's Government.

A provincial government of Englishmen was presently organized, but it was chiefly of those who had not before had to do with New Netherland affairs, and had no prejudices. Captain Matthias Nicolls was made secretary; Captains Needham and Delavall, of England, and Thomas Topping and William Wells, of Long Island, were counsellors, — two of the former Dutch officers also being sometimes called into consultation. But, as the articles of surrender provided, the municipal government was unchanged; and the municipal court met and transacted current business on the very day after English occupation. At Fort Orange — now Albany — and at Esopus the same general course was pursued; at Rensselaerswyck Jeremias van Rensselaer was only compelled to renew his patent under the Duke of York, his people taking the oath of allegiance to England. This oath was also required of the Dutch in New York; and although it excited some opposition at first because it was not prescribed in the articles of capitulation, it was taken in October by all the leading Dutch inhabitants. Even Stuyvesant and his immediate followers consented to this when satisfied that it did not affect the terms of capitulation. Nor was this frank acceptance of a new allegiance the only evidence of the general content; the city magistrates sent an address to the Duke of York avowing their warm approval of the new Governor, and of their hopes of prosperity under his rule.

The oath of allegiance.

Grants to Englishmen.

No sooner was the province fairly in English hands than new names were given to different portions, its boundaries were as far as possible defined, and grants of land were made to Englishmen. That region lying between the Hudson and the Delaware was named Albania, and grants and purchases were made within its boun-



THE LANDING OF CARTERET IN NEW JERSEY.

daries from Sandy Hook to the mouth of the Raritan, and from the Raritan to the Achter Cul, now Newark Bay.[1] But before Nicolls, in the name of the Duke of York, had taken possession of all New Netherland, the Duke, in anticipation of that event, granted in June, 1664, the whole country, from the Hudson to the Delaware, and from latitude 41° 40′ to Cape May, to two favorites of the court, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Thus New Netherland, before it passed into the hands of the English, had been divided into two provinces, and the division, it is supposed, was made at the instigation of that Captain John Scott, who, not long before, and on doubtful authority, had attempted to wrest Long Island from the Dutch. To the new province the name of New Cæsarea, or New Jersey, was given, in commemoration of Carteret's defence of the Channel island of Jersey against the forces of the Commonwealth in 1649.



Seal of the Carterets.

Of this grant, however, Nicolls knew nothing till June, 1665, when Captain Philip Carteret arrived as governor of the new province. There was, of course, no alternative but to receive with courtesy one coming armed with such credentials, though Nicolls represented to the Duke that he had hastily given away the fairest portion of his dominions. "But I must charge it upon Captain Scott," he wrote, "who was born to work mischief as far as he is credited, or his parts serve him."[2] The grant of New Jersey.

A storm had driven Carteret's ship, the *Philip*, into Chesapeake Bay, but in July she arrived at New York, and a few days later anchored off the point now known as Elizabethport, New Jersey, and landed her thirty emigrants. At the head of these people, Carteret, with a hoe over his shoulder, marched to the spot he had chosen for a settlement, two or three miles inland, and to which, in honor of the Lady Elizabeth, the wife of Sir George Carteret, he gave her name. He found at the point where he and his people Arrival of Carteret.

[1] Achter Cul, or Kol = the cul achter (behind) the great Bay; corrupted into After Cul, and then Arthur Kil, and now applied to Staten Island Sound.

[2] Letter of Nicolls to the Duke of York in the State Paper Office, cited by Chalmers and others; also Letter to the Earl of Clarendon. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 1869.

landed four families who had taken possession of lands under the grant which had been made by Nicolls.[1] The new-comers brought with them the title of a new English province, and, though more than one settlement had been earlier made by the Dutch on this side the Bay of New York, this was the actual beginning of the State of New Jersey at Elizabeth.

Previous negotiations of the New Haven people regarding New Jersey.

Four years before, the West India Company had discerned and sought to take advantage of the discontent and apprehension felt by so many of the English, both at home and in the colonies, at the restoration of Charles II. The Directors invited them to settle on the Raritan, or in its neighborhood, and offered them most favorable terms. Three of the magistrates of New Haven, — where this discontent was very general, — Matthew Gilbert the Deputy Governor, Benjamin Fenn, and Robert Treat, entered into negotiation with Stuyvesant upon this subject, on behalf of some New Haven people, and found no difficulty in getting from the Dutch governor the promise that a hearty welcome would be given and religious freedom be secured to any Puritan colony that should plant itself within the Dutch jurisdiction. But the English asked also for political independence, and the negotiations were suspended. The question of civil relations Stuyvesant felt must be referred to his superiors at home.

Even that concession, he was instructed, the Directors were disposed to make to almost any degree, provided that Dutch supremacy was acknowledged in the last appeal. The New Haven people were the more eager to set up anew for themselves when the Winthrop charter brought them within the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and they would, perhaps, had there been time enough, have yielded somewhat in their demands. But while diplomacy hesitated events made no halt. Before any agreement could be reached, satisfactory to both parties, New Netherland ceased to be a Dutch colony, and the Duke of York had granted to its new proprietaries the whole region from the Hudson to the Delaware.

Their design continued under Carteret.

Treat and his friends, nevertheless, were not turned from their purpose. They could at least free themselves from obligations and ties that had become intolerably irksome, though new ones had to be made. But the constitution Carteret brought with him was as liberal as a proprietary government could be; religious liberty was guaranteed, with the usual reservation providing

[1] In the litigation which arose out of these conflicting claims, it was asserted on behalf of the first settlers, that the place was named for Queen Elizabeth. But this was an afterthought. Carteret undoubtedly called the place Elizabeth, in honor of his brother's wife. *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, by William A. Whitehead.

against license and civil disturbance, but granting to all the ministrations they preferred; a popular Assembly was to have its share of power; the grants of lands to actual settlers were liberal.[1]

In the spring of 1666 the site of Newark was purchased of the Indians, and possession taken by a party from Milford, Connecticut, led by Treat.[2] In the autumn others joined them from Guilford and Branford. A preliminary agreement had been entered into between Carteret and Treat, but its precise character is not known.[3] That it secured, however, to the new colony self-government, independent of the proprietaries and their promise of

Settlement of Newark.



View of Newark, New Jersey.

religious freedom to all comers, is probable. For the Branford people made it a condition of their joining the company that none should be admitted as freemen, or should have the right to hold office, or to vote, who were not members of a Congregational Church. To this the emigrants from Milford assented. Abraham Pierson was chosen minister of the first church, and the place was named Newark in his

[1] Gordon's *History of New Jersey*.

[2] The price paid for the tract purchased of the Indians — which included the present villages of Bloomfield, Belleville, Orange, and Caldwell — was "fifty double hands of powder, one hundred barrs of lead, twenty axes, twenty coats, ten guns, twenty pistols, ten kettles, ten swords, four blankets, four barrels of beer, two pairs of breetches, fifty knives, twenty hoes, eight hundred and fifty fathoms of wampum, two ankers of Liquors, or something equivalent, and three troopers coats."

[3] Whitehead's *Historical Memoir of Newark*. *Coll. N. J. Hist. Soc.*, vol. vi.

honor, as he came from that place in England.[1] Pierson came to the new settlement at the head of nearly all his parishioners, for Branford — whose church was the town — refused to be annexed to Connecticut under the Winthrop charter, to which New Haven and other towns had by this time assented.[2]

Questions as to Carteret's and Berkeley's title.

In later years the title of Berkeley and Carteret to lands occupied by Elizabeth and Newark was disputed. In both cases they had been purchased of the Indians, — at Newark by consent of Governor Carteret; at Elizabeth, before Carteret's arrival, and under warrant from Governor Nicolls. To the division of the province he was appointed to govern, Nicolls had no alternative but to submit. The Duke, his master, was as much the source of power in New Jersey as in New York.

Anxiety in New Haven over the Duke's grant.

Elsewhere, however, there was room for anxiety and negotiation. New Haven and the other towns along the Sound, which had strenuously resisted annexation to Connecticut under the Winthrop patent, ceased all opposition to that measure when confronted by one far more to be dreaded. The grant to the Duke of York included all the country from the west side of the Connecticut River to the Delaware. Local differences were put aside to meet this common danger. Puritan New England could hardly conceive of a greater calamity than to come under the rule of the popish brother of the king.

No feeling of this kind, however, was permitted to interfere with the friendly reception given to Nicolls. He had, as we have seen, the cordial coöperation of the Connecticut people in the subjection of New Netherland. It was only Massachusetts that held back. There was little sympathy in Boston with the impatience felt in the colonies along the Sound at the presence of the Dutch. But there was unceasing vigilance lest the government at home, whether king or parliament, should interfere with that independence which Massachusetts always aimed at and so often abused. While that colony, therefore, from the outset received the commissioners with coldness and distrust, Connecticut, New Haven, and their neighbors, gladly gave their aid against the Dutch, and then combined to preserve the integrity of their own territory against the claim of the Duke of York.

The feeling in Connecticut.

The General Assembly of Connecticut voted that five hundred bushels of corn should be presented to the English commissioners. A further gift of horses was made when Governor Winthrop with six associates went to New York to enter upon negotiation with regard to the boundaries. In our less austere

[1] Whitehead's *Memoir*.

[2] Trumbull's *History of Connecticut*.

age such offerings would have been presented on the one side, and received or rejected on the other, as a bribe. The result in this case justifies no such suspicion. Both parties seem to have been disposed to make an honorable compromise between conflicting claims. The Connecticut patent and the grant to the Duke of York covered the same territory. Connecticut had, besides her patent, the right of possession. Should she be deprived of this, gained by so much toil and sacrifice, by virtue of a sheet of parchment and a royal seal? But the Duke had wrested by force of arms a portion of his grant from a foreign power. What just claim could Connecticut offer to territory she had never occupied though covered by her patent?



Meeting of the Connecticut and New York Commissioners.

To these considerations due weight, apparently, was given. The Connecticut delegates conceded that all Long Island, — which was granted expressly by name to the Duke, and much of which was a part of New Netherland, — properly belonged to New York.

Discussion of the boundary question.

But in the settlement of the boundary on the mainland a singular want of knowledge of the topography of the country was shown on both sides, unless there was, as has sometimes been suggested, a sharp advantage taken by one side of the ignorance of the other. The line, it was understood in general terms, should be run about twenty miles east of the Hudson River. That agreed upon was to start at tidewater on the Mamaroneck creek and

run thence north-northwest to the southern boundary of Massachusetts. But the mouth of Mamaroneck creek is much less than twenty miles from the Hudson, and a line drawn from it north-northwest would cross that river within fifty miles of New York.

The settlement.

This boundary would give to Connecticut a large, and the most valuable, portion of the late province of New Netherland: That Winthrop and his associates understood this, and purposely imposed upon the ignorance of the English Commissioners, is incredible. They were anxious to retain the territory they already occupied; they were willing to release all claim to Long Island if



Mouth of Mamaroneck Creek.

they were not disturbed on the mainland; and they were neither knaves nor fools. As a blunder[1] it was very soon exposed, as it was

[1] That the beginning was twenty miles from the Hudson was clearly a mistake. It is not quite so clear that the commissioners did not understand that the line crossed the river and agreed to it with their eyes open. Nicolls in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon (see *Clarendon Papers*, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1869, p. 76), writes: "Your L^dpp will allsoe perceiue by this inclosed determinacõn, betweene the Comission^rs with the Governo^r & councell of Conecticutt that those Townes upon the maine to the Eastward of N. Yorke did properly belong to their precedent pattent, soe that there remaynes only, One small Towne to his Royall highnesse of all that tract of land from Conecticut Riuer to Hudsons Riuer which is all the North part, and soe cold that few or none will bestow their Labours. Only one Towne is seated wth Planters to which or very neare the Indenture reacheth. aboue that 70 myles is Albany seated, who are noe planters but only a towne of Trade, with the Indians, Thus the extent of the Dukes Pattent is described to yor L^dpp."

By the one town "to which or very near the Indenture reacheth," seventy miles below Albany, the Governor must have meant Esopus. A line from the mouth of the Mamaroneck running north-northwest and touching Esopus would necessarily if produced cross the river at that point. Believing this "north part so cold that few or none will bestow their labors" upon it, he may have thought it of little consequence to which jurisdiction the

certain to be even had it been a fraud. What was done in haste was considered at leisure, and the Duke of York refused his assent to the agreement. Twenty years later, a new line was drawn and surveyed beginning at Byram River, which is essentially the present boundary of the States of New York and Connecticut.

To Long Island, thus made, as it has ever since remained, a part of New York, the name of Yorkshire was given. That, with the neighboring country, was afterward divided into three judicial districts or ridings, in each of which a court was to sit three times a year. The present Queen's County (excepting the town of Newtown) and Westchester formed the North Riding; Newtown, the present King's County and Staten Island made the West Riding; the present Suffolk alone was the East Riding. There was, however, some question whether Staten Island belonged to New Jersey or New York, which was not settled till 1668, and seems to have been referred to the proprietary in England. Samuel Maverick, one of the commissioners, writing in February, 1669, to Governor Winthrop, says, on the authority of a letter from Nicolls — who returned to England the previous autumn: "Staten Iland is adiudged to belong to N: Yorke." It is, he says in another letter, "the most commodiosest seate and richest land I haue seene in America." [1]

New divisions and names of the Duke's territory.

The Indians parted with it so reluctantly that the Dutch had been compelled to make repeated purchases; but the chiefs gave a final and lasting title in 1670 to Governor Lovelace, Nicolls's successor, receiving as recompense four hundred fathoms of wampum and a number of guns, axes, kettles, and watch-coats.

The King in his grant to the Duke of York had empowered him to make all laws for his new territory, with the usual proviso that these be not contrary to the laws of England. The Duke in turn had granted this power to Nicolls as his deputy. Having settled the boundaries of New York for the time, renamed its different parts, put English garrisons and officers at Albany, Esopus, and elsewhere, and brought the affairs of the distant Delaware region into proper train, the Governor assumed the duties of a legislator. He took for his guidance the Codes of the New England colonies in civil affairs, but disregarded their severe provisions relating to religion.

Preparation of "the Duke's Laws."

"The Duke's Laws" — as the code prepared by Nicolls and his

territory belonged. But as if doubting the wisdom of this settlement of the boundary he adds: "I humbly begg your L^dpp. to take the whole matter into serious consideracon, for if the Duke will improove this place to the vtmost, Neither the trade, the Riuer, nor the Adjacent lands must bee devided from this Collony, but remayne Entire."

[1] Maverick's Letters in the Winthrop Papers. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series. vol. vii.

councillors was called — were promulgated at a meeting of delegates from the towns of Yorkshire, held at Hempstead on February 28, 1665. The people of these towns alone — the great majority being Englishmen — seem to have felt much interest in the character of the new government about to be established. For this reason, no doubt, they only were summoned to send representatives. Certainly the code had been drawn up more with a view to their wants, as Nicolls understood them, than to those of any other portion of the province. Being emigrants from New England, the Long Islanders especially hoped for the concession of all the popular rights which the people of Massachusetts and Connecticut enjoyed. They did not gain them; it was not within Nicolls's power to grant them, indeed; but they received, with considerable grumbling and discontent, the next best system — as wise and liberal a code, perhaps, as it was possible for the deputy of a proprietary government to bestow.

The Long Island people and the new legislation.

The Duke's Laws prescribed the annual holding, on the last Thursday in September, of a court of assizes at New York, which should be the court of highest resort in the province; the holding of courts of sessions, next in rank, in each of the Yorkshire "ridings" thrice a year; arbitration was allowed in trifling cases, but a local court of a constable and six overseers might be held for the trial of cases involving less than five pounds. The executive power in Yorkshire was in the hands of a high sheriff appointed annually by the Governor, the three ridings in turn furnishing the candidate. Each town had eight overseers, chosen by the freeholders, the freeholders selecting one of the eight to act as constable. The town officers made the assessments for taxes. Old land grants were to be looked upon as valueless unless submitted to the provincial authorities and confirmed by new patents issued by the Governor in the Duke's name. Trade with the Indians was restricted — that in arms, ammunition, liquor, and furs being permitted only under special license. Disputes between Indians and whites were to be fairly adjusted by the authorities as if between Christians. Slavery was recognized as legal, as there were many negro slaves already in the province; but kind and humane treatment for them and for servants was enforced by penalties. The militia law included all persons over sixteen years old, the militia expenses to be equitably shared by all the towns. One form of blasphemy ("denying the true God"), treason, murder, some offences against nature, the striking of parents in case the offender were over fourteen, and kidnapping, were capital crimes. A very great number of regulations provided for all minor matters of discipline, for licenses, trading and shipping laws, and so

Provisions of the Duke's code.

on. Trial by juries was provided for; but, except in capital cases, the jury was not to exceed seven men. No person who "professed Christianity" was to be molested for minor differences of opinion. There were a few regulations about church matters, applying equally to all sects, but no Indian was to be permitted "to powow, or perform outward worship to the devil."

Nicolls enforced this code immediately and thoroughly in Yorkshire only, leaving the changes to be very gradual in New York and along the river, where the Dutch could not conform at once to English ways. In the city there was for a little while loud complaint that the English official titles of mayor, alderman, and

The code in New York.



Inauguration of the First English Municipal Government at the Stadt Huys.

sheriff were substituted for the old Dutch terms of schepen, burgomaster, and schout; and when, in June, 1665, Thomas Willett was appointed mayor, and other Englishmen were put upon the board of aldermen, Nicolls was accused of disregarding the articles of capitulation. Such complaints the Governor met by pointing to his instructions, which required him to conform to English custom in his rule of the province. In the appointment of Englishmen to office his wish was, he declared, to provide for the peace and quiet of the whole community by having in office men of both nations. The discontent was speedily allayed, for no fault could be found with the selection of officers made among the English. The mayor, Willett,

English officials.

especially, was greatly esteemed among the Dutch, whom more than once he had served in important trusts in the time of the late governor. Moreover, there could be little real fear of injustice, for the sheriff, or schout, and the majority of this new board of aldermen, were still Dutch.

Breaking out of the war between England and the Netherlands.

Only on the day before the inauguration of this first municipal government in the town so lately called New Amsterdam, the Dutch and English at home were fighting the great naval battle off Lowestoft in the North Sea. The furious cannonading was heard on the banks of the Thames in England — almost in London. While Nicolls peacefully debated with the burghers in the Stadt Huys, the Duke of York was face to face with Dutchmen in quite another way, and one that came well-nigh giving to the Governor a new master; for as the Duke, who was in command of the English fleet, stood on the deck of his flag-ship, the *Royal Charles*, three of his officers were shot down at his side, so that their blood "flew in the Duke's face."[1]

The war had at length come, to which the disturbed relations of the two governments had been gradually leading since the restoration of Charles, and which now the conquest of New Netherland made inevitable. Angry competition on the coast of Africa had given rise to actual conflicts, and the English had driven the Dutch out of the forts they had built. In the East, the Dutch East India Company and the English merchants were virtually at war. The news from Africa and from Manhattan had reached England in the same week, to be received with open approval at court. Carteret told Pepys that "the king did joy mightily at it," but asked him, laughing, "How shall I do to answer this to the embassador when he comes?"[2] He answered it by the insolent claim of priority of ownership of the New Netherland territory, and the English ambassador at the Hague treated the matter with an equally high hand. De Witt, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, answered sharply for the States General that the American province must be given back; at the same time the Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, was secretly ordered to retaliate upon the English on the Guinea coast — which he did effectually a short time after. The English seized such Dutch vessels as were in their ports, and thus the two nations were already at war, though this was only December, 1664, and no formal declaration was made till the fourth of March following, after considerable further negotiation on Holland's part had proved fruitless.

It was in this war that the battle off Lowestoft had been the first — though a useless — English victory. These events belong to Euro-

[1] Pepys's *Diary*. [2] Ibid.

pean, rather than to American history, except that by the treaty of Breda — 1667 — the possession of New York was confirmed to the English. The only immediate effect of the declaration of war upon that province was to compel Nicolls to take all possible measures for its defence, lest De Ruyter should come that way on his mission to "inflict .... as much damage and injury as possible"[1] upon the English. The apprehended attack, however, never came. There were no dissensions between the old and new masters of New Netherland, and through the summer and autumn of 1665 Nicolls was left unmolested to quietly bring the whole province into obedience to his rule.

Progress of the war.

The next spring, however, brought the necessity of quelling some disturbances in eastern Long Island, where there was still much dissatisfaction because the Duke's code denied the people the popular elements of New England, especially of Connecticut, government. When the Governor had quieted these disorders by tempering vigorous measures against the chief offenders with indulgence to the rest, new trouble arose in the same region in resistance to the enforcement of the law of renewal of patents — a matter requiring the wisest management. The Court of Assizes decreed in September that the neglect of the Long Island towns and of individuals to renew their land grants under the Duke of York could be no longer tolerated. It required all Nicolls's skill and firmness to carry out the measure, accompanied as it was by the exaction of fees and quit-rents. After much discontent, however, all the towns of consequence, except Southold and Southampton, yielded, and these complied with the conditions a year or two afterward.

Discontent in Long Island

Though the war in Europe left Nicolls thus free to establish order in his new government, it was not to pass away without disturbance to the American colonies. The alliance of Louis XIV. with the Dutch against England, in January, 1666, had of course made enemies, nominally at least, of those colonies and the French in the new world. King Charles sent out letters in February directing his American subjects to begin whatever hostile measures they could against Canada, doubtless expecting that New England and New York would undertake at once a vigorous campaign against their northern neighbors. But he little understood the comparative indifference to European affairs felt by the colonists. His instructions were received with little enthusiasm, and the only measures taken were some attempts to excite the Mohawk Indians to enmity against the French settlers. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Nova Scotia agreed that it would not be wise to undertake an expedition against the French settlements in Canada.

New York and Canada.

[1] Dutch document cited in Brodhead, ii., 58.

Before any news of the French declaration of war had reached America, however, — indeed, before it had been formally made, — Courcelles, the Governor of Canada, had started from Quebec with some five hundred men, and marched into the Mohawk country, to reduce that powerful tribe to the subjection which several of the other Indian nations beyond the great lakes had already acknowledged. The Canadians did not yet know that New Netherland had passed from Dutch into English hands. But when Courcelles reached Schenectady (which the French called "Corlaer," from a settlement the Dutch commissary Arendt Van Curler had formerly made there), he was met, to his great surprise, by delegates from Albany, who had been sent out, on a report from the Mohawks, to know the purpose of Courcelles' invasion.

Expedition of Courcelles.

Though he already knew the probability of a war between France and England, the Canadian governor did not dare to make any hostile demonstration against the comparatively strong Albany garrison. He declared that his purpose was only to subdue the Mohawks, and the Albany people charitably gave succor to his wounded men, and supplied provisions to his worn-out troops, who had suffered terribly from the long winter's march through deep snows. Beyond a few indecisive skirmishes with his Indian foes, most of whom kept out of sight, he did nothing, and soon after began his homeward march, about the time that news of his expedition reached Nicolls at New York. The Governor, though he expressed some indignation at the inroad, fully approved of the friendly reception given to Courcelles at Albany, and even exerted himself in common with them to bring about a treaty of peace between the French and Mohawks. This was at last so far successful that the Indians expressed their desire for peace to the wounded French left behind at Albany, and letters were sent announcing this to the officers at Quebec, — certain Oneida chiefs undertaking to carry and deliver the important news.

His reception by the Albany people.

French negotiations with the Mohawks.

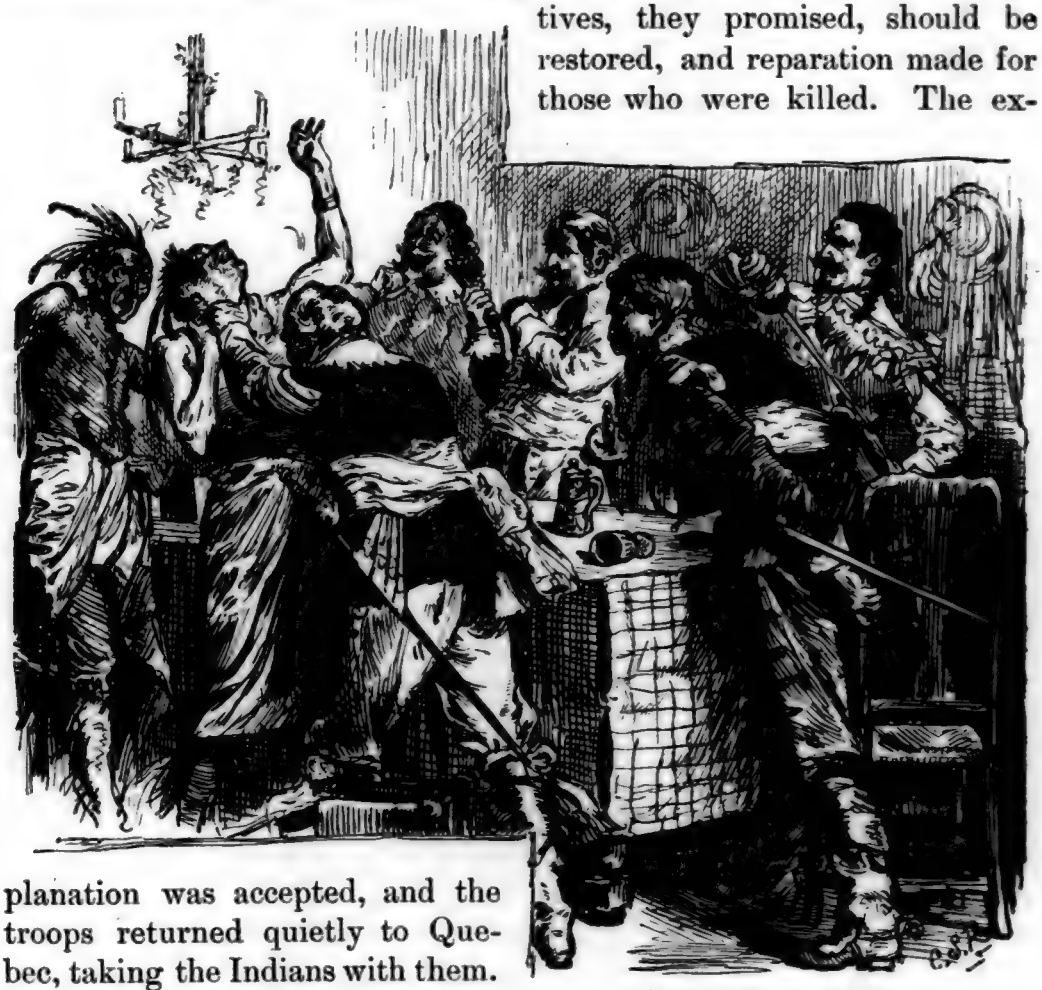
This was toward the end of March, but the slow messengers did not reach Canada till the beginning of July. Meanwhile another expedition of four hundred men had marched against the Mohawks. But this was now recalled, and messengers were sent by Tracy, the French commander at Quebec, with a treaty to be ratified by the Indians.

This friendly deputation had been gone a few days only when they also were recalled to Quebec. The Mohawks had shown that their offers of peace and friendship meant nothing. A hunting party of French officers had been surprised by an Indian band on or near Lake Champlain, who treacherously murdered

A new French expedition.

several of them, — of whom one was a nephew of Tracy, the Sieur de Chazy, — and had carried off the rest as prisoners. A fresh force of three hundred men started at once to carry destruction into the Mohawk country.

The exasperated Frenchmen had almost reached the Mohawk villages when they were met by an Indian deputation. They begged for peace. The attack upon the hunting party, they declared, was neither ordered by nor approved by their chiefs and people; the captives, they promised, should be restored, and reparation made for those who were killed. The explanation was accepted, and the troops returned quietly to Quebec, taking the Indians with them.



Arrest of Chazy's Murderer.

It was only to find that they had again been overreached by savage treachery and cunning. It was one of these very Mohawk ambassadors who had buried his tomahawk in the brains of Tracy's nephew. The boastful spirit of the savage, aroused probably by drink, led him to avow at Tracy's own table that it was he who split the head of that young officer. He was seized and hanged on the instant, and his companion thrown into prison.

Treachery of the savages.

Tracy, thus repeatedly betrayed and baffled, wrote bitterly to the Albany authorities who had sent him the first overtures of peace,

complaining that they had deceived him intentionally. A few weeks later he set out in person at the head of twelve hundred whites and a hundred Indian allies, passed down Lake Champlain in fleet of boats and canoes, and in the month of October marched through the Mohawk country, burning the villages, which were generally deserted at his approach, and setting up the arms of France in the chief fort. Returning to Quebec, he now sent by his prisoners such terms of peace as he would grant to the tribe, which they had till the next summer to consider.

Tracy's revenge.

In this expedition the French had made no hostile demonstrations against Albany, though the question of doing so had been debated before the march was commenced. Indeed, Nicolls had written in a moderate and friendly spirit to Tracy in reply to his letter accusing the Albany officers, and had told him that he should always prefer the "European interest" as against the "heathen," provided the English possessions were not invaded, as in the case of Courcelles' expedition, at which he again expressed surprise. The Albany authorities also wrote to explain their conduct in the matter of the Mohawk proposals for peace. Tracy answered both letters civilly in the spring, acknowledging that he had judged too hastily. Friendly relations were thus again apparently restored between New York and its northern neighbor.

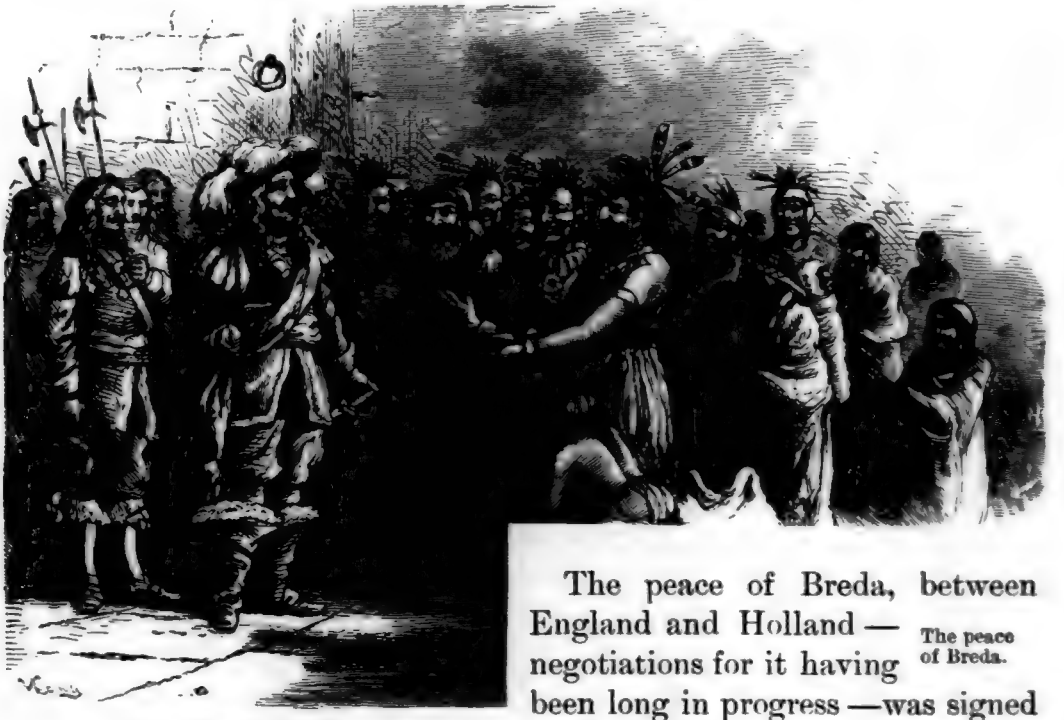
Correspondence between Tracy and the English.

Nicolls, however, not knowing how far the French were to be trusted, could neglect no precaution, and was kept in a state of constant anxiety. After strengthening the river garrisons, he advised the Mohawks, who sought counsel at Albany in regard to the French terms of peace, that they should stipulate for the destruction of the posts the Canadians had planted along Lake Champlain; and should declare that they (the Mohawks) acknowledged English rule, and would make no peace unless it should be agreed that no more armed forces should enter the English territory. Many were the debates held with the Indians during the winter. The English were earnest in their assurances of protection; eloquent in portraying the advantages an alliance with them would be against a common enemy. But with the Indians, the memory of recent calamity was more vivid than any promise of future good. They recalled their dismantled "castles" and burning villages; their women and children flying to hide themselves in the forest; their stores of corn destroyed or eaten by the French, while they were left to starve; their young men lying dead with only the leaves of autumn to cover them. Then their ears were closed to the words of the English; it was wiser, they thought, to be friends with these terrible Frenchmen who could fight better than an Indian, and were quite as much at home in the woods as he.

English advice to the Indians.

When the summer came a deputation of Mohawk and Oneida chieftains appeared at Quebec, with promises of submission. The war in Europe had recalled Tracy to France, where the services of the brave old man were more needed than in Canada, and Courcelles had succeeded to the command at Quebec. The Indians brought their families with them as pledges of their sincerity, and the new Governor had no difficulty in securing a treaty by which they promised allegiance to the King of France, and consented to accept the teachings of the Catholic priests. It was a treaty meant to be kept, and for many years the English, whose whole northern frontier was now left exposed, had reason to remember it.

French treaty with the Mohawks.



Submission of the Mohawks.

The peace of Breda, between England and Holland — negotiations for it having been long in progress — was signed on the last day of July, 1667; and a separate treaty of the same date closed the war with France. To the colonists in America, whose intercourse with England was seriously interrupted while the war continued, this seemed a sudden as it was a welcome termination of the struggle. To those at home, however, disgusted with the subserviency of their own King to the King of France, the profligacy of the court and the corruption of the government, it brought little satisfaction. Englishmen found no pleasure in a treaty which gave up two colonies in the East Indies, and Nova Scotia in America, and secured in return only New Netherland, the value of which was as yet but little understood. In Northern New England, at least, it was a question, whether such an acquisition was not dearly paid for by the surrender of Nova Scotia,

The peace of Breda.

which brought the Canadian frontier so much nearer to their outlying settlements.

However, the war was over, and immediate danger was past; and if this news was welcomed with pleasure anywhere outside of Holland, it was among both Dutch and English in New York. On the first of January, 1668, Nicolls caused the glad tidings to be proclaimed throughout the province. The English had good reason to rejoice that the question of jurisdiction was now settled by treaty. The Dutch were quite reconciled by the judicious rule of Nicolls to the change of masters; but they heard with satisfaction, that for seven years a limited trade with Holland would be permitted. For this they were indebted to their old governor, Stuyvesant, which made it, no doubt, the more generally acceptable. He had returned in the spring of 1665, to Holland, to answer for his conduct at the time of the surrender, for which the directors of the West India Company were disposed to blame him without measure. But the treaty ended all discussion of that point. Stuyvesant thoroughly understood the wants of the colony, and before returning thither — for he meant it should still be his home — he secured in England this concession of trade for the benefit of the colonists, to whose comfort certain kinds of goods from the Fatherland were indispensable.

News of peace in New York.

Trade with Holland conceded to the colony.

Nicolls had more than once asked that he might be relieved from his government and permitted to return home. After the loss of New Jersey, he seems to have thought the remainder of the grant to the Duke of York hardly worth possessing — much less governing. His request was at length listened to, and Colonel Francis Lovelace was appointed to succeed him.

Nicolls succeeded by Lovelace.

Lovelace was not unfamiliar with affairs in America, and had been both in New Netherland and Virginia. He arrived in New York in the spring of 1668. But he and Nicolls spent the summer in arranging the affairs of the government which was about to be transferred from one to the other; and it was not until the end of August that the freemen of New York mustered under arms and in military order at the lower part of the town, to bid a ceremonious as well as a heartfelt farewell to the Governor, who had ruled them so justly that he left no enemies behind. For four years (his fellow-commissioner Maverick wrote) he had served in the province "with great reputation and honor." He had done "His Majesty and his Royal Highness very considerable service in these parts," indeed, "having, by his prudent management of affairs, kept persons of different judgments and of diverse nations in peace and quietness, during a time when a great part of the world was in warrs." He had

Services of Nicolls.

brought the "several nations of the Indians" . . . . "into such a peaceable posture and faire correspondence" as had never been known before.

On the 28th of August he left New York, bearing with him an address from the people to the Duke, setting forth his good service and the peacefulness of the province, and leaving behind a name which stands preëminent among the royal governors in America for moderation, justice, and wise forbearance. He had spent much of his own means in promoting the welfare of his "station," and had once at least

His departure.



Departure of Nicolls

been obliged to pledge his personal credit to secure funds for the depleted provincial exchequer.

The province had now reached the period most favorable to the growth of a new state. The hardships of the first years of settlement, the trials of early misgovernment, the difficulties of a change of masters, and the perplexities attending a new code of laws, had all been in great measure overcome. The individual citizen felt secure in person and property. Sixty years of slow but constant growth had brought the "village at the Manhattoes" to a size and importance which almost entitled it to its new name of "city"; "the best of His Majesty's towns in America," as Nicolls had called it on his arrival, was beginning to give tokens of its future leadership in commerce — a fact, said its Governor, of which "the brethren of Boston were very sensible."

Progress of the province.

The little sea-port, in this time of its transition under the earlier

English governors, had characteristics not belonging to any other of the colonial towns — peculiarities arising partly from its singular mingling of races, and partly from the reproduction of the manners and customs of another nationality. Looked back upon through two centuries, the life of New York in these first days of its English name has a picturesque quaintness that is sharply marked against the colder background of New England.

Life in the city of New York.

Though a good deal of English energy and activity had already begun to pervade its streets and wharves, yet its customs long remained those which its first settlers had brought with them out of the Dutch fatherland. Its architecture, most of its local names, and even its more common speech, were Dutch. Its domestic and social life was regulated by the customs of Holland. If it was simple and somewhat heavy, it was at the same time healthy, virtuous, and full of kindliness and hospitality. If the stout burghers moved slowly, thought only of the practical side of things, and went to bed at nine o'clock, they also worked steadily, governed their households wisely, and persecuted nobody. If they introduced for a brief period into their new home the law they brought from Holland, of the great burgher-right and the lesser burgher-right, those who received the former were worthy of the dignity, and those who were confined to the latter valued their citizenship and educated their children none the less carefully. The town that now occupied the lower end of Manhattan Island, with its substantial brick houses and its clean streets, had been their work. It is worth while to recall what kind of city they left to their successors as the nucleus of a metropolis.

Topography of the town.

During the decade between 1660 and 1670 New York covered that part of the island which lies below the present Wall Street, which still commemorates by its name the line of stout palisades that there formed the northern limit of the thickly settled portion of the town.[1] A gate in the palisade — the "Land-gate," which the city watchmen shut at nightfall — gave entrance to the wide road called the "Heere Wegh" without and the "Heere Straat" within the wall. This was the thoroughfare that has become the Broadway of the present city, its name preserving a literal translation of the old Dutch title. The "compact and oval" group of houses in which the burghers lived was divided into two nearly equal parts by this street. Altogether there were about four hundred buildings; "the meanest house therein," says one old writer, "being valued at one hundred pounds,"[2] so that they must have been solid and well constructed, "much after the manner of Holland." They were "built

[1] Vol. i., p. 462.

[2] Josselyn's *Two Voyages to New England*, 1672.

with Dutch brick, *alla-moderna*," "covered with red and black tile,"[1] and their gable-ends faced the streets after the fashion of the fatherland.

Solid citizens, men of much consideration, occupied the greater part of this, the town proper, the majority of the poorer class of colonists being scattered on farms or in hamlets outside. Yet there was a distinction between the west side of the Heere Straat, where all the land was good, and the east side, where were all sorts of disadvantages which modern New York long ago covered up, so that they have left no traces but in local names. On the west, from the West India Company's great gardens (which stretched from the Heere Straat to the Hudson, and covered the ground where Trinity Church now stands),[2] to the fort just below the Bowling Green, were the dwellings of the leading men, and their great gardens and orchards that often stretched across all that half of the town and overlooked the water. Here was the churchyard,[3] and the Dominie's house, and the schoolmaster's; and along a part of the river-bank behind the Company's ground were "the locust trees,"[4] shading a path which was a favorite resort for all classes, and an admirable outlook over the river and the bay.



Old House in New York, built 1668.

The region between the Heere Straat and the East River, on the contrary, was covered with marshes and a tangle of water-courses, of which the city of to-day shows no trace whatever. A group of little hills, hardly more than knolls, surrounded a low boggy pasture, — the "Company's Valley," or "the sheep pasture," — which of itself might have made the quarter untenantable for any but true Hollanders. But they contented themselves by partially draining it by a ditch along the Bever-graft (Beaver Street), and one along the upper part of the present Broad Street, — the lower part of which was occupied by something still more characteristic of the fatherland, — a canal from tidewater, extending up to Exchange Place. The busy place was then traversed chiefly by the cattle coming up from the meadow, marking out the future street by their

The eastern quarter.

[1] Denton's *Description of New York*, 1670.
[2] Gerard's *Old Streets of New York.*
[3] But it was not so used after 1677. Gerard, 20.
[4] Ibid.

muddy trail. Between the Heere Straat and the Company's Valley the ground was high; and the boys of New Amsterdam used, in the winter, to bring out their sleds to the "Verlettenberg," and slide down hill directly over the site of the New York Stock Exchange; while in summer they ran down the slope to drive home the cows that fed where the custom-house stands, or collect the sheep that pastured where the vaults of the sub-treasury now undermine the street.

The business centres.

The central point of commercial matters was, however, then as now, in this neighborhood; for Governor Lovelace, to facilitate the business of the town, ordered in 1670 that the bridge over the canal, at the corner of Bridge and Broad streets, should be a meeting-place — an Exchange, or a kind of Rialto — for the New York merchants. There they met every Friday, between eleven and twelve o'clock, to discuss and to trade. Near them were the chief warehouses, — the five stone buildings of the West India Company on the Winckel Street, which ran from Bridge Street to what is now Pearl Street, but what was then a road along the edge of the East River, from which a stout planking defended its outer side. This was "T'Water," or "Waterside;"[1] but some parts of it had different names, from one of which — Paerel Straat — the present title comes. On Bridge Street — so near the "Exchange" as to overlook it — lived many of the merchants and traders; and close by were the most prosperous industries of the little town, the breweries, enough to give their name to a street — Brouwer Straat, now Stone Street, — the tannery, and the shops of smiths and shipwrights.



View of Wall Street.

But though the exchange had its one busy day, the real centre of

[1] Gerard, 36, 37.

bustle and activity was only reached when one had passed the stone house of the Governor, built by Stuyvesant to replace the one formerly used in the fort, and called by the English "the Whitehall" — whence Whitehall Street, — and had come to the Marckvelt — the market-place of the town. This included a large space just east of Whitehall Street, and south of Beaver; and here the farmers, when they had left their wagons ranged side by side, and their horses picketed to graze on the Common (now the Bowling Green), spread out their goods for sale. Some came by boats which they brought up the Broad Street canal and tied to the bridge; others came only so far as the single dock which New York then had, on the East River, a little below the mouth of the canal, where was a smaller market and a weigh-house.[1] Barter went on briskly, but little coin changed hands; wampum and beaver skins were the currency, and their value varied with the supply.

Overlooking all this busy quarter was the fort — Fort Amsterdam under the Dutch, and Fort James under their successors. Bridge, Whitehall, and State streets, and the Bowling Green, now bound the square which it occupied with its imposing, if not very formidable walls. It was "capable to lodge three hundred soldiers and officers;" it had "four bastions, and forty pieces of cannon mounted;" and was "of stone, lined with a thick rampart of Earth; well accommodated with a spring of fresh water, always furnished with arms and ammunition against accidents."[2] Within it was the stone church, — the one which Kieft had built, — with double roof, and a little tower between the two gables at the end toward the bay.[3] The old brick mansion of the Governor also was within the walls, and houses for the garrison. In one bastion towered a windmill; though the chief windmill was probably outside, near the Hudson, about the foot of Battery Place. As a structure the fort lent considerable dignity to the little island town. But as a fortification it was almost ludicrously useless, and its garrison might have been picked off with pistol bullets from the high ground near by. A blockhouse would have been as good defence against the Indians as its elaborate bastions and stone-faced walls; how useless they were against a civilized foe there was evidence enough on two occasions.

The Fort.

"His Majesty's town of New York," which thus covered the point of Manhattan lying below the line of palisades, was hardly more quaint than its surroundings. Along the Heere Wegh toward the upper end of the Island the houses and bouweries stood close together for a little distance outside the wall. Then came the thickly-wooded and wilder region to the north. The pleasant

The environs of the city.

[1] Gerard, 22. [2] Ogilby. [3] Ibid.

valley-road called the Maagde-Padtje — Maiden Lane; the deep, still pond surrounded by green hills, which lay where the prison of the Tombs now stands; the "Flats" or "Common," covering the site of the City Hall and its park; the "Kissing Bridge" about the corner of Chatham and Roosevelt streets — over which no right minded young Hollander suffered his buxom companion to pass unsaluted;[1] all these were near enough to be favorite resorts of the burghers and their English fellow-townsmen. Then came the farms; and after a long interval of partly cleared land, the "Great Bouwerie" (from which the present Bowery takes its name) of Governor Stuyvesant. Here the old Dutch Governor retired after his return from Holland and England, to take no part in government matters under the English, but to live for a few years in quiet, until, in 1672, he died at the ripe age of eighty, and his towns-people buried him in the little chapel he had built here upon his farm. The Governor's house must have stood near Tenth Street of modern New York, and a little east of Third Avenue. Beyond it stretched swamps, woods, and clearings, interspersed with outlying plantations, over the rest of Manhattan, to New Haarlem, a little village at the junction of Harlem and East rivers.



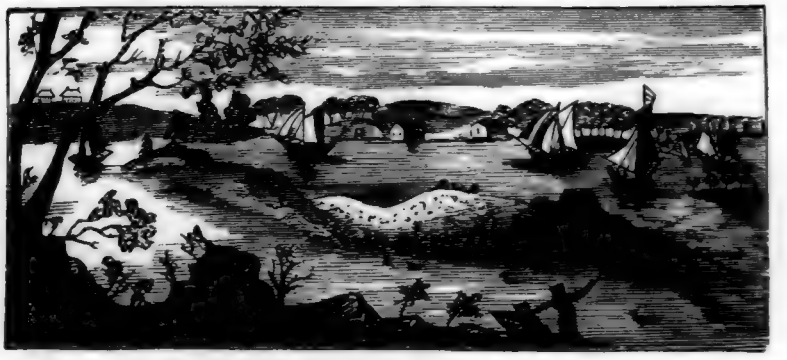
The Bowling Green.

Hell-gate and East River.

From the Westchester villages along the Sound, the people always reached New York by water, preferring to the woods and marshes, the terrible perils of Hell-Gate. The old descriptions of this dreaded strait show careful observation. "A place called Hell Gate," one calls it; "which being a narrow passage, there runneth a violent stream, both upon flood and ebb, and in the middle lieth some Islands of Rocks, which the Current sets so violently upon that it threatens present shipwreck; and upon the flood is a large Whirlpool, which continually sends forth a hideous roaring, enough to affright any stranger from passing any further, and

[1] Gerard, *passim*.

to wait for some Charon to conduct him through; yet to those that are well acquainted little or no danger; yet a place of great defence against any enemy coming in that way, which a small Fortification would absolutely prevent, and necessitate them to come in at the West end of Long Island by Sandy Hook, where Nutten Island doth force them within command of the Fort at New York, which is one of the best Pieces of Defence in the North parts of America."[1]



Hell Gate (from an Old Dutch Print).

With the nearest part of Long Island, the communication was by a ferry near the present Peck Slip, where such passengers as would cross might summon the ferryman by blowing a horn that hung to a neighboring tree. The ferryman's boat carried its passengers to Breukelen, described as a village with "a small and ugly church standing in the middle of the road;" whence the traveller might turn to the right to go to Gouanes — Gowanus, — to 't Vlacke Bos — Flatbush, — to Rust-dorp — Jamaica, — Heemsteede, and the hamlets and farms beyond.

The Long Island towns.

Along the bank of the Hudson, and kept in communication with the capital by the little shallops of the settlers, or the larger vessels that constantly passed up and down with goods and peltries, were scattered farms and little settlements; while Esopus, Rensselaerswyck, and Albany were garrisoned places — the latter already beginning to present some evidences of rapid growth. To the northwest of Albany, on the beautiful Mohawk, lay the very outpost of civilization, the hamlet of Schaenhechstede — Schenectady, — which had been laid out in 1664 by Arendt van Curler, the former manager of Rensselaerswyck, and who was so popular with the Iroquois that they called the governors of New York "Corlaers" from his name. Regretted by Hollanders, English, French, and Indians alike, he met his death in a storm on Lake Champlain, in 1667, while on his way to Quebec as an ambassador from Nicolls.

The settlements on the Hudson.

It was long before the English conquest made any essential impression upon the aspect or character of these Dutch towns. The colonists were faithful to the customs, the traditions, and the habits of

[1] Denton's *Description of New York*, 1670.

the Fatherland. Everywhere was the same Dutch picture. It has been often enough described. The Hollander, and his son, and his son's son after him, for generations, sat by the same large tiled fire-place; in his hand was his long clay pipe; the floor about him was strewn with clean sand swept into curves and figures, and the low-studded room scrupulously clean with frequent scouring; his garden was filled with tulips and hyacinths; over the Dutch gable of his house swung the traditional weather-cock; the porch or *stoep* had its benches, where the family collected on summer evenings. Within, in the living room, the settle and straight-backed leather chairs, the great glass-doored cupboard for delft and p ate, the huge linen-chest, the ponderous curtained bed shut into its alcove or closet, replaced in the poorer houses by the mere "banck" or bunk along the wall, — all recalled the furniture of Holland, whence, indeed, most of it had been brought. The pages of Knickerbocker's History rather reproduce than caricature these homes of the early Dutch colonists. Hospitality was boundless; and with the hard work of every-day life was mingled a good deal of jovial festivity. In the winter were the quaint tea-parties for the elder people, and the balls for both young and old at the town tavern — afterward the Stadt-Huys — on Paerel Straat, from five until the watch made their round at nine and warned all to go home. Even the staid city and provincial officials had their times of unbending. "There is good correspondence kept between the English and Dutch," wrote Commissioner Maverick in 1669; "and to keep it the closer, sixteen (ten Dutch and six English) have had a constant meeting at each other's houses in turns, twice every week in winter, and . . . . in summer once. They meet at six at night, and part about eight or nine."[1] And other authorities speak of the "Fiall, Passado, and Madeira," to say nothing of punch, both of brandy and of West India rum, which the Dutch called "kill-devil." There were out-door sports in the day-time on the snow and ice. If they had not the canals of Holland, New Amsterdam was a place of ponds, and the undisturbed waters of the two rivers and the bay were no doubt much oftener covered with solid ice than now. "Its admirable," wrote the English chaplain of the fort, "to see Men and Women as it were flying upon their Skates from place to place, with Markets upon their Heads and Backs."[2]

Domestic life of the Dutch citizens.

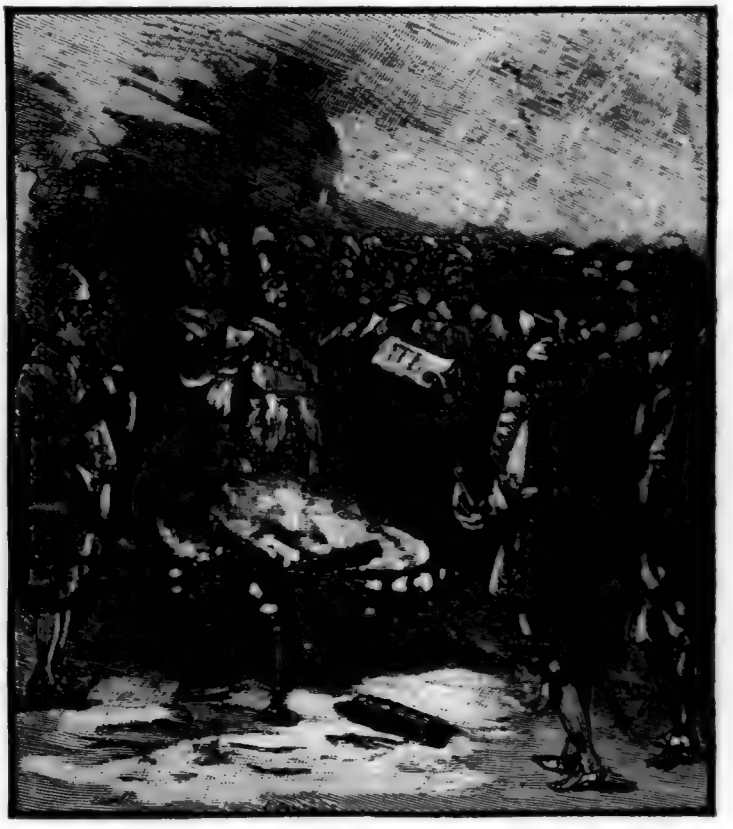
In the summer were excursions to gather peaches and strawberries — the trees of the villages of the rich virgin soil about New York being literally borne down with the former fruit, and the ground covered with those that had fallen. As for the strawberries, on Long

[1] Quoted in Brodhead, ii., 153.

[2] *A Two Years' Journal in New York*, by Charles Wooley, 1679.

Island there was such abundance "that the fields and woods are died red: Which the country-people perceiving," says an old writer, "instantly arm themselves with bottles of wine, cream and sugar, and, instead of a coat of Male, everyone takes a Female upon his horse behind him, and so rushing violently into the fields, never leave 'till they have disrob'd them of their red colours, and turned them into the old habit."[1]

Contrasting the simplicity, the contentment, the easy-going industry, and the love of harmless amusement in these Dutch communities with the restless character which belonged to the Southern colonies, and with the bitter theological and political controversies which shook those of New England, it is plain that New York must have been at this time the happiest, though not the most progressive of the American provinces. Lovelace's rule was judicious and for the most part quiet. But some disputes between the English and Dutch at Albany called for the sending of commissioners thither in the spring of 1670, and their report was followed by the dismissal of the English commander, Captain Baker. There was some discontent in the Long Island towns, several of which refusing to contribute to renew the New York fortifications, Lovelace ordered their votes to be publicly burned. This arbitrary measure, however, was only a temporary disposition of a question which was a source of subsequent trouble. On the northern and northwestern borders of the province, the movements of the French and their great progress in the exploration and occupation of the country also gave the Gov-



Burning the Votes.

Lovelace's administration.

[1] Denton's *New York*.

ernor some uneasiness, though less, perhaps, than they caused in New England. But there was neither opportunity nor excuse for action in the matter, and he contented himself with reassuring the Albany people that it was very improbable that when there was no war in Europe, Courcelles would begin one in America. On the whole, the few disquieting matters of Lovelace's administration may be said to have happened on the frontiers, while at the capital all went well, and the province daily grew in strength and numbers.

Recommendations from England to be prepared against all attacks, which reached Lovelace in February, 1672, were followed during the next month by explicit instructions from the King to erect an additional battery in New York, and to see that ships going to Europe should sail in companies for safety. Excepting vague rumors, this was the first news that reached the colony, that war had broken out again between England and Holland.

New complications in Europe.

Charles II. had shamelessly abandoned the famous Triple Alliance by which, in 1668, the plans of Louis XIV. had been thwarted, and England had joined with its Dutch rival in one of the strongest combinations ever formed against a European power. The league had been entirely successful in its objects, and was universally popular; in the House of Commons it had been called "the only good publick thing that hath been done since the King come into England;"[1] yet Charles's heart had never been in it, nor had he ceased for a moment to treat secretly with the French king. In May, 1670, he concluded with Louis the infamous treaty of Dover, according to which, in consideration of large subsidies and military aid from France, Charles was to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and use his utmost endeavors to change the "state of religion in England for a better;"[2] while France and England were to join in a war against Holland. The opposition of Parliament was the only remaining bar to the carrying out of the latter design, which was to precede the fulfillment of the other; but a way was found by which Parliament was deceived. A large appropriation was asked of it, ostensibly to strengthen the fleet for the purposes of the Triple Alliance; and no sooner was this subsidy obtained than parliament was prorogued (April, 1671). Charles, with characteristic effrontery, openly declared that he meant to keep it apart for nearly a year. Then, for the sake of additional supplies, followed the iniquitous measure of closing the exchequer. The King's object was attained. France and England declared war against the Netherlands on March 17, 1672, and the first battles, both by sea and land, followed soon after. In the first naval

Renewed war against the Dutch.

[1] Pepys.

[2] Green's *Short History of the English People.*

conflict, in the Solebay in Suffolk, where De Ruyter attacked the French and English ships, Richard Nicolls was standing near his master, the Duke of York. In the midst of the action he was shot down by a cannon ball from one of the Dutch fleet.

The news of the war, and the explicit instructions that came with it, might well excite the anxiety of Lovelace. But he did not foresee — indeed he had no reason to look for — the serious consequences that were to follow to his own province. The remainder of the year 1672 passed away quietly enough, but in the spring of 1673, when the Governor was temporarily absent, his lieutenant, Manning, sent for him in haste to come back to New York, for a rumor had reached the town that a Dutch fleet was already on its way northward from the West Indies. The Governor thought fit to "slite" the intelligence, and characterized it as "one of Manning's larrums."[1] But he nevertheless concentrated a considerable force at New York, only to be dispersed again when the rumor came to nothing. Only about eighty men were left in the dilapidated Fort James. The blow was coming, and was to fall upon the English with even more suddenness than theirs had fallen on Stuyvesant nine years before.

The Dutch fleet before New York.

On the seventh of August, 1673, twenty-three Dutch ships, carrying sixteen hundred men, under command of Cornelis Evertsen and Jacob Binckes, anchored in the outer bay of New York, just below Staten Island. The fleet was last from Virginia, where it captured a number of English merchantmen, some of which were burnt, and others added to their own force. The ships were in need of wood and water, and would have run, could pilots have been procured, into Delaware Bay. It was accident, therefore, rather than design, which took them to New York; for though they were assured by one of their English prisoners that the place was incapable of defence, another declared that there were a hundred and fifty guns mounted at the fort, and that five thousand men could be mustered in three hours. The necessity of recruiting compelled the Dutch to seek the nearest port, and they entered the bay, "rather afraid," says a contemporary writer, "of receiving some disturbance from New Yorke than giving any to it."[2]

The Dutch on shore hailed the arrival of their countrymen with delight, and soon made them acquainted with the real state of things. The fort was garrisoned by only seventy or eighty men: the guns were either dismounted or their carriages rotten; the Governor was absent, and no efficient commander was in his place; and the people generally were discontented with English rule. Encouraged by such

[1] Manning's answer to charges against him. *Documentary Hist. of N. Y.*, vol. iii., p. 57.

[2] Letter of Richard Wharton (contributed by George H Moore), *Hist. Mag.*, Second Series, vol. i., p. 297.

intelligence, the fleet was taken within the Narrows and anchored off Staten Island.[1]

Attempts at defence.

Manning, meanwhile, was not idle. Messengers were hurried off to recall Lovelace; orders were issued to the military captains of the towns to hasten to New York with their companies; the drums were beaten through the streets for volunteers; the smith was set to work to repair the arms; the commissary was sent out to gather provisions to victual the fort in case of siege; and to gain time, a deputation was dispatched to the fleet to demand the meaning of the approach of this hostile force. Manning — it was afterward granted, when courts sat in judgment of his acts — was not a coward, and, no doubt, he did all that any man could do under the circumstances in discharge of his duty. But his efforts were in vain; there was not time for the Governor to get back from Connecticut; the militia of the country towns refused to rally, even where — as was the case in only two or three instances — their captains responded to the summons from Manning; the drums stirred no martial ardor in the breasts of the citizens; the labors of a single smith on firelocks could avail but little in a fort where nobody would come to use them, where six only of the large guns were on platforms, and to the whole there were only four sponges and four ladles. Even his attempt to gain time by sending a flag to the fleet probably only betrayed weakness and fear to the enemy. The next day their guns were frowning upon Fort James from as many ships as the stream in front could conveniently float.

New York surrendered.

To the repeated demand for surrender Manning could only ask a little more time. The Dutch commanders would give at last but thirty minutes, and turned over an hour-glass to mark the time. As the last sand ran out they opened fire, and some in the fort were killed and some wounded. Any defence, of course, was utterly hopeless, though the fire seems to have been returned; but at the same time a force of six hundred Dutch landed on the banks of the Hudson in the rear of the present Trinity Church in Broadway, and moved to the assault. There was nothing left but immediate capitulation. Just as the sun went down the Dutch troops marched into the fort out of which Stuyvesant had stumped nine years before at the head of his men. How happy would he have been could he have lived to see that sight!

New names and other changes.

Again with a change of rulers came a change of names. The province of New York was once more New Netherland; Fort James received its third designation, and became Fort William Hendrick, in honor of the Prince of Orange; the town itself, a few days later, was declared to be for the future New

[1] Colden's Letters. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1869.

Orange, instead of New Amsterdam, as it had been under the rule of the West India Company. Mayor, aldermen, and sheriff, gave place in name as well as officially, and burgomasters, schepens, and schouts, were again hailed as magistrates. Dutch supremacy was asserted, and Dutch influences were again felt to be paramount in all the relations of society.

But the affairs of every-day life soon resumed their usual channels. Personal hostilities, perhaps, may have seized such an opportunity for their indulgence, but now, as nine years before, there seems to have been little disturbance of the neighborly harmony and friendship existing between the two peoples. Here, indeed, was then no large



The Dutch Ultimatum.

city ; no dangerous class was hidden away in dark cellars and obscure attics, to swarm in unexpected numbers, ready for bloodshed and plunder at the first sign of temporary anarchy. But, nevertheless, the capture of New Amsterdam by the English, and the recapture of New York by the Dutch, are among the most remarkable instances in history of peaceful revolutions. There was the confiscation of public property, and its conversion to the use of the victorious party, which, if not absolutely necessary, is not surprising. But the private suffering seems to have been hardly enough to be counted as an act of war. It is doubtful if any private property was molested, except that the houses of Lovelace and Manning were plundered ; and to this — which was done by some disorderly soldiers — a stop was speedily put. Thus in those times as in ours, it seems almost to have

been accepted as a decree of Providence that New York should always be open to occupation by any alien race that thought it worth its while; and that any rule should be acceptable to its citizens, provided there was no personal outrage, and that robbery should be disguised under the form of municipal government.

The province again in Dutch possession.

The Dutch had retaken New Netherland; and the two commanders who had accomplished the conquest, after they had appointed Anthony Colve to be temporary governor, and issued provisional instructions to him pending advices from the Hague, leaving him two ships of war for protection, sailed away at the end of September with the two departments of their fleet — Evertsen for the West Indies, and Binckes for home. Colve issued provisional instructions to his new subjects. The towns on the Hudson had submitted without resistance to a small force sent against them; New Jersey and Delaware had quietly acknowledged, through delegates from the chief towns, the Dutch restoration. The six towns at the western end of Long Island had done the same; others had submitted upon being sharply summoned; and finally, even those at the eastern end were forced to yield. Lovelace imprudently ventured back to New York after some parley, and arrived there three days after the surrender. He was kindly treated, and not held as a prisoner by the commanders and their council of war; but though the hand of military law spared him, he had been only three days in the town when he was arrested for debt; and during all the rest of the Dutch negotiations he remained virtually a captive among the new masters of the province. A few days before their departure, the commanders, after some consideration, issued a decree confiscating all the property they had formerly attached; and the unfortunate Lovelace, thus stripped of his last guilder, was quietly told that if he would now pay what he owed, he would in six weeks be permitted freely to leave the country. But though the property of his subordinate officers and of some other Englishmen was taken, and the right of confiscation against all Holland's enemies in America was assumed, it was declared that "for sufficient reasons" that of "actual inhabitants" of New England, Virginia, and Maryland, might be for the present exempt.

Confiscations of property.

Administration of Colve.

At the end of September Governor Colve found himself left in undivided authority over the mixed population of New Orange; the "Achter Col" (such was the new name of New Jersey); the Hudson River villages, with "Willemstadt" (Albany), and Esopus; Westchester and Long Island; and all the rest which had made up the ancient domain of New Netherland under his Dutch predecessors. He might well assume the state of "a coach and three horses;" yet he and his compatriots, exultant as they

were over the restoration of its lost jewel to the Fatherland, trembled when they thought of their weak condition, surrounded by and mingled with the enemies over whom they had achieved their victory. Reinforcements, which the schout and schepens of New Orange had already written for, must be sent out at once, and Holland must take them under its especial protection; for it was not to be expected that the few thousands of subjects which the States had in America could long withstand the anger and the retaliation of the French and English, by whom New Netherland was surrounded. Secretary Van Ruyven, sailing for home in September, had been charged with these urgent appeals; but his vessel, having almost suffered shipwreck, had to put into Nantucket, whence the secretary, to the surprise and disappointment of every one, made his reappearance in New Orange during the following November. The news he carried was destined to reach Holland by other hands. Would it arrive in time to secure the province from the possibility of English recapture?

News of the recapture received in New England.

New England was naturally both indignant and alarmed to hear that the Dutch were again established on its borders. The commissioners of its colonies met at Hartford early in September, less than a month after Evertsen's easy conquest, and passed a recommendation that each member of the New England confederation make preparations for defence against a possible Dutch attack. Nor were those wanting who urged upon the meeting a more aggressive policy. But want of union, and a natural disinclination for war, prevented. Massachusetts refused to take advantage of the offer of an English captain, whose ship lay at Boston, to retake New York with no other aid than that of supplies and a reinforcement. Unless the conquered region could be annexed to her own territory, that colony did not care to engage in any efforts for the recapture of New York. Plymouth was indifferent in the matter, so long as freedom from Dutch interference with her coasters was secured. Connecticut resolved to do what she could to retain eastern Long Island, at all events. The authorities at Hartford sent a threatening letter to Colve, by a special messenger; and at the same time two commissioners were appointed to visit the island, ascertain the state of affairs, and warn such Dutch authorities as they might find there of the possibility of extreme measures. To the letter Colve replied sharply that it was "impertinent and absurd," and that he could hardly credit its coming from Winthrop. The commissioners were met off the Long Island coast by three officers whom Colve had previously sent out to visit the eastern towns, and receive their submission. Treating each other civilly, the two parties of commissioners went together to Southold,

Conflicts between the Dutch and English authority.

where the Englishmen triumphed in so far as to find the inhabitants almost unanimously in their favor, so that Colve's men retired without accomplishing anything. The Connecticut messengers returned to Hartford and reported, and some volunteers were sent over to help the Long Islanders. But no conflict followed, and the whole matter went over quietly until it was swallowed up in the more important events which were soon to follow.

So also passed a momentary prospect of direct conflict with Massachusetts, excited by Colve's prompt confiscation of four Massachusetts coasters, in retaliation for the carrying away of the wreck of Van Ruyven's vessel from Nantucket, as the prize of an English privateer. Massachusetts fitted out a war vessel, and made some preparations for reprisals. But she did nothing more; nor did Plymouth, in spite of the urging of Connecticut. Rhode Island — not belonging to the New England confederacy — looked after her own defence. The year 1673 closed with the rivals in America occupying this position of passive hostility; but it was threatening enough to the Dutch at New Orange to make them long the more anxiously for aid from home.

Rumors of the cession of New Netherland.

Once more, as in the past, the course of events in Europe was to decide the fate of New Netherland without the knowledge of its people or its neighbors. During the first few days of May, 1674, while Colve and his officers were hard at work at the labor which had chiefly occupied their minds throughout the spring — the strengthening of the town against a possible "New England army," — two men came to Manhattan from Connecticut, despite an edict forbidding the coming of New Englanders without passports, and brought the first rumor of a treaty restoring the Dutch province to the English crown. So enraged were the citizens of New Orange at the mere report, that they arrested and punished these bearers of evil tidings. They collected in excited groups in the streets, cursing the rulers at home who would give up so readily the greatest colony of the Fatherland. One of the messengers, returning to Connecticut, declared there that the New Netherlanders vowed in their wrath that no demand or authority "of the States or Prince" should make them surrender again; but that they would keep their territory "by fighting, so long as they could stand with one leg and fight with one hand."

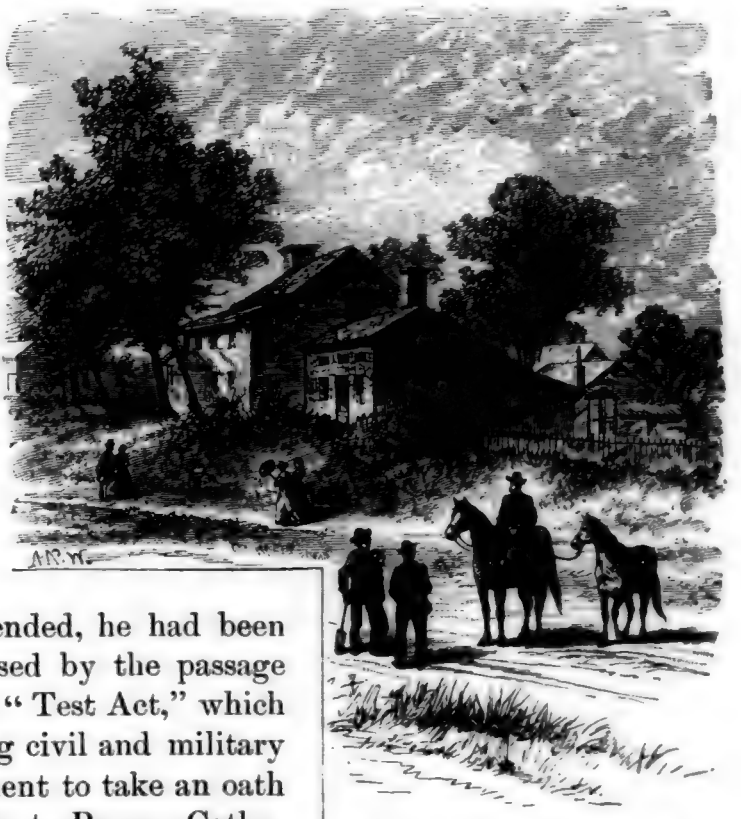
New Netherland again given up to England.

This warlike ardor cooled with time, however, and the rumor proved too true. On the sixth of March, the treaty of Westminster had been proclaimed at London, and at the Hague, whereby New Netherland was surrendered to England. On the eleventh of July, the Governor gave official notice at the Stadt Huys

that peace was made between England and Holland, and that on duly authorized demand he must give up the province over which he had ruled for less than one short year.

The events which brought about the Peace of Westminster are familiar passages of English history. In the hot conflict between King Charles and his party on the one hand, and the Commons and people of England on the other, over questions that were believed to involve the safety of Protestantism in the kingdom, Charles had been for the moment worsted. At first forced into recalling his "Declaration of Indulgence," whereby all "penal laws on matters ecclesiastical against whatever sort of Nonconformists or recusants" were suspended, he had been at once closely pressed by the passage in Parliament of the "Test Act," which compelled all holding civil and military office under government to take an oath which was impossible to Roman Catholics. This compelled the resignation of the Duke of York as Lord High Admiral of the fleet, of Sir Thomas Clifford as a cabinet minister, and of many others. Some of the cabinet would have carried resistance to this act to any length; but the King, once driven to yield, refused his support. He only turned savagely upon his chancellor and most able minister, Lord Shaftesbury, who had aided the Parliament, demanded from him the seals, and so drove his strongest adviser into a determined opposition. The effect of this was quickly seen in the increased bitterness and strength of the Protestant measures now pressed by Parliament. The war against the Protestant Prince of Orange and his nation, which even in a military point of view had been unsuccessful, grew more unpopular every day. Defeated at home by the masterly use made by Shaftesbury of the opposing elements, discouraged by events abroad, and unable to

Events in England.



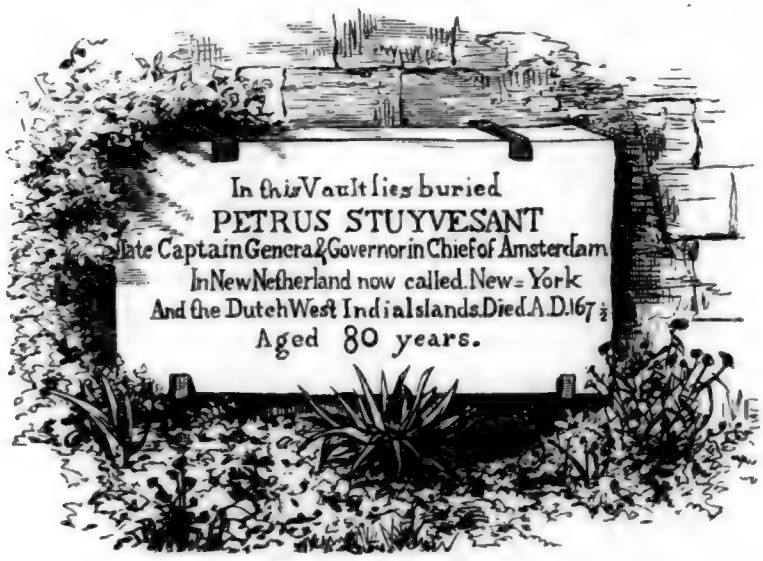
Old House, Southold, Long Island.

sufficiently repair his exhausted resources even by his old shameless means of a resort to France, Charles was driven into a third surrender. He adopted a policy of concession and conciliation at home; and he consented to make peace with Holland.

New York finally under English rule.

These were the events which had unexpectedly reacted on the fate of the Dutch province in America. New York was to remain in English hands from this time forth; and though virtually winners of a peace on their own continent, the Dutch were to give up for it their only stronghold on this. A new patent to the Duke of York was issued in June, 1674. He appointed as his governor Major Edmund Andros, an officer of distinction, whom the King had already in March appointed to receive the surrender of New Orange under the treaty; and on the first of November the British frigates *Diamond* and *Castle* made their appearance at the anchorage off Staten Island.

On the ninth of the month, Colve, who had asked a week's delay to make all final arrangements, absolved the city officials, in solemn conclave at the Stadt Huys, from their oaths of allegiance to Holland; and on Saturday, the tenth, "the New Netherland and dependances" were formally given over to "Governor Major Edmund Andros on behalf of His Britannic Majesty." The English names were restored, the English laws reëstablished, as they had been under Nicolls and Lovelace. A great number of the provincial and local officers were reinstated; the Mayor's Court was again convened at New York; the routine of public business and private life went on as before. The few months of Dutch occupation had hardly left a trace on the government which Nicolls had been the first, since the settlement of Manhattan Island, to bring into a really smooth, continuous course of prosperity.



Tomb of Stuyvesant

CHAPTER XV.

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTON FOUNDED. — WAR WITH THE INDIANS. — GOVERNOR MORETON. — JOSEPH BLAKE. — LORD CARDROSS'S SETTLEMENT AT PORT ROYAL. — PIRACY AND SPANISH HOSTILITY. — CARDROSS'S COLONY DESTROYED. — SOTHEL DEPOSED AND BANISHED FROM ALBEMARLE. — HE LEADS A REVOLUTION IN THE SOUTH. — HIS CAREER. — THE COLONIES UNDER ONE GOVERNOR. — INTRODUCTION OF RICE. — JOHN ARCHDALE GOVERNOR. — PROSPERITY OF THE COLONIES UNDER HIS RULE.

WHILE northern Carolina had been passing through a time of such disturbance and adversity, the people at the south had enjoyed a period of quiet and comparative prosperity under the skilful rule of Joseph West. Not that the settlements at Cape Fear and Ashley River were free from the troubles which disturbed every American colony — differences of religion, and feuds between the Puritans of New England and the Royalists who had come out under the Proprietors' patronage; — but these were held in check by the Governor, and were little interruption to the general course of affairs. There was a steady flow of emigrants from England; and Huguenots from France sought a refuge from persecution at home in a region whose pleasant climate had for them a peculiar attraction. In April, 1679, the King gave a token of favor to the Proprietaries and the new colony in sending out at his own expense two vessels with a band of Frenchmen skilled in vine growing and silk-producing, who brought with them vine-slips and silkworms' eggs for the establishment of those industries.

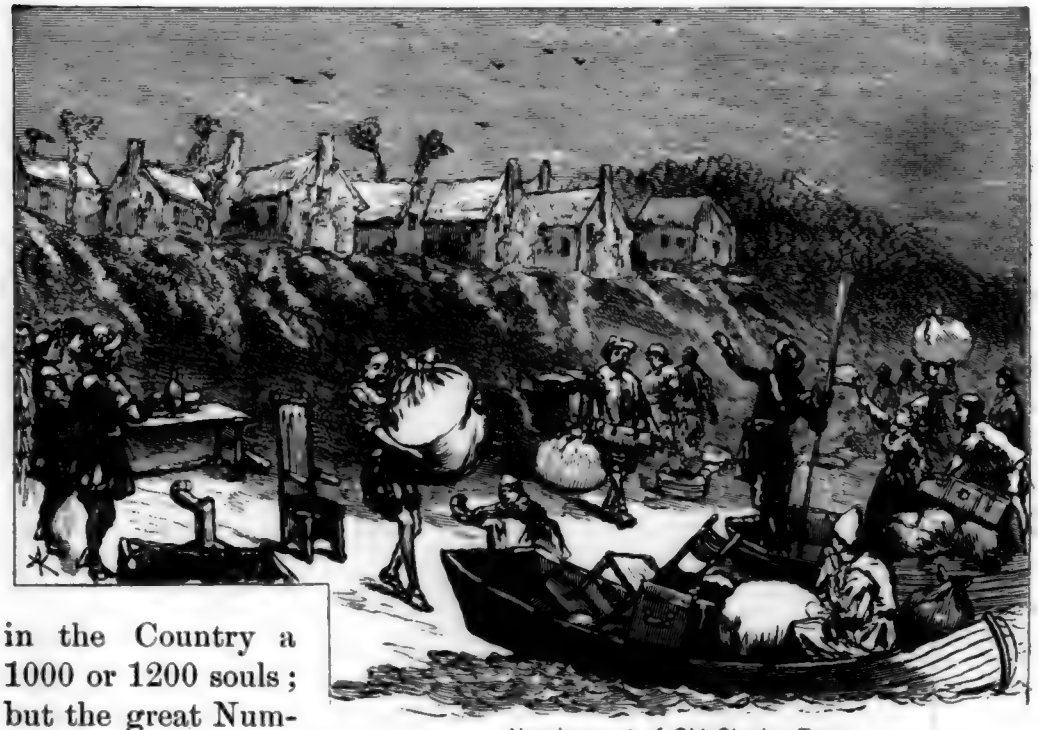
The Southern Colonies.

During the years that had passed since their first settlement, the Ashley River people had not failed to see their mistake in settling so far up the stream. Some, indeed, seem not to have made this error at all; for the old records speak of people both from the Ashley settlement and from Cape Fear, "resorting to Oyster Point" from the earliest times of the colony; and, doubtless, dwellings had been built there at the same time that the town had been founded on the more inland bluff. This "Oyster Point" was at the junction of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers; and the tendency to resort thither had grown so strong by the beginning of 1680 that the authorities yielded to it,

as they should have done long before. The old town was abandoned altogether in the spring of that year, and the foundations of a new Charles Town — the present city of Charleston — were laid on what had from the beginning been pointed out by nature as the proper site for the colonial port.

Charleston founded.

The new town was judiciously planned. A visitor, in the first year of its existence, described it as "regularly laid out into large and capacious streets, which to Buildings is a great Ornament and Beauty. In it they have reserved convenient places for Building of a Church, Town House, and other Publick Structures, an Artillery Ground for the Exercise of their Militia, and Wharves for the Convenience of their Trade and Shipping. At our being there was judged



Abandonment of Old Charles Town.

in the Country a 1000 or 1200 souls; but the great Numbers of Families from England, Ireland, Berbadoes, Jamaica, and the Caribees, which daily Transport themselves thither, have more than doubled that Number" [that is, between the visit, 1680, and the publication, 1682].[1] The extreme unhealthfulness of the place soon passed away, a "fortunate revolution" which "men of discernment . . . . attributed to the dispersion or purification of the noxious vapour by the smoke issuing from the numerous culinary fires."[2]

Contemporary testimony does not give the most favorable account of the discipline and manners which prevailed in the promising new

[1] *A Compleat Discovery of the State of Carolina*, by T. A., Gent., London, 1682.

[2] Chalmers.

town; and the looseness and turbulence which ruled there, though not of a kind to make political disturbance, brought upon the colony an evil which for a time threatened seriously to check its progress. "The most desperate Fortunes first ventured over to break the Ice," explains one chronicler, in accounting for the character of his fellow-settlers, "which being generally the Ill-livers of the pretended Church-men, altho' the Proprietors commissionated one Colonel West their Governour, a moderate, just, pious, and valiant person; yet having a Council of the loose principled Men, they grew very unruly, that they had like to have Ruin'd the Colony by Abusing the Indians, whom in prudence they ought to have obliged in the highest degree."[1] It was the usual story of abuse in trade, the taking of the Indian women, and the oppressive punishment of trifling offences often brought about by rum or ignorance; and the Westoes, the tribe of the neighborhood, were a warlike people, and not slow to retaliate. After a series of petty raids, actual war broke out with them in 1680, — the first year of the new seaport.

Character of the Charleston people.



An Indian sent into Slavery.

Fortunately for the colony, it was comparatively strong, well-armed, and, above all, well led by West; and the war was a vigorous and short one, the savages gladly making peace within a year after its beginning. But the conflict had worse results than the actual fighting. To obtain the money for carrying it on, West and his Council had adopted the plan of offering a price for every In-

War with the Indians.

[1] *A New Description of That Fertile and Pleasant Province of Carolina*, etc. By John Archdale, late Governor. London, 1707. In *Carroll's Historical Coll.*, vol. ii.

dian captive, and then selling all who were brought in to West Indian slave-traders, who again disposed of them profitably in the Islands.[1] The war had thus changed, before its close, from one of defence to one of pure greed. The colonists gained money with every captive they sold to the authorities; the authorities, with every one they sold to the traders; and this flourishing traffic went on uninterrupted until it was brought to the notice of the Proprietors, who for once interfered promptly and successfully.

Sale of Indian prisoners suppressed.

Expressing their strong disapprobation of "this barbarous practice," [2] and sharply pointing out the necessity of conciliating the Indians by just treatment, they gave strict orders against the kidnapping of any savages, now that peace had been concluded, and appointed a commission of four members to try all causes of dispute, and to do full justice to any on either side who might wrong the other.[3] But these measures were not enough. The Council openly supported the continuance of a traffic which had proved so profitable; and even West, contrary to his usual moderation and wisdom, opposed his superiors in this. The enemies he had made among the turbulent but influential church-party in the colony, took advantage of the attitude he thus assumed to turn the Proprietors against him; and in 1683 he was removed by their order, after nine years of successful administration, and Joseph Moreton was appointed Governor of Southern Carolina in his place.

Moreton Governor. New difficulties.

Moreton not only had the old dissensions to quiet, — in attempting which he had little success, — but he was almost immediately confronted by new troubles. West had held a "parliament" at Charlestown in 1682, which had made a few disciplinary laws, and organized a militia; and soon after his appointment Moreton called a similar one, to organize further the affairs of the province. The Proprietors had now made Charleston the capital of Southern Carolina, or at least had ordered elections and parliaments to be held there; and all the southern part of the province had, in 1682, been divided into three great counties, — Craven, including much of that formerly called Clarendon; Berkeley, the region immediately surrounding Charleston; and Colleton, the country to the south, extending to the region about Port Royal. It had been ordered that the lower house of the parliament — for there was still an attempt to make that body somewhat resemble that prescribed in the "Grand Model" — should consist of twenty members; and it was with regard to the election of these that the colonists met the first of a long series of legislative difficulties.

It is evident that a large number of scattered settlers had by this

[1] Chalmers. Oldmixon. [2] Chalmers. [3] Oldmixon.

time established themselves along the coast to the southward, or inland at some distance south and southwest of the capital. For although Craven County was considered to have so few inhabitants that it was not worth while for it to elect deputies at all, yet Colleton County was allowed to choose ten of the twenty members of the new Parliament, the rest representing Berkeley. It was this allotment which caused the trouble. The Berkeley people would not permit their scattered neighbors to have a delegation equal to that of the crowded town, and quietly took the matter into their own hands by choosing themselves all the twenty members. There may have been other reasons for this action than the alleged one of inequality of population. The people of the inland country may not have been willing to support the people of the port in the traffic in Indian slaves, — the retaliation of the savages having naturally more terrors for them than for the inhabitants of a town. Whatever was the cause, the usurpation of power by the capital was successful; the twenty Berkeley delegates met, and made laws which were approved by Moreton and his Council. Nor would they disperse at the command of the Proprietors, who indignantly ordered them to do so, and not to meet again until they should have obeyed instructions. Not this Parliament only, but subsequent ones, seem to have utterly disregarded the proprietary orders; until at last, apparently in despair, the Proprietors gave the Berkeley people their own way, and the one-sided system of representation continued till the inhabitants of other counties grew numerous enough to take the matter into their own hands, and put a stop to it.

Choosing delegates to the Parliament.

Success of the Berkeley delegates.

The laws passed by the Parliament were of little moment, save one following the example of Albemarle by suspending "all prosecutions for foreign debts." So indignant were the Proprietaries at the passage and signature of such an Act, — so "contrary to the King's honor," being "in effect to stop the course of justice," — that they ordered all officers to be "displaced, who had promoted it." [1] It was probably for this, among other things, that Moreton, like West before him, was made a scapegoat. He seems to have tried honestly to carry out the Proprietors' wishes, — to have checked the Indian slave traffic, and to have made himself unpopular on this account; while there is no evidence that he was in any sense a "promoter" of the acts of a Parliament which was too strong for him. Whether he resigned because of popular enmity, or was deposed by his superiors, he ceased to govern within a year after his appointment, and the Council made West governor again until a new officer should be sent out from England.

Legislation favoring debtors.

West again Governor.

[1] Chalmers

Meanwhile the colony received additions, promising better for the future than did the original settlers. In 1683 Joseph Blake, the brother of the famous English admiral, and a dissenter of great influence, led a new company to Southern Carolina. They were of his own way of thinking — men who believed "that the miseries they endured" in their native Somersetshire "were nothing to what he [Blake] foresaw would attend the Reign of a Popish successor."[1] "Many honest substantial Persons" were among these emigrants, who must have found themselves strangely at variance with the turbulent people of Charleston, in and near which they seem to have made their homes. A company of Irishmen, who came out about the same time under the leadership of one Ferguson, and who "instantly mingled with the mass of the inhabitants," were more welcome.

Arrival of new colonists under Blake.

During West's brief second administration, the county of Colleton also received an important accession of good colonists — a company of Scotch Presbyterians who, under the leadership of Lord Cardross, afterward the Earl of Buchan, made a settlement at Port Royal, in 1684. They understood that their agents had secured beforehand from the Proprietors in London the same rights and privileges that had been granted to the government at Charleston — that they were to be an independent colony. But they found on such a question the people of the country more powerful than the Proprietors, and that assent to so divided a jurisdiction would never be given. Cardross left the colony in disgust, but his companions were compelled to accept a condition which they had not the means to escape from nor the strength to resist.

Lord Cardross's settlement at Port Royal.

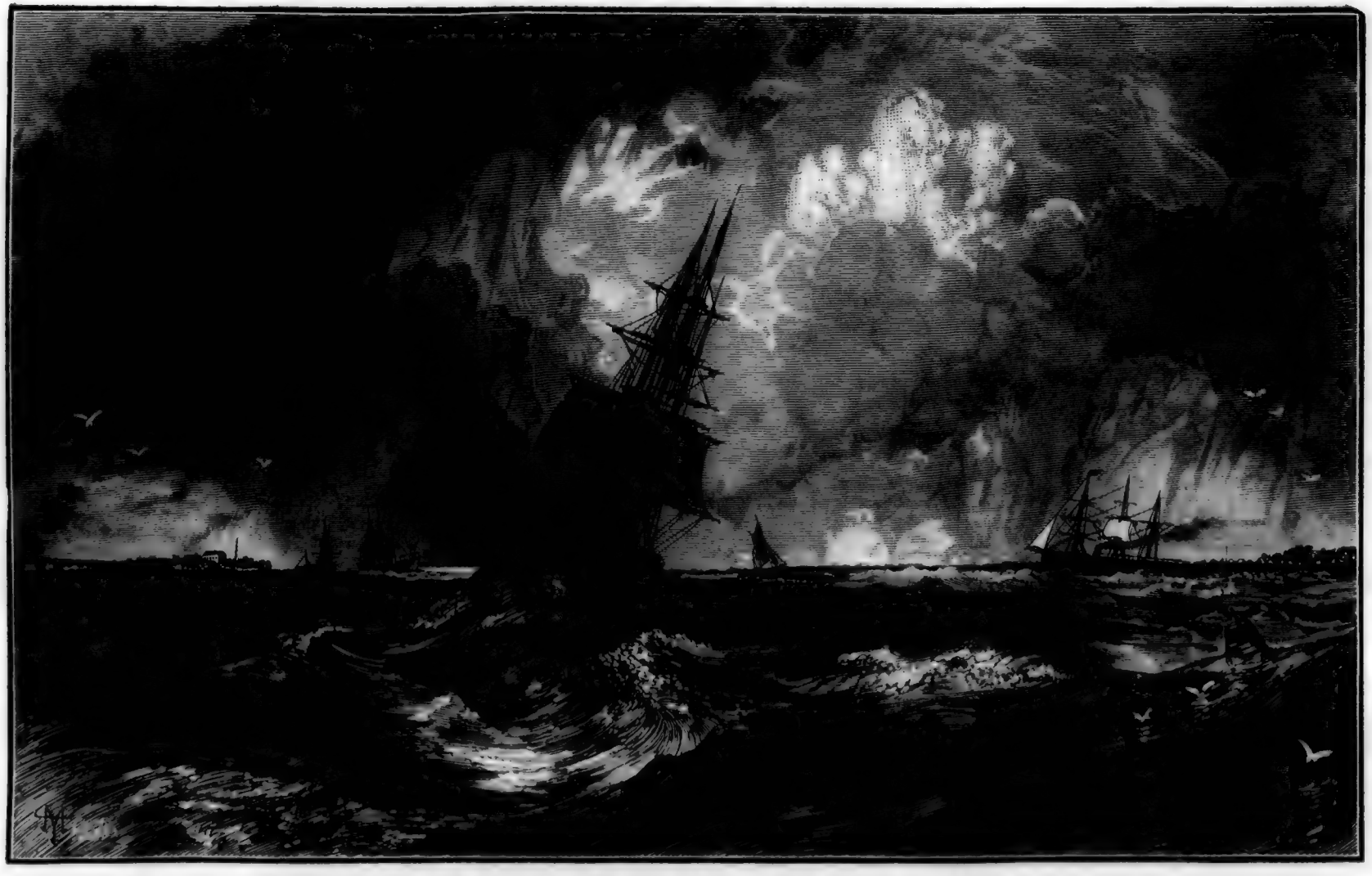
During these two years governors — Kyle, Moreton, West, Quarry — followed each other in rapid succession, none of them remaining long enough in office to influence essentially the history of that period either for good or evil, or influencing it only so far as they fell in with the temper of the times though without controlling it. The western Atlantic, and especially the region about the West Indies, had been for years infested with adventurers who had in most cases begun as privateers, but who continued their depredations after the wars had ceased. They preyed chiefly upon Spanish commerce, and while this assured them of immunity from the English government, they were certain of the sympathy if not the coöperation of the southern English colonists, to whom fear of Spanish incursion was familiar.

Rapid change of governors.

Piracy.

The Spaniards had not abandoned their ancient claim to all the territory which the English had included in the region of Southern

[1] Oldmixon.



HILTON HEAD, AT THE ENTRANCE TO PORT ROYAL, S. C.

Carolina. In 1670 an expedition started from St. Augustine to root out the settlement just made on Ashley River; but, having gone only so far north as Stono Inlet, returned on learning that the English were prepared to receive them. Threats of a more serious invasion were often made. In Charleston there was a hearty welcome for Buccaneers who preyed upon Spanish commerce. The port was a convenient recruiting station; the pirates were lavish of their ill-gotten gains; the love of adventure

Spanish hostility creates sympathy for the Buccaneers.



Pirates in Charleston.

appealed to the lawless; the hope of the capture of Spanish ships laden with treasure excited the cupidity of the more sober-minded. Piracy of this sort did not want for encouragement directly from the reckless sailors about the wharves, indirectly even from governors and councils.

Not only the Proprietaries but the King took immediate notice of

this spirit in Carolina, as soon as it was openly manifested under the administrations of West and Quarry. As early as April, 1684, "a law against pirates" or their encouragement had been sent out with the most stringent directions of the Proprietors that it must be at once obeyed. But this, like repeated instructions which followed later, and like the removal of Quarry, and other measures of suppression, proved altogether unavailing. The difficulty was not to be ended during Charles II.'s reign; and it was not until James II., in 1687, sent a fleet to put down the pirates with a stronger hand than that of written law, that the Carolinians were frightened into obedience.

The Port Royal colony destroyed by the Spaniards.

One sharp and unexpected act of retaliation on the part of the Spaniards struck, perhaps, the least blameworthy of all the Carolina settlements. In 1686, a year after Moreton's reappointment, three Spanish galleys suddenly appeared before Lord Cardross's little colony of Scotchmen at Port Royal. The crews landed, and meeting but little resistance from the settlers, "killed and whipped a great many, after taken, in a most cruel and barbarous manner;" and having destroyed the place, took ship again and sailed up the coast. Landing again at an outlying settlement called Bear Bluff, on Edisto River, a little south of Charleston, they sacked the place, and took prisoner Governor Moreton's brother, the leading colonist there. They would have gone farther, perhaps to venture on an attack in the immediate neighborhood of the town, but were prevented by a hurricane, in which one of their galleys was driven ashore so far that she could not be got off. So that, "the Country being by that Time sufficiently Alarmed, they thought proper to make a Retreat; but first set Fire to that Galley on board which Mr. Morton was actually then in Chains, and most inhumanly burnt in her."[1]

The Proprietors forbid retaliation.

Naturally enough the Carolinians proposed an immediate return for this injury, and preparations were made at once for an expedition against St. Augustine, which they do not seem to have doubted their ability to take. But the Proprietaries promptly forbade it. "Every rational man," they wrote, "must have foreseen that the Spaniards, thus provoked, would assuredly retaliate; . . . . the clause in the patent that had been relied on to justify the measure" (the section permitting the colonists "to make war and pursue the enemies aforesaid," etc.), "meant only a pursuit in heat of victory, not a deliberate making war on the King of Spain's subjects within his own territories: nor do we claim any such power: No man, however, can think that the depen-

[1] Introduction to *Oglethorpe's Report on the Expedition against St. Augustine.*

dencies of England can have power to make war upon the King's allies, without his knowledge or consent."[1] The Charleston people yielded, and abandoned the enterprise, though whether owing to these persuasions or to the difficulties of the proposed expedition, must remain a matter of doubt. At all events, the authorities received a rather grim congratulation from their superiors, who wrote, "We are glad you have laid aside your project, as, had it proceeded, Moreton, Godfrey, and others might have answered it, perhaps, with their lives.[2] Furthermore, they received the somewhat aggravating



Burning of the Spanish Galley.

instruction to write a "civil letter" to the St. Augustine commander, inquiring by what authority he had acted. Whether the letter was "civil" or not, it is not surprising that all the older chroniclers of Carolina date from this time a rooted animosity between the colony and its southern neighbors.

Moreton deposed. Colleton Governor.

In spite of the reproof of the Proprietors Moreton certainly seems to have had as good intentions and to have tried as hard to rule the southern province well, as any governor they had sent out. An intelligent and honest man, in sympathy with the better element among the settlers, married to the sister of the generally respected colonist Blake, and throwing his whole influence on the side of law and order, he appeared as good an officer as could

[1] Chalmers.

[2] Chalmers and State Papers.

have been chosen for turbulent Charleston. But either because he could not control the worse part of its people, or because his enemies persuaded the Proprietors that he was acting against their designs, he was deposed, after a governorship of but little more than a year, and his successor, James Colleton, was instructed to punish him and his council for disobedience.

As well might one man, without any physical force to aid him, have been told to punish the whole population of the province. For though Moreton had been unpopular so long as he tried to enforce the proprietary decrees, the anti-proprietary party, grown strong beyond control, promptly espoused his cause, now that he was in opposition. If Moreton had tried to keep them under during his rule, they laughed at a successor for whom they appear to have had much less respect. The Proprietors, weak enough in any case, were now, that James II. had become King, more feeble than ever, fearing that their charter should go the way of the New England patents. They could give their Governor but little help.

Surrounded by factions, "as rampant" says Oldmixon, "as if the people had been made wanton by many ages of prosperity," Colleton called a Parliament in the autumn of 1686. But he no sooner attempted to organize it than the majority of its members refused obedience to the Constitutions, basing their objection on the pretext that the completed version was different from the original draft and the temporary laws sent over long before. They then proceeded to draw up a code for themselves, though they were formally excluded from the house by the Governor; and even sent their version under the title of "standing laws of Carolina"[1] to the Proprietaries for approval. It was indignantly rejected, but this did not check the opposition party, which grew daily stronger. A new Parliament was called in 1687. Its members were instructed to "oppose whatsoever the Governor requested; insomuch that they would not settle the Militia Act, tho' their own security (in a Natural way) depended on it."[2] Grievances and complaints poured in from every quarter. The measures of the Governor were in the highest degree injudicious, though honestly intended to secure their just political and financial dues to the Proprietors; and finally, seeing himself surrounded by threatening factions on every side, Colleton took the rash step of declaring martial law in a colony where the only soldiery were the people.

Determined opposition to the Proprietors

All that the discontented party among the colonists had hitherto wanted, in order to completely overthrow the government they opposed, was a leader; and as the southern settlements had formerly

[1] Oldmixon in Carroll, vol. ii., p. 412. [2] Archdale.

given a chief, in the person of Culpepper, to the insurgents in the north, so Albemarle, at this critical moment, returned the favor by contributing an organizing head to the revolutionary movement at Charleston.

Seth Sothell had no sooner assumed the government of Northern Carolina, in 1683, than he proved equally false to Proprietors and settlers. Deliberately disobeying the orders of the former, who appear to have desired to deal impartially and leniently with the people lately in rebellion, and neglecting the collection both of the customs and the proprietary revenue, he used his official power merely as a means of enriching himself. For five years he kept up an administration under which every class of settlers in Albemarle suffered from his injustice and rapacity, until, at the end of that time, the unconcealed indignation of the people took effect in stronger measures than the appeals they had made to England. By an insurrection, even more decisive and unanimous than that under Culpepper, they deposed and arrested Sothell in 1688, and prepared to send him to London with agents of their own, to defend himself before the Proprietors for his abuse of power. But the delinquent Governor feared his superiors more than the colonists, and begged for mercy, declaring his willingness to undergo trial by the Albemarle Assembly on any charge the people would make against him. His trial was a long one; thirteen specifications appeared in the indictment against him, and on all of these he was found guilty. Sentenced to perpetual disqualification from office, and to banishment from the province for one year, it was supposed that he had been made powerless for further evil, when suddenly he was heard of in South Carolina, just as affairs there were ripe for an outbreak, claiming authority by his rights as a palatine, and everywhere gaining the adherence of the dissatisfied, who were ready to accept a leader with even the flimsiest pretence to official position.

Discontents in the Northern colony.

Arrest and trial of Sothel.

Sothell, in 1690, seized upon the government, and, calling together a Parliament made up entirely from his own followers, demanded the trial of Colleton for various imaginary and real crimes. The same sentence was passed upon him which had driven Sothell from Albemarle, and many of his Council and fellow-officials shared his condemnation and punishment. Widespread confiscation of their property filled the new Governor's coffers, and these acts of rapacity began gradually to open the eyes of the Charleston people to the character of the ruler they had put over them. As was natural, the real nature of the man soon put an end to his temporary popularity. A year after his usurpation he was hated as heartily in Southern Carolina as he had been in Albemarle.

He leads the outbreak in the South.

But he went on steadily piling up additions to his great fortune by the most shameless extortion and injustice. The clamor about him probably mattered little to the hardened adventurer, so long as he was able to keep in his pay men enough to defend his person.

Sothel and the Proprietors.

The unfortunate Proprietaries, perplexed and disheartened with these rapid changes and conflicting reports from the colony, had in vain written with mild expostulation to Sothell after the Albemarle affair. Though they had heard that the people had risen against his alleged injustice and oppression, yet they



Sothell and his Followers seizing the South Carolina Government.

were unwilling to accept the accusations as true. Still, they thought it necessary to suspend him from office, and appointed Colonel Philip Ludwell in his place till an impartial examination should be made. It was only with the failure of their summons to him to appear in England that their eyes were opened to his treachery toward themselves; but even after this, and after they heard of his first doings at Charleston, they wrote with extraordinary mildness — not to say weakness. They had received his letters, they said, under date of October 10, 1690; for it seems he had quietly written to them, even perhaps consulting them about taking charge, under his palatinate rights, of the southern colony. They were pleased, they feebly added,

to find that he would submit to their instructions; but no single Proprietor, they reminded him, had any right to the government, nor to take jurisdiction upon himself without the others' consent; and to do so would be high misdemeanor and treason. They hoped that it was not true that Mr. Joseph Blake had been put out of his office of deputy. Touching the protestation of the deputies, with a list of the misdemeanors in thirteen particulars alleged against him, his imprisonment by the people of Albemarle, his after-submission and compulsory abjuration of the government, and the proceedings of the people, — all these were "highly prejudicial, both to the royal prerogative and to the dignity of the Proprietors;" they "did not approve" of his conduct, but had no intention of acting otherwise than uprightly toward him; still, they "would not be imposed upon."[1]

Only when they heard of the actual usurpation, does a little energy seem to have infused itself into their councils. A series of letters, increasing from comparative mildness to the sternest severity, then began to come in upon Sothell. From the first his claim to be allowed to retain the governorship on the ground of his vested rights in the province, and his being the only resident representative of the proprietary class, was disallowed. His "pretended act, purporting to disable James Colleton" was sharply reproved, and he was ordered to nullify it; the acts of his Parliament were declared void; and finally, on November 8, 1691, a peremptory order suspended him from all power in Carolina,[2] and added the threat that a royal *mandamus* should compel him to come to England and stand trial, if he did not at once submit. This last order overcame his audacity. Amid the rejoicing of all the people he slunk back to the Albemarle region again, where he was suffered to end his days as a private citizen. In 1694 he died.

End of Sothel's rule.

And now the Proprietors did what prudence should have dictated long before. They appointed one governor for all the province, north and south; fixing his residence at Charleston, and allowing him to appoint, subject to confirmation, a deputy or deputies for other quarters. Philip Ludwell, whom they had at first intended to substitute for Sothel in the government of Albemarle alone, now became the first General Governor. His lack of all previous connection with Carolina, and the confidence placed in him by the people of Virginia, gave the Proprietaries great hope that he would be able to restore tranquillity.

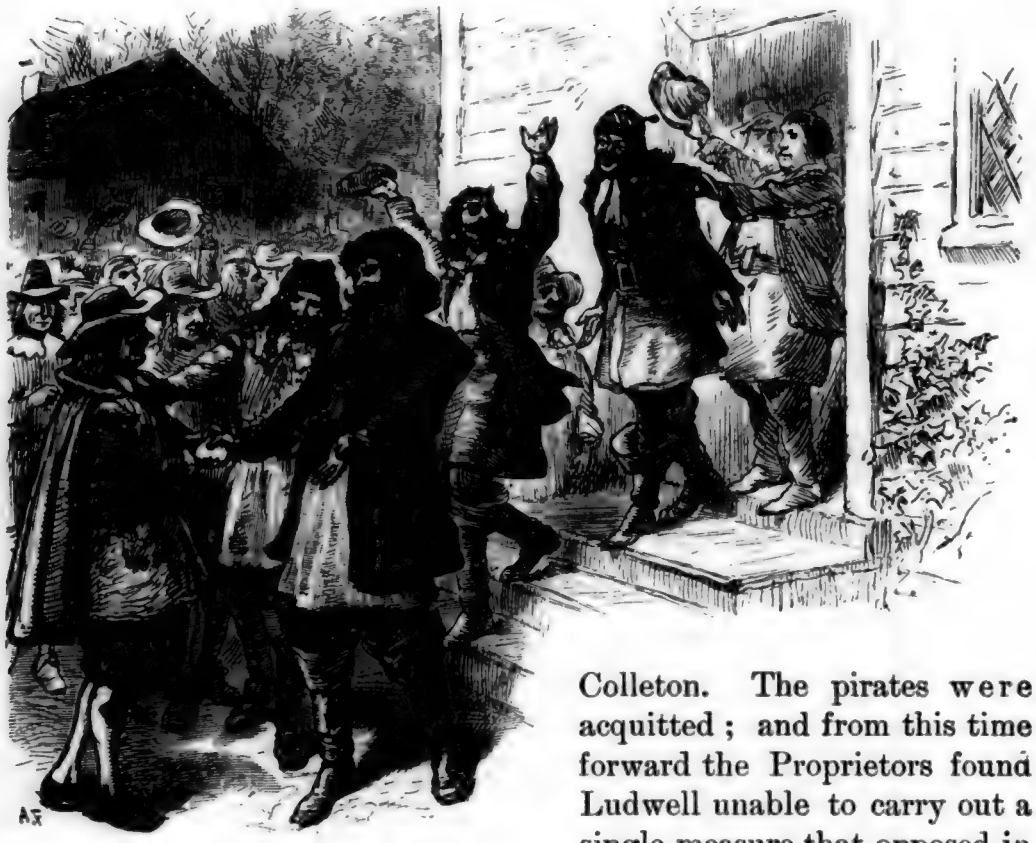
Philip Ludwell governor of both colonies.

But Carolina needed a Governor of more than ordinary ability and energy; and this Ludwell did not prove to be, though, like several of his predecessors, he apparently assumed his duties with the best

[1] *State Papers in Coll. Hist. Soc. S. C.*, vol. i.

[2] *State Papers.*

intentions. His attempt to carry out his superiors' instructions, by allowing the franchise and equal privileges to the French Protestants, who now formed a large element in the population of the province, was the signal for a new outbreak of discontent. When he further ventured to carry out the law by the arrest of a crew of pirates, he found himself confronted by opposition as determined as that which had made the government impossible to Moreton or to



Acquittal of the Buccaneers at Charleston.

Colleton. The pirates were acquitted; and from this time forward the Proprietors found Ludwell unable to carry out a single measure that opposed in any way the popular will. Disgusted at this renewed failure, they removed him in 1692, and appointed in his place one of the Carolina planters themselves, Thomas Smith — "a wise, sober, well-living man."[1]

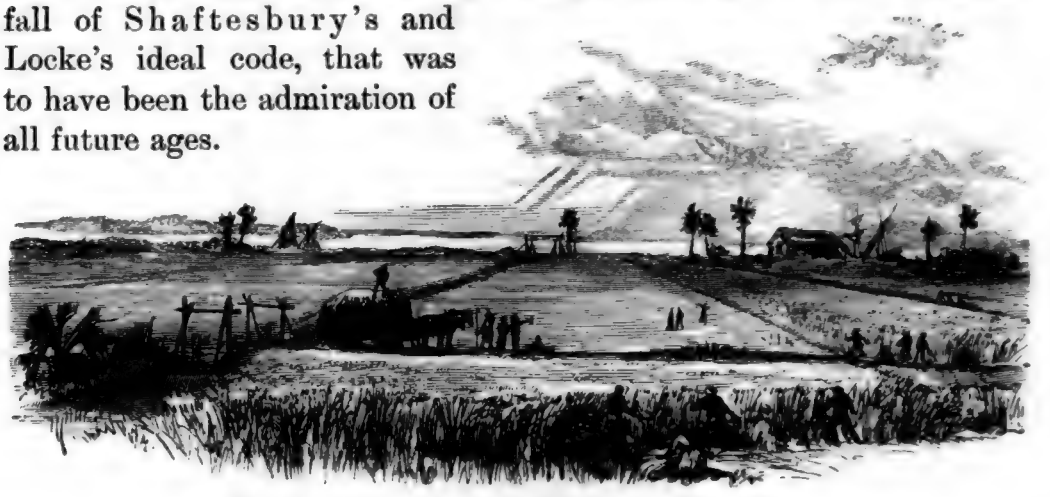
Governorship of Thomas Smith.

Though his wisdom, soberness, and other good traits availed no more than the efforts of his predecessors toward preserving order, yet Smith's brief administration of two years was noteworthy for three substantial benefits. In 1693, the year after his appointment, the Proprietaries, worn out at last with their useless attempts to enforce even a few of its complicated provisions, went through the form of abolishing John Locke's "Grand Model." As the "fundamental constitutions"

Repeal of the "Constitutions."

[1] Archdale and Oldmixon.

had never existed in Carolina, save on paper, their repeal was hardly a necessary formality. Yet for men who for more than twenty years had talked in glowing terms of these laws that should "endure forever," it was a significant concession when they confessed that the people of the settlements knew their own needs best. "As the people," they wrote, "have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." [1] From this time forth the popular legislative body in the province was called an Assembly instead of a Parliament; [2] even the little consideration previously shown it, ceased to attach to the title of landgrave; the people ceased to have an excuse for disputing with the Governor, and the Governor no longer took advantage of the pretext of higher rank to justify arbitrary measures. But except these trifling changes nothing marked the downfall of Shaftesbury's and Locke's ideal code, that was to have been the admiration of all future ages.



A Carolina Rice-field.

The second fortunate event of Smith's administration seemed a trifle at the time, yet its consequences were of lasting benefit to the province. In 1694, rice was introduced into Carolina. An English vessel touched at Charleston in that year, on the way home from Madagascar, and its captain gave to Governor Smith a quantity of seed-rice, which the latter and his friends planted as an experiment. Thriving beyond measure in the marshes along the rivers, it was the origin of one of Carolina's greatest products. A few years later a writer could say of the province that it exported in very valuable quantities "rice the best of the known world."

Introduction of rice into Carolina.

Smith's greatest benefit to the country, however, came with the end of his short rule; for when he grew "uneasy in the government, by reason that he could not satisfy the people in their demands," he

[1] Quoted from *State Papers* by Chalmers. [2] Grahame.

"writ over" to the Proprietors a much wiser and more candid exposition of the state of affairs than had before reached them; and at the same time that he confessed his own inability to improve matters, he suggested a way in which this could be done. It was useless, he showed them, to try any longer to govern by deputy; "it was impossible to settle the Country, except a Proprietor himself was sent over with full power to Heal their Grievances."[1] The Proprietaries saw at last the wisdom of this proposal; and with their adoption of it began the first period of quiet that Carolina had ever known.

Appointment of John Archdale as Governor.

The man first chosen from their number to undertake this mission was Lord Ashley, Shaftesbury's grandson. But when he begged his colleagues to excuse him because his father's affairs compelled his presence in England, the choice fell upon John Archdale, a Quaker, who had bought out the interest of one of the older Proprietors, and who was considered — most rightly, as the event proved — to be a wise, moderate, liberal, and far-seeing man.

Archdale arrived in Charleston in August, 1695; and no sooner was his arrival known, and the almost unlimited power given by his commission fairly understood, than "every faction apply'd themselves" to him "in hopes of Relief." He "appeased them," he says in his account, "with kind and gentle Words;" and as soon as possible after his landing, he called an Assembly, to which he made a wise and kindly address.

His address to the Assembly.

"I believe I may appeal to your Serious Rational Observations," he said, "whether I have not already so allayed your Heats, as that the distinguishing Titles thereof are so much withered away; and I hope this Meeting with you will wholly extinguish them, so that a solid Settlement of this hopeful Colony may ensue, and by so doing your Posterity will bless God for so Happy a Conjunction. . . . . And now you have heard of the Proprietors Intention of sending me hither, I doubt not but the Peoples Intentions of Choosing you were much of the same nature; I advise you therefore, to proceed soberly and mildly in this weighty Concern; and I question not but we shall answer you in all things that are reasonable and honourable for us to do. And now Friends, I have given you the reason of my Coming, I shall give you the Reasons of my calling you so soon, which was the consideration of my own Mortality, and that such a considerable Trust might not expire useless to you. . . . . I hope the consideration hereof will quicken and direct you into a speedy conclusion of what the People may reasonably expect from you; and I hope the God of Peace will prosper your Counsels herein."

[1] Archdale.

The Assembly replied in a similar conciliatory vein, yet "after this fair Blossomin Season to produce Peace and Tranquility to the Country, some endeavour'd to sow Seed of Contention, thereby to nip the same; insomuch that they sat six Weeks under Civil Broils and Heats," till at length they "recollected their Minds into a cooler Frame of Spirit," the Governor's "Patience being a great means to overcome them; so that in the conclusion all Matters ended amicably." "The Acts of grace you have so seasonably condescended unto," wrote the popular representatives to their new ruler at the close of the session, "have removed all former Doubts, Jealousies and Discouragements of us the People; and hath laid a firm and sure Foundation on which may be erected a most glorious Superstructure to the Honour of the Lords Proprietors and you our Governor; which we do, and forever shall be obliged most heartily to own as the Production of the Wisdom, Discretion, Patience and Labour of the Honourable *John Archdale*, Esq."

Good influence of Archdale.



Archdale's Address.

For once it seems as if this flourish of compliments, to which Mr. "Jonathan Amery, Speaker," subscribed on behalf of the delegates, was really richly deserved. Forgiveness of arrears of quit-rent; careful inquiry into cases of individual grievance; the selection of a council from among the citizens most trusted by the people, — these were some of the conciliatory measures which had gained for Archdale the esteem and attachment of "every faction;" while his energy in matters that required a strong hand was no less conspicuous and disinterested. Of the hostile Indians he made warm friends; yet he did not, though a Quaker, abate for a moment his attention to the defence

of the colony; and the militia was never better trained than during his governorship. He exempted those of his own faith from military service, provided they could show that they objected to it from conviction, and not from cowardice; but, for himself, he looked carefully to every detail of military matters. North Carolina accepted his rule as gladly as the southern settlements. One of his daughters married a Pasquotank planter, and the many Quakers at Albemarle seconded his efforts warmly; so that not even a hint of sedition or discontent came in his time from this quarter of the colony. Even the Spaniards at St. Augustine gratefully acknowledged his justice and kindness to some Christian Indians, their protegés, who had been captured, and were about to be sold as slaves by a Carolina tribe. Everywhere in the province tranquillity and prosperity were established, when Archdale, having accomplished all his objects to the mutual benefit of Proprietors and people, set sail for home at the close of 1696.

Prosperity under his administration.

He left as his successor, whom he had the right to appoint, Joseph Blake, the son of the first emigrant of the name, and a man who resembled his father in ability and merit. During the four remaining years of the century he ruled quietly and well over the now prospering colony. No dissension worthy of notice disturbed his Governorship; and the chief event that appears on the record of his time, is his successful and liberal support of the religious interests of Charleston. In 1698, John Cotton, a son of John Cotton, of Boston, settled there[1] with the Governor's hearty support and patronage; while at the same time, with rare impartiality, for he was a dissenter, he procured the passage of an Act giving £150 a year, and a house, to the Episcopal clergyman of the town.

Joseph Blake Governor.

[1] Savages' *Genealogy*.



Signature of John Archdale.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE POLITICAL POLICY OF THE PURITANS.

THE FIRST MASSACHUSETTS CHARTER. — TEMPORIZING POLICY OF THE COLONIAL AUTHORITIES. — THE GOVERNMENT AT HOME BAFFLED. — REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND. — THE LONG PARLIAMENT AND THE NEW ENGLAND PURITANS. — APPEAL TO CROMWELL. — HIS SCHEMES. — THE REGICIDES. — CHARLES II. AND THE CHARTER. — THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS. — NEW DANGERS TO MASSACHUSETTS. — EDWARD RANDOLPH. — THE CHARTER REVOKED. — GOVERNOR ANDROS'S ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT. — CONCEALMENT OF THE CONNECTICUT CHARTER. — DEPOSITION AND ARREST OF ANDROS. — COURSE OF KING WILLIAM. — A NEW CHARTER. — GOVERNOR PHIPS. — EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA. — OPPOSITION TO PHIPS. — HIS RECALL.

THE political anxieties of Massachusetts, through all the earlier years of her colonial life, were not less constant, while they were much more reasonable, than the theological dissensions which, as we have seen in former chapters, she so took to heart. Such anxieties seemed, indeed, to the earnest Puritans, of importance, mainly because, through the achievement of a certain political purpose, there might come the realization of a religious end. They aspired to political independence, — so far as a colony could be independent, perhaps even further, — that the Commonwealth which they planted and nurtured might become a commonwealth in which there should be no citizenship, hardly even the right to live, except to those who were of their own faith. But that fervid zeal, while it failed, in the long run, to limit the rights of conscience and of private judgment, established, year by year and step by step, that civil liberty to which the world owes so much.

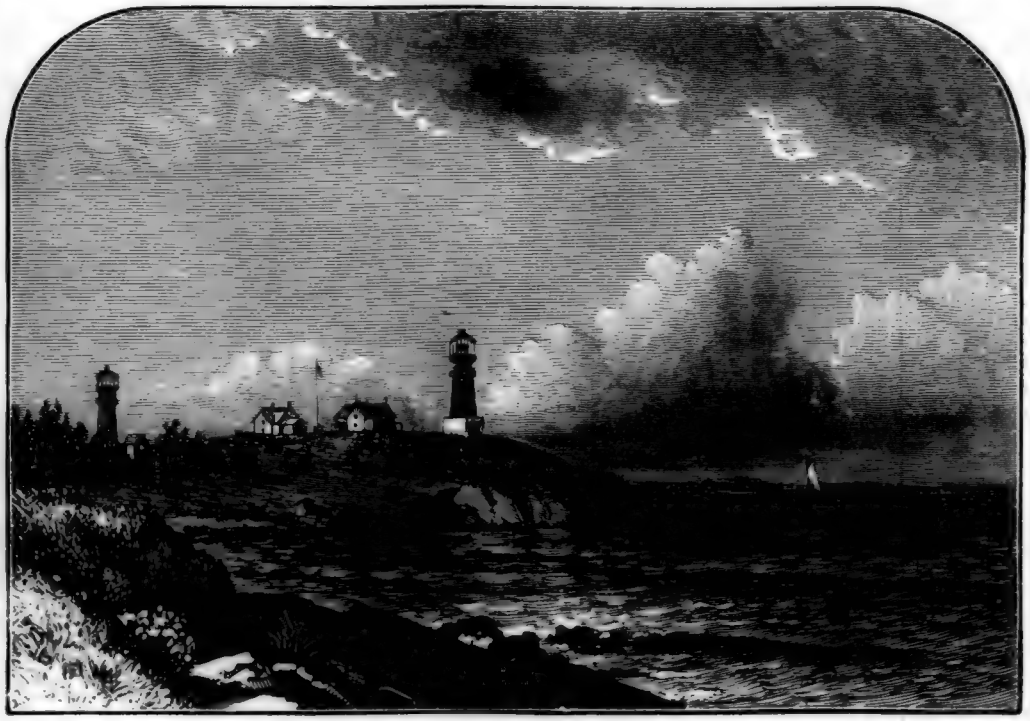
Political affairs in Massachusetts.

The original charter of Massachusetts, which had been transferred from England to Boston, and which was procured with that intent,[1] was an object of continual hostility and of continual solicitude. A *quo warranto* was soon issued whereby the colonists were called upon to show upon what authority they held that patent. The jealousy of Gorges, and the fear that he might assume the governor-generalship over Northern New England, had their root in the dread of an interference with chartered rights as well as of the

Anxiety with regard to the charter.

[1] See vol. i., pp. 524, 525, 526.

establishment of the episcopacy from which the colonists had fled. They saw with apprehension how carefully they were watched in England by the vigilant eyes from which they hoped they had escaped. Charles changed his mind, — that it would be good policy to rid his kingdom of the Puritans; and then emigration was interfered with. Among some passengers who were ordered to disembark after having taken ship for New England, were, it is said, — and there is good reason for believing the story to be true, — the two men whose staying at home, if he could have looked into the future, the King had the most cause to dread, John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell.



Cape Elizabeth.

Orders of the Royal Commissioners evaded.

In 1637, the lately appointed commissioners for New England sent out a copy of a commission to the magistrates of Massachusetts empowering them to exercise the functions of government only until further orders. This was on the pretext that they were governing without authority. To this order the magistrates gave no heed; contenting themselves with the plea that nothing but a copy of the commission had been served upon them, while the original in London had not as yet — as they learned from a friend on the spot — received the royal seal. About the same time an adroit attempt was made under the commission granted to Gorges to engage the General Court in the government of his eastern province of New Somersetshire, which extended from Cape Elizabeth to the Sagadahoc. To have accepted this charge would

Schemes of Gorges.

have been equivalent to the acknowledgment of his prior patent. Winthrop merely says in his journal that it "was observed as a matter of no good discretion, but passed in silence." They knew as well when to be silent as when to speak.

A year later a peremptory demand was made, in accordance with the *quo warranto*, for the surrender of the charter and that it be sent at once to England. The General Court replied in September, tempering their evasion of the order with assurances of loyalty. They referred to the royal encouragements which had attended the early emigrations; they reminded the King of the venture they had made of lives and fortunes in extending his dominion in those distant and inhospitable regions; they proposed to continue in that obedience to his will which they had always shown; but they did not send back the charter. Again the next year the demand was renewed, with the assurance that the regulation, not the subversion of their liberties, was intended. But their liberties, they thought, were safer in their own hands than in the hands of a royal commission. The General Court gave to this second summons also their serious consideration. Their conclusion was that as the order came this time in a private letter and not by an accredited messenger they were under no obligation to send any answer whatever.

Royal demand for the surrender of the Charter.

Space and time did them good service. It was a long voyage to England and back again; orders and replies were a long while in coming and going; still a longer while passed in waiting for replies that never came. The magistrates were kept carefully advised by friends in England of the condition of public affairs, and of every step taken by their enemies to their prejudice. Explanations were always ready; and if they were not always ingenuous, never was there a time when the plea could be more justly urged — that much may be pardoned to the spirit of liberty. Meanwhile much might happen of which the colony might have the benefit.

And much did happen. The King soon had other affairs on his hands of more moment than to bring to immediate obedience these self-willed colonists on the other side of the Atlantic. His subjects nearer home were in insurrection. In 1640, the Scotch entered England; the "Short Parliament" was called, to be speedily dispersed again when Charles found that redress of grievances must precede any vote of money. The Puritans of England hailed the promise of a brighter future in the events of this period, and they were less anxious to leave the country. Emigration to New England fell off; but Massachusetts was consoled with the reflection that neglect by the government at home was much more her gain than her loss. Increase of population was less desirable than to be let alone.

Affairs in England.

The Long Parliament.

All fear of any interference with the charter was allayed when the news came of the meeting of the "Long Parliament" in November, 1640. The Puritans of England in resisting the King were taking up arms in the cause of the colony as well as in their own. Fifteen months after the meeting of that Parliament the House of Commons declared that "the plantations of New England have by the blessings of the Almighty had good and prosperous success without any public charge to this State, and one now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the Gospel in these parts very beneficial to the kingdom and nation." For their "better advancement and encouragement," therefore, it was decreed that all trade between Old and New England should be unrestricted by "any custom, subsidy, taxation or other duty." Not long after came a letter



Fac-simile of the First Lines

signed by Warwick, Say and Seale, Cromwell, Harding, and other leading men, declaring that both houses united in a wish for the presence of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Davenport to come over with all possible speed, all or any of them, if all cannot." "You will find opportunity enough," they added "to draw forth all that healpefullness that God shall affoard by you. . . . . Onely the sooner you come the bettar."[1]

The invitation was not accepted, perhaps prudently. "Had the churches of New England," says Hutchinson, "appeared there by their representations, or any of the principal divines appeared as members of the Assembly [at Westminster] greater exception might have been taken to their building after a model of their own framing." That model was Congregationalism. The next year, adds the histo-

[1] Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, vol. i.

rian, some persons from England "made a muster to set up Presbyterian government, under the authority of the assembly at Westminster; but a New England assembly the General Court, soon put them to rout." They believed with Milton that,

"New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ large."

But whether for personal reasons or for public considerations the three invited clergymen declined to accede to the wish for their presence and counsel in England, the relations between the colonists and the revolution were intimate and influential. Hugh Peters and Thomas Welde went to England at the request of Connecticut and Massachusetts; others followed or preceded them; Sir Henry Vane was already there.[1]

Course of leading New England Puritans.



of the Massachusetts Charter.

Nevertheless when in 1651, after the battle of Worcester, the power of Parliament had become firmly established, and Charles I. had been dethroned and beheaded, a demand was made upon all the colonies to recognize its supreme authority. The charter of Massachusetts was again threatened. Her magistrates were ordered to transmit it to England, and receive in return a new patent. In this emergency, instead of denying the right of Parliament to revoke the charter — as might justly have been done on the ground that it was an extemporized body of men expressing a new kind of authority not dreamed of in the first days of emigration and of the charter — the General Court, declining this dangerous argu-

New danger to the Charter under the Commonwealth.

[1] For a thorough discussion of the influence of the New England Puritans upon affairs in England at this period see *The Historical Relation of New England to the English Commonwealth*, by John Wingate Thornton.

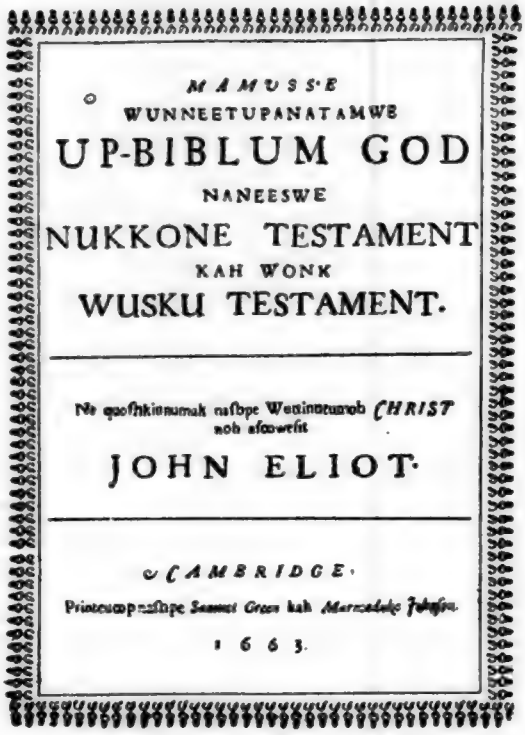
ment, recurred to its old policy of simply baffling without incensing arbitrary power. Instead of the patent, a memorial was sent home; it reviewed the proceedings under the late King and the reasons for leaving England when liberty could not exist there; it rejoiced in the cause of the people; it renewed the colony's allegiance to Parliament, and prayed that they might not be worse off than when they lived under a king.

An appeal to Cromwell.

A judicious letter which the General Court drew up and sent to Cromwell proved more efficacious than the memorial; for it seemed to revive the personal interest of the General in the brave old protesting sentiment which once set him, with other republicans, afloat for America, when perhaps, as the report survives in history, Cromwell himself had land in Massachusetts which he meant to occupy. It was due, no doubt, to the influence of Cromwell that the independence of Massachusetts was respected, while the other colonies were frequently embroiled with Parliament.

Cromwell's plans.

Cromwell's protection, however, resulted from mixed motives. He had a scheme for strengthening his government and pacifying Ireland by removing the whole colony thither, and settling it upon lands which were to be ceded to it. Of course the General Court was not in the least likely to desert its flourishing estate, and at such cost to remove so near to the source of possible oppression. It laid great stress in its reply upon the prospects of converting and civilizing the Indian,


MAMUSSE
WUNNEETUPANATAMWE
UP-BIBLUM GOD
NANEESWE
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
KAH WONK
WUSKU TESTAMENT.
Ne quoshkinumuk nashpe Wussinneumoh CHRIST
noh asoowesit
JOHN ELIOT.
CAMBRIDGE.
Printeumpanashpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnson.
1663.

Reduced Fac-simile of the Title-page of Eliot's Bible.

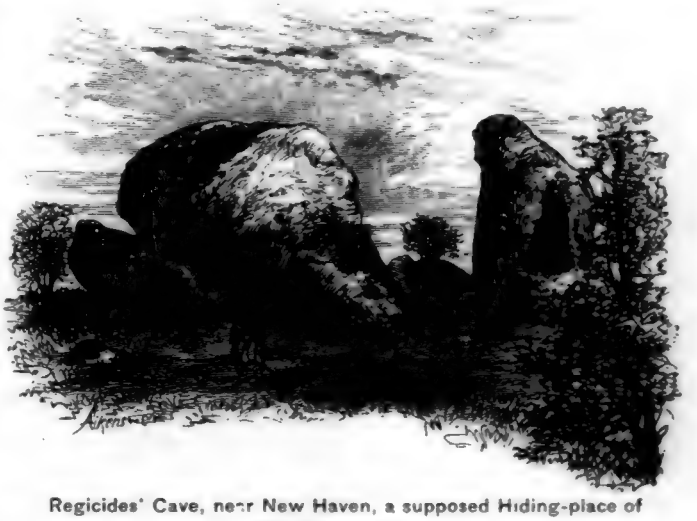
Pleas of the General Court. — Eliot and the Indians.

for at that time John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, and many devoted associates, were engaged in laboring among the Indians, both on the mainland and among the islands as far as Nantucket. Though the first Indian church at Natick was not founded till 1660, Eliot's Indian Bible was printed at Cambridge in 1664. His influence among the Indians was wonderfully persuasive, and his civilizing efforts did really promise permanent results. He domesticated them and revolutionized their manners, in spite of the jealousy and opposition of the native priests. Cromwell

might well have been interested at this attempt to propagate the Gospel in the spirit of his own reading of it. But his ambition, and a certain fantastic impulse which ran in his blood, seemed to sway him when in 1655, after the conquest of Jamaica, he proposed to Massachusetts to remove to that island, and undertake the conversion of all neighboring Catholics, with various arguments of interest urging them to assist thus in the consolidation of his power.

The Jamaica scheme.

It would have been fortunate, probably, for Jamaica could Cromwell have had his way, but the genuine Massachusetts would have vanished forever.[1] The General Court represented the magnitude of the difficulties of such a step, in a manner so sober and yet so devoted to his service, that Cromwell did not take ill their refusal, and never withdrew his countenance from his favored people.



Regicides' Cave, near New Haven, a supposed Hiding-place of Whalley and Goffe.

It was fortunate that no General Court could ever be prevailed upon to put the colony under the protection of Parliament. The prospect of advantages which friends in England urged for this act of virtual submission was no temptation against the certain good of holding back from entangling alliances. The same advice was renewed after the death of Cromwell, and without effect. Then came, in the summer of 1660, a vessel with the two regicides on board, Whalley and Goffe, to announce the accession of Charles II. Massachusetts was in no hurry to proclaim

The Regicides.

[1] The Englishmen who were successively sent to that island languished and died in great numbers, yet Cromwell kept a stern determination to hold it at all hazards and make it a Protestant colony in the very heart of the "Spanish Domdaniel." He wrote to the Governor of Barbadoes instructing him to remove his colony, saying, "We have also sent to the colonies of New England like offers with yours, to remove thither, our resolution being to people and plant that island." In another letter to Jamaica: "We have sent Commissioners and instructions into New England, to try what people may be drawn thence." [Carlyle's *Life of Cromwell.*] In fact, a large number of colonists were inflamed by Cromwell's ambition "to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas." Notably a party from Salem, incited by wilder spirits, were preparing to go, when the General Court interposed and quashed the enterprise. Still, it was the persistency of Cromwell in sending relays of good and bad, and a thousand Irish girls, to the island, which eventually made it a colony. They were led by Venner, a Fifth Monarchy man, that is, one who believed that the four great monarchies of the world would be succeeded by a universal one

its adhesion to the new King: it cordially protected Whalley and Goffe, and when the orders for their surrender arrived, with eminent tact connived at their escapes and various concealments.

The Restoration.

At the next General Court an address was drawn up to be presented to Charles II., filled with protestations of loyalty, allusions to the fact that he had been a fugitive like themselves, and exposures of the heresy of the Quakers as a vindication of the treatment they had received. "We distinguish between churches and their impurities" they said; therefore would the King protect their liberty of worship and civil government? The King was at the beginning of his reign in a forgiving temper: he returned a gracious answer, but it was balanced by a peremptory order for the surrender of the two regicides.[1] It was no doubt chiefly in consequence of the protection afforded to them, and of the connivance of magistrates at their escapes, that the King's mood changed, and he lent a readier ear to the enemies of the colony. Again came alarming rumors over the water,—threats of commercial restriction, of governor general, and, worse than all, the withdrawal of the beloved original charter.



Portrait of Simon Bradstreet.

Massachusetts agents in England.

In May, 1661, Simon Bradstreet, a magistrate, and John Norton, a Boston minister, were sent over in obedience to an order of the King that the complaints against the colony should be met and cleared up. In the meantime the General Court recognized the authority of the King, issuing an address to explain

with Christ for king. He was a cooper by trade, and indulged in preaching. In London his chapel was in Coleman St., where he instigated his followers to a rising against Cromwell, April 9, 1657. But instead of the coming of the expected king, there came a troop of horse which dispersed the monarchy. Venner was afterwards released, and attempting the same thing two years subsequently with Charles II., was tried and executed.

[1] The discussion of the fate of Col. Whalley has lately been renewed. Thomas Robins, of Philadelphia, in a letter to the Historical Society, states that his ancestor of the same name married, in 1736, Leah Whalley, a daughter of Elias, youngest son of Col. Edward Whalley. The latter found his way from a hiding-place in Connecticut to Virginia, where he joined his family who had arrived there from England. Thence he went into Maryland and settled upon a remote point of land in the easternmost county, where he lived safely died, and was buried on his farm. The grave is well known.

upon what grounds they did it. The original patent was the foundation of their Commonwealth: it entitled them to form a government of freemen; to conduct their own municipal affairs; to protect themselves by their own laws, if not repugnant to those of England.

The deputies departed with instructions to insist upon the loyalty of the colony, to explain the causes of false accusations, to watch the enemy, and above all, do nothing that might be prejudicial to the existence of the charter. Supported by the powerful influence of friends near the Court, they succeeded in procuring a royal confirmation of the charter. But the grace was disfigured by distasteful conditions; every ordinance passed during the interim of the Commonwealth should be pronounced invalid; all such as contravened royal authority should be repealed; all persons should take an oath of allegiance; members of the Church of England should be free to sustain public worship according to its usages; all freeholders should have the right of suffrage irrespective of religious opinions, and judicial proceedings should be conducted in the King's name.

Royal instructions. Action of the General Court.

These were demands which might have been expressly premeditated to develop colonial resistance. By obeying them the past would have been sacrificed and the future made still more insecure. The General Court published them according to royal command, but at the same time postponed obedience save on the last point, on the ground that they could not be adapted to the state of the colony without grave deliberation. A delay of two years was thus secured.

The Royal Commissioners in New England.

But in 1664 the royal commissioners Carr, Nicolls, Cartwright, and Maverick, appeared in Boston, duly accredited to hear complaints against the administration of the colony and to enforce the modification of the charter. True, the ostensible object of this commission was the conquest of New Netherland; but the second and not less important purpose was to bring all the New England colonies into complete subjection to the King.

After the capture of New Amsterdam the Commissioners returned to New England. Affairs wore to the General Court a most serious and threatening aspect — the more threatening that one of the board, Maverick, was among the earliest settlers of Boston, and thoroughly understood the motives and policy of her magistrates. But the Court was quite able to hold its ground. The conflict that followed was conducted with no little skill on both sides, the Commissioners, on their part, maintaining the prerogatives of the King, while professing that there was no intention of trenching upon the liberties of the colony; the colonists, on the other hand, taking their stand upon the reserved rights of the charter, with, at the same time, the most ear-

nest protestations of loyalty. In the end the Commissioners were baffled in every attempt to force from the General Court an admission of their authority ; their acts of assumed jurisdiction were pronounced invalid ; the General Court acknowledged allegiance to the King under the protection of the charter, and that was all its conscience could allow.

The fire and plague of London.

It is noticeable how singularly events seemed to conspire with the temporizing policy of the Colony to postpone the designs of its enemies. Not only England's engagement with European politics, but occurrences at home interfered to divert the King and council from their attempts upon the charter. In 1666, just after the return of these Commissioners from their fruitless errand, and the refusal of Massachusetts to send over deputies to meet their complaints before the King, the Great Plague of London broke out, and this calamity was speedily followed by the Great Fire.



The Cradock House at Medford, built about 1639.

Aid from New England.

The General Court took advantage of all England's critical moments to earn a character for loyalty and obedience. If the motive was merely politic, the result was the same as if it had arisen solely from patriotic affection, — to win a degree of consideration and forbearance from the government at home. Thus when England was occupied with the Dutch war of 1664–66, Massachusetts assumed the government of Maine and New Hampshire ; but at the same time she furnished from the Maine forests great store of shapely spars, which were sent over to the King ; the freight alone amounted to over £1,600. The West India fleet was completely revictualled at the expense of the colony ; and after the Great Fire of London the General Court encouraged the colonies to contribute to the utmost extent of their means for the relief of their distressed countrymen.

The colony had never been in so prosperous a condition as in the few years immediately following the departure of the Nicolls Com-

mission. Its jurisdiction over New Hampshire and Maine was, for the time being, firmly established. Commerce was active and profitable, for, notwithstanding the navigation laws, the merchants traded where they would, and in what they pleased, without let or hindrance, for there was no custom-house or customs officers. It was a condition which most excited anxiety in England, for it was difficult to see how a people outwardly prosperous, and inwardly determined and rebellious, could best be dealt with.

Action of the Board of Trade and Plantations.

John Evelyn — one of the Board — writing of a meeting of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in May 1671, says: "But what we most insisted on was to know the condition of New England, appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were greate debates in what style to write to them, for the condition of that colony was such that they were able to contest with all other plantations about them, and there was feare of their breaking from all dependence on this nation. . . . . Some of our council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humor of that colonie, were utterly against." A month later, on the receipt of fresh intelligence, there was again long debate upon "the best expedients as to New England," and "at length 'twas concluded that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of the present face of things, since we understood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crowne." And when in August of the same summer the Board resolved to advise the King to send commissioners again to Massachusetts, the necessity was debated "of seacret instructions to informe the council of the condition of those colonies, and whether they were of such power as to be able to resist his Majesty, and declare for themselves as independent of the Crowne, which we were told, & which of late years made them refractorie." [1]

The Commissioners of Plantations were not unreasonably anxious. There was, no doubt, a certain vagueness in the Massachusetts mind as to the exact degree of political independence of the mother-country which Massachusetts wanted. But on the whole it came perhaps to this, that she would be dependent when it suited her and at all other times free of control. She would make her own laws, agreeing that they should be in accordance with the laws of England; but the laws of England should be of no effect and void within her borders except it pleased her to give them her voluntary respect. But as to religious matters she was never in doubt. England and her hierarchy

[1] Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence.*

she had left behind her; the theocracy she had established with God's help she would maintain against the world. The depth of her religious fervor, though it so often made her a bigot, gave her also a robust political constitution which would do its own work in good time.

The question of the charter was suspended only, not dismissed during this period. Fortunately for New England the government at home permitted it a still longer rest, calling only upon Massachusetts to defend her assumption of jurisdiction over New Hampshire, and leaving her free from the old anxiety while the war with Philip gave a serious check to her prosperity. The King determined at length upon rigorous measures. The Council of Trade and Plantations was dissolved and its duties devolved upon a committee of the Privy Council which brought the affairs of the colonies more under the direct supervision of the King.

Edward Randolph.

The controversy in regard to New Hampshire had brought to New England one Edward Randolph, whose part in affairs was thenceforth, for some years, a conspicuous and important one. It was said of him by the people that he "went up and down seeking to devour them." It was true enough in a sense, for his official zeal seems to have been almost a passion. From year to year this man went back to England, carrying each time some fresh complaint against the colonies and returning always with some additional official orders. From the bearer of the King's letter he became an inspector of the customs; from an inspector he rose to the control of all the customs-revenue of New England. It was impossible that so zealous a servant of the crown should faithfully serve his master in England and not become at the same time obnoxious to the colonists. He could not fail to see that some ordinances had by long immunity been rendered inoperative; that others, the colonists deliberately set aside when found to be inimical to their welfare, or an infringement upon their rights. Though overbearing in temper, hesitating at no measure however arbitrary, strengthening his resolution and his zeal by yearly visits to England, the collector, nevertheless, still found himself powerless, in a great measure, to cope with the steady, sagacious, as well as stern spirit of independence in which the colony managed its affairs.

Among his accusations against Massachusetts was one of entire disregard of the Act of Navigation. The General Court acknowledged its truth; but such laws they declared were "an invasion of the rights, liberties and properties" of the colonies, "they not being represented in parliament" — an early protest against the doctrine of taxation without representation to be fought out a hundred years later. The laws of England, they said, did not reach America, but

still as the King had signified that these acts relating to trade should be observed in Massachusetts, they would provide for it by an act of their own. So Randolph laid his commission as collector before the General Court and asked their aid in enforcing the laws; they paid no regard to him. He informed the public, by notice posted in the town-house, of his appointment and the requisitions of the law; the marshal, by order of the Court, or some of its members, tore the notice down. He appealed to the Governor; but that magistrate — who was that year Bradstreet, one of the more moderate party — seems to have given no heed to the complaint. Randolph carried his grievance to the King, and to the rebuke that followed there was in reply a general denial so far as that served the purpose, a general promise of future acquiescence quite as vague, with a decided intimation that these appeals from their authority ought not to be listened to by the King.



Pine Tree Sixpence



Pine Tree Threepence.

Randolph's Complaints against Massachusetts. — The coinage.

Randolph also complained that Massachusetts coined money, which was a mark of sovereignty. It was not the first time that the charge had been brought against the colony. In 1652, in the time of the Commonwealth, a mint had been established which continued in operation till 1684, issuing silver coins of the value of a shilling, sixpence, threepence and two pence.[1] These formed the currency of the country, in large part, remained in circulation for nearly a century, and were shipped sometimes as bullion to England in the course of trade. It is related that when Sir Thomas Temple, who had been residing for some years in New England, returned to England after the Restoration, he was sent for by the King to learn from him something of the affairs of Massachusetts. Charles, it is said, showed a good deal of irritation against her, and among other things declared that her magistrates had encroached upon his prerogative by coining money. Temple took some of these coins from his pocket and handed them to the King with the assurance that they had been issued by the colonists for their own use, and



Pine Tree Twopence.

[1] Hutchinson, vol. i. See Discussion of the "Pine Tree" coinage of Massachusetts in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, First Series, vol. vii.; Second Series, vol. ii.; *Memoir of John Hull; Archæologia Americana*, vol. iii.; *Hist. Mag.*, vol. iii.; John Hull was the master of the mint, and received a remuneration of one shilling out of every twenty that he coined. John Hull's daughter Hannah married Samuel — afterward Judge — Sewall, and the tradition is that at the marriage her dowry was paid in the "Pine Tree" coin, the bride being bal-

without any intention of infringing upon the law, of which, he said, they knew little. The King inquired what tree was represented upon the coin. "Sir Thomas, artfully taking hold of that circumstance," says the narrator of the story, "informed His Majesty it was the Royal Oak. The Massachusetts people, says he, did not dare to put your Majesty's name on their coin, and so put the oak which preserved your life. The King was put into a fit of good humor, said they were a parcel of honest d—gs, and was disposed to hear favorable things of them." [1]

There is no official authority for calling the tree of this coinage a pine tree, though that supposition has given it its popular designation. The motive for its issue was undoubtedly the public convenience and not an intention of usurping a sovereign right. While the imports of the country largely exceeded the exports little of the coin of the realm would remain in the country, and there was absolute necessity of some domestic currency to satisfy the wants of the people. Wampum was generally resorted to, but its inevitable inflation soon made it valueless. At one time in the early days of Massachusetts (1634–5) it was decreed, "that muskett bulletts, of a full boare, shall pass currantly for a farthing a peice, provided that noe man be compelled to take above xijd att a tyme in them." [2] Various expedients of paper money were from time to time resorted to, depending sometimes on public credit, and sometimes on mortgages upon real estate. A large amount of the pine tree money was coined — how much is not known — which long continued in circulation, and was unquestionably a firm basis, as far as it went, for sound and prosperous trade.



Pine Tree Shilling.

But these various complaints and complications all tended to the inevitable revocation of the charter. In accordance with its temporizing and procrastinating policy, the colony had neglected to send deputies to England to answer the various charges made against it. In

anced in one scale against an equal weight of coin in the other. Hutchinson says her dowry was £30,000, the weight of which — in shillings or sixpences — would have been about three tons and three quarters. But Judge Sewall's ledger (see *Memoir of John Hull; Arch. Am.*, vol. iii.) shows that he received with his wife £500. It is not impossible that Miss Hull may have been weighed against this sum, in shillings, which would have been about 120 pounds, Troy.

[1] Letters from Andrew Eliot to Thomas Hollis. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Fourth Series, vol. iv.

[2] *Records of Massachusetts*, vol. i.

1681 there came a peremptory letter from the King that such deputies should be sent with authority to tender the unqualified submission of the colony. Delay was no longer safe, and Joseph Dudley and John Richards were sent to England in answer to the summons.

Deputies sent to England.

Judgment against the Colony.

Dudley belonged to the moderate party, and he went with a disposition to compromise; but he also carried a letter of the General Court of a tone so inflexible that the King's patience gave way. Again a writ was issued against the colony, to show by what warrant it held its charter. Judgment was pronounced against it in 1684, and an official copy served upon the General Court on the 2d of July, 1685.

Events now moved rapidly against the liberties of Massachusetts. Colonel Kirke was appointed Governor of that province together with New Plymouth, New Hampshire, and Maine. His commission was confirmed a few months later by James, and he was about to sail for the colonies, when, fortunately for them, his services were required to aid in the suppression of the insurrection in Scotland under Argyll, and in the West of England under Monmouth, which immediately challenged James's succession to the throne.

Charles II. died in February, 1685, and James was proclaimed in Boston the following April, before judgment on the charter had been officially announced. By the advice of Randolph the temporary control of affairs was given to a provisional commission, at the head of which was put Dudley, who had taken care while in England to ingratiate himself with the party inimical to the colony. The General Court contented itself with a protest. "The subjects," they said, "are abridged of their liberty as Englishmen, both in the matter of legislation and in laying of taxes." They urged the Commissioners to consider whether such a commission "be safe for you or for us;" but, they added, if the members of the Board were satisfied to assume the government, "although we cannot give our assent thereto, yet we hope we shall demean ourselves as true and loyal subjects to his Majesty, and humbly make our addresses unto God, and in due time to our gracious prince, for our relief." Yes; "in due time;" they knew how to wait.

Protest of the General Court.

The provisional government was short-lived, doing little harm and no good, when Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston in December, 1686, with a commission as Governor of all New England, — the governor-general that Massachusetts had dreaded, and planned against, and been almost ready to fight against for half a century. As Governor of New York Andros had made himself familiar with colonial affairs; the consolidation he was now to rule over he had long before advised; his character, and his faithful adherence to

Arrival of Andros.

the principles by which the King proposed to govern his kingdom, pointed him out as a fit instrument to carry out the royal purposes.

Andros was a proud and ostentatious man, who regarded his official relation to the King more than all things else. He found himself among men proud, but not vain-glorious, highly comfortable with this world's goods, and a fund of sanctifying grace. His drinking bouts were especially distasteful, for even healths were no longer drunk by the Puritans. He was more irritable; they were quietly and provokingly tenacious of purpose. At that time New England easily supported a population of more than 130,000: a dozen years before his coming it could furnish 16,000 fighting men. Fifteen merchants were worth £50,000 each: five hundred persons about £3,000 each. The country around Boston, in which town there were about fifteen hundred families, was thickly settled with these men who in the last resort would insist upon having their own way, as they did.



Portrait of Sir Edmund Andros.

The new Governor began his administration by announcing that all the laws then in force were to be respected, if not found to be inconsistent with the laws of England. There was little satisfaction in this, for the colonists maintained that it was for them to decide what laws they needed, whether inconsistent with those of England or not. A tax was levied of a penny in the pound on all estates real or personal; of twenty pence a head as poll-tax; of a penny in the pound on all imports; and an excise beside on all liquors. The taking away of the charter had abolished the General Court, and this taxation was without the consent of the people or their representatives. To enforce it the severest measures were resorted to, for the resistance was everywhere determined. Then the obnoxious Randolph was appointed licenser of the press, and other officers were brought from New York who soon made themselves quite as unpopular as he.

New taxes and laws.

But these were civil affairs; Andros touched more dangerous ground when he issued an order that no marriage could be solemnized save by a clergyman of the Church of England. Civil marriages by

magistrates had for a long time been common among the people, and they clung to the habit. But the Governor ordered that persons to be married should enter into bonds with sureties, to be forfeited in case any impediment might be afterward shown. He had no respect for Puritan principles, and was always menacing the Congregational style of worship. He demanded the use of the Old South meeting-house during a part of the Lord's Day for celebration of the Episcopal service. The reading of the service for the dead at the grave frequently created a disturbance. Then a formality, repugnant to the people, of swearing by the Book, instead of holding up the right hand, was introduced.

Oppressive acts of Andros.

His administration, as it went on, became more and more intolerable. He levied taxes, not as he at first promised, according to the previous rates, but by a rate of his own; but this came in, partly in consequence of the Indian wars in which he became involved in 1688. All the judges, elected from the council, charged high fees. Various other arbitrary proceedings served to exasperate the people. Here is an example, — he denied the writ of habeas corpus to Rev. John Wise, of Ipswich, who had advised his people from the pulpit to resist his system of taxation without representation. Said Andros, "Did they really think that Joe and Tom may tell the king what money he may have?" That is just what Joe and Tom did think, even then, — much more thoughtfully afterwards. On another occasion he said: "The scabbard of an English Red-Coat shall quickly signify as much as the Commission of a Justice of the Peace."

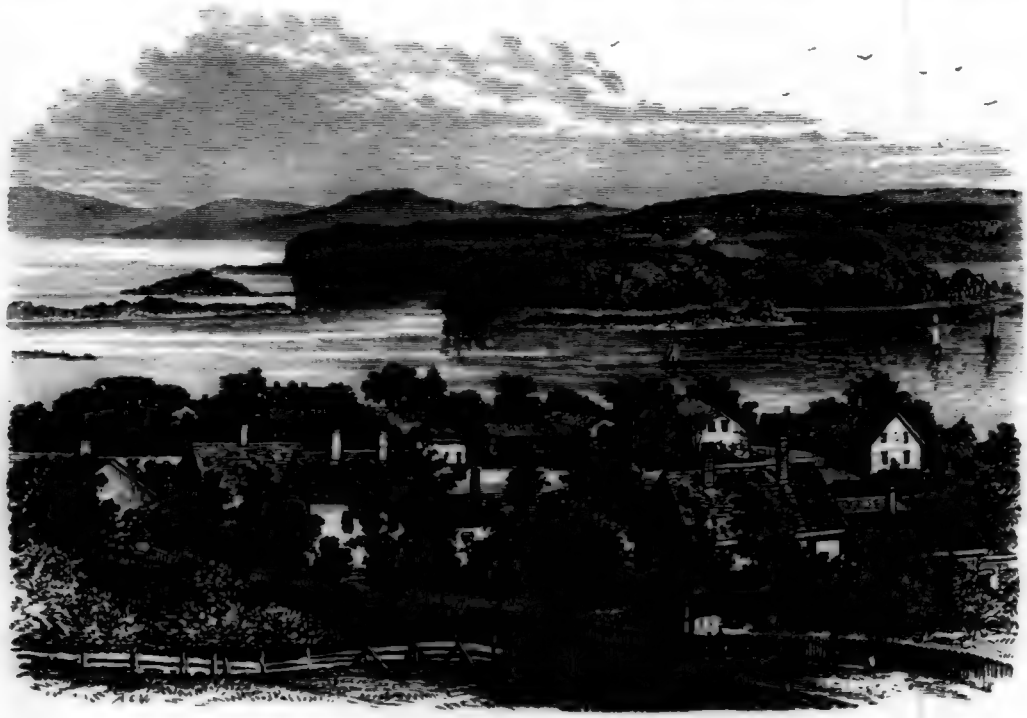
Andros preserved the trial by jury, but was accused of using intrigue to pack it for some special trial. But he gave the rudest touch to the colonial nerve when he summoned the land-owners to give up their titles for examination. When some of them showed their deeds from the Indians, signed or marked by them, he threw them aside contemptuously. "They are not worth the scratch of a bear's paw," he said. No doubt, from the absence of a strict surveying system, and from the loose habits of early squatting, many of the farmers could not define their land. But the chief objection with Andros was that all the titles held their validity under a charter which no longer existed. This excited the bitterest reflections. Andros offered to renew titles if the proprietors would acknowledge their invalidity, and pay a quit-rent. Those who refused these conditions were threatened with writs of intrusion, which occasionally were issued.

Despotic as the rule of the new Governor seemed, he was only carrying out the will of his master. He thoroughly and honestly believed, no doubt, that both in civil and religious affairs such government was righteous and wise. Conceding his honesty, he is not to be

blamed for his energy, for he only discharged with vigor the duty that devolved upon him. Out of the struggle between a royal despotism and a Puritan oligarchy came, in due season, the government of the people.

Acts of Andros in regard to other colonies.

Andros was as firm and unyielding elsewhere as he was in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Thomas Hinckley, the Governor of New Plymouth complained with good reason that his people were compelled to pay taxes more burdensome than they had ever known before. Rhode Island willingly accepted a change which promised to end her struggle with her Puri-



View of the Harbor of Castine.

tan neighbors. In New Hampshire the new Governor established his authority with little difficulty: in Maine, he had, or thought he had more to fear from the interference of the French than any unwillingness on the part of the English to submit to his rule. At the mouth of the Penobscot, the Baron Vincent de Saint Castin had established himself as the lieutenant of the French governor of Acadia; had encroached upon the territory of the Duke of York; had won the favor of the Indians by adopting their habits, and taking several of their women as his wives, and had gained so much influence over them as to be made one of their chiefs. When the condition of affairs in Massachusetts permitted, Andros made a visit to New Hampshire and Maine, and an important part of his errand was to bring Castin to submission. The baron did not wait for an inter-

view, but fled with all his retainers. Andros entered his house, or fort, took possession of the arms, ammunition, and some other property; but left the little popish chapel and its furniture untouched. The plunder, he sent word to Castin, should be restored on his submission to the English King. The only result was the exasperation of Castin's friends, the Indians, which in due time had its results.

Connecticut, like Massachusetts, was deprived by a *quo warranto* of its Charter, in spite of its protests and its prayers. In October, 1687, Andros appeared in Hartford at the head of a troop of soldiers, while the General Court was in session. He demanded the surrender



Securing the Charter.

of the charter, declaring that the government under it had come to an end. He seems, nevertheless, to have permitted the subject to be debated, Governor Treat defending their right to the charter, recounting the hardships the early settlers had suffered in making a home in the wilderness, and asserting that they had had no sufficient hearing in England.[1] The arguments were not new, and not likely to influence Andros, however courteously he may have listened to them. The charter, meanwhile, lay with its box upon the table.

The debate continued till evening, and candles were lighted. An excited crowd had collected in and about the building. Discussion

[1] Trumbull's *History of Connecticut.*

came to an end, and Andros ordered the charter to be returned to its box and delivered to him. Suddenly the lights were put out. Naturally there must have been some confusion and some delay in relighting the candles. When this was at length done, the charter was not to be found. It had disappeared in the darkness. The instrument, at least, was safe, and the royal Governor so far baffled. Other resistance, however, was useless, even if any was thought of, for Andros had at his back sixty obedient soldiers. The General Court submitted, for they could do no otherwise. Entering upon their records a minute of the meeting, they wrote at the end

Concealment of the Connecticut Charter.



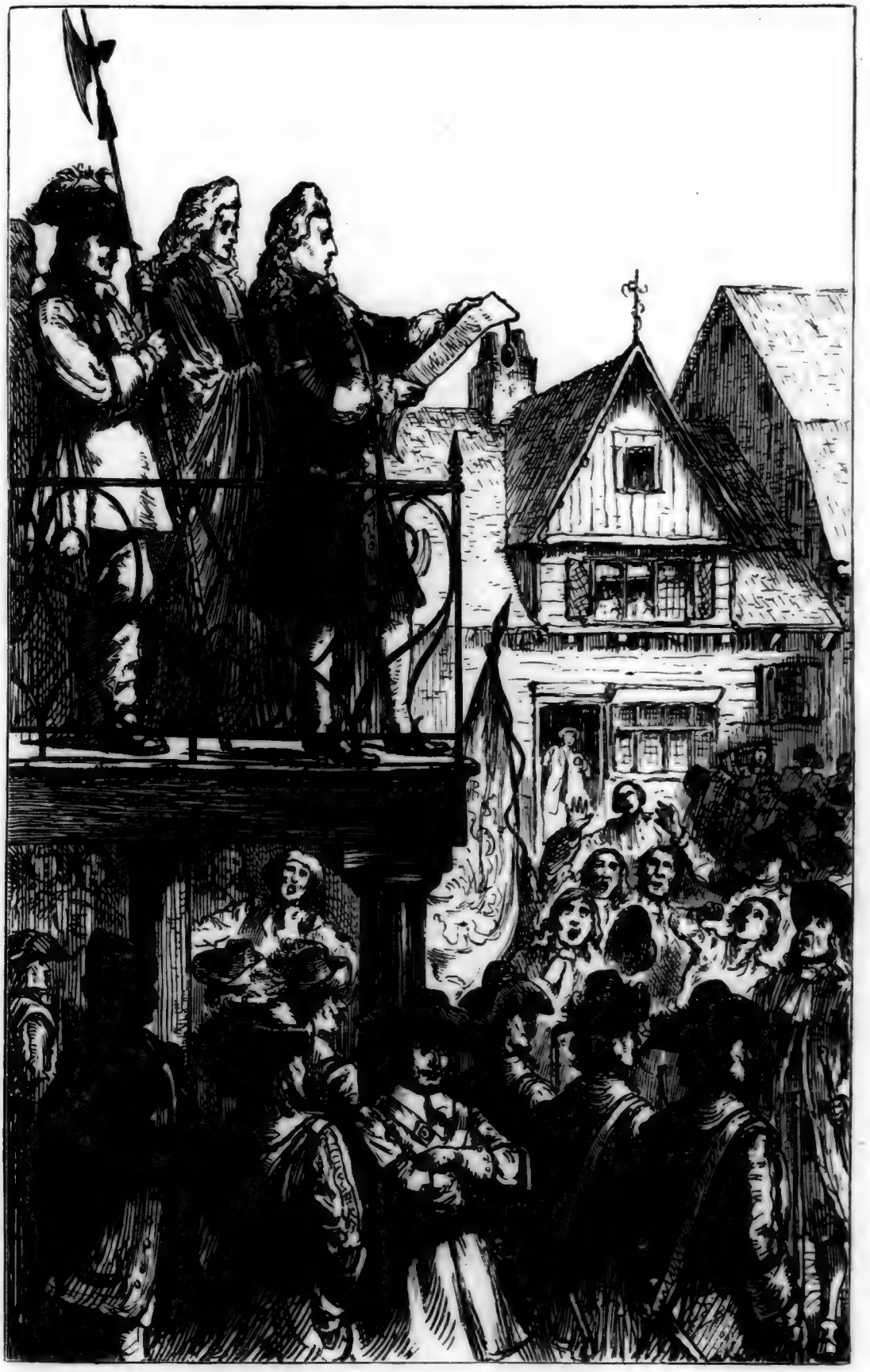
The Charter Oak.

the significant word "FINIS." The crowd dispersed, sorrowfully no doubt, but quietly. The beloved parchment was safe in a hollow oak on the grounds of Samuel Wyllys, one of the magistrates, where it had been put by Captain Wadsworth of Hartford, and where it long remained.

Connecticut was now only a part of the royal province of New England. A few months later Andros received a commission as governor, also, of New York and New Jersey.

When the rumor came creeping up in April, 1689, from Virginia, of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England the previous November, the inhabitants of Boston could hardly fail to look upon it as a providential interposition. The young man who brought the news — John Winslow — was impris-

News of the English Revolution.



THE DEPOSITION OF GOVERNOR ANDROS.

oned, and Andros issued a proclamation against the Prince's cause. But the people could not be restrained by that, nor by the hesitating policy of some of their own leading men. The reports and suspicions which usually spring up in such critical moments, filled the air of Boston, and needed no electric wire to thrill the adjacent towns. Was there a plot for a massacre of the people by the Governor's Guards? Was the town to be fired at one end by traitors on shore, while Captain George from the *Rose* frigate set it on fire at the other end by bombardment?

The popular excitement was soon beyond control. The North End heard that the South End was in arms; at the South End came swift rumors that the North End was up and on the march. The tar-barrels blazed up on Beacon Hill. From the country round about the people came raging into Boston by land and by water on the 18th of April. Drums beat through the town; where the signals had blazed on Beacon Hill by night, a flag was raised by day. Up King, now State, Street marched a company of Boston soldiery under Captain Hill, escorting a number of the former magistrates, whom the crisis had called together at noon. These gentlemen appeared on the balcony of the Town House overlooking King Street, and to the expectant and excited crowd below was read a "Declaration of the Gentlemen, Merchants and Inhabitants of Boston and the Country adjacent." It rehearsed the oppressive acts of Andros's administration; the illegal appointment of the Dudley Commission; the wrongful suppression of the charter; it hailed the accession of the Prince of Orange to the throne, and justified the arrest and imprisonment of "those few ill men which have been (next to our sins) the grand authors of all our miseries." Cotton Mather is supposed to have been the author of this address.

Deposition and arrest of Andros.

Some of the most obnoxious of the citizens, official and otherwise, had already been arrested. Captain George of the frigate *Rose* was met on the street and arrested. A boat was sent by his lieutenant to rescue Andros, who was in the fort on Fort Hill, but was captured by the soldiers. Finding escape impossible, he went to the Town House with others, and was put under guard in a private house, to be removed a day or two later to the fort. Several members of the council were arrested with him. Randolph was thrown into the common jail. Dudley, who was absent on his judicial duties — he had been made Chief Justice — was arrested a few days later. The next day the fort was surrendered. The *Rose*, it was agreed, should strike her topmasts and send her sails ashore, and so lie helpless in the stream under the guns of the fort. The revolution was complete and without the shedding of a drop of blood. A provisional government was

organized under the name of a "Council for the Safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace." The venerable Simon Bradstreet, now eighty-seven years of age, was appointed president, and a number of the old assistants were called to his aid as a council.

The Council of Safety.

Twice Andros escaped from confinement; the first time by disguising himself in the clothes of a woman. He passed two of the guards in safety, but his shoes betrayed him to the third, and he was



Governor Andros's Attempt at Escape.

taken back to the fort. The second attempt was more successful. His servant plied the sentinel with liquor and took his master's place. On the 5th of August he was recognized in Newport, arrested the same day, and returned to Boston.[1]

The overthrow of the Andros government was as complete in the other colonies as in Massachusetts. Rhode Island remained without a governor; but Connecticut at once restored her old magistrates.

[1] For a complete history of the Andros administration, see *The Andros Tracts*, in Publications of the Prince Society.

The revolution in New York, with its tragic consequence, requires a chapter by itself. Andros was at length sent back to England, but his career in America did not debar him from further favors, and he subsequently returned to the country as Governor of Virginia.

Representatives of the people from fifty-four towns of Massachusetts assembled after the fall of Andros, and though the feeling was strong that the ancient charter might be resumed, it was decided to suspend all action under it until it was restored. On May 26, the news arrived that the new King had been invested with the crown, and on the 29th, William and Mary were proclaimed in Boston.

Colonial policy of the new King.

For once the colonists had been deceived in their expectations. They relied confidently upon that clause in the Prince's Declaration to the people of England, that he came in order that "all magistrates who have been unjustly turned out, shall forthwith reassume their former Imployments, and the English corporations return to their ancient prescriptions and charters." For James II., in order to neutralize the Whig and Dissenting interest, imitated the action of Charles I. after the Rye-House Plot, deprived more than a hundred boroughs of their charters, and put Tory magistrates in the places of incumbents. New charters had been granted which reserved a power to the King of dismissing magistrates. Under the new Charter of London more than eight hundred prominent citizens had been turned out of office at one stroke.

But William's ministers explained that the English charters had been taken away for different cause from those of the colonies; on the new political grounds they might be restored. The colonial charters had violated the Navigation Acts, and threatened the interests of English trade and manufactures. The King and his advisers, — Lord Halifax alone strenuously urging the return of the original charter, — though not disposed to imitate the ruinous policy of the late reign, were unwilling to let the opportunity slip for putting some restraint upon colonial independence, and maintaining a foothold here for the royal authority. Therefore the Massachusetts deputies could only gain permission to use the old charter until a new one could be framed.

Appointment of Sir William Phips as Governor.

To make this proceeding more palatable to the colonists, the designation of a governor, who would be acceptable to the people, was left to the agents of the colony. One of these was Increase Mather, the President of Harvard College, who had been sent to England when the affairs of the colony were considered in the most critical condition. He had not succeeded either in saving the old charter or in procuring a new one which would satisfy the people; but his influence was sufficient to secure the appointment, as governor, of Sir William Phips, who was then in London.

Phips was a native New Englander, a successful adventurer who had made a large fortune for himself and others, had achieved some success, as well as met with some disaster, in military expeditions in Nova Scotia and Canada, and whose popularity at home was sure to make him acceptable as the chief magistrate. Mather's confidence in him was, perhaps, all the greater that he knew him to be a member of his son Cotton Mather's church. The Governor was not likely to be in want of plenty of counsel, and the elder Mather, no doubt, thought it would be as good as it was sure to be plentiful.



Portrait of Increase Mather.

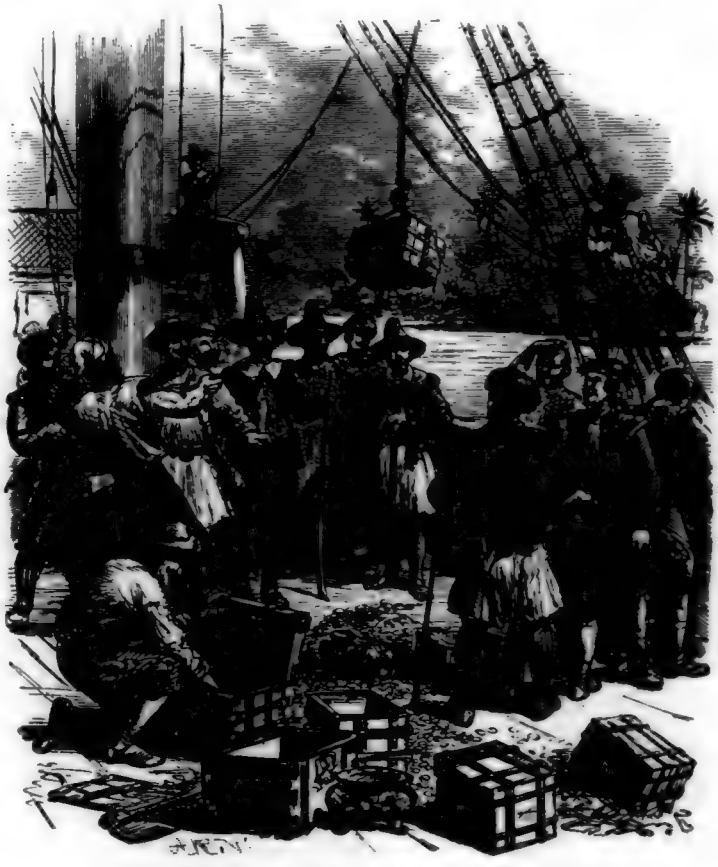
Phips arrived in Boston with the new charter in May, 1692. By this instrument a new Province was created including Massachusetts, Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia. New Hampshire begged hard to be included, but the inheritors of the Mason claim had interest enough to prevent it.[1] The Governor, Deputy, Secretary, and Admiralty officers were to be appointed by the crown. A General Court, or House of Assembly, was provided by election of two persons from each town, to frame laws which were to be subject to the royal approval. Under its common seal, in the King's name, judges, justices, sheriffs, and civil officers could be appointed; military officers could only be appointed by the Governor; the dangerous power was also conferred upon him of annulling the appointment of other officers. Citizenship was no longer to be restricted to church-members, liberty of worship was free to all but Catholics. All laws were to be transmitted to England, and if not approved within three years were to be void. This prerogative which the King reserved, of rejecting any laws and acts of the Province, was the sharp point of the new charter; but the General Court felt constrained to adopt it, and it remained substantially in force, with but few and slight amendments, till the American Revolution. The first law which the King rejected was one passed by the Assembly exempting the colonists from all taxes except those which were imposed by their own representatives.

The new Charter.

[1] Edward Randolph, the obnoxious Collector, married Jane Gibbon, whose brother Richard married Anne Tufton, sister of Robert Mason (Tufton), and grand-daughter of the old proprietor, Captain John Mason. All his colonial interests waited upon the success of the family claim to lands in New Hampshire.

Phips as a governor was not successful; as a picturesque figure in the history of Massachusetts he is distinguished. He was at this time only forty-two years of age, having been born at Woolwich, on the Kennebec, in Maine, in 1650. His father and mother were the parents of twenty-six children, twenty-one of whom were boys. Till he was eighteen years old William's occupation was that of tending sheep, and in after life he took pleasure — as most men do in such early associations — in pointing out the fields where he had followed his flocks. Afterwards he passed four years in a ship-yard and became a skilful ship-carpenter. He went to Boston — as country boys of New England have done ever since, — to seek his fortune. He found it before the year was out in learning to read and write, and in marrying a sensible and good woman. She was a widow, some years older than himself, and possessed of some fortune. Her money gave him a fresh start in his career, and her good sense as well as his energy and courage, no doubt made a most important element of his future success.

Life and character of Phips.



Phips raising the Spanish Treasure.

The young man built himself a vessel and engaged in commerce. But he wanted a quicker turn of fortune than carrying lumber would bring him. He determined to do what so many have tried and so few have succeeded in — to recover treasures lost in a wrecked ship. Somewhere at the bottom of the sea in the West Indies there were such treasures in bullion, plate, and coin in sunken Spanish vessels, if one could but find them. One such vessel he found, but the return was small. But he heard of another, and he only wanted, he believed, sufficient means to certainly recover her.

He went to England, and so succeeded in arousing the King's interest in his proposed adventure that a man-of-war, well appointed, was given him. He was gone on his first voyage two years, and came back without any treasure, but the certain knowledge, he thought, of the exact spot where it could be found. But he also brought back a high reputation as a naval commander, for he had shown great skill and courage in quelling a formidable mutiny among his men.

That he should have been able to induce a company to second him in another attempt is an evidence of the irrepressible energy of the man. And this time he succeeded. The sunken Spanish ship was found and she was filled with treasure.

About £300,000 were recovered in bullion, coin and plate. Phips's share of this was £16,000 and a gold cup of the value of £1,000, which was given to his wife by the Duke of Albemarle, the patron of the expedition. But he was otherwise rewarded, for the King knighted him, and the young man who a few years before was hewing ship-timber in a Boston ship-yard, and learning at odd times to read and write, was wealthy and famous.

He returned to New England in 1688, with the appointment of sheriff, the duties of which office, however, he found it impossible to discharge under Andros. Two years later — both Andros and his master having been meanwhile disposed of, and war having broke out between France and England — Phips was appointed by Governor Bradstreet to lead an expedition against Port Royal. In this he was successful. The fort was destroyed, the town plundered, the French governor and others taken prisoners and carried to Boston. On his return Sir William landed at various points along the coast, and the whole of Acadia was reduced to English rule.

Phips's expedition against Port Royal and Canada.

Soon after his return from this successful expedition, a larger and more important one was undertaken, for the reduction of Canada, which had been planned and decided upon at a Congress of the colonies which met at New York at the call of Governor Leisler. A land-force of New York and Connecticut troops, under John Winthrop and Robert Livingston, were to invade Canada and threaten Montreal, while a naval expedition under Phips, with Major Walley of Plymouth as commander of the troops on board, was to take Quebec. The fleet, which sailed in August, 1690, consisted of thirty-two vessels and carried two thousand and two hundred men.

The expedition from New York met with nothing but disaster. Disputes before starting between New York and Connecticut in relation to commanders caused delay and neglect of measures essential to

success. When the troops reached the lakes no boats had been provided for their transportation. A march through the wilderness seemed impossible, and the army turned back. Phips meanwhile had sailed leisurely along the coast and up the St. Lawrence, so leisurely that Frontenac had time to hear of his coming and to move down from Montreal to Quebec and to prepare for defence. When at length the fleet reached the fortress, the attack was so clumsily conducted — owing partly to Phips's inexperience in military affairs, and partly to Walley's cowardice and inefficiency — that repulse was inevitable. Men were landed at the wrong time and in wrong places; ammunition was wasted in useless bombardments of works on which no impression could be made; useless exposure brought on fatal sickness; cold weather set in and caused a good deal of suffering. A second attempt, in which it was hoped some of these blunders might be corrected, was prevented by a storm which dispersed the fleet. The ships found their way back to Boston as best they could; several were so long at sea that they were given up for lost; one was never again heard of; another was burnt at sea, and a third was wrecked, though the crew was saved. No booty was brought away to help pay the cost of the expedition, which was large enough to impair seriously the finances of the colony; some of the artillery was left behind in the hands of the French, and the loss of life — though Phips denied this — was said to have been two hundred men.

To meet the exhaustion of the colonial exchequer, caused by this unfortunate expedition, a resort was had to an issue of paper money. The soldiers were paid off in a currency which soon fell to a discount of about thirty-three per cent. It is greatly to Phips's credit, that feeling himself in a large measure responsible for this public disaster, he redeemed with his own money the depreciated bills which his soldiers had been compelled to accept.

Owing probably in part to this generous act, the credit and popularity of Sir William were little impaired by his military failure. In 1691 he again went to England to interest the King in fresh projects for destroying the French power in Canada, in bringing to an end the Indian raids under French guidance upon the eastern settlements, and to aid the agents in London in obtaining, if possible, the restoration of the old Charter. He returned with a new Charter and as Governor, as we have already said, in May, the next year.

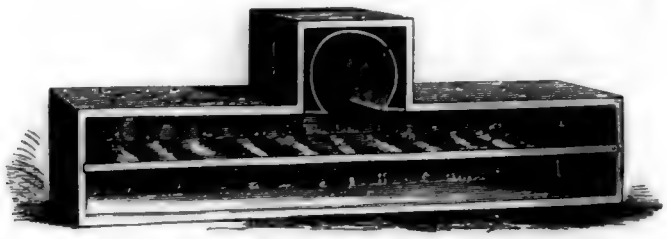
The stubborn friends of the old Charter soon organized themselves into a party in watchful opposition to Governor Phips. It was, no doubt, a factious opposition, so far as there could be any real expectation of restoring the old rule of Puritanic government. But Phips was not a man of much wisdom, of much dignity of char-

Opposition to Phips.

acter, nor of that experience in political affairs which sometimes suffices in the absence of higher qualities. He made an expedition to Maine against the Indians, which had no brilliant result, while the fort he ordered to be built at Pemaquid was costly, of little use, and gave rise to bitter complaints of the taxation it involved. He was sometimes indolently or ignorantly good-natured, leaving the General Court to follow the bent of its own inclinations without check; and he was sometimes so choleric in temper as to assert what he conceived to be his official privileges, in a way better fitted to the deck of a ship and a disorderly crew than the peaceful citizens of a quiet city. For example, he disputed the authority of the Collector sent from England; and when that officer declined to obey the Governor's order for the release of a ship and cargo, Sir William went down to the wharf, fell upon the Collector and gave him a beating. He had a dispute with a Captain Short, of a British frigate, and on meeting him in the street, upbraided and abused him and finally fell upon him and "broke his head with a cane."

One incident of his administration, however, had political importance. It was common in the country towns of Massachusetts to choose their representatives to the General Court from among the citizens of Boston. The inevitable result was a preponderating influence which usually enabled a few men in Boston to manage affairs to suit themselves. Phips was popular in the country, where probably little was known of his overbearing temper and his ignorance of affairs of state. In 1694, a movement for his removal had gathered so much strength that his friends in the General Court proposed an address to the King against it. The motion was carried, but it was only by a vote of twenty-six to twenty-four, and in the minority were all the members chosen from Boston. A law was immediately enacted requiring that no town should be represented in the General Court by a non-resident.

But Phips's enemies at length prevailed, and he was ordered to England to answer the charges made against him. He went in 1694, and about a year after died of malignant fever in London.



Box in which the Connecticut Charter was kept.



Mount Hope.

CHAPTER XVII

PHILIP'S WAR.

OUTBREAK OF PHILIP'S WAR. — ITS CAUSES. — PHILIP'S EARLIER RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH. — INDIAN ATTACKS AT SWANSEA, TAUNTON, AND ELSEWHERE. — WILLIAM BLACKSTONE. — THE FIGHTS AT BROOKFIELD AND HADLEY. — THE AMBUSH AT BLOODY BROOK. — EXPEDITION INTO THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY. — THE SURPRISE AT TURNER'S FALLS. — PHILIP ATTACKED AND KILLED NEAR MOUNT HOPE.

THE conduct of affairs in Massachusetts devolved, when Phips went to England, upon William Stoughton, the Lieutenant-governor. The Indian hostilities, which, as the next chapter will relate, had broken out again in the eastern provinces, soon gave him sufficient occupation, and he was wanting neither in energy nor ability to meet the exigency. But he is better remembered as a benefactor of Harvard College, where a hall still makes his name familiar to each successive generation; less pleasantly remembered as one of Andros's judges in the Ipswich and other trials, where the people resisted the despotic Governor; while as the Chief Justice of the province in the witchcraft persecution, which marked the period of Phips's administration, the distinction he achieved was that of a cruel magistrate in whom superstition overcame all sense of justice.

Lieutenant-governor Stoughton.

Before, however, that gloomy page in the history of Massachusetts is turned, it is necessary to revert to a previous bitter experience — the last great war in New England with the Indians, an account

of which, in chronological order, would have interrupted the consecutive narrative of events relating to the charters.

Outbreak of Philip's war.

The origin of this war, which broke out in 1675 and lasted for two years, was, of course, in that hidden but inextinguishable hatred which the red man felt for the white intruder, — a hatred that might, at any moment, be lit by a single spark and blaze up at once into a mighty flame. Philip, the chief of the Wampanoags, or Pokanokets, who was at the head of this decisive struggle, did not, perhaps, premeditate a war until the temper of his tribe made it inevitable; even when his intentions were suspected, there was no wish, perhaps, for a conflict with the Indians, on the part of the colonists, but rather a dread of it, while the memory of the fate of the Pequots, it was hoped, would deter the savages from so desperate a measure. But there came the inexorable point of time and circumstance where race and interest, civilization and savage freedom, clashed, and forced the bloody conclusion.

If it were easier to disentangle the web of Indian politics in New England through the last two thirds of the seventeenth century — from the settlement of New Plymouth to the time when the native tribes were subdued or annihilated, — it would be possible, perhaps, to trace events to their immediate causes, to understand that sudden outbreak of relentless hate which blazed through the provinces from Narragansett Bay to the extreme northern and eastern borders. But

Causes of the conflict.

this we know, — the very presence of the whites was a provocation; instinct alone soon taught the savages that civilization must crowd them out of lands which were useless except they remained a wilderness. Purchase, so far as they understood what purchase meant, was no equivalent for the loss of the hunting-grounds from which they mainly drew the means of existence; practically an exchange of a cart-load or two of clothing and trinkets, a few guns and a little ammunition, for hundreds of square miles, was as much an infringement of the Indians' right to the soil as it was for the whites to take possession of the lands by violence. Purchase meant to the Indian, in the first place, only toleration of a joint occupancy; but when in the course of time it was plain that joint occupancy was impossible, — that to the whites there came absolute possession, to themselves absolute expulsion, — then the purchase, which they had misunderstood, was as much a robbery as if no price had been paid. Herein was the bitter root of deadly hostility.

Other provocations there were, known and unknown. Personal wrongs and outrages were committed on one side and the other, impossible to be avoided in frontier settlements, however peaceful in theory and even in practice may have been the policy of the state.

Chiefs and tribes became involved in controversies and in the conflict of interests between different colonies. The Indian balance of power would sometimes be thrown in on one side or the other as a preponderating influence; the Indian himself would make use of an alliance with the whites to feed fat some ancient grudge against a rival tribe. So Uncas avenged himself in the death of Miantonomo when Massachusetts involved them in her quarrel with Gorton and his people. So Pumham and Saconondoco were used by the magistrates of Boston to give them a pretext for jurisdiction over the heretics of Shawomet.



Grave of Uncas.

It is impossible now to separate and trace all these personal wrongs, these political expedients, these jealousies of tribes, intensified always by hatred of race, which led, at length, to the war under Philip. If the outbreak seemed sudden and inexplicable, it was only because the real causes were sometimes remote and often unseen. Who could tell what influence may have been exercised over the mind of Philip by the memory of a feud between his father and Pumham, when Pumham was a tool in the hands of the Masssachusetts Puritans? What was the measure of all the outrages which Uncas for years inflicted upon other Indians, under the protection of his close alliance with the English? Philip had no stronger ally than Nanuntenoo, and he was hardly less

Personal grievances of Philip and his allies.

dreaded than Philip himself. Could this chief of the Narragansetts forget that he was the son of Miantonomo? In 1661, Philip's elder brother, Alexander, was taken and compelled to go as a prisoner to Plymouth on suspicion of hostile designs, in conjunction with the Narragansetts, against the English. This accusation may have been, or may not have been, true; the proof was not forthcoming. On the way the chief was taken suddenly ill and in a few hours was dead, — died, his captors said, of a fever, into which he was thrown by rage and mortification. His young wife was the squaw sachem Weetamoo, whose camp or fort was on the Pocasset shore, now Tiverton. She believed the English had poisoned her husband. Were her suspicions forgotten when, fourteen years later, she joined with Philip? She brought to the king three hundred warriors. One year later, but twenty-six were left, when all were surprised and taken prisoners on the banks of the Mattapoisett, she alone evading capture. She was drowned in attempting to swim the river, and when, soon after, her poor naked body was found washed up upon the bank, the head was cut off and set up in Taunton. When the prisoners, the feeble remnant of her late followers, saw this sight, "they made," says Mather, "a most horid and diabolical lamentation, crying out that it was their queen's head."[1] The spirit that prompted the act, and this contemptuous comment, were not the growth of a single year.

Philip's relations with the English.

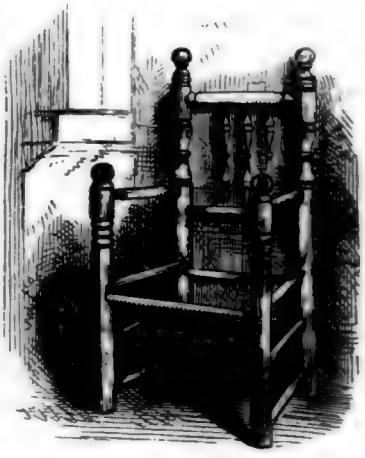
Massasoit, the sachem of the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, the early and steadfast friend of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, lived till 1660. Three or four years before his death, he took two of his sons, Mooanam, known also as Wamsutta, and Metacomet, also called Pometacom, to Plymouth, and asked that both should receive English names. Thenceforth the first was known as Alexander, and the second as Philip. How Alexander came to his death, soon after he succeeded his father as sachem, we have just related. From that time Philip was the head of the tribe.

Philip was watched, as his brother had been, with anxiety and suspicion. In the intervening years, before war actually broke out, there were on both sides provocations enough to keep up the angry irritation of the old wounds, which were never closed, however hidden. In 1671, some strolling Indians murdered a white man near Dedham in Massachusetts. The connivance, if not the instigation of Philip, was suspected; but an Indian, the son of a Nipmuck sachem, was tried and executed. Boston called upon Philip to explain his position, and to allay if he could the jealousy which was created by the rumor that he was preparing arms of all kinds, and collecting ammunition. Taunton Green was designated as the place

[1] Increase Mather's *Brief History of Philip's War*. Drake's *Book of the Indians*.

for an interview. His party approached in war-paint and fully armed; but, perceiving that the Boston party was large and also armed, they paused on the ridge of a hill. The English hesitated to go further, and insisted that Philip should advance to the appointed spot. They could only overcome the distrust of the natives by leaving hostages with them during the interview, which, it was mutually agreed, should take place in the meeting-house. One half of the sanctuary was filled by the painted warriors, with feathered crests and beaded trappings, — sombre, silent, wary. On the other side was the counterfoil of Englishmen in broad hats, muskets slung in bandoliers, cuirasses, and long rapiers, — a picture from the age of Cromwell. Never before or since did the plain roof of a New England meeting-house cover a contrast so highly colored in costume and idea. In those pews, Boston compelled Philip to promise to deliver up all the English arms in the possession of his tribe. Slowly and reluctantly they came in afterward, and the compulsion rankled sorely. To the feeling of the natives it seemed an aggression which they were always trying to match in various petty ways. It was clear to Philip, in 1674, that he must begin to look around for allies.

The conference with the Indians at Taunton.



Philip's Chair.

There was an Indian of the name of Wussausmon, who was one of Eliot's disciples. His name was pronounced Sausamon by the English. John Sausamon went freely to and fro among the Indians, and was even trusted by Philip. John observed the inevitable drift of the native feeling, and warned the Plymouth men. For this, it was supposed, he was murdered in the winter of 1675, near Middleborough Pond, and his body thrust into a hole in the ice. His trappings were left lying near the edge, and conveyed at first the impression that he had fallen through. But when the body was recovered, marks of violence were found upon it. Three Indians were caught, tried by a jury of six white men and six Indians, and executed for this deed. Apparently there was some reason for doubting that there had been any murder, or, if there had been, that the real murderers had been discovered. "Many wish," wrote Roger Williams, "that Plymouth had left the Indjans alone, at least not to put to death the 3 Indjans vpon one Indjan's testimony." Whether Philip meditated war or not, the anger of the Indians could have hardly failed now to push him into one.

Philip prepares for war.

Accordingly, on June 24, 1675, — a day that had been appointed for a fast that the horrors of war might be averted, — the unsuspecting people of Swansea, who were just going home from the meeting, were attacked. One man was killed, and others wounded; the two men who were despatched for a surgeon were killed. Six other men near the garrison were killed and horribly mutilated. Some barns and houses were burned.

The attack at Swansea.

At this time the New England villages were scattered over a large area. Emigrants had gone from Connecticut as far as Deerfield; the remotest western settlement was Westfield. Haverhill was on the frontier; Lancaster and Brookfield were isolated settlements. Leverett was governor of Massachusetts, Winslow of Plymouth, John Winthrop of Connecticut and New Haven. At first the war was confined to the Plymouth Colony. At Middleborough, Taunton, Dartmouth, Rehoboth, and elsewhere much property was destroyed and many were killed. Rehoboth was most unfortunate, for its houses, barns, and mills were all burnt. Its vicinity to Mount Hope, the home of Philip, may have made it peculiarly the object of hostility, for five times in the course of the war its homes were made desolate. Rhode Island, though not approving the war, was nevertheless involved in the general calamity. Houses were burned and several persons killed at Pocasset — now Tiverton — in July; a few days before eighteen houses were destroyed in Providence. It was probably then that the savages laid waste the place of William Blackstone, on the banks of the Seekonk, a few miles from Providence. Here, on the spot which he named "Study

Other settlements attacked.



Philip's Seat at Mount Hope.

William Blackstone.

Hill," the first white settler of the peninsula of Boston as well as of Rhode Island, had built a house and planted an orchard and found a refuge for his old age from the turmoils of the time and the "lords brethren" of Massachusetts. His rest was undisturbed by the savages, for he had died a few weeks before and been laid in a quiet grave — still to be seen — among his apple trees.

In August the General Court proposed to negotiate a peace with the Nipmucks — or Nipmets — who lived on the northern tributaries of the Thames. The result was a disastrous fight at Brookfield, near which the conference was to be held. No Indians were to be found at the place appointed, and Captain

The fight at Brookfield.



Blackstone's Study Hill.

Wheeler with twenty troopers went in search of them. They had not gone far when they fell into an ambush; eight of the twenty were shot down, either killed or wounded, and among the latter was the captain. Those who escaped regained Brookfield by a circuitous path, and gave the alarm.

There was hardly time to hurry the people, men, women, and children, to the number of seventy, into the one house capable of defence, when the village was filled with three hundred yelling savages. They set fire to every house and its surroundings, save only the one in which the English had taken refuge. That needed to be approached with more caution.

The attack was begun. It was furious, determined, and incessant for two days and nights. Shot were poured in from all sides; against the walls of the house fires were kindled; crevices and projections were sought for with fire-brands tied to poles; roof and walls were

pierced with arrows around which were wound burning rags filled with sulphur. But every attempt to get into the house, or to drive out its brave garrison, was met and baffled. By sorties the most threatening fires against the walls were put out; water was poured, in spite of risk, upon the burning sulphur as fast as it fell upon the roof; every stratagem was met with some more cunning device; the savages were glad of the shelter of the forest against the desperate bravery of men who were fighting for their wives and children.

On the third day a new and most alarming stratagem was resorted to by the assailants. They contrived a sort of cart on which were piled bundles of flax, and hay and hemp and any other combustible material on which they could lay their hands; and this machine, all ablaze with mounting flames, they thrust with long poles against the building. The strait was desperate. Either the besieged must submit to cruel death by fire, or face the hardly less cruel alternative of fighting hand to hand, surrounded by women and children, with their savage enemy who outnumbered them more than three to one. But fortunately before they were compelled to make their choice between these desperate measures, a sudden and heavy shower of rain extinguished the fires, and made a repetition of the experiment impossible.



Blackstone's Grave.

Before the day was over Major Simon Willard of Boston, who, on the march westward, had been intercepted by a messenger the besieged had contrived to send off, dashed into the town with between fifty and sixty men. They attacked the Indians with spirit, and before day-break the next morning, they had all disappeared. Not only were the Brookfield people saved, but so successful had been their defence that eighty of the Indians were killed and wounded.

Spread of the war.

The emissaries of Philip were ubiquitous. They stirred up the Indians of the Connecticut valley, and even at length succeeded in influencing the baptized Indians, for blood is thicker than water. Men went to meeting with their arms; ammunition was stored in the meeting-houses; each man furnished himself, under a penalty of two shillings for each neglect, with at least five charges of powder and shot. Flint locks were in general use here

before they were known in England, the new exigency of Indian warfare turning the matchlock into a musket.

Hadley on the Connecticut was an important frontier post, and a place of deposit for military supplies. On the first of September, a month after the burning of Brookfield, the Indians took advantage of the absence of most of the garrison, to attempt its destruction. It was a fast-day, and the people were in the meeting-house when the alarm was given. The men seized their arms, which were ready to their hands; but even the hands of men as brave and determined as they were may have trembled a little, when they looked at their women and children huddled together in a building which was incapable of any defence from within, and when they listened to the war-whoops of savages more pitiless than wild beasts. It seemed to them, it may be, that they could only die; that with such odds against them there could be no hope of repelling the enemy; that the sight of their helpless families unnerved rather than inspirited them. They defended rather than attacked; they looked over their shoulders at the cowering figures behind as often as at the savages who pressed nearer and nearer in front. They wavered and fell back; upon the action of a moment of time hung the result of the fight and the fate of the whole village.

Hadley attacked.

Suddenly there stood among them a man almost aged, but of a soldierly bearing and commanding presence. He drew his sword as one who knew how to use it; he put himself at the head of the men as his natural and proper place. Whether he spoke or not, words were hardly needed, for he marched forth as a captain. There was the quick response of men who did not want courage but needed leadership. They rallied, as certain now of driving back the savages as before they were doubtful of successful defence. It was defence no longer, but attack. Under the impulse of vigorous command sprung hope and energy in place of despair. Wherever this calm and brave soldier would lead they would follow. There was much, no doubt, in the strangeness of this sudden apparition of a captain when all would be speedily lost without one; there must have been still more in the commanding aspect, the confident assumption of power, the quiet intrepidity of the man, that made him at once accepted and obeyed.

Sudden appearance of Goffe the Regicide.

The tide of fight was turned. The savages fell back, — then fled, the impetuous English pursuing them to the woods. When the sound of the retreat had died away, the men gathered together again in the village; but he who had led them to victory was not among them; he had gone as suddenly as he had come; whence he came none knew, and none saw him go away.

Such is the story as tradition has handed it down. There is no reason for doubting its essential truth, though the imagination of successive narrators may have made a romance of a natural though effective incident. The regicide, Colonel Goffe, was at that period concealed in the house of Mr. Russell at Hadley, and the old soldier certainly would not see the villagers getting the worst of the fight with the Indians if his presence and bravery could prevent it. He



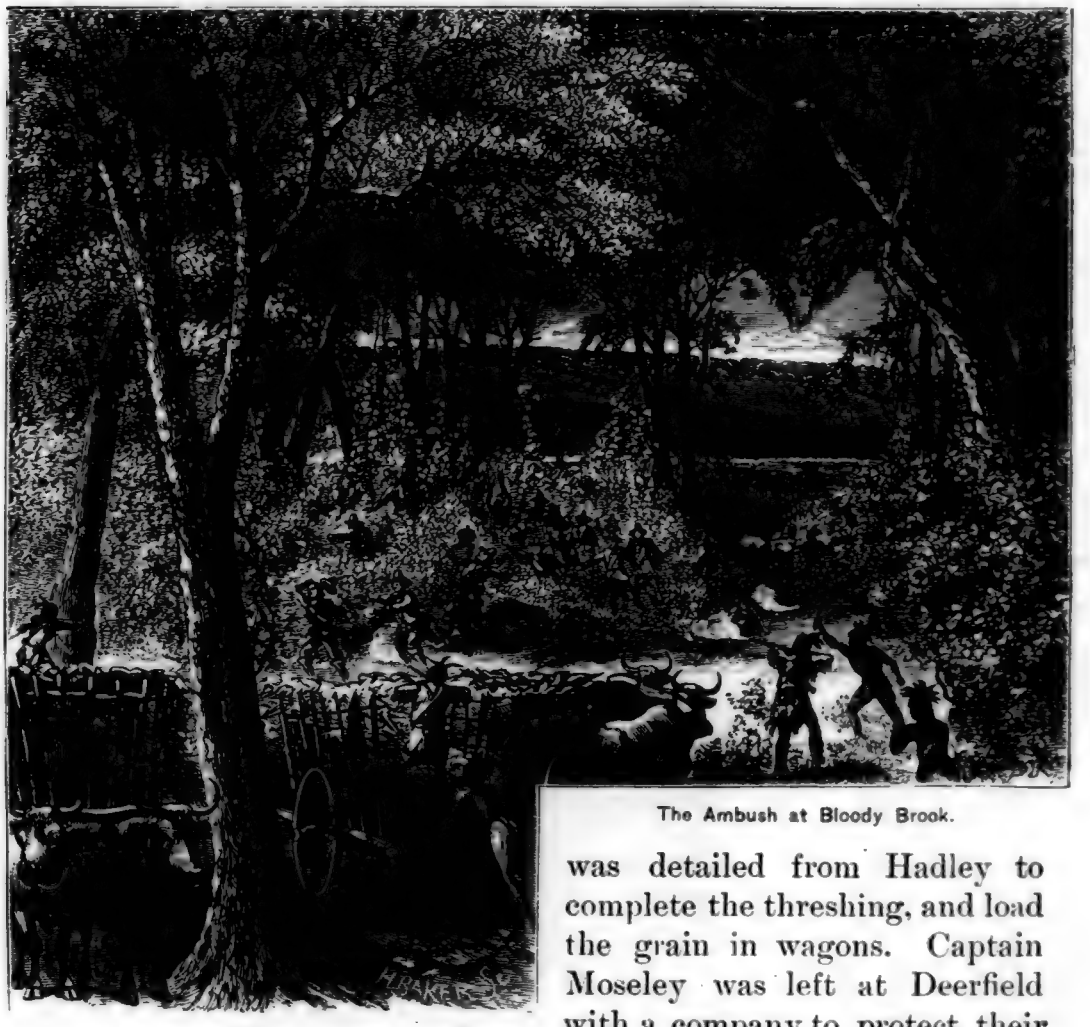
Goffe at Hadley.

may have seemed to his countrymen almost a supernatural visitor when he appeared so suddenly among them, and the impression would be deepened when he as suddenly vanished. That Goffe was concealed in Hadley was probably unknown to the people, for though there was, perhaps, no wish on the part of the magistrates to surrender the regicide, had the place of the retreat of himself and Whalley been publicly known, there would have been a legal obligation for their capture not easily evaded.

September was a fatal month. At Deerfield, on the same day that Hadley was attacked, several houses and barns were burnt, and two

men killed. The block-house at Northfield was besieged after a dozen men had fallen and the dwelling-houses were burned. Captain Beers, going with thirty men to its relief, was ambuscaded and killed with twenty of his men. Deerfield was again attacked; the people were fired on as they were going to meeting, and their houses burned. The farmers in their flight had left a quantity of grain unthreshed. A company of eighty picked men, the flower of Essex, under the command of Captain Lathrop of Ipswich,

Renewed attack on Deerfield.



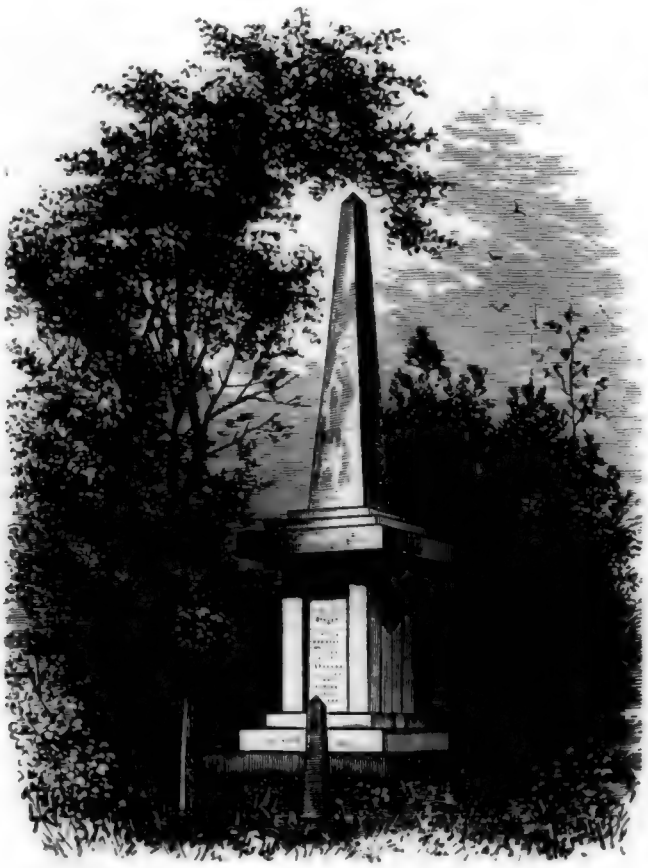
The Ambush at Bloody Brook.

was detailed from Hadley to complete the threshing, and load the grain in wagons. Captain Moseley was left at Deerfield with a company to protect their rear. Early on September 18, Captain Lathrop, returning to Hadley, halted his command in a fair grove watered by a brook, a few miles from Deerfield; the men broke their ranks and loitered to and fro, thrown off their guard by the allurements of the cool and pleasant spot.

The savages had been all night upon the trail, waiting for such an opportunity. Seven hundred of them, sheltered by the trees, delivered a fire so destructive that Lathrop and all but seven of his men

were killed. By this massacre the clear brook acquired its name of Bloody.

While the savages were hilariously engaged in scalping the troops, Captain Moseley, who had heard the firing, hurried to the spot, charged the savages repeatedly, going through them with great slaughter, and maintaining his ground against the superior numbers, from eleven o'clock till evening, when Major Treat arrived with one hundred men and sixty Mohegans, and the Indians were driven off with great loss and pursued for some distance. All day long Captain Moseley lost only two men and eleven wounded.[1]



The Monument at Bloody Brook.

After this disastrous autumn it was resolved to strike the headquarters of the Indians in the country of the Narragansetts, who were secret allies of Philip. Massachusetts furnished five hundred and twenty men, Plymouth one hundred and fifty-nine, and Connecticut three hundred: there were in addition one hundred and fifty Mohegan Indians. Governor Winslow of Plymouth was appointed commander of the expedition.

The fort of the Narragansetts was in South Kingston, Rhode Island. It was built upon five or six acres of dry ground, encircled by a swamp, and was very formidably defended with palisades and a chevaux-de-frise, a rod in thickness, of felled trees. The troops

[1] Athwart the terror of those years there falls a single gleam of grotesque humor from Bloody Brook. When Captain Moseley came up with the Indians as they were collecting spoils and scalps, he coolly took off his periwig and stuffed it into his breeches, to be in better fighting trim. This action startled the Indians, one of whom exclaimed, "Englishman got two heads? Me cut off one, he got noder, put it on beter!" Drake (*Old Indian Chronicle*) has the report that some of the Indians disappeared in consequence of this occurrence. But Moseley's fresh muskets were more demoralizing than a head that was too indefinite to yield a scalp.

marched through a deep snow, reaching the vicinity of the fort early on December 19, and attacking it at four in the afternoon. There was but one entrance, and to reach it the men had to get over a log breast high, under fire from a block-house or shelter. The fire was so heavy that the Massachusetts men, who were first to enter, were obliged to retreat. At this time Captains Johnson, Davenport, and Gardiner, of Massachusetts, and Gallop, Seely, and Marshall, of Connecticut, were killed. By another desperate onset, a party, under Captain Benjamin Church, managed to get into the rear, which was not so elaborately defended, and entered the place, Church receiving three bullets. Then it became a

Expedition into the Narragansett country.



Attack on the Narragansett Fort.

driving hand-to-hand fight, the six hundred wigwams were set on fire, — a blunder, however, against which Church in vain protested, for they were filled with corn. The savages were driven out through the swamp into the open country, after a desperate and bloody contest. About seven hundred Indians were killed, including twenty chiefs. Of a great number of wounded, three hundred died. Many old men, squaws, and children perished, some of them in the flames. All the utensils and great store of corn were burnt. That winter's day had a lurid sunset. The Connecticut troops alone lost eighty men.[1] It was a great blow, but not a decisive one, for Philip was yet alive.

[1] *Connecticut Historical Collections.*

The next year the war was again transferred to the interior of Massachusetts. Lancaster was attacked in February, 1676, by the Wachusett Indians. One of the sachems had married the sister of Philip's wife, and also had another squaw, who was the widow of Wamsutta. The Lancaster tragedy was made memorable by the story of Mrs. Rowlandson's captivity. Her youngest girl, six years old, was wounded in the attack upon the garrison house, and died on the eighth day. The brave woman had toiled through the snowy swamps and forests with her child in her arms, subsisting upon ground nuts, acorns, old bones, horses' ears and entrails, frogs and rattlesnakes, compelled to witness the stealthy and ferocious attacks on other places, returning finally to Mount Wachusett, where she was redeemed for £20.

The war in Massachusetts. — Mrs. Rowlandson.

The Indians had taken possession of the deserted acres of Deerfield and were planting them. A large body of them was camped around the falls, which earned a name from that Captain Turner who here made himself famous. When this news was brought in by escaped captives, Turner, who had succeeded to the command of the forces in the valley, gathered one hundred mounted men at Hatfield for a night ride of twenty miles across the country through Whately and Deerfield. An Indian lodge was roused from sleep by hearing the noise of their march, but discovering no hoof prints at the ford, which Turner had avoided, concluded that a herd of moose had crossed the river. The sound of Turner's approach was deadened by the sound of the rapids which were four miles further up the stream. He found the main encampment, therefore, fast asleep, close to the overhanging rocks, just at daybreak of May 10. The horses had been left in a ravine below, and the troops marched a mile or two to gain the rear of the Indians, who had neglected to post a guard. The surprise was complete. Many of them took to their canoes, but left the paddles behind and went over the falls. Many were shot in attempting to cross the river. Many hid among the rocks and were killed by the sword. After the fight one hundred Indians lay dead, one hundred and forty were counted as they went over the falls, all of whom but one perished. Over three hundred Indians had been destroyed. Turner's loss was a single soldier.

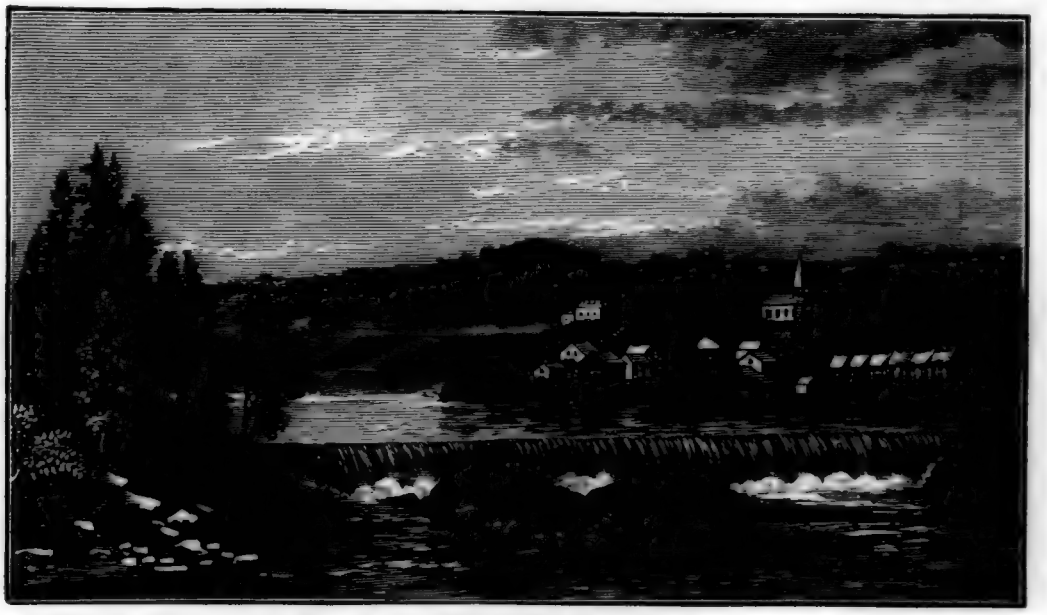
Turner's Expedition

But another party of Indians, not far off, heard the noise of the fight and were soon on Turner's tracks. Then commenced a disastrous retreat. A panic seized the troops, on a rumor that Philip was at hand with a thousand men. Captain Holyoke took command of the rear-guard and checked the pursuit. Turner was killed; a large number of his men were cut off; but Holyoke reached Hatfield

safely with the main body. The excitement and fatigues of that day, however, cost him his life, as he died not long after.

Among the earliest of the Indian chiefs to turn against his old friends, and take part with Philip, was Pumham. In this fight at Turner's Falls, he was conspicuous in the pursuit of the English for his bravery and great strength. Two months later, he was found lurking, half starved, with a few followers, in the Dedham woods, near Boston, where he was killed, fighting desperately after he was mortally wounded.

This disaster at Turner's Falls was a great blow to Philip, for it broke up his fishery at that place, by which he intended to provide himself for the winter. Many of his best sachems had been slain.



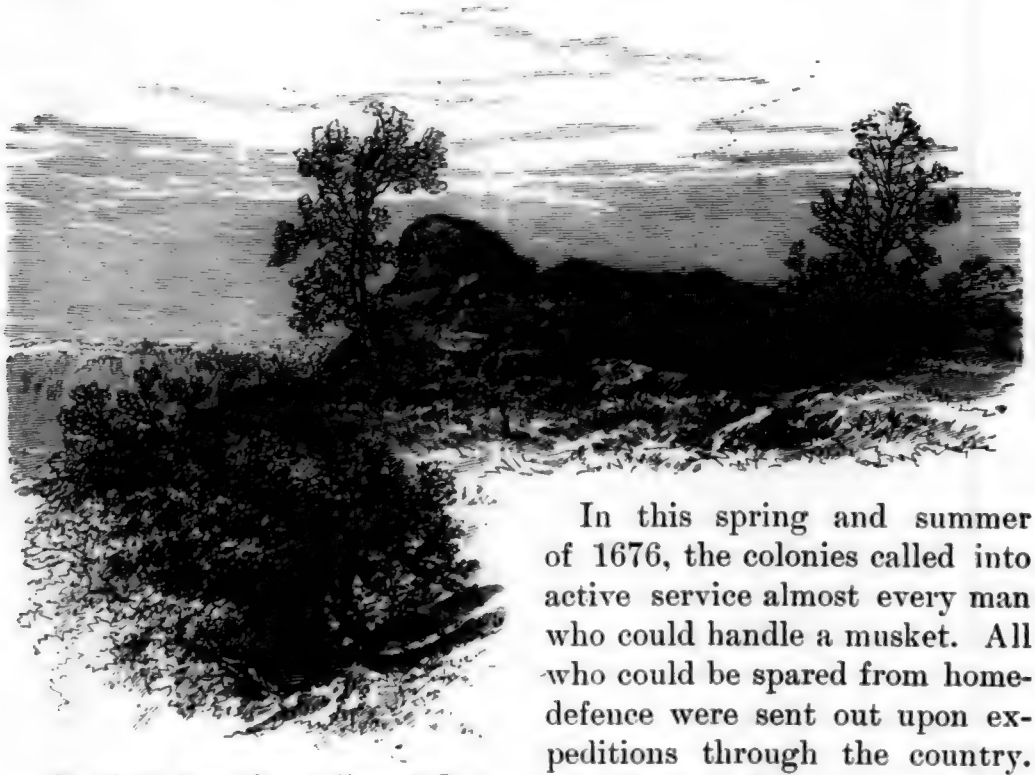
Turner's Falls.

He attempted reprisals by an attack upon Hatfield, but a reinforcement from Hadley defeated the savages, killing twenty-five of them. Hadley was again beset by a band of seven hundred Indians, but they were repulsed with heavy loss. Captain Henchman at one place, and Major Talcot at another, were equally successful in defeating and killing a number of the Indians.

Further fights at Hadley and elsewhere.

The garrison at Northampton was largely reinforced, and it became clear to Philip that he could not hold the valley. The war was again shifted to the south. Seekonk, Plymouth, Bridgewater, Scituate, and many other places, were partly sacked and burned. Through the spring and summer all Southern Massachusetts, and the contiguous settlements in Connecticut and Rhode Island, were kept in constant alarm. The settlers knew that the savages might at any moment be

lurking in the woods about their homes, with a tread as stealthy and still as that of a tiger, and thirsting, as tigers thirst, for blood. By night and by day, in the field, at the work-bench, in the meeting-house pew, the thing nearest to each man's hand was his musket. The peculiar qualities which gave the Indian a certain superiority as a hunter and a warrior, were his no longer. Stern necessity had compelled the white man to learn from his enemy and improve on what was taught. And the women were as brave as the men, as fertile in resources, as quick in defence, as enduring in captivity, when captivity happened to be their lot. Thrilling stories of defence, escape, rescue, stratagem, still make the legendary lore of that whole region.



Site of the Squaw Sachem Magnus's Fort.

In this spring and summer of 1676, the colonies called into active service almost every man who could handle a musket. All who could be spared from home-defence were sent out upon expeditions through the country. Notwithstanding the superiority of the whites, the aspect of affairs was sometimes almost desperate, for there was more than one signal disaster. Thus Captain Wardsworth, going to the relief of Sudbury, in Massachusetts, which had been partly burnt, was entrapped in an ambush, and he, and about sixty of his company of eighty men, were killed. The fate of Captain Pierce's company of fifty Englishmen and twenty friendly Indians was even worse. The enemy surprised them, and only one of the Englishmen and but a few of the Indians escaped. There was as little mercy on one side as on the other. Nanuntenoo, the son of Miantonomo, was almost as much feared as Philip himself. Great was the rejoicing when the news was spread abroad that he who it

was supposed had led in the attack on Pierce, had been taken prisoner and immediately executed. "I like it well," said the brave chief; "I shall die before my heart is soft, or have said anything unworthy of myself." But on neither side was there an act of more signal vengeance than that of Major Talcot, who, with a force of three hundred mounted men, — English and Indians — overtook a body of nearly the same number of Narragansetts in a swamp in their country. Those who were not killed in the first assault were made prisoners, and ninety so taken were put to death. Among them was the Squaw Sachem Magnus, whose fort was on a hill in the present town of North Kingston, Rhode Island.

The Indians themselves were the first to show that the strain was too much for them. Plymouth had put the conduct of military affairs almost exclusively into the hands of Colonel Church, and his uniform success had aroused a dread of him among the Indians, as much as it inspired the confidence of his own people. He was more than a match for the Indian in cunning as well as courage; could meet him and beat him where he thought himself strongest; detect him in ambush, or lead him into one; overcome him by strategy, or defeat him when hand to hand in open fight. When the savage doubts and hesitates, he is lost. If success ebbs, there is no returning flood. The loss in chiefs and warriors weakened and disheartened the Indians, and large expeditions were abandoned. To distract pursuit, they broke up into small parties, and continued only a predatory warfare. Philip himself retreated to the hill and isthmus of Mount Hope.



Church's Sword.

The chief was at last in desperate strait. Twice within a few weeks he had barely escaped capture or death. On one of these occasions his uncle was shot down at his side, the English soldier not recognizing Philip, who had cut off his hair to disguise himself; at another time, he avoided capture by a precipitate flight, abandoning his wife and children. Now he had reached his own home, hoping there to find concealment and safety.

Church was at Tiverton, when a savage, whose brother had just been killed by Philip for counselling submission to the English, came and offered to betray his chief. He and his men, the deserter said, were on a bit of upland at the south end of the swamp at the foot of Mount Hope. The place was well known to Church. When this intelligence reached him he started at once for Mount Hope, arriving there about the middle of the night. His arrangements were all

quietly and speedily made; so far as the number of his men permitted, every outlet from the swamp was guarded; then a company was sent in to arouse the camp.

The Indians were sleeping in tranquil security. One at length awoke, and was fired at; then a volley was poured into the camp. Philip jumped to his feet, and, seizing only his gun, sprang forward at his utmost speed. His flight was directly toward the spot where two of Church's men — an Englishman and an Indian — lay in ambush. Both raised their guns; the Englishman's missed; the Indian fired, and Philip fell forward dead in a pool of the swamp.

Essentially this was the end of the war, though some of the Indians, in small parties, held out a little longer. It had lasted for more than a year. Thirteen towns had been destroyed; six hundred buildings burned, countless numbers of stock of all kinds were lost; six hundred men killed in fights or murdered, and great numbers disabled by wounds. There was hardly a family without its scar of sorrow. But the power of the Indians in all Southern New England was destroyed for ever. Some escaped by flight into the western wilds where the white man had not penetrated; but many small tribes were obliterated; whole families had perished; many who were captured were sent to the West Indies, and dragged out the remainder of their miserable lives as slaves.



Ruins of Colonel Church's House.



THE DEATH OF PHILIP.



Portsmouth Harbor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

CHARACTER OF THE MAINE AND NEW HAMPSHIRE SETTLERS. — KITTERY. — GORGEANA. — THE NORTHERN COLONIES ABSORBED BY MASSACHUSETTS. — EARLY NEW HAMPSHIRE CHURCHES. — THE ISLES OF SHOALS. — HISTORY OF MASON'S NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANT. — THE CLAIMS OF HIS HEIRS RESISTED. — NEW HAMPSHIRE GOVERNORS. — INDIAN HOSTILITIES. — ATTACKS AT SACO, BERWICK, AND ELSEWHERE. — THE TREATY AT CASCO. — WAR RENEWED. — DOVER ATTACKED. — MURDER OF WALDRON. — CLOSE OF THE WAR.

THE settlers who came out to New Hampshire and Maine, under the patronage of Gorges and Mason,[1] were mainly royalists and adherents of the Church of England. The principal men were disposed to favor those feudal notions of manors, seignories, and ecclesiastical sees, which the two proprietors entertained. Captain Francis Champernoon, who bought of Gorges Gerrish's and Cutts's islands, near the mouth of the Piscataqua, and the place of whose burial upon Cutts's is still marked by the simple cairn of stones which he directed for his monument, was a distinguished royalist, whose ancestor, Richard, was a stout adherent of Henry VII. in his struggle with Richard II. The favor of the family at court is shown by an extant petition of Arthur Champernoon to Charles I., in 1634, about the Priory of Plimpton, which belonged to him in tail male, and which, in default of male

Early Maine and New Hampshire settlers.

Francis Champernoon.

[1] Vol. i., p. 333.

issue, would have reverted to the crown. He prayed for a grant of reversion to himself, and the petition bears the king's consent. The island, afterwards called Gerrish's, was at first called Dartington by his son Francis, from the name of a family castle upon the River Dart in Devonshire.

The town of Kittery.

Another place upon that English river was Kittery, which, in 1652, became the name of a town in New Hampshire, originally called Piscataqua, at a time when it included Eliot, South Berwick, and Berwick, which are on the eastern bank of the river, and now in Maine.

The "city" of Gorgeana.

In 1636, there were a few settlers at Agamenticus, as the territory was called, between the mountain of that name and the sea, which is now the township of York. Here an incorporated city was founded in 1641, on the old English plan, with a mayor and aldermen, and pompous revival of antique usage. It was called Gorgeana. The occupants of the land were to be subject to the proprietors as their tenants at will. Mason and Gorges did their best to transplant to America foreign fruits and the feudal manor. But of them all the grapes and the manor failed to effect a lodgment. The aristocratic principle could not take root and become New English any more than the varieties of slips which were intended for vineyards. But the English apple liked the soil, where it improved in size and flavor till it became the hardy symbol of New England. One of the apple trees which were brought over in tubs, in 1629, to start an orchard in York, has borne fruit ever since, till the year 1875, when it was cut down.



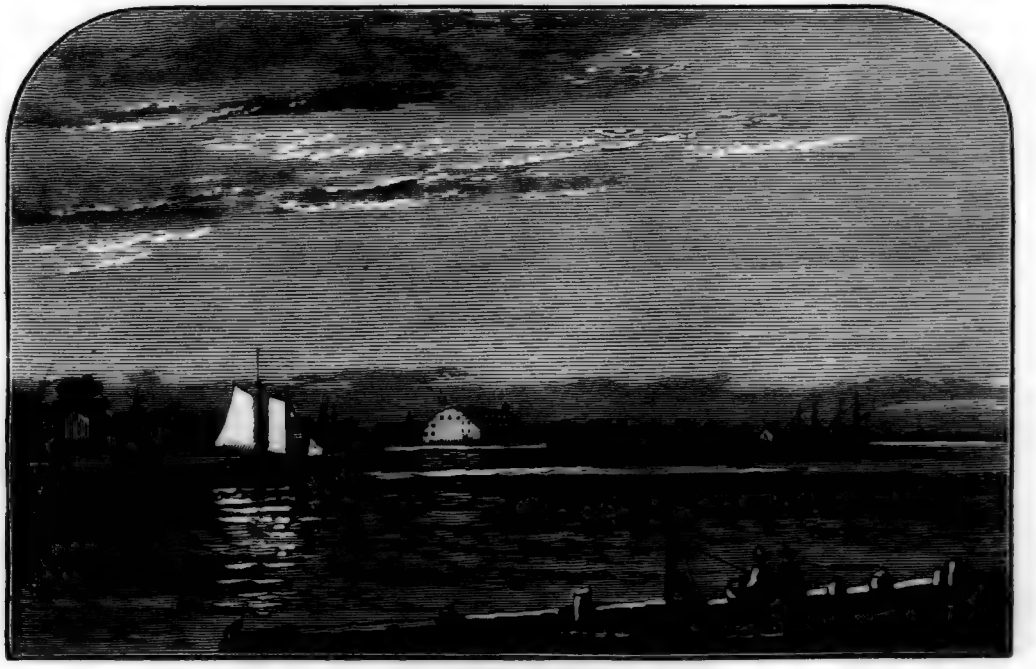
Champernoon's Cairn.

Ill-success of feudal methods in New England.

Many of the settlers, who came over to improve their fortunes, favored no prerogative but the personal one of earning their living. They did not relish any transfer of old abuses to the scene of their new venture. The proprietors were baffled and discouraged, because the popular opinion among men, who were bold and hardy enough to venture here, was decidedly hostile to privilege. The settlers were always trying to establish a system

of governing that should meet their local wants and circumstances, with the least possible encroachment from delay or vested rights. Mason aspired to be Lord of the Manor. The settler wanted to own his farm and fishing-stage. The dissensions which arose from the collision of the two interests, finally led a great number of the settlers, in 1641, to petition the General Court of Massachusetts to be included under its government; a popular tendency which, of course, was skilfully fostered by agents of the Puritans, who longed to exercise authority over the region where their enemies in religion and politics ruled, and all the disaffected sectaries took refuge. For Gorges and Mason were tolerant in religious matters, though staunch royalists and intensely feudal. They had, of course, no objection to the expectation that fishing and trading

Northern Colonies absorbed by Massachusetts.



View of Kittery, N. H.

might pay the expenses of colonizing and serve as an inducement to colonists. But while they were profoundly loyal to their own religious convictions, and to the customs of public worship which belonged to them, they were well disposed to welcome all men with freedom to worship God in their own way.

Richard Gibson, an Episcopalian, was the first minister of the Piscataqua parish at Portsmouth; and the people at Odiorne's Point came over the water between there and Strawberry Bank — as Portsmouth was first called — to hear him preach. A chapel was built for him in 1638. This appeared to be no religion at all to the Massachusetts men, who were prone to accuse

First church at Portsmouth.

their neighbors of cultivating tolerance solely for the sake of trade. Gibson, Winthrop said, "did scandalize our government, oppose our title to those parts, and provoke the people, by way of arguments to revolt from us." Therefore, they had him up before the General Court in Boston, extorted from him an acknowledgment of his offence; but, as he was about to leave the country, dismissed him "without any fine or other punishment." Mr. James Parker of Weymouth, "a godly man and a scholar," took Mr. Gibson's place. Parker was, of course, a Puritan, or Winthrop could not have thus commended him. He adds that the new minister was invited to come to Portsmouth by more than forty of her people, whereof "the most had been very profane, and some of them professed enemies to the way of our churches." Even so godly a man as Mr. Parker could do little with



View of Exeter, N. H

so perverse and backsliding a generation. The Governor bewails that "most of them fell back again in time, embracing this present world," — fell back, that is, into the slough of a non-Puritan church.

Wheelwright's settlement at Exeter.

When John Wheelwright was driven, in 1638, out of Boston for Antinomian opinion, he founded at Squamscot Falls, Exeter, a church, and at the same time a body politic, upon a purely democratic basis. Every man, without respect to his theological bias, had a voice in choosing rulers annually, and two assistants to each ruler. A similar social system was founded and prevailed at Dover. Two elements from the old country appear to have met in

New Hampshire. The settlers from London and Bristol seem generally to have favored the Church of England; those from the West Country were more inclined to non-conformity. There are traces of certain jealousies between the two parties, as when the agent of the Dover people claimed a point of land at Newington, and was resisted by the agent of Portsmouth. When the affair threatened to be serious, the employers of the agents had recourse to arbitration, and the point was amicably settled, though to this day it is called Bloody Point from the unsanguinary nature of the quarrel there.

When New Hampshire came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, in 1641, Wheelwright's policy was respected; he had the triumph of seeing the rights of his freemen without regard to their religion allowed by the colony which banished him. But he would not remain under its jurisdiction. He retired to Wells, in Maine; afterward he was permitted to preach at Winnicumett (Hampton). During Cromwell's protectorate he went to England, was admitted to an audience of his old college mate, the Protector, who received him with much consideration. Turning to the persons standing near, Cromwell said, "I remember the time, gentlemen, when I have been more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at foot-ball than of meeting any army since in the field." Wheelwright returned to New Hampshire, and died at Salisbury, in 1680.



Signature of Wheelwright.

Wheelwright was a stiff Calvinist. The men who exiled him held Calvinistic doctrine with a silent modification in favor of practical religion, and lived, as he said, mainly under a covenant of works. But he was a pure supporter of a Covenant of Faith. To his mind the doctrines of Election and Foreordination were absolute; they claimed his homage so entirely that he seemed to undervalue justification by works.

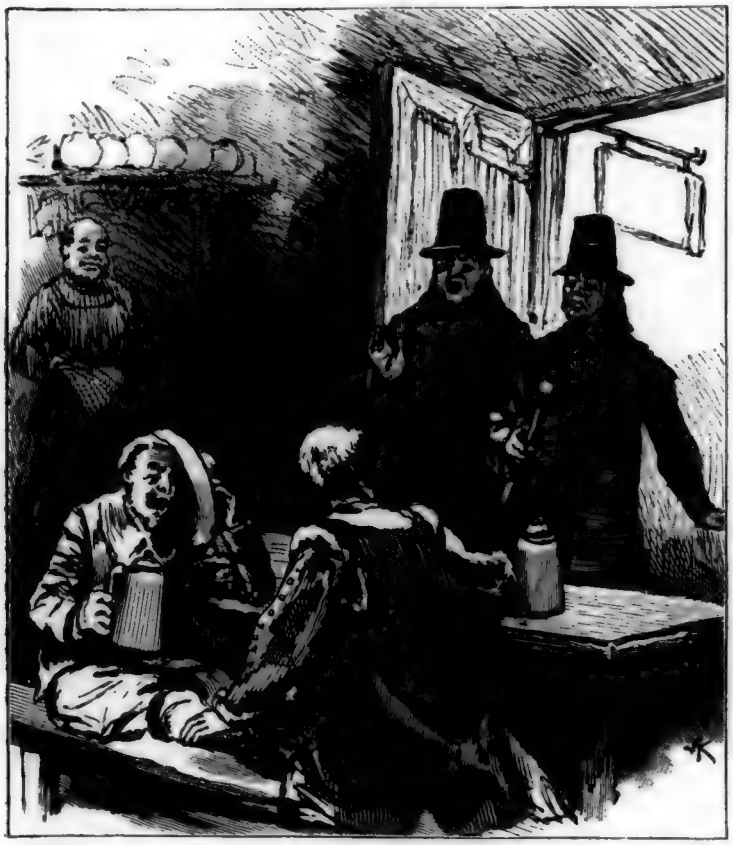
Notwithstanding the strong predilection for the Church of England, which the proprietary settlers brought with them, the principles of the Puritans soon prevailed in the colony, and fortunately brought it into greater sympathy with the Colony of the Bay. Winthrop and the rest used to regard the Piscataqua as another Rhode Island, that is, only a sink for Massachusetts, into which all malcontents, fanatics, royalists, and miscreants drifted. Some persons of a bad moral quality did indeed find it safer to go there, but also safer eventually to leave it. The colony was not so jealous of its strict brethren of the Bay as to countenance moral irregularities.

Puritanism in New Hampshire.

The spirit of antagonism was kept alive partly by the pretensions of Gorges and Mason, and partly by these theological differences. But the early Episcopalians of the Piscataqua were quite as sincere, and of a motive as honest as any other people in New England, though the man who should have said so in 1642, in Boston, would have been haled before the General Court.

Early legislation on church matters.

We find, as everywhere else in New England, a great deal of early legislation applied to church matters and customs. It was ordered, in 1662, that a cage be made by the selectmen, "to punish such as sleepe, or take tobacco on the Lord's Day out of the meeting in the time of publick exercise." The usual custom prevailed of seating the people in the meeting-house according to rank and consequence. When Mr. Moody was ordained, Captain John Pickering was appointed, on account of his great strength and commanding manner, to reserve seats for the distinguished guests and keep the congregation in order. But he let all the people in before service time on the ground that all men were equal in a house of God.[1]



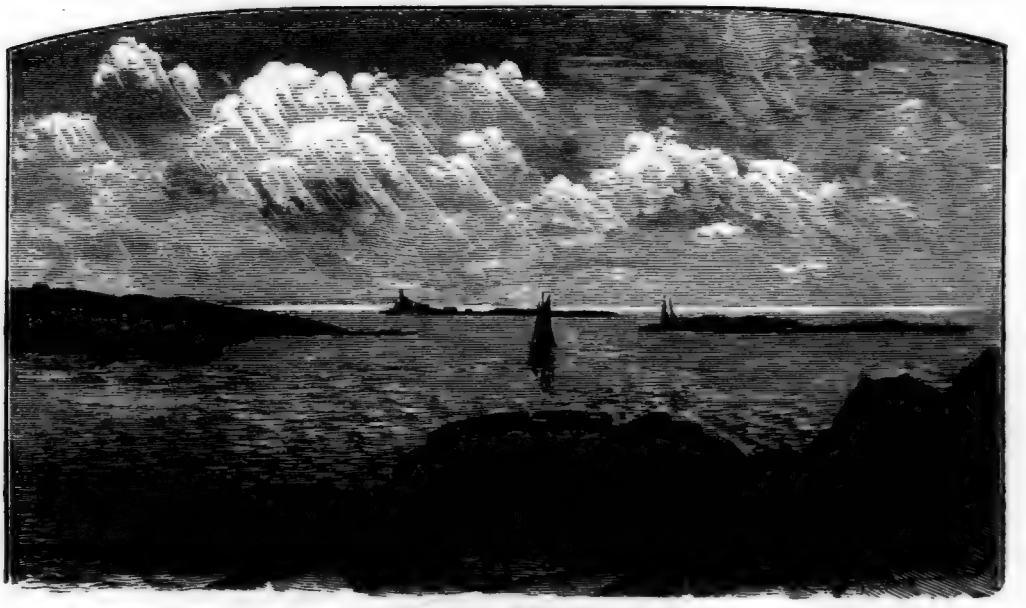
The Sabbath Inspection of Taverns.

The early records contain an order in town-meeting that "one householder or more walk every Sabbath day in sermon time with the constable to every Publick House in ye town to suppress ill order, and if they think convenient, to private houses also." It is also ordered, "for the prevention of fire or other dangers which may happen by smoking in the Meeting House, that every person soe smoking at any meeting in the Meeting House be fined." This alludes to the town meetings which were held in the early times in the single meeting-

[1] Rev. James De Normandie's *Historical Sketches.*

house belonging to the town. The names of common drunkards were furnished by the selectmen to every inn holder, who was then fined for selling liquor to them. A vote was passed that all persons should go over the ferry free upon the Sabbath. If strangers remained in town more than a day or two, they were obliged to give their names to the selectmen.

Cases of intolerance were quite rare in New Hampshire; they seem to have occurred chiefly while the colony was under the jurisdiction of the Bay. It was in 1662 that an occurrence already alluded to took place. Three Quaker women were sentenced to be publicly whipped at the cart's tail through several towns. The punishment was applied in two or three, when Walter Barefoot interfered, and prevailing upon the constable to surrender the warrant to him, released them. In 1656 there were several enactments against "a cursed sect of hereticks lately arisen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon themselves to be immediately sent of God."



The Isles of Shoals.

The Isles of Shoals, a group of seven rocky islets lying about nine miles southeast of the mouth of the Piscataqua, had in the seventeenth century an importance now hardly conceivable. These islands had been seen and visited quite early, but received no particular description. In 1610 Samuel Argall was driven by a storm upon the coast of Maine, and returned thence to Virginia with a cargo of fish which were caught in these waters, and perhaps cured upon the rocks of the Shoals. But we have definite accounts of them in 1614, by Capt. John Smith, whose opinion of them was slightingly

The Isles of Shoals.

expressed afterwards when they fell to his share in a division of territory under a patent of Gorges. He says, "No lot for me but *Smith's* Isles, which are a many of barren rocks, the most overgrowne with such shrubs and sharpe whins you can hardly pass them; without either grass or wood, but three or four short shrubby old Cedars."[1] These scrubby trees gave the name to Cedar Island; but John Winthrop had no other cause to write in his journal, "the Isles of Shoals are woody."[2]

The name would indicate that the group is encircled by shoals, like those which lie off Nantucket and in the neighborhood of Cape Cod; but there are only three or four outlying ledges which are distinctly marked by the breaking water. The sea deepens quite abruptly around all the islands, and it is evident that Captain Smith laid down upon his map several ledges as if they had been islands, making three or four out of Duck Island, for instance; so that perhaps the name of the group was derived from this number, as of a shoal of islets. It is more likely that the abundant shoals of fishes which attracted vessels thither gave it the name. But there is one authority which claims that the word *Shole*, in some dialect of the west coast of England, means cod-fish.

Ownership of the Islands.

The group was first included in a patent which Gorges obtained from the King in 1620; under it they belonged to Maine till 1652. It was in 1621 that the Council of Plymouth was summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, upon the charge that its charter for the settlement of New England was based upon a monopoly of fishing and trading, and included the right to lay taxes upon other parties; as Captain Smith complained, "those patentees procured a Proclamation, that no ship should goe thither to fish but pay them for the publike, as it was pretended, five pound upon every thirty tuns of shipping, neither trade with the natives, cut downe wood, throw their balast over bord, nor plant without commission, leave and content to the Lord of that division or Mannor: some of which for some of them I believe will be tenantlesse this thousand yeare."[3]

Politics and interest combined to make an effective, national grievance of this fishing question; and the principal fishing station was the Isles of Shoals. The Islands gradually lost their importance: new ports upon the coast were opened, trade became diverted to more thriving settlements, and vessels from Malaga and the West Indies sought safer harbors. When, in 1679, New Hampshire became a sep-

[1] Smith's *Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters* (Veazie's reprint), p. 39.
[2] Savage's *Winthrop's Journal*, ii., p. 418.
[3] Smith's *Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters*, p. 39.

arate Royal Province under the Presidency of John Cutts, the group was divided by a line running through the middle of the roadstead: then the northerly islands, Appledore, Smutty Nose and Duck reverted to Maine, the others came under the government of New Hampshire. This was the old partition agreed upon between Gorges and Mason, when the latter occupied the Piscataqua; and the division remains undisturbed to-day.[1]

Captain Mason's New Hampshire grant.

The history of Captain John Mason's proprietorship, by virtue of which he and his heirs claimed the ownership of all New Hampshire which lay west of the Piscataqua, with power to extort rent and taxes from the actual settlers, is interesting because it furnishes a most striking example of the way in which municipal and republican usage were developed in America. It must, however, be briefly told, because it was protracted clear through the seventeenth century.

In 1620 Gorges obtained a comprehensive patent, which covered all New England, described as then existing between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels of latitude. This was not only the basis of all the supplementary patents which were issued to different individuals, and empowered them to occupy their grants or claims, but it also furnished Gorges and Mason with their authority to assume, as they did afterwards, the control over the whole territory of the Massachusetts Bay and the Piscataqua. It provided for a General Governor, who should be a royalist, and for a form of worship after the ritual of the Church of England. As often as this scheme recurred it was of course vigorously resisted by the Massachusetts men. They viewed with dismay such a prospect of consolidating New England in the interest of royalism. But the charter clearly justified Gorges and Mason in the attempt to transfer their favorite scheme of government and religion to the New World. It was therefore that the Massachusetts people viewed it as a divine interposition when Captain

[1] Appledore is chiefly remembered as the place where William Peperell, a fisherman, first settled. Removing to Kittery, he became the father of Sir William, the hero of Louisbourg, and the first and only native New Englander (except possibly his own grandson) upon whom a baronetcy was conferred while the colonies belonged to England. Sir George Downing, who was also made a baronet, was not a native of New England; Sir William Phips was only a knight; Sir John Davie inherited his baronetcy; also Sir John Stewart; Sir John Wentworth was made a baronet after the separation of the colonies from England. — Sabine's *American Loyalists*. *Hist. Magazine*, vol. i., p. 150. It is claimed also (*Hist. Mag.*, p. 286), that Sir William Peperell's grandson, born a Sparhawk, whose name was changed to Peperell when he became the baronet's heir (a son having died), was created a baronet in 1774.

William Peperell did not relish the rough life at the island, and it is related that he and his friend Gibbons agreed to leave it in the direction which their canes took in dropping from the hand. Peperell's cane pointed toward Kittery, and Gibbons's toward Maine, whither he went and settled on land which was afterward covered by the Waldo Patent.

John Mason, who had been appointed Vice Admiral of New England in 1635, died during the same year. Then, as Winthrop said in his Journal, "all the business fell on Sleep." If the growing independence of New England had been checked by such a scheme in the interest of monarchy, the restraint would have only lasted until the English Commonwealth arose. Then its republican politics would have interfered to restrain the ambition of royal proprietors, and to confirm the Puritan tendency of New England.

Death of Mason.

But the heirs of Gorges and Mason clung tenaciously to the proprietary claim. In 1676 New Hampshire was still under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In that year the heirs perceived their opportunity, in the jealousy of Charles II. which had been long nursed against the independence of New England, to renew their claim under the old patent issued by the Council of Plymouth. When Charles II., who had been waiting several years for a pretext to interfere with the affairs of New England, sent Edward Randolph to Boston, the General Court was ordered to appear by deputy in England to defend its pretensions, on peril of judgment in case of disobedience. No remonstrance or delay could serve their cause; the deputies were obliged to repair to London. There it was decided that the Council of Plymouth never had the right to convey to Gorges and Mason, under a simple grant of territory, any absolute jurisdiction over New Hampshire. No municipal jurisdiction existed, therefore, that could be transferred to Massachusetts. It remained vested in the crown; a royal commission for the government of New Hampshire was issued, which restrained Massachusetts from its exercise of jurisdiction. John Cutts was appointed in 1679 the President of a council of nine to govern this royal province for one year.

Claims of his heirs.

New Hampshire a Royal Province. — Cutts Governor.

But at the same time it was decided that the heirs of Mason might claim the ownership of all the land which had been granted to Captain John Mason, in 1629, and occupied ever since by numerous tenants. These had purchased their estates from previous holders, had put toil and money into them, and therefore were in no humor to pay rent to a new claimant, or to take leases of him.

When a grandson of Captain John — Robert Mason, who had dropped his father's surname of Tufton, and assumed his maternal grandfather's — came from England, and claimed proprietorship, proposing to issue titles, receive back-rents, and extort sixpence in the pound upon all the improvements that had been made by the settlers for more than forty years, there followed endless complaints, great bitterness of feeling, and obstinate litigation. His stewards demanded rents with threats to sell the occupant's prem-

Robert Mason in New Hampshire.

isés over his head if the demands were not complied with. Sheriffs attempted to serve writs of ejectments, but the colonists united everywhere in the sturdiest resistance. There was little respect for proceedings at law, and quite as little paid to persons. Mason, in despair, returned to England to solicit a change in the administration of the Province, under which he hoped to renew his claim more successfully. Edward Cranfield was appointed Lieutenant-governor, with a council at whose head sat Mason, who undertook to contribute to Cranfield's support in office by mortgaging the province to him as security for an annuity of £150. Cranfield came out with the resolution of a Roman proconsul to make the province bleed.



Signature of Robert Mason.

Cranfield, Lieutenant-governor.

His preliminary proceedings, looking to the interest of the claimant, were so arbitrary, and inflamed the popular discontent to such a degree that riots broke out at Hampton and Exeter, started by Edward Gove, a hot-headed member of the Assembly which Cranfield had just illegally dissolved. No persons of importance joined him. He was arrested, tried, and condemned to death, as if his offence had involved high-treason. The Governor, fearing to execute the sentence, sent him to be put to death in England. This monstrous spectacle of the King's government carrying out the sentence of a provincial magistrate was prevented, partly, it is said, by the interference of Cranfield himself, who felt that his rule was too unpopular to be much longer tolerated.

As a few of the settlers consented to take leases of Mason, the Governor and Council concluded that among them a sufficient number of jurymen and sheriffs could be found willing to try cases for Mason and serve his writs. His law suits began; a dozen cases were sometimes disposed of in a day; but Mason could do nothing with the estates that lapsed to him. Cranfield's tax-bills developed even more resistance than Mason's writs of ejectment. Under provocation from these arbitrary measures, the people sometimes lost their temper, and opposed "swamp law to parchment law." The hard-worked women were as little disposed as the men to acknowledge Mason's bit of parchment as a needed title-deed, where the right had been won by the hard fight with a savage wilderness. They heated spits and prepared scalding water for a suitable ovation to the renegade settlers who had turned officers. One sheriff,

General resistance to Mason's demands.

who incautiously attempted to make an arrest during divine service, was floored by a damsel who brought the collective word of God to bear in one blow with a folio Bible; the whole parish joined the Church Militant upon the spot, and Cranfield's posse was dismissed.

The influence of non-conforming clergymen over public opinion was conspicuous during New Hampshire's royal episode. Cranfield



The Sheriff Resisted.

wrote to England that allegiance was impossible while the clergymen had the liberty of speech. Among them the figure of Moody, the Puritan minister of Portsmouth, stands stoutly forth in resistance to the politics of the Governor, who endeavored to silence him by enforcing the act against non-conformity. Cranfield issued an order that the ministers should admit all persons of moral life to the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and notified Moody that he should appear at the Lord's table the next Sunday, with the expectation that the Communion would be admin-

Ministers as popular leaders.

istered to him according to the liturgy of the Church of England. Cranfield knew that Moody would refuse. The minister was put upon trial, and notwithstanding the valid defence he made that he had not been episcopally ordained, sentence went against him, his living was forfeited, and he was sent to prison. Being afterwards banished from the province, he preached in Boston till 1692, when he could return to Portsmouth.

Cranfield was given leave of absence in 1685, and Captain Walter Barefoot was appointed Deputy Governor during his absence. His efforts, on behalf of the assumed proprietor, were quite as earnest as Cranfield's, but quite as futile. Mason was a lodger in Barefoot's house, and that intimate relation was unfortunate for both. Two sturdy yeomen, Thomas Wiggins and Anthony Nutter, called to see Mason one day, probably to expostulate with him upon the legal proceedings to substantiate his claims, by which they, in common with the colonists generally, were threatened with the loss of their long years of hard labor in making homes for themselves and their families.

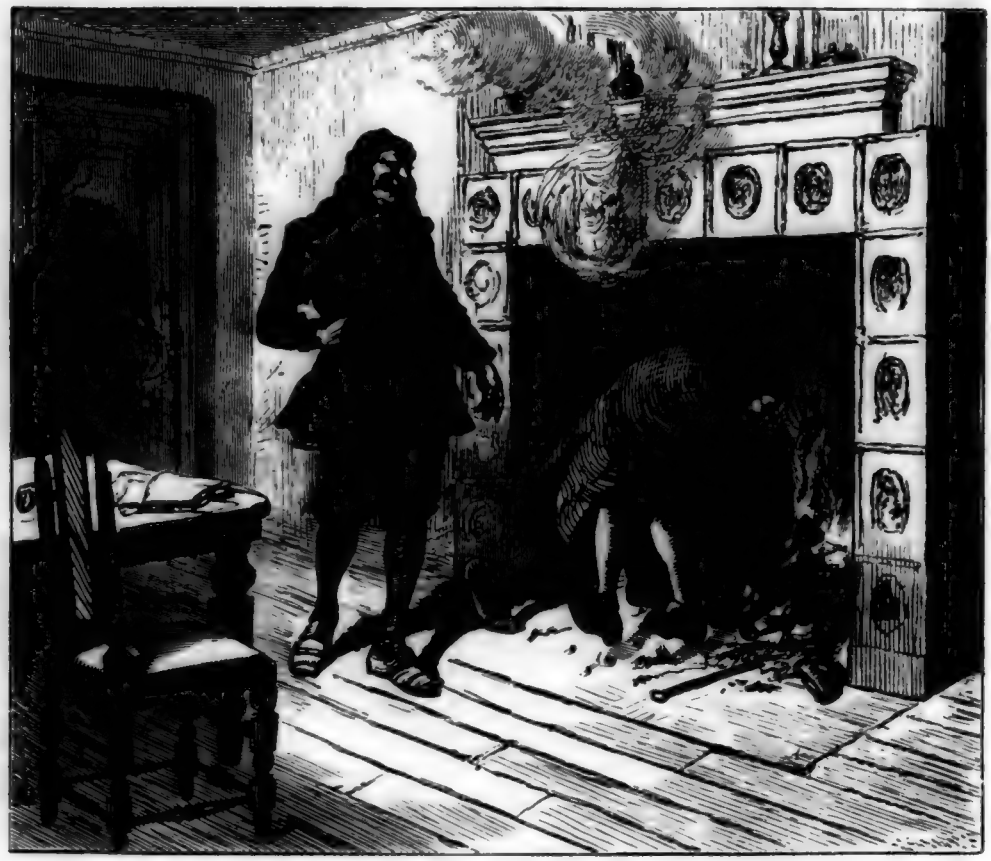
There was evidently little ceremony in the approach of these men even to a Deputy Governor and the assumed owner of all New Hampshire. Wiggins declared that neither he nor others cared "one rush" for Mason's claim; that he had no business in the province; that he had not a foot of land there, and never should have; and "did give" — says Mason, in an affidavit — "very abusive and provoking language." Both Barefoot and Mason ordered Wiggins to leave the house, and Mason, unfortunately, undertook to enforce the order. Wiggins seized him and tossed him into the fire; — not only tossed him into the fire, but sat upon him; — not only sat upon him, but grasped "his wind-pipe in high contempt of his majesty's royal authority, and against the peace of our sovereign lord the King," and "almost choked him." Barefoot rushed to the rescue; but him also Wiggins seized and tossed into the embers out of which Mason was crawling, and sat upon him so hard that he broke two of his ribs. Mason called for his sword, which, before he had time to draw, was taken away from him by Nutter, who had stood by hitherto laughing at the way in which his companion handled the official gentlemen. The maid screamed for assistance; the neighbors rushed in, but only, it seems, to snatch the Deputy Governor's velvet cap from behind the back-log, and to pick the live coals from his breeches, for clothes and periwigs were burning.[1] It was in this temper that the settlers met the assertion of right under a royal

[1] Affidavits in *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire*, vol. i. Compiled and edited by Nathaniel Bouton, D. D., Secretary of N. H. Hist. Society.

patent against the claim of personal ownership, bought with their own sweat and blood. How easy it is to discern in these encounters the fountain of that spirit of independence which, in another century, would break into a flood.

Usher Lieutenant-governor.

Robert Mason left his odious land-title to two sons, who sold it out to Samuel Allen, of London, who received a commission to govern the province. William of Orange appointed Allen's son-in-law, John Usher, Lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, to act during the absence of Allen. Usher was amiable, and

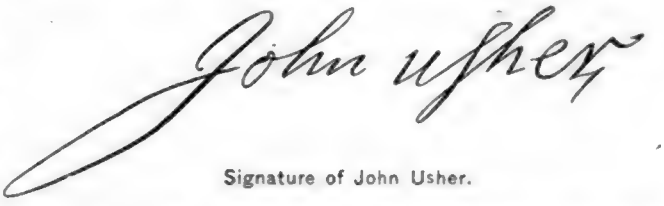


The Assault on Mason and Barefoot.

disposed to conciliate the province; but he was pledged to Allen, and the old distraining processes of Mason had to be renewed, but so ineffectually that Allen could not pay to Usher the annuity which had been promised to him. Usher had greatly excited the people by removing from his council two prominent men who were hostile to Allen's claim. During a visit which Usher made to Boston, the people privately dispatched an influential merchant, William Partridge, to London to solicit, in their name, the office of Lieutenant-governor. Partridge was successful, owing to private interest exerted in his behalf; and the councillors who were obnoxious to Usher resumed their seats at the council board.

Usher, at the beginning of his administration, found the actual possessors of land as unwilling to be ejected by writs issued under Allen's derived title as under Mason's original one. They were, at the very moment, defending their homes, with loss of life and property, against the attacks of the Eastern Indians. Smarting under the griefs and hardships of that warfare, living in constant uncertainty and dreading fresh outrages, they naturally resented this legal onset upon possessions which they could hardly hold against the savages. While the exposed settlements saw their barns and dwellings disappear in smoke, their kindred vanish into captivity, and precious lives laid down to maintain a colony, this fire in the rear was opened upon them by the official persons in Portsmouth.

Renewed difficulty as to titles.



Signature of John Usher.

It was important for Usher to obtain possession of the papers which preserved all the business connected with Mason's suits. They had been taken by force from the clerk who legally held them, and carried over to Kittery, to be concealed there. This was done in 1689, after the people in Boston had deposed Andros, and the colonies were expecting a new king and a change of administration. Usher attempted to recover them from the person who was prominent in their removal; but he, though imprisoned, refused to deliver them up except upon an order of the Assembly. It does not appear that such an order was issued; but Usher did at length get possession of the papers, which were restored to the custody of the clerk.



Signature of William Partridge.

But while Usher was in Boston, and when the party which was hostile to Allen's claim had put Partridge into office, the Assembly ordered the papers to be placed in the hands of a newly appointed recorder.

Allen, who was the actual Governor, came over in 1698, and assumed office; Partridge continued in his place as Lieutenant-governor, notwithstanding the remonstrance of Usher, who produced a letter from the Lords of Trade which directed him to hold his office till the arrival of the Earl of Bellomont. But Partridge's commission was held to be valid. The Earl had been lately created Governor of New York and the New England Provinces. He went first to New York and spent a year there, during which Allen's

Arrival of Allen.

administration only served to embitter the popular feeling; it was expressed in the resistance which the Assembly made to some of his measures, and so stubbornly that he dissolved it. The people hailed the appearance of the Earl in the summer of 1699, for they had then a Governor whose private interest was not involved in the proprietary title. He was able to entertain impartially the complaints of both parties. He advised the Assembly to reconstitute the courts which had been presided over by judges who were disposed to favor Allen's claim. Their commissions had been vacated. Now the Assembly passed an act reëstablishing the superior and inferior courts, and Partridge, as acting Governor in the absence of the Earl, appointed the judges.

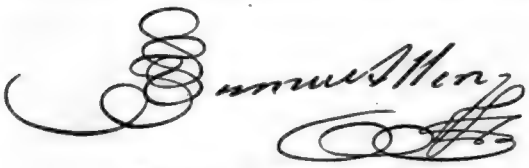
The Earl of Bellomont.

When the question came before the new courts, it was found that no record of any judgments in favor of Mason, and no trace of his taking possession under them, was in existence. New suits were brought, therefore, to test the claim of Allen, who did not succeed in winning one of them. Consequently he appealed to the King through the court. But the court held the Massachusetts doctrine that, under the old charter, no appeal through the court to the King was admissible. Allen was obliged to petition the King to grant him an appeal.

Progress of the litigation over Allen's title.

It would prove monotonous to recount at length the varying fortunes of this legal strife, so important to a large portion of New England. The King died, and Allen's appeal came before Queen Anne. Thus the great quarrel passed into the eighteenth century. Juries refused to find a verdict for the plaintiff. But the people were disturbed at the prospect, that litigation might at any time be renewed at the will of the representatives of Allen's claim. Therefore, through a meeting of deputies of actual settlers, a scheme for settlement was drawn, by which the inhabitants of townships should hold their lands absolutely free by quitclaim from Allen and his heirs, upon payment of £2,000, to be assessed upon inhabitants of townships, and an allotment of sundry acres of common land in the several townships.

A settlement proposed.



Signature of Samuel Allen.

It is probable that Allen, whose means had been all swallowed up in lawsuits and expenses of agents, would have accepted this composition; but he died before it could be presented to him. Of his assets falling to his son there was nothing but an opportunity to renew the litigation if the prospect pleased him. It was renewed in 1706 by a fresh writ of ejectment brought against Waldron, who was one of the largest landowners on the popular side,

and had been brought prominently forward, as his father was before him, to resist the title of Mason. Losing the suit, Allen appealed to the Superior Court, when a last supreme effort was made by both parties, and all the conflicting documents were displayed, including that famous and doubtful deed which four Indian Sachems, it was said, had made in 1629, to Rev. John Wheelwright and others, under which Wheelwright settled Exeter. Settlers of other places also held their land directly from the original native proprietors. Waldron's father thus possessed lands in Dover. It is not necessary to review the charters, grants, and decisions which supported the proprietary title, nor the arguments employed by the counsel on both sides. The jury found for the defendant, Waldron, a confirmation of the judgment of the inferior court; an appeal was made as usual; but before it could reach a hearing in council Allen died in 1715, and the memorable contest never was renewed.[1]



Signature of Waldron.

End of the contest.

The Indians who lived on the Piscataqua, the Merrimac, and around Lake Winnipiseogee, speaking a kindred dialect with the Abnaki tribes of Maine, were called Tarratines by the Massachusetts Indians. At some former period one original Algonquin language probably prevailed all along the coast of New England; but at the time of the white man's coming it had fallen apart with various modifications, influenced by the movements of separate tribes, by distance, isolation, and the fortunes of war. From the river St. George to the Piscataqua, and perhaps to the Merrimac, the tribes appear to have been once under the sway of the chief of the Wawenocks, the famous *Basheba*, a word that was either a title

New Hampshire Indians.

[1] Belknap's *History of New Hampshire.*

Mason's direct heirs were so reduced in fortune that we find a Tufton Mason living with his mother obscurely in Boston, in 1713. One day the son, rummaging in an old cabinet hit upon a secret drawer in which a signet ring was concealed, that bore the arms and motto of the Tufton family. The head of the Tufton branch was the Earl of Thanet, and the young man determined to earn money enough to take him to England, that he might there prove his connection. He went to sea as a common sailor and worked his way up to be the mate of a ship. Finding himself in an English port, with a respectable outfit, he inquired his way to the Earl's mansion, and bade the porter announce him as an American. Upon being admitted, he said, "My Lord, I am one of your Lordship's kindred," and produced the ring, which bore the motto, "*Ales volat propriis*," the bird flies to its kind. The Earl accepted the claim which was thus made upon his relationship, became interested in Mason, procured his education, and then a commission in the army. He was a major of marines at the taking of Senegal from the French, was made a colonel for gallantry, and then Governor of Senegal. He presented to St. John's Church, in Portsmouth, the beautiful font which was found among the French spoils. In this form the tradition of the old territorial Proprietor was gracefully transmitted by one of his landless descendants. MS. of John L. Hayes, Esq., *Traditions of a Royal Province.*

of some prominent chief, or his name which became a title. His head-quarters were on the Sagadahoc. The Penobscots had attacked the tribe and destroyed the supremacy which it exercised both to the eastward and westward. Then the different sachems found themselves unmolested in their local authority over their respective tribes; but though independent of the Eastern Indians they were still exposed to raids, and dreaded the restless and warlike temper of the Penobscots. The Mohawks also frequently attacked the New Hampshire Indians, and a great defeat, which was sustained by the Penacook Indians near the present Concord, was remembered with dread.[1]



View on Lake Winnipiseogee.

The four sachems mentioned in Rev. John Wheelwright's deed as sellers of land to him were Passaconaway of Penacook ("place of the ground-nut," now Concord), Runawit of Pentucket (at the falls of the Merrimac), Wahaugnonawit of Squamscot, now Exeter, and Rowls of Newichawannock, now Berwick. Of these sachems Passaconaway was the most influential; the other sachems and the natives around Lake Winnipiseogee deferred to his counsels. He was a great medicine-man, skilled in all the charms and occult practices of

The sachems named in Wheelwright's deed.

[1] The Indians loved to settle around falls and profitable fishing places. They named parts of rivers rather than their whole length. Merrimac means the Place of Swift Water, and was applied to the rapids below Amoskeag. The latter word means fishing-place. Pawtucket means the Place of Deer. Piscataqua means Big-Deer Place, because deer were found in great numbers around the river in the interior. The elements of the word also enter into Pautuckaway. "When the inhabitants in that district became numerous enough to petition for an act of incorporation as a town, they sent a large deer as a present to the Governor, Benning Wentworth, who thereupon signified his wish that the new town should be called Deer-field." Wamesit was at the junction of the Concord and Merrimac rivers. Naumkeag was the fishing-place at the Falls. — Ballard's *Geographical Names*.

the Indian, and used them with great effect to preserve ascendency over the native mind. Some of the feats which were told of him have all the color and flavor of East Indian jugglery. Years afterward, when he was an old man, he confessed at a great feast that he had often tried his strongest spells against the white man, with a view to hinder his increase in the country; but as they invariably failed he had made up his mind that war would be a failure also, and counselled his young men not to engage in it. His influence, which preserved the early settlements from attack, may be partly credited to John Eliot "the Apostle," who came into his country on a missionary tour with Mayhew, and impaired his belief in the native sorcery, chiefly by convincing him of the efficacy of English drugs in the treatment of disease. In 1642, the settlements became alarmed to find Indians in the woods who were hunting with fire-arms, and a force visited the old chief to discover his intentions. But the alarm was groundless, except that the unwelcome discovery was made that a trader from Weymouth had been furnishing guns and powder to the natives. In fact they were provided with arms before 1628.

The Pequot war was waged at too great a distance to agitate the Eastern Indians. No common ground of offence then existed, no emissaries tampered with them. The New Hampshire settlements enjoyed immunity till 1675. Wonnelauset, the son of Passaconaway, was then the chief, though the old man was still alive; he lived, in fact, to be over one hundred years of age. Eliot conversed with the son at Pawtucket, now Lowell, Massachusetts, and found him well disposed toward the new doctrine. He said to Eliot that he was "quite willing to leave his old canoe and embark in a new canoe." But on the breaking out of Philip's war he fell under suspicion of the English, and a hundred men, under Captain Moseley, were sent to his village, at Penacook. At their approach the natives withdrew and hid in the woods, to avoid offence and collision. The soldiers wantonly burned the wigwams and their contents. But Wonnelauset did not undertake to retaliate for this injury. He withdrew all his people to the headwaters of the Connecticut that they might not be led into war.

Long-continued freedom of New Hampshire from Indian hostilities.

It is doubtful if Philip did anything to excite the Eastern Indians to hostilities. He had no need to lift his hand for that, because it was diplomatically fomented by French priests and officers. The old story of wanton outrage, remembered by the native while he bided his time, was repeated. Various kidnapping operations had not been forgotten. Supercilious acts were frequent enough; and a disparaging behavior galled the native pride. One day some sailors upset the canoe of the sachem Squando, in which were his squaw and an in-

fant, as they said, to see if the child had a natural gift of swimming. The frantic mother succeeded in rescuing the child, but it died of the shock. Quite naturally Squando made a note of it. The English annalists affect to talk about the malignant influence of this sachem, but outrages similar to this one, and a number of petty treacheries which did not reach the length of murder, are quite sufficient to account for the promptness with which the Indians availed themselves of the moment of Philip's war. There suddenly appeared a chance for bringing the white man to a reckoning when he was deeply involved in other directions.

The beginnings of hostile feeling.

The New Hampshire Indians in Philip's war.

The Indians around the Kennebec struck the first blow when their English neighbors, who dreaded the effect of the news from Philip,



The Sailors upsetting Squando's Canoe.

attempted to make them surrender their arms. Then a case or two of plunder and assault broke the long truce, and sufficed to bring on hostilities. The savages tasted their first blood at Falmouth, where an old man and seven of his family were killed and most barbarously mutilated, and two grandchildren carried off. When the Indian temper was thus aroused, and every pretence of accommodation thrown aside, devastation spread slowly but surely from place to place.

Hostilities begun.

The tactics of the savages were the same as in Massachusetts. They lay in wait for laborers in the field, for isolated parties that strolled out of the garrison-houses. They skulked behind people who were returning to a fortified place, and slipped in with them. At Saco they attempted to set fire to a garrison house by the same strat-

agem which Philip's men tried at Brookfield. Screened behind a wagon filled with combustibles, they pushed it up to the log-walls. Both attempts failed: the wagon in one case getting hopelessly mired, and in the other jerking suddenly into a rut and exposing the savages to the fire of the besieged. They seldom persisted in attacks which promised to be long and obstinate. Like the tiger, if the first spring missed the victim, they slunk away to make fresh attempts elsewhere. Fire and blood blazed their path as far as Exeter and Dover. At Newichawannock (Berwick), a servant-maid of eighteen who observed a party of Indians approaching Richard Tozier's house, bravely held the door till the rest escaped to the garrison-house: fifteen women and children were within. The Indians hacked down the door, and with it the girl, left her for dead, and pursuing the rest, caught two little children who could not get over a fence, and killed them. The girl recovered and lived to be quite old. A hundred Indians attacked this place again in October, when three soldiers were surprised and killed. Brave Roger Plaisted, going out with a cart and twenty men to recover the bodies, fell into another ambush. All his men and the frightened team ran back; he and two sons stood fighting and were slain. The example of their heroism made a wholesome impression upon the savages, who went on more cautiously, scoring their fury as far as Kittery; but by the end of 1675 as many as fifty settlers had been murdered, and many barns, mills, and houses burned.

Incidents of the war.

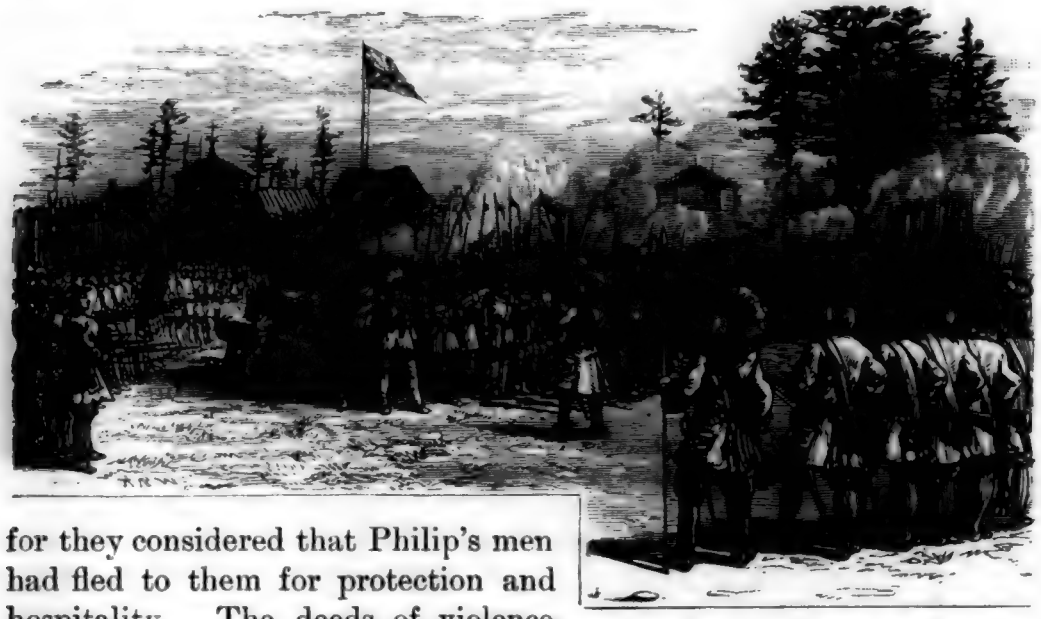
A severe winter with a great fall of snow compelled the Indians to suspend their designs. Hunger, too, proved to be an excellent peace-maker, for they had grown dependent upon the English for various supplies. Therefore, a treaty was made and all captives restored. But the bitter feelings only smouldered, and blazed out again, principally in Maine, where some of Philip's men who were dispersed by his death retreated and mingled with the Eastern Indians.

Massachusetts was not unmindful of the dangers which threatened the remote settlements of New Hampshire. She sent one hundred and thirty men to Dover to join the force of Major Waldron who commanded there. This was in the summer of 1676. Under orders to seize all Indians who had been guilty of murder, he invited those who were disposed for peace to come in to him under a flag of truce. They came without any guaranty of protection. Among them were a number of Philip's men, and the Massachusetts soldiers insisted that an indiscriminate seizure should be made of all. To effect this without bloodshed, Major Waldron invited the Indians to participate in a mock training, and when, at the command to fire, all their muskets were

Aid from Massachusetts.

Major Waldron's stratagem.

emptied, the troops closed round and took all prisoners save two or three. The Major intended to release the well-disposed, among whom were Passaconaway's son and the Penacook Indians who had returned from the Connecticut; but so little discrimination was used that many of them were included in the two hundred who were removed to Boston and subsequently sold as slaves, "sent into other parts of the world, to try the difference between the friendships of their neighbors here, and their service with other masters elsewhere!" The savages stored up the recollection of this stratagem and its benign results;



Waldron's Sham-fight.

for they considered that Philip's men had fled to them for protection and hospitality. The deeds of violence were renewed. Seven Massachusetts men were surprised and killed at Falmouth, and an entire settlement of forty persons in a remote place was destroyed; many were murdered under tortures and the rest carried into captivity. At Cape Neddock [1] a woman, and her infant at the breast, were murdered in a most barbarous manner.

Retaliation of the Indians.

Captain Hathorne was detailed with one hundred and thirty men, in the fall of 1676 to pursue the Indians; but he never succeeded in coming up with them. In November there appeared at Portsmouth a famous sachem of the Eastern Indians named Mugg or Mogg, to make another treaty. He was sent to Boston to confer with the magistrates, and concluded with them a treaty providing for cessation of hostilities, restoration of prisoners, and a prohibition to purchase arms and powder except from an agent of the government.

[1] Meaning "cleared land," a neighborhood where the Indians had some cultivated fields, and many of their implements are still turned up by the plough. — Ballard's *Geographical Names*.

Mogg carried this treaty to Madockawando, the sachem of the Penobscot, who was his chief; he signed it in behalf of his tribe, and doubtless in good faith. But Mogg, under pretence of visiting other tribes to persuade them to release their English prisoners, did not return, and fomented the hatred of the natives. This policy was suspected at Portsmouth, and the alarmed inhabitants prevailed upon the government to forestall the treachery of the natives by some prompt action of its own. Consequently in February, 1677, Major Waldron, with a force of English and Natick Indians, sailed for the Kennebec and Pemaquid.

Mogg's Treaty.

At the latter place an interview with the natives looking to some amicable arrangement was broken up by the discovery that they had brought arms; at least one lance was found concealed in a canoe. In the quarrel that ensued, several Indians were killed; and hostilities were renewed with the opening spring. Seven men were killed near York, nine at the mouth of the Kennebec. Mogg was killed in leading an attack upon Black Point, but at the same place a week after ninety soldiers were caught in an ambush and sixty slain. The natives became so adventurous that they engaged in sea-fights, by boarding from their frail canoes fishing vessels that lay at anchor off the coast in various places, sometimes between the Isles of Shoals and York. If these vessels were carelessly guarded, the savages always got possession of them, killed the crew and destroyed the cargo. Up and down the Piscataqua continual alarms travelled. Houses were burned and people slain in Wells, Kittery, and within the limits of Portsmouth, at a place now called Greenland.

Hostilities renewed.

The General Court of Massachusetts sent Major Pynchon of Springfield and Richards of Hartford into the country of the Mohawks to stir up their ancient animosity against the Eastern Indians and direct it toward the protection of the settlements in New Hampshire and Maine. This mission was so far successful that some parties of Mohawks appeared in the neighborhood of Dover and Wells. In the former place they made the mistake of attacking some of Major Waldron's friendly Indians, so that it became rumored abroad among the natives that the English had treacherously imported Mohawks to slay indiscriminately all Indians. The native suspicion was kept alive by this unhappy mistake and this injudicious policy of setting Indian to fight Indian. The immediate results were not important, but subsequently the French adopted that policy when they wanted to combine the natives against the English.

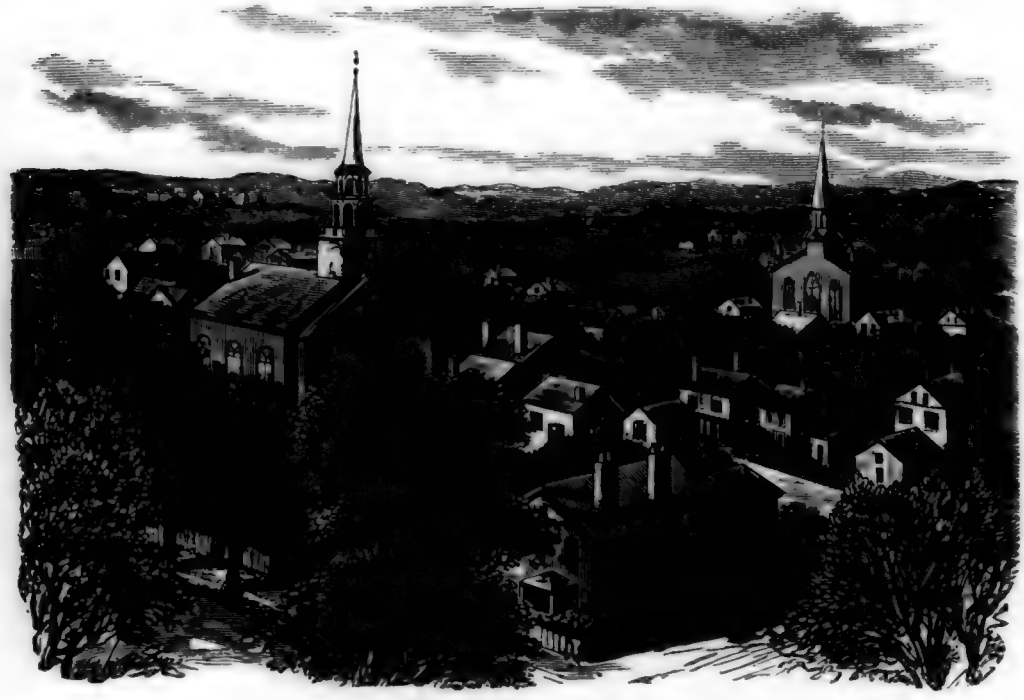
Negotiations with the Mohawks.

At length commissioners, one of whom was Captain Champernoon

of Kittery, were appointed to meet the various sachems at Casco and endeavor to effect a permanent treaty. Thither Squando went, sated of vengeance, and Madockawando, the father-in-law of Baron Castin, by him instructed how to meet the advances of the English. It was the Baron who had supplied the arms and powder for this three years' war.

A treaty of peace.

The most aggressive tribes were represented at this council. A treaty which closed hostilities, but only for a few years, was here made, which promised to return all captives and to refrain from future attacks upon the settlers, who were to be allowed to reoccupy their desolated lands. The English, on their part, engaged to pay one peck of corn annually for every English family settled between the Piscataqua and Penobscot. This was regarded by the Indians not only as tribute but symbol of acknowledgment of their original proprietorship of the soil. But the annual payments were very irregularly made. The treaty was concluded in April, 1678.



View of Dover, N. H.

Cranfield's action in Indian affairs.

Governor Cranfield in 1684, laid a tax upon the people without their consent. When the council demurred he adroitly availed himself of reports that the Eastern Indians meditated new disturbances in the coming spring, and the tax was agreed to on the ground of the common defence. His project of enlisting the Mohawks against the Eastern Indians, and paying their

services out of the money raised by the tax, increased his unpopularity. The friendly Indians became alarmed, for it was understood that the Mohawks made no distinction among New England Indians: they were all traditional enemies. In the summer of 1685 the Penacook and Saco Indians, after gathering their corn, began to remove their families from the English neighborhood, under the impression that the Mohawks were about to invade them. The English in their turn became alarmed at the movement; but inquiries led to a good understanding, and a treaty of mutual defence and reparation of injuries was made, which lasted about four years.



Signature of Champernoon.

The chief of the Penacooks at that time was Kancamagus, a nephew of Wonnalauset, who went by the English name of Hogkins or Hawkins. He wrote to and visited the Governor, but there was a want of that personal attention so grateful to an Indian, and a disregard of the appeals made by him and his people. The chief was converted into an implacable foe, and is supposed to have planned the subsequent attack upon Dover.[1]

[1] Hogkins wrote the following curious letter to Cranfield: "Honour Governor my friend, you my friend I desire your worship and your power Because I hope you can do som great matters this once I am poor and naked and I have no men at my place because I afraid allways mohogs he will kill me every day and night if your worship when please pray help me you no let mohogs kill me at my place at Malamaki [Merrimac] River called Panukkog and Nattukkog I will submit your worship and your power and now I want powder and such allminish shott and guns because I have forth at my hom and I plant theare.

"This all Indian hand but
pray you do consider your humble Servant
JOHN HOGKINS."

SIMON BETOGKOM
JOSEPH + TRASKE
KING + HARY
SAM + LINIS
WAPEGWANAT + TAGNACHUWASHAT
OLD ROBIN +
MAMANOSQUES + ANDWA
PETER + ROBIN
MR. GORGE + RODDUNONUKGUS
MR. HOPE + HOTH
JOHN + TONEH
JOHN + CUNOWA
JOHN + OWAMOSIMMIN
NATONILL + INDIAN

Another Indian outbreak.

In 1688, the Eastern Indians were again in motion, at the instigation of Castin, whose house had been plundered by Andros. A few raids in Maine during the summer were only preliminary to the outbreak of 1689 which so seriously affected New Hampshire. Major Waldron's mock training bore mortal consequences after thirteen years of brooding vengeance. Some of the natives who were sent to Boston and sold into slavery escaped, and found their way back. They easily inflamed numbers of Philip's men who were still harbored by the Penacook and Fryburg Indians; and the resentment spread to the tribes who were nominally friendly. Castin's agents were also at work to effect a hostile combination against the English.

The Indians at Dover

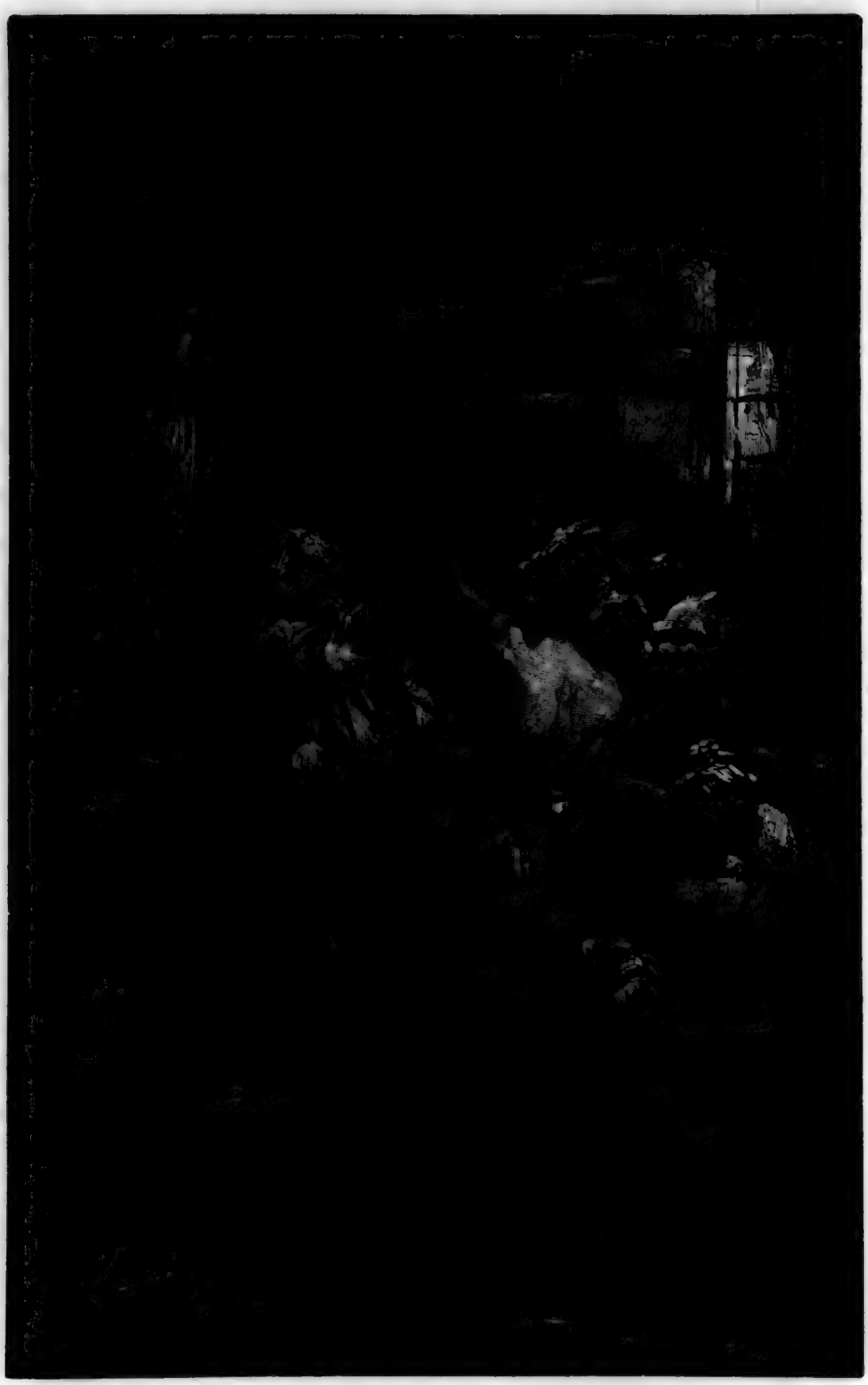
There were five garrison-houses in Dover to which the inhabitants retired at night. They were strongly built, surrounded by tall palisades, and capable of making an effective defence. Anxiety concerning the Indians had subsided. Waldron himself felt entirely secure. The watch at these garrison-houses was carelessly kept, and the Indians went freely to and fro among the inhabitants. Some of the settlers fancying that the natives were observing the situation more closely than usual, became alarmed. There was renewed dread of coming trouble, but Waldron told the people to mind their pumpkin-planting. Though the town was fuller of Indians than usual, Waldron professed to divine instinctively their disposition, and lightly rallied the concern of the people.

On the 27th of June, toward evening, two squaws applied at each garrison-house for permission to pass the night, as they had frequently done before. They were admitted to all but one of them. A chief accompanied the two squaws who went to Major Waldron's house. They were received with hospitality. Said the squaws to the Major, many Indians will come to trade to-morrow. Said the chief, "Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" "If I lift my finger I can summon a hundred men," said the Major.

The attack. Murder of Waldron

So profound was the confidence in their perfect safety which Waldron had inspired in his people that when the gates were secured, the squaws were instructed how to undo the fastenings, on their intimation that they might wish to go out during the night. At a signal from their confederates outside the squaws unbolted the gate, the Indians entered and found their way to an inner room where Waldron slept. The old man of eighty seized his sword and drove the savages out from room to room, but a blow from a hatchet stunned him and he fell.

Now came the hour of triumph. It was not for a sham-fight that they picked up the old man and set him in a chair upon a table, cry-



THE MURDER OF MAJOR WALDRON.

ing "Now judge Indians." Then they deliberately helped themselves to food, compelling the other inmates of the house to serve them. After the meal they gathered round the Major and each one slitting some part of his body with a knife, said, "That's my account — I cross it out." One savage cut off his nose, another his ears; another, calling for the scales used in barter to weigh beaver skins, cut off his right hand and threw it in, saying, "We 'll see if it does weigh a pound," for there was a saying among the Indians that in selling beaver a white man's hand weighs a pound. To their terror and astonishment it weighed a pound exactly. Then the old man sinking from the loss of blood, they held his sword so that he might fall upon it and be transfixed.

The house was pillaged and set on fire. Another was served in the same way after the men had been killed and the women set aside for captivity. The barking of a dog saved another just as the Indians were entering. A man cast himself on the ground to avoid the bullets which the savages began to fire through the door and held it with his feet till the inmates were aroused. One house belonging to a man against whom the Indians bore no grudge escaped with pillaging; they made him throw his coin among them while they scrambled for it. He was the father of the man who had refused admittance to the squaws. They took him to the house and threatened to kill him if the son would not surrender. These two families were reserved for captivity, but in the confusion managed to escape.

Incidents of the attack.

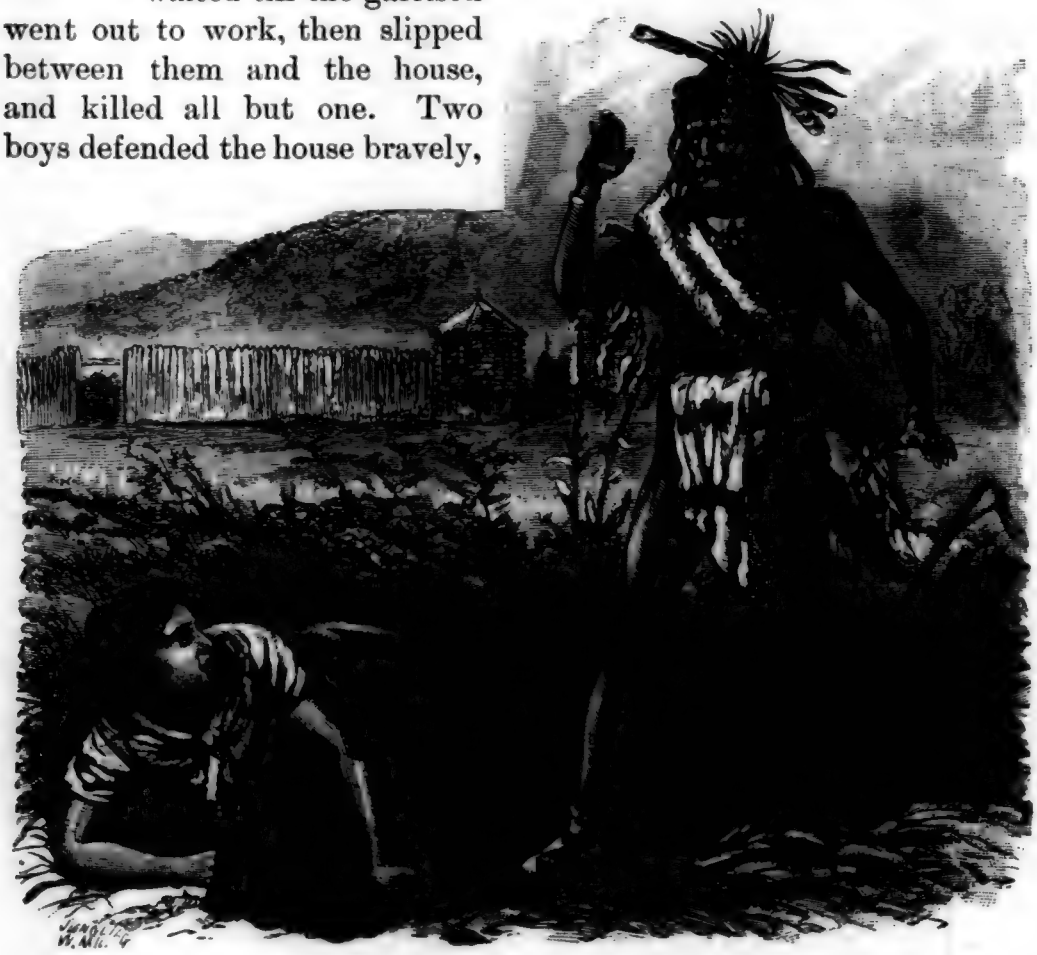
Elizabeth Heard, with three sons and a daughter, belonged to the house which was saved by the dog. She was coming with them up the river from Portsmouth that night, and hearing the noise she suspected trouble, and the party landed and went to Waldron's house. Not procuring admission, a young man scaled the palisade, and saw an Indian with a gun waiting at the inner door. The woman was so overcome by the news that she sunk to the ground, and only begged her children to leave her and escape. Toward morning an Indian came toward her with a pistol, looked at her and walked away. He returned, and she spoke to him. He recognized the voice and ran away with loud exclamations. He was one of the Indians who escaped from Major Waldron's stratagem in 1676, took refuge in her house, and was harbored by her. He promised then that he would never do harm to her and her family. Thus one act of gratitude relieved the horrors of that night.

Twenty-three persons were killed and twenty-nine were taken to Canada,[1] and sold to the French, who brought the children up as Roman Catholics. Several houses and mills were burned.

[1] The Saco starts in Crawford's Notch.

Massachusetts despatched a few companies, and Captain Church was sent from Plymouth. The name of the conqueror of Philip was a terror to the Indians. Along the Androscoggin, the Penobscot, and the Kennebec, he made several campaigns, never fighting without success, but often unable to overtake the savages, who fled on hearing of his approach, leaving behind them only the ashes of their villages and their stores. But the blow of the enemy always fell upon places where it was least expected. At Oyster River the Indians waited till the garrison went out to work, then slipped between them and the house, and killed all but one. Two boys defended the house bravely,

Other raids



Elizabeth Heard and the Indian.

till it was set on fire, and even then refused to surrender, save on condition that the lives of the women and children should be spared. The promise was broken: one of the little children was impaled before the eyes of the mother.

In 1690 the French were at war with England. The Governor of Canada organized expeditions of French and Indians, against various points of the colonies in New England and New York. Fifty-two men attacked Salmon Falls on the morning

Later Indian hostilities.

of the 18th of March. The inhabitants made a brave but vain resistance. Thirty were killed and the rest surrendered. Twenty-seven houses and two thousand head of cattle in the barns were destroyed.[1] This party was pursued by one hundred and forty men, and warmly engaged, but made good their retreat with little loss, carrying off the women and children, some of whom were treated with great cruelty. The incident of dashing a babe's brains out against a tree, which is told of various places, occurred upon this journey through the woods to Canada. It was more economical to slay the weaker captives, because each scalp brought a premium when presented before some French officer.

The details of every fight in this war need not be told. Casco was destroyed, Exeter was attacked, houses were burned, and people killed in the field in various directions. Twenty persons were killed and captured at Rye Beach in 1691. York was destroyed the previous year. In 1694, a body of two hundred and fifty Eastern Indians under French guidance, and with a French priest to shrive the dying, made an attack upon the settlement at Oyster River. Twelve of the houses were fortified, but they were badly watched and ill provided for defence. Many of the people lived carelessly, in ordinary houses. How easily the edge of bitter experience grows dull in a frontier life, where Nature's sense of security seems to be shared by human beings. An important element of success in these enterprises of the savages was the short memories of the victims.

Attack on the Oyster River Settlement.

On this occasion the party divided into small groups, one being detailed to each house on either side of the river. The first gun fired was to be the signal for a simultaneous assault, but a man drew the first shot prematurely by appearing at the door of his house. The attacking parties were not all in readiness, so that only five of the garrison-houses were taken, but nearly all the other houses were destroyed, a great many people killed, with the usual barbarities. Persons who surrendered on a promise that their life should be spared were instantly butchered. A woman with child was ripped open; a little boy of nine was made to run down a lane of the Indians, who pelted him with tomahawks till he was killed. Thomas Bickford, who was alone in his house, managed to repel an assault by frequently changing his hat and dress, and issuing orders as to a number of men. While the massacre was going on the French priest got into the meeting-house, and amused himself by scrawling the tenets of his faith with a piece of chalk on the pulpit. About a hundred persons were

[1] Charlevoix is quoted with some incredulity by Belknap's *Hist. of New Hampshire*, i., 207.

killed and captured. One woman during the succeeding winter was delivered of a child in a violent snow-storm. The Indians killed it. She lived fourteen days on a decoction of bark and water, became senseless from the cold, was revived by the usual Indian remedy of warm water poured down her throat, remained in brutal captivity four years, rejoined her husband, had fourteen children, and died at eighty-nine![1] Of such stuff were made the matrons of those perilous times.

About three miles up the river from Portsmouth, Madame Ursula Cutts, widow of John Cutts, the first royal President, lived upon her farm. The affair at Oyster River did not scare her into town. She insisted upon staying in the country till all her hay was in the barn. Some Indians lay in ambush as she was in the field directing her laborers. She was shot and scalped, and her fingers were cut off for



Rye Beach.

the rings. Colonel Richard Waldron and his wife were going up the river in a boat to dine with the old lady when the tidings of her death intercepted them.

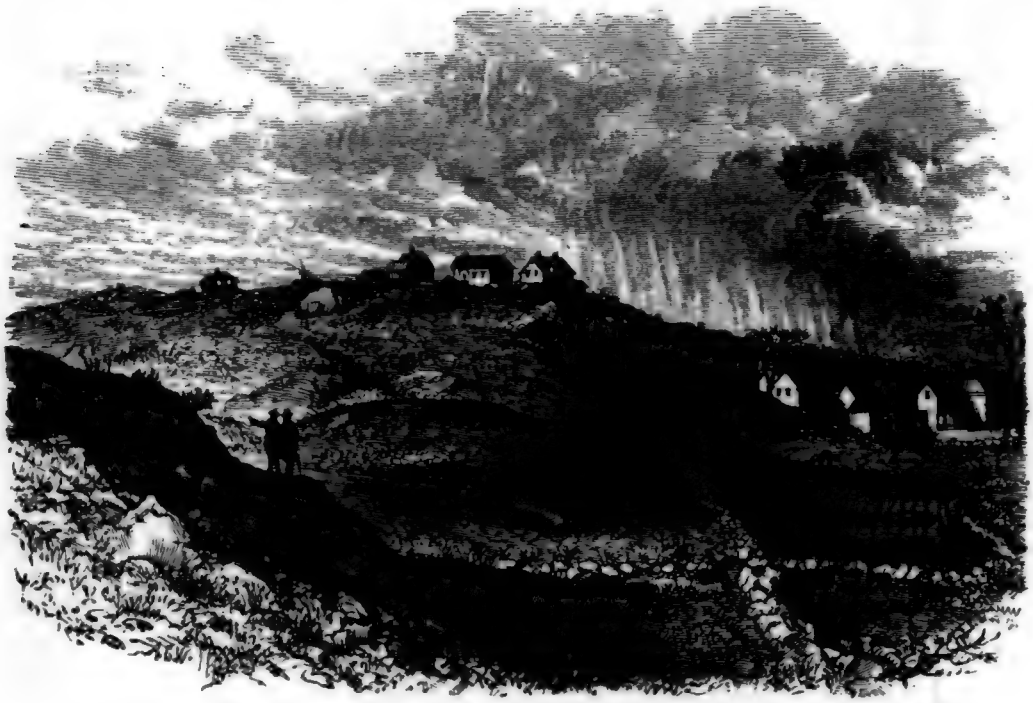
In the summer of 1696 the Indians crossed from York to Rye Beach in canoes, and made an attack upon some houses near Little Harbor, killing fourteen people and firing the houses. They were pursued, but reached their canoes and put to sea. Some boats that were sent to intercept them, delivered fire too soon, and they escaped by going round the Isles of Shoals. Fort William Henry at Pemaquid, which the Indians had captured six years before, was the scene of a serious disaster. Sir William Phips had rebuilt and fortified it at great expense contrary to the advice of Church, who believed that

[1] Belknap's *Hist. of New Hampshire*, i., 216–220.

in Indian warfare such places were only "nests of destruction." It was a constant provocation to the French of Canada, who were determined to take and destroy it. A force of two ships of war, with two companies of soldiers, under Iberville, to be reinforced by Baron Castin with Indians, was sent against it. On the way Iberville encountered two English ships of war, the *Newport* and the *Sorlings*, and a cutter belonging to the Province of Massachusetts. The *Newport* he took, the others escaped in a fog. At the mouth of the Penobscot Castin joined the expedition with two hundred savages in a fleet of canoes. This formidable force invested Pemaquid, and summoned it to surrender. The fortress had a garrison of a hundred men, ammunition and food enough to stand a siege, and mounted fifteen guns. The first summons was rejected; but in the night the French set up a battery on shore, and on the second day threw shot and shell into the town and fort. Castin threatened that if the place was taken by storm it should be given up to the plunder of the savages. Captain Chubbs, the commander, yielded, and threw open his gates. The garrison was only saved from massacre by being taken to an island in the harbor and put under a guard of French marines. But the fort was demolished and the town plundered. Chubbs may have only meant to save the lives of his men, but he was, nevertheless, tried for cowardice on his return to Boston, and cashiered.[1] At Dover three persons were killed returning home from divine service. Belknap relates the remarkable escape of Exeter in the summer of 1697. A number of Indians were concealed near the town waiting for an opportunity. By a stroke of foolish good luck some women and children took that very time to go into the fields for strawberries, and would not be prevented. Somebody in town fired a gun to scare them back; but the report scared the Indians also, who retreated, supposing that they had been discovered. But on the 4th of July of that year they killed Major Frost, at Kittery, thus closing a piteous list of massacres, and making the circle of their revenge complete by the death of an officer who was concerned in Major Waldron's sham-fight at Dover. This, probably, was the last Indian shot fired in New Hampshire during the war. In 1698 the Peace of Ryswick restrained the Indians from further hostilities. Many of the captives were returned, but a good many preferred to remain, and thus started a race of half-breeds to be most dangerous enemies in future wars.

End of the war.

[1] Sewall's *Ancient Dominions of Maine. Annals of Salem.*



Witches' Hill, Salem.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION.

OUTBREAK OF THE WITCHCRAFT DELUSION. — ITS EARLIER HISTORY. — CAUSES OF THE EXCITEMENT IN NEW ENGLAND. — WITCHCRAFT CASES IN SALEM. — SAMUEL PARRIS. — THE EARLIER TRIALS. — RETURN OF PHIPS. — A SPECIAL COURT CREATED FOR WITCHCRAFT CASES. — FURTHER PROSECUTIONS. — EXPOSURE AND END OF THE DELUSION. — WITCHCRAFT IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. — THE BELIEF FINDS FEW ADHERENTS OUTSIDE MASSACHUSETTS. — "STONE-THROWING" AT GREAT ISLAND. — THE CASE OF GEORGE BURROUGHS.

THE important and interesting political events — ending with Phips's return from England with the new charter — following the close of Philip's War, had hardly ceased to agitate the colonies, when there came, especially upon Massachusetts, a dispensation more gloomy and terrible than marked any other period of the century. It cannot, indeed, be said that the witchcraft panic, which broke out in 1692, was a result of Puritan theology, or due to the sombre and intolerant temperament which its doctrines nourished. The belief in a diabolical possession is coextensive with and as old as the human

race. Its superstitions, it is true, have been colored by the culture of different epochs, and by different developments of the religious sentiment. But no religion has ever succeeded in so filtering the popular mind as to let the so-called facts of witchcraft drop as dregs to the bottom. If the Puritanism of New England was as powerless as other religious systems to enlighten the ordinary intelligence, its faith, nevertheless, in the intimate nearness of the supernatural, made its followers peculiarly susceptible to the delusion which, under the name of witchcraft, so overwhelmed the colony. It may, however, be said on their behalf that never yet has the belief of a supernatural interference in the affairs of men, distinct from the omnipotent and omniscient rule, been rooted out of the human mind. It lurks even now, not merely among half-civilized peoples, but in the habits and practices of the most cultivated nations, wherever the inevitable combination of credulity and ignorance invites it.

Certain obscure facts of a physico-nervous character have always drawn the attention of mankind, and suggested thoughts of supernatural causes. Whenever the accidental and abnormal traits of the human organization are not understood, they are invariably interpreted in a preternatural sense. The sufferers are victims of invisible agencies; the names which have been invented for these run along a whole gamut from heathen and classical times to the mediæval imps and the modern Satan. It is not at all surprising that people should endeavor to protect themselves against something uncanny which they do not understand.

Earlier history of the witchcraft delusion.

Perhaps the modern animosity against reputed witches was first fomented by the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII., in 1484, to arrest persons suspected of witchcraft. In 1485 forty-one old women were burnt in Burlia, denounced for something that was only crabbedness of disposition, oddity of habit, repulsiveness of appearance, — traits which perhaps they used to threaten or to affright. These marks have always sufficed to send odd and lonely old women to the stake or gallows. Massachusetts did not invent mankind's great trepidation. One hundred persons were condemned by one inquisition in Piedmont, and forty-eight in Ravensburg. In 1515 five hundred were executed at Geneva in the space of three months. These are merely random specimens of the mediæval temper. It was the same in all other countries, and under Protestant as well as Catholic religions. If Luther, worn out by too protracted study, could conjure the Devil out of the air of his apartment, what must have been the visions and frights of peasants and burghers? Probably no amount of ink thrown at that dark personage will ever expel him from the fancy.

It was in the twelfth century that the notion of a witch, as a woman who had made a secret compact with Satan, who gave her power to ride through the air to attend a witch's meeting, first appeared. This survived to be the chief modern qualification of a witch. She could perform various other preternatural feats, vex, blast, blight, and kill. Her genius was always guided by malice, but the aeronautic faculty was her distinction. People suspected of this were sacrificed in Europe by thousands, so deep a terror had seized hold of the popular mind. The more sensitive woman, subject to hysteria, to religious and epidemical influences, to obscure affections of the nerves, was the principal sufferer, always the Joan of Arc of the popular ignorance.

Witchcraft in England.

In the reign of Henry VIII. there were a few executions for witchcraft in England, under a law of 1541, which was soon repealed. Ever since the reign of King John there had been trials for witchcraft, and probably executions. In 1537, Lady Glammis of the Douglas family was burnt alive as a witch; but, as in the case of Joan of Arc, political motives were mixed up in the act. Scotch witchery was connected with the use of herbs, salves, remedies, and charms: attempts at *unbinding*, that is, healing, were punishable. In Aberdeen, in 1597, one man and twenty-three women were burnt. In the same place there was an outcry of witchcraft in 1617, and twenty-seven women were burnt in that year. In 1559 the English Parliament passed a law against witchcraft, and again in 1563, which remained in force till it was repealed in 1736. Bishop Jewel, in a sermon before Queen Elizabeth, who used to frequent Dr. Dee's conjuring shop for consultation, informed her that witches and sorcerers were marvellously increased in her realm. In 1575 many were hung at Barking; in 1579, three at Chelmsford, four at Abingdon, two at Cambridge; in 1582, thirteen at St. Osith's, and so on, with melancholy frequency. Matthew Hopkins, in 1644–1646, undertook the function of Witchfinder. He laid down rules and reduced the hunting of witches to a science, while Harvey, Wallis, Wilkins, Boyle, were founding the Royal Society. It is pleasant to know that he found too many witches: the people became disgusted and alarmed, and mobbed him into obscurity. His most lucrative witch-year was 1645, when about ninety were hanged. The trials were held before Sir Matthew Hale, a devout believer in witchcraft. So were Dr. More and Sir Thomas Brown. Hobbes was undecided. Cudworth used to listen to reputed witches, to test them by their ability to recite the Common Prayer and the Apostle's Creed. The Lord's Prayer was a later test. Lord Bacon prescribed the ingredients for a witch's ointment. Even Selden, famous lover of liberty, said that

if witchcraft were a delusion, still crimes of the imagination might be punished with death, because realities were not more deadly in their consequences. Boyle inclined to a belief in it; Archbishop Cranmer put a witch-clause into his Articles of Visitation. In 1593 the income of £40, derived from the confiscated property of three persons executed for witchcraft, was appropriated for an annual lecture upon its enormity, to be preached by a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity, of Queen's College, Cambridge; and the custom continued for one hundred and twenty-five years.[1]

A class of witch-finders was created by the popular demand who were very active. Like judges, they used to go on the circuit; the town-crier would make proclamation and order up the witch-cases before them. Finders realized so much per head on all persons convicted, and free passage to and fro. It was the best speculative business of the time, when a man like Edward Fairfax, the translator of Tasso, whose children were subject to fits, prosecuted six of his neighbors for bewitching them. In 1655 Dalton's "Country Justice" lays down the legal signs by which the victim may be held for trial. The witch-names used by Shakespeare were found in the Manual of W. W., which was printed in 1582. In 1693 a great many trials were held before Chief Justice Holt. He kept a clear brain through the business, and was the first public man in office who protected the accused.[2] Then the superstition began to decline in England: the last capital trial occurred in 1712. But in Scotland it was 1727 before the last witch was burned. Perhaps the worst time in England for witches was in 1661, the year after the Restoration. Fourteen commissions were issued for trying them,

Witch-finders.

[1] Judd's *History of Hadley*. The general subject is indebted to Michelet's *La Sorcière*; Lecky's *History of Rationalism*; Smedley, Thompson, Rich, and others, *Occult Sciences*; Drake's ed. of Calef's *Witchcraft Delusion in New England*; *South Meadows, or the Days of Witchcraft*, by E. T. Disoway; Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*; Thomas Brattle's Account, *Mass. Hist. Coll.*: Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World*; Hutchinson's *Historical Essay*; Thomas Wright's *Narrative of Sorcery and Magic*.

[2] "I told the Bishop of Worcester that his diocese is infected with notions about witches; he intends his clergy shall rectify their mistakes in that particular. He told me some of the topics he would have argued. He don't much controvert the power of devils in the Gentile world, and their extraordinary operations may still take place among the Pagans. He is inclinable enough to believe what some authors have writ of the strange effects in such places; but he thinks the Gospel, as far as it reaches, has destroyed the works of the devil, and those who are in the covenant of grace can receive no hurt from the infernal powers, either in their persons, children or goods; that a man may be so profligate as to give himself to the devil, but he can have no assistance from him to hurt anybody else in a supernatural way. I think we may assent to this latter part, and leave the devil and the Gentiles to argue the rest among themselves." *Letter of James Vernon, King William's Secretary of State, to the Duke of Shrewsbury*, written in June, 1699. But at that time even Englishmen of broad intelligence and unsectarian feeling could go no further than this. The common clergy of all sects were advocates of witchcraft.

and one hundred and twenty victims were hanged. In 1662 fourteen additional commissions were issued. In Sweden, 1670, children charged seventy persons with bewitching them; many confessed and were executed. Then fifteen children confessed and were executed. Fifty others were whipped every Sunday.

Literature of witchcraft.

Certainly Massachusetts did not enter upon a novel and untried path. During all the European epochs of the delusion a vast literature upon the subject sprang up; out of it all only three books of consequence undertook a refutation of witchcraft. It was a dangerous thing for an author's good repute and sometimes for his person. All the other books, tracts, pamphlets, were more or



General View of Salem, Mass.

less elaborate defences of the reality of witchcraft. What could be expected when all the leading men of society, politics, religion, firmly pledged their faith to its reality? When such a man as Baxter could write the "Certainty of the World of Spirits," and thank Cotton Mather for information of fresh cases and for his zeal in the cause, and grow very angry when some Sadducee disbelieved, a thriving crop of books might be expected. They performed an awful work in propagating the delusion. They came over to New England and were perused with creeping awe in farm-houses and towns. Clergymen made a point of procuring them in order to learn how to resist the wiles of the adversary; — no gentleman's library was com-

plete without them. The Rev. Samuel Parris, of Salem, had these books where his children and neighbors could get at them. One of them was a book by William Perkins, preacher at St. Andrews, Cambridge, entitled "Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft," written toward the close of the sixteenth century. Sir Matthew Hale's "Trial of Witches," 1661, enjoyed a great authority in both countries, because it was based upon the Old and New Testaments. Indeed it was enough for a Puritan to fall back on the clear letter of Holy Writ. First, find your witch, and then, "thou shalt not suffer a witch to live."

Earlier prosecutions for witchcraft in New England.

A few sporadic cases of witchcraft had previously occurred in New England. Margaret Jones was hanged at Charlestown in 1648. Mrs. Hibbins, although she was a sister of Deputy Governor Bellingham, suffered in 1656, upon no other ground that can be discovered than that of knowing a great deal more than her neighbors, and of venting it with a sharp and cynical tongue. Her husband had been a prominent merchant, and was an agent of the colony in England. He died in 1654. How strange it is that the woman could not have been saved from such a fate! John Norton, the Boston clergyman, hinted that she knew too much, that she was too subtle in her perception of what was occurring around her. Michelet, in treating of the mediæval sorcery, shows that the possession of any unusual talent or knowledge was enough to turn a woman into a witch. Several accusations followed hers, but none of them terminated fatally, for Philip's War was too definitely diabolical to admit any play for a metaphysical Satan.

Events preceding the outbreak of the delusion in Massachusetts.

Great despondency reigned throughout the colony in 1692. The wounds of Philip's War still smarted, another Indian war seemed impending at the eastward, several murders had already occurred, the beloved Charter was lost, and there was nothing but uncertainty for the future. Four times the small-pox had raged along the coast, carrying off a great many people in Boston and the vicinity: the last time in 1690. Six great fires had laid waste the city; the last two in 1690 and 1691. All these calamities, by reducing the tone of the public temperament, made it susceptible to fears and suspicions, and ripe for any epidemic.

The Goodwin case.

In 1688, a daughter of John Goodwin, of Boston, was offended by an Irish washerwoman named Glover, and in childish spite, accused the harmless creature of bewitching her. Forthwith she fell into the conventional tricks and spasms, crying out whenever the Irishwoman was near, and falling to the ground. Three other children caught the infection. The poor woman was tried and hanged. Cotton Mather, who believed devoutly in witchcraft, took

the girl into his family to make a study of the phenomena. She could not bear to hear the Assembly's Catechism, or Cotton's "Milk for Babes," but could read the "Oxford Jest Book" with impunity. She flew violently at the Doctor when he proposed domestic worship, but always managed to stop short of striking him. She fell into the use of incoherent language, was "struck dead" by day, but slept peacefully at night. She had committed herself to the trick, and succeeded in deceiving Mather. When the woman was executed, she managed to recover. The excitement of such repeated performances will generally establish a half conscious impression in the actor's mind that they have a basis of reality; they are not thrown off in cold-blooded hypocrisy. The person is really possessed by his own deceit; if physical weakness or nervous disorders conspire with this mood, there is a sense in which the person has bewitched himself. And such, to a considerable degree, was the case with the children and young people in Salem Village, now Danvers, with whom the delusion there originated.



Portrait of Cotton Mather.

Beginnings of the first cases at Salem.

The parish in Salem Village had been set off from the First Church of Salem. Its people had never been harmonious; bickering and heart-burnings disturbed its councils and nourished animosities which mingled fearfully in the approaching tragedy. There was great opposition to James Bayley, the first minister, and eventually he was not settled. His wife was a Mary Carr, whose sister Ann married Sergeant Thomas Putnam. Ann had a good deal of influence, was a clever woman and of a high temper. Perhaps she remembered the bitter feud in regard to her brother-in-law when afterward she, her son, and especially her daughter, were swift and bitter witnesses against some accused of witchcrafts.

Samuel Parris.

Deodat Lawson, a learned and eloquent man, was settled in 1684, but left the parish before 1690, and went to Scituate. Then came Samuel Parris, a merchant of Barbadoes, who did not cast off the tricks of his trade when he put on the surplice. For a year, while he seemed to be reluctant to settle, his native sharpness was employed in bargaining with the parish. His terms were accepted in 1689. The first ministerial duty which he exer-

cised, was to get hold of the parochial property. Great was the indignation when he was labored with to give it up, and refused. The parish split into two parties, and Rebecca Nourse's family were in the opposition. Parris loved all the power he could get, a most obstinate man, incapable of accepting the broadest hint, and not thoroughly scrupulous in his methods.

His daughter Elizabeth was nine years old; a niece living in the family was eleven; a frequent visitor and neighbor was Ann, the daughter of Thomas Putnam, Sergeant and Parish Clerk, who was



Tituba and the Children.

twelve years old. Parris had two slaves, John Indian and his wife Tituba; she was half negro, half Indian, and was learned in the practices of sorcery. In the winter of 1691–92, the Parris children, and three or four neighbors, whose ages ranged from twelve to twenty, met at his house to form a circle for practising various tricks, some of which were suggested by Tituba.[1] They had learned from Cotton Mather's account the performances of the Goodwin girl and the other children, and soon the entertainment took the form of an imi-

[1] One is tempted to note that her name is the imperative of a Latin verb, and means "tip."

tation. By the contagion of intercourse, during these forbidden exercises, the girls became thoroughly infected with their own fancies. Elizabeth was a precocious girl. Mary Walcot, seventeen years old, when quite young was in the family of Rev. George Burroughs. Perhaps Parris, who hated his old rival, though he lived in Wells, made a note of that. By this time their strange actions and contortions had plainly established a hysterical condition; but when the doctors were called in they pronounced that they were bewitched.

The children of the Parris family declared bewitched.

This hint was enough for young people in a condition of morbid excitement. The Rev. Mr. Lawson, preaching for Parris, was interrupted by them during the service, with grotesque remarks. The parish was profoundly moved. The fresh temptation set in when they were asked who was bewitching them. Did Parris foment this trouble for purposes of his own? Perhaps not, at first; but he managed to direct it in the path of his own dislikes. The children began to name individuals.

On March 1, 1692, they pitched upon Sarah Good, against whom some popular prejudice existed. She was brought before Justices Hathorne and Curwen, and sent to prison. These two justices and Marshal G. Herrick did a thriving business in sending people to jail. There were some remarkable circumstances in the case of Giles Corey, a man eighty-one years old, odd, unconventional, irascible, and very positive in his ways and opinions. Many stories were afloat concerning him, which now-a-days would be mainly traceable to his manner. He beat a farm laborer, who soon afterwards happened to die, and Corey was arrested for murder. In default of evidence, he was discharged upon paying a fine. He was again arrested for arson, but clearly proved an alibi, — a much suspected man upon the slenderest grounds. He was the kind of person whom it would be safe to denounce. He seemed to incline to a belief in witchcraft. His wife was an obstinate skeptic, and tried to keep him from the examinations; but he would attend them. So one day the children fell into convulsions at his presence, and writhed on the floor in agony. Corey was made to approach, so that they might touch him, for this was a test of bewitching, the children growing calm, as if by the touch the maleficent fluid were discharged. When Corey was brought to trial he refused to plead, and manfully kept his mouth shut, apparently with the hope of escaping a conviction for witchcraft, of whatever else he might be found guilty, and the consequent forfeiture of estate. But the justices killed him all the same for contumacy, sentencing him to the terrible punishment of *peine forte et dure;* — he was pressed to death, the

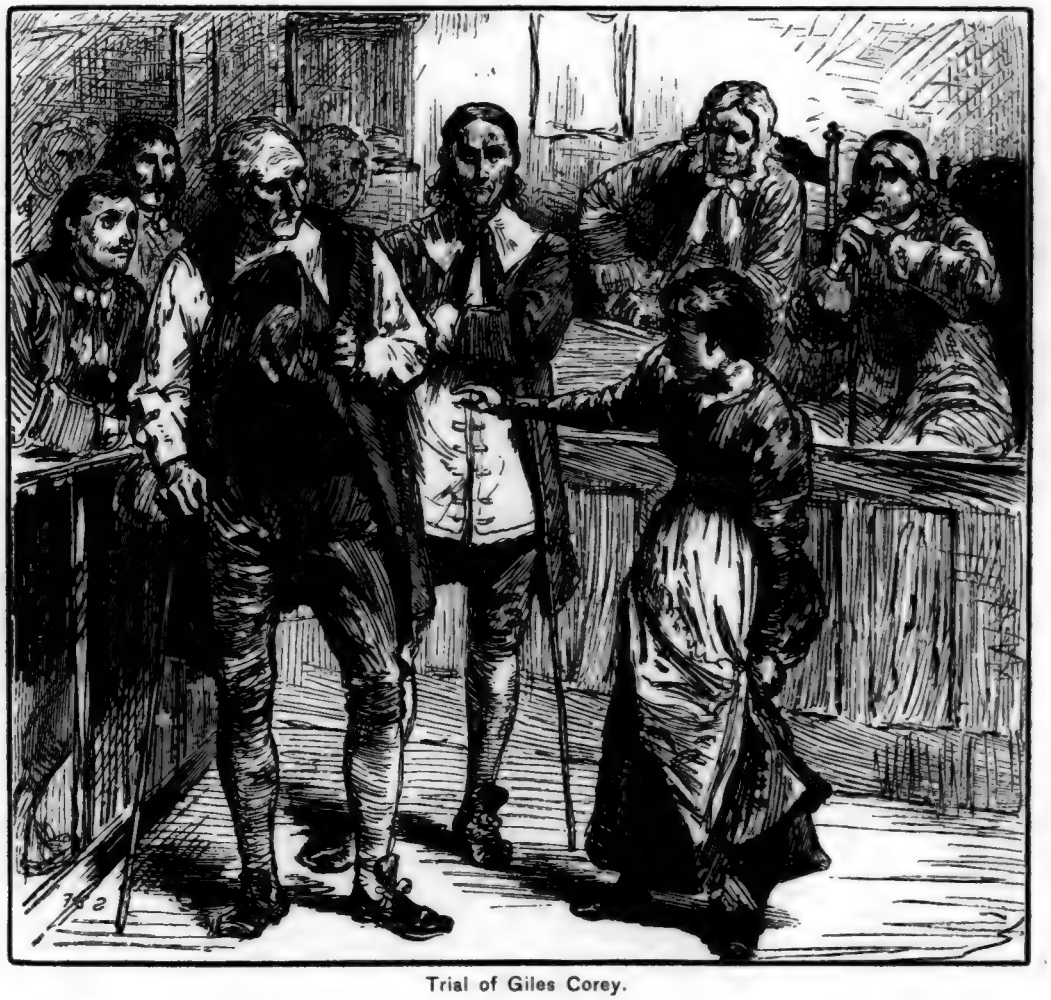
Sarah Good and Giles Corey accused.

Corey executed.

first and only time of this infliction in New England. When the brave old man's tongue lolled out, the sheriff thrust it back with his cane.

When Sir William Phips returned and assumed the office of governor, he organized a special court of oyer and terminer for these trials; in fact, a commission consisting of seven magistrates, among whom were the implacable Stoughton, Judge Sewall, and Saltonstall. This was an illegal proceeding on the Governor's part, as all the cases properly should have gone before

A special court organized for witchcraft cases.



Trial of Giles Corey.

the Supreme Court. No notice, however, was taken of this at the time, so deep was the preoccupation of the public mind. Simon Bradstreet, the acting Governor superseded by Phips, was no believer in witchcraft. As the trials went on, a few other persons were courageous enough to resist the tide, and declare their disbelief: among clergymen, Willard, Increase Mather, and the staunch old Puritan Moody; among laymen, Thomas Danforth, Thomas Brattle, and Robert Calef, the merchant who wrote down his opinion that some of

the cases, like that of Margaret Rule, were simply attacks of delirium tremens. Two or three of the Massachusetts justices were also much dissatisfied. Men who talked in this way carried their lives in their hands. Saltonstall soon became disgusted, and left the bench; the rest sat through the tragedy, among them Judge Sewall, who afterwards read a public recantation in the Old South Church, bowed down with mortification and sorrow. Annually he shut himself up for a day of penance and fasting, to keep alive the memory of his sad complicity. Not so did Deputy Governor Stoughton, who never forgave his colleagues when they began to waver in the matter of convictions; and when he perceived the public opinion was falling away from sustaining the bench, he resigned his seat in a passion on occasion of a reprieve.



Portrait of Saltonstall.

A statute against witchcraft, passed in the reign of that superstitious king, James I., seems to have been the basis of these colonial proceedings. The doctors were frequently called in to examine the bodies of the accused, to discover the witch's marks, the teat at which sometimes the apparitions of two black pigs were suckled, sometimes Satan himself sought refreshment there. Any mole or callosity served the doctors to pronounce upon the witch's mark.

The case of Rebecca Nourse.

Francis Nourse and his wife Rebecca were living happily in a house that was built in 1636. Unfortunately he had a quarrel with the Endicotts about the occupation of his farm. Jealousy and hostile feeling, that drew in other people, had for some time existed. The children "cried out" one day against Rebecca Nourse; the usual display of hysterics, fits, possessions, took place, terrible to the overwrought feelings of the spectators. A clergyman, named Lawson, delivered a most exciting discourse on March 24, which put the witchcraft trials upon Scripture grounds and confirmed all minds. A blameless life and a sweet demeanor at her trial could not save Rebecca. The jury were forced to believe her inno-

cent, but were sent out till they consented. She went the way of all the rest to Witches' Hill, and her body was thrown into the common pit provided as a dishonored last resting-place for these unhappy victims. It is easy to imagine that piteous midnight search of Rebecca's pious children and husband, braving possible detection, to recover the motherly body and give it a more tender burial in the little burial ground near the old homestead. Before she was executed, she was led up the broad aisle of the meeting-house, that the minister Parris might excommunicate and thrust her out of the communion.[1] When Parris afterwards preached a denouncing sermon, Sarah Cloyse, sister of Rebecca, got up and left the meeting. To leave the public service under any circumstances was an unpardonable offence to the forefathers of Massachusetts, but doubly so in this case, because the sister sided with a witch. The children promptly denounced her.



Portrait of Lieut.-governor Stoughton.

Bridget Bishop, in 1680, was a gay and pleasant woman, anti-puritan in her style and opinions. She used to appear in a black cap, black hat, and a "red-paragon boddice." If a woman wore a scarlet petticoat it went hard with her if she did not become suspected.[2] Red was Satan's favorite mediæval color. Bridget's dress and manner led to gossiping, and it was thought she was going "the primrose way to the everlasting bonfire." An accusation of witchcraft was made and she was tried, but at that time it was more difficult to convict. In the present temper of the people much less was required for the manufacture of a witch. A woman walking from Amesbury to Newbury, in bad weather, came into a kitchen and boasted that her shoes and clothes were not wet. That was clearly impossible, save by preternatural means. She was denounced. As another woman was crossing a marshy place, a will-o-wisp was noticed to be near her, like an imp dancing attendance. That too was fatal. A

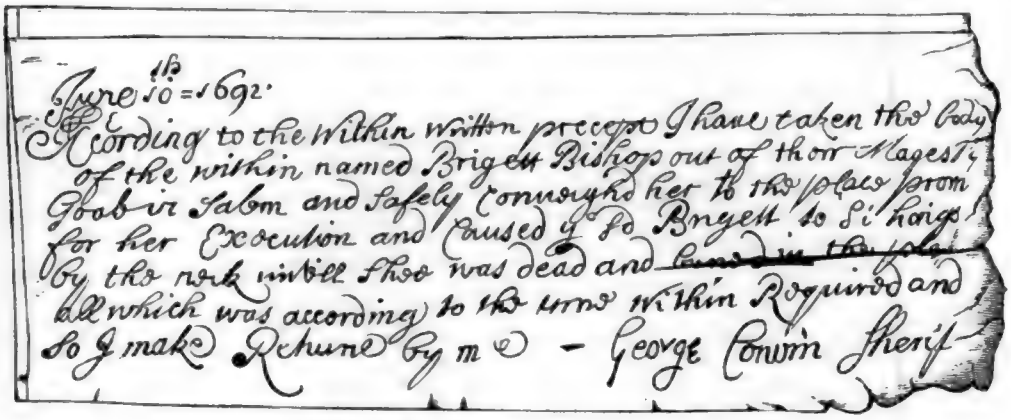
Bridget Bishop.

Other cases.

[1] A few of her descendants lately met in Boston to form a "Nourse Monument Association," charged with the duty of erecting a monument to her memory. For once let an epitaph record the unvarnished truth.

[2] A Portsmouth witch "had on her head a white linen hood tied under her chin, and her waistcoat and petticoat were red, with an old green apron, and a black hat upon her head — and she vanished away in the shape of a cat."

man named Jacobs was accused; he said, contemptuously, "You tax me for a wizard, you may as well tax me for a buzzard." All sorts of personal piques and private grudges, says Upham, many of them of long standing, now began to influence these transactions. When Burroughs was denounced, a strong charge against him was that he possessed a witch's trumpet, which he used to summon his partners whenever he desired a conference. Cotton Mather stood by to see Burroughs hanged, and when the people seemed impressed by his sweet and lofty words, he explained that Satan often transformed himself into an angel of light to delude men's souls. On occasion of the execution of eight at one time, the Reverend Mr. Noyes stood


June 10th 1692.
According to the within written precept I have taken the body of the within named Bridgett Bishop out of the Gaol in Salem and safely conveyed her to the place from for her Execution and caused the Sd Bridgett to Suffer by the rope wherby She was dead and [illegible] in the place all which was according to the time within Required and So I make Return by me — George Corwin Sheriff

Fac-simile of Sheriff's Return of Bridget Bishop's Execution.

by and said to the people, "What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there!"

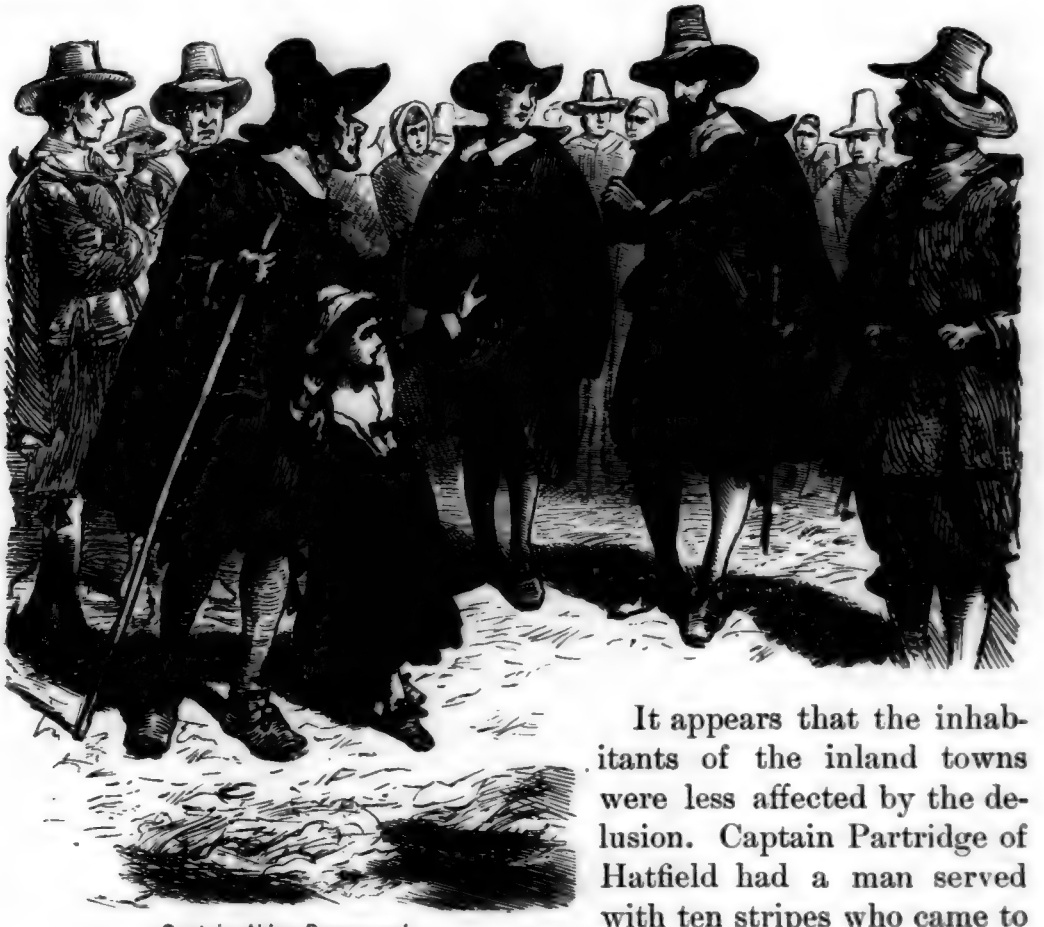
A committee of vigilance was appointed, and the citizens were organized for the purpose of finding and prosecuting witches. Any man who had a grudge found opportunity now to put his enemy into jail. The children had a very precise way of imitating, half automatically no doubt, the gestures of accused persons, their way of shaking the head, lifting the eyes, shifting the attitude. This was attributed to supernatural domination. But this consummate acting was not a mere histrionic display; the hysteric passion was too much implicated for that. It was a contagion that extended to all persons whose state of health and nervous condition invited it. Several other children were thus bewitched. At length one of them, Mary Warren, who found she was dissembling, impeached the other children. There began to be suspicions of a conspiracy. The accused children turned upon her and denounced her for a witch to recover their own credit.

A committee of vigilance.

But now the end was approaching, for the children, under the stimulus of the popular madness, began to fly at higher game. Per

sons of too great importance were implicated in their accusations, and opinion was manifestly affected by the admirable record and demeanor of the denounced. Mrs. Hale, wife of the minister at Beverly, was too fine and good. As soon as they mentioned her name their occupation began to wane. She was probably selected because her husband believed in witchcraft.

First exposure of the delusion. — Its quick decline.



Captain Alden Denounced.

It appears that the inhabitants of the inland towns were less affected by the delusion. Captain Partridge of Hatfield had a man served with ten stripes who came to him to accuse a neighbor of witchcraft. The children denounced some excellent persons in Andover, who were protected by the people. Several actions for slander were commenced. A few persons of importance who were imprisoned in consequence of denunciations, were assisted to escape. Among them was Captain John Alden, belonging to a Duxbury family. He was sent for by the magistrates to be examined. The children went through with their usual performances but when asked to point out the person who was afflicting them, one of them selected the wrong man, till one who was standing near her stooped down and whispered something: then she cried out, "It is Alden." Said the magistrate, "Did you ever

Cases in other towns.

The case of John Alden.

see him?" "No, but the man just told me so." Instead of dismissing the case, the infatuated magistrates ordered a ring to be formed in the street with Alden in it: the child was secretly instructed by the man, who was probably an enemy; so when told to point out Alden she did so, crying, "There stands Alden, a bold fellow, with his hat on, sells powder and shot to the Indians." He was committed. The children prudently cried that it was his sword which afflicted them, and it was taken away. Alden was a prominent man, and the magistrates carried him into the meeting-house and put him on a chair in full view of the people, where of course he began to pinch the children. He was asked to confess and give glory to God. Alden replied "that he hoped he should always give glory to God, but never would gratify the devil." Then he asked the magistrate why his looking upon him did not strike him down as well as his accusers. The only answer to that plain bit of common sense was his commitment to prison. He proposed to stand his trial, but was prevailed upon to be aided to escape. He went to Duxbury, and entering the house of a relative, "saluted them with the cheerful assurance that he was come from the devil and the devil was after him."[1]

The breaking of the bubble.

After the illjudged accusation of Mrs. Hale several trials occurred, but nearly all of the persons were acquitted. When, in May, 1693, the children began to whisper the names of the Governor's wife and of some relatives of Increase Mather, Phips took decisive measures. Even Cotton Mather surmised that Satan had become confused. The General Court, at the instance of numerous petitions from victims still shut up in jail, had superseded Phips's Special Commission. Now he ordered a general jail-delivery. The huge and baleful bubble had collapsed.

Compared with European epidemics of the mental kind, this American experiment was brief, but bitterly sharp while it lasted. A moment came when the excitement ran so high it turned to froth; it was a moment of collapse and not of increase. But twenty innocent persons, and two dogs suspected of being witches' familiars, had been executed. Two persons, and perhaps many more, died in jail; a good many broke jail, and were not recaptured; one hundred and fifty prisoners were released by Phips. Several hundred had suffered for this delusion. Persons who were acquitted were obliged to remain in jail till they had paid all charges, — board, jailer's fees, court charges. Many were too poor to do this, and would have lingered in confinement save for the Governor's discharge. The motive which influenced fifty-five of the victims to confess, was partly a hope of

[1] Winsor's *History of Duxbury*.

self-preservation and partly a suspicion, growing out of their theological conception of Satan and his influence, that it might be true that their singular sensations were really consequences of bewitchment.

Only one special pardon was granted by the Governor during all the convictions. The intention to secure safe convictions grew to be almost a mania. Frequently false depositions were procured after the trial, and secretly interpolated among the papers to make the case seem more complete. Two theories were propounded in the court; one, that the Devil used the spectres of the persons who were in league with him, in order to torment others; the other, that the spectres of any persons, whether in league with the Devil or not, might be employed by that personage for the same object. The Chief Justice ruled that the first theory was the more rational one and in harmony with legal precedents.



Chief Justice Sewall.

During the excitement there were some curious incidents, the reports of which assume to be authentic, involving the spontaneous movement of objects, the throwing of stones, the opening of doors, and the freaks of different utensils, spectacles, rolling-pins, books, tubs, all engaged in a promiscuous excursion. A person who was trying to write an account of these phenomena was interrupted by the attempts of his hat to rub out the page; he held it tight, but could not prevent it from getting away. There is a remarkable similarity in the narratives which cluster around different periods of nervous excitement. Occurrences like these are not unusual even now. But they excite only a momentary curiosity, and the belief in them as supernatural phenomena, if it exists at all, is limited to the few to whom they are otherwise inexplicable.

Incidents during the prevalence of the delusion.

It must be recorded greatly to the credit of the New Hampshire settler that he did not take kindly to the delusion of witchcraft.

The delusion discouraged in New Hampshire.

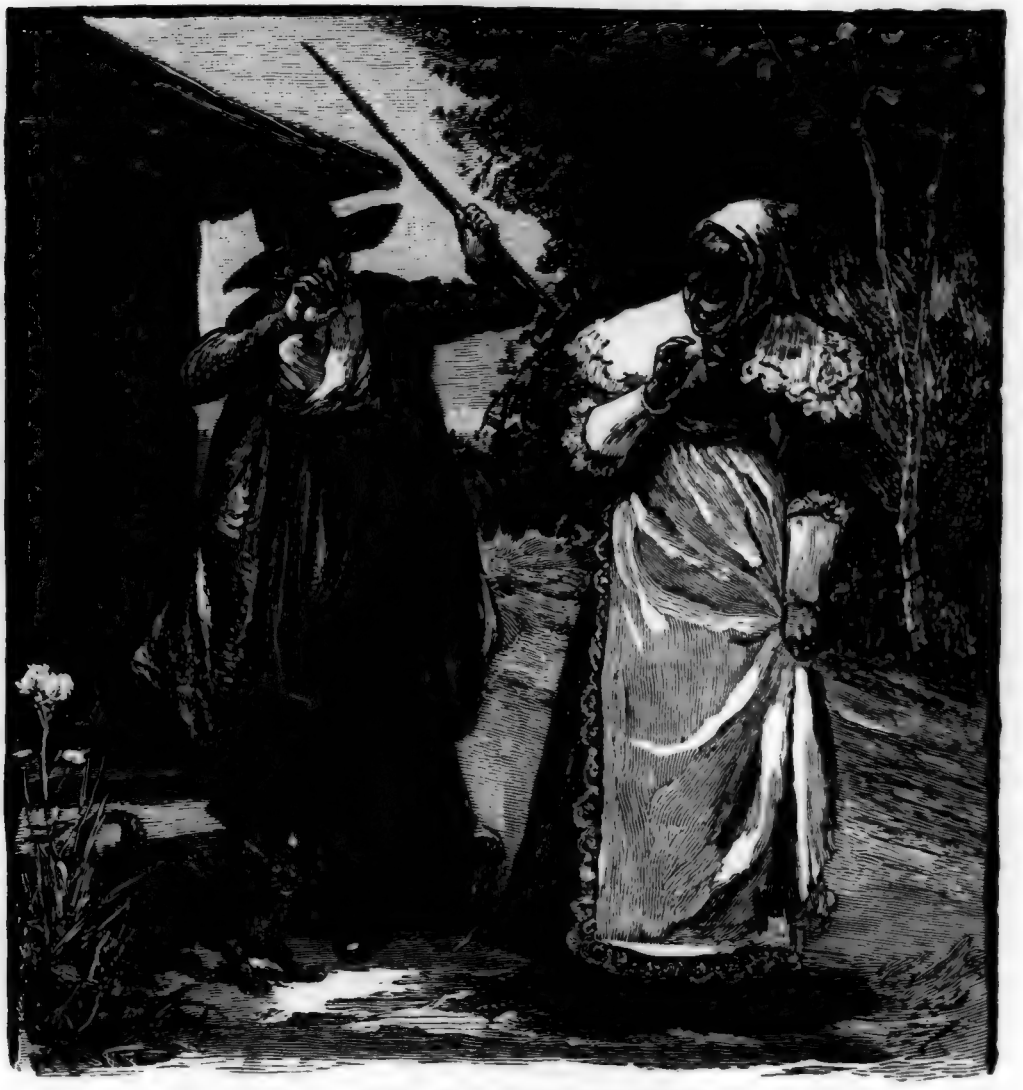
This is sometimes attributed to the more liberal sentiment which belonged to adherents of the Church of England, whose influence in Portsmouth was so considerable. When however, the delusion broke out at Salem, the most vigorous denouncer of it was the Puritan Moody; and Portsmouth became a place of refuge for persons who were accused in Massachusetts, or who had reason to fear that they would be selected. The settlers on the Piscataqua, without distinction of creed, indulged sparingly in bigotry and persecution. A stern and unrelenting discipline did not there involve, as in Massachusetts, the safety and existence of the colony. Many of the people were refugees for opinions' sake; many were liberal livers and thinkers who retreated from the too nipping and eager air of Plymouth and the Bay; and many of the most prominent men were easily tolerant, but not from sheer indifference, of sentiments which were not their own. But on the point of witchcraft there was a quite general public opinion that a belief in it should not prevail.

Every now and then there was an opportunity to test the feeling of the people. In 1658, Susanna Trimmings, who lived at Little Harbor, met Goodwife Walford, who asked her the loan of a pound of cotton. Susanna said that she had but two pounds and would not lend any to her own mother. Whereupon the Goodwife said that she would rue it, and that she was going on a long journey and never would return. With this threat a clap of fire struck Susanna on the back, and the Goodwife vanished in the shape, to her apprehension, of a black cat. Then also the woman wore the red petticoat which was the regular thing for witches. Susanna went home, and was soon found by her husband ill and moping by the fire. An action was brought against Goodwife Walford, and several persons testified that she had done strange things. The case was not decided against her, but she was bound over to appear at the next court. At the next term the case was dropped. Then she brought an action for slander against her accusers, laying damages at £1,000, and succeeded in recovering £5. She was wife of a church-warden, and it has been hinted that the charge of witchcraft originated in the enmity that existed between the Independents and the Episcopalians. Now and then an accusation would be brought against prominent individuals, who promptly answered with actions for slander, and thus broke up such prosecutions.

It is the more strange that there was no popular excitement, for Great Island, now Newcastle, was the scene of an incident supposed to be preternatural, and the people ought in all decency to have been profoundly moved by it. Salem would have been delirious with appro-

bation of such proof of Satanic agency. Dr. Mather would have dipped his credulous pen in the blackest ink to record it. The story is told by Richard Chamberlain, justice of the peace, in a pamphlet entitled "Lithobolia, or the Stone Throwing Devil. Being an exact and true Account of the various actions of infernal spirits or (Devils incarnate) witches, or both," etc. This

The "Stone-throwing" at Great Island.



Susanna Trimmings and Goodwife Walford.

rare pamphlet was printed at London in 1698, five years after the terrible delusion at Salem had passed away; but the incidents recorded in it happened in 1682, ten years before the troubles at Salem. In the summer of that year, Chamberlain was living in George Walton's family, "a sojourner in the same family the whole time (about three months) and an ocular witness of those diabolical inventions." They consisted of the throwing about by an invisible hand of stones,

bricks, hammers, iron crows, spits and other kitchen furniture, just as it happened to come "into their hellish minds." And these objects seemed to have a personal spite against the inmates of the house. When Chamberlain undertook to dissipate his alarm by playing upon some instrument, a big stone rolled into his room, — not attracted by his playing, as he says, for he was no Amphion. The windows of the house were broken by stones which seemed to be hurled from the interior; one stone lodged in the hole which it made in the glass, and was taken from it. Stones gambolled on the grass of the neighboring field, and hopped up to hit those passing by. A pile was made of the stones which thus saluted them in the open daylight, but it disappeared soon after, although no one had been noticed near it. One day Walton was returning from Portsmouth in a boat when his anchor leaped overboard and stopped it. When working in the fields, men found their sickles bent by blows from stones hurled by some invisible agent. All these disturbances by night and day were attributed to a neighboring woman who had accused Walton of appropriating a piece of her land and fencing it into his own lot. The fence was thrown down, and when some men undertook to replace it, they were pelted with above a hundred stones. These incidents were witnessed by a number of prominent persons who testified to them. Among their names we find Woodbridge, the minister, Jeffrey, a merchant, the Governor of West Jersey, and the Deputy Governor of Rhode Island. And Chamberlain declares that he who would doubt the facts and disbelieve in their Satanic origin, "must temerariously unhinge or undermine the best Religion in the world; and he must disingenuously quit and abandon that of the three Theologick Virtues or Graces to which the great Doctor of the Gentiles gave the precedence, Charity, through his unchristian and uncharitable incredulity."

Supposed cause of the "Stone-throwing."

But the people had little charity for his preternatural theory. The phenomena ceased about the time that the Council called witnesses, and began to take notice of the affair. Walton's head was broken by a stone as he was on the way to be examined; and it appears to have been the last stone thrown. No charge was sustained against any person; the incidents, instead of creating a panic and fostering delusion, seem to have been neglected and forgotten. There was, indeed, as late as 1769, a place called "Witches' Creek," half way between Great Island and Portsmouth; perhaps it was where Walton's anchor concluded to come to a mooring.

There is another place in New Hampshire, to this day called "Witch Trot," that painfully connects the State with the dread affair at Salem. Parris, the Salem minister, in whose family the first symp-

toms of the delusion appeared, and who eventually availed himself of it to destroy his rivals, or enemies, hated the Rev. George Burroughs and drove him away from Salem. He retired to Wells, in Maine, and settled there with his family. Parris had influence enough, in the height of the witch trials, to have Burroughs arrested for witchcraft and brought to Salem. It seems incredible that it could have been done; but he had left many enemies behind when he went to Wells. The accusation was based upon some commanding personal qualities which Burroughs possessed. He was a man of great stature and uncommon strength. His personal presence carried control and infected people with the magnetism of a superior nature. His look was very daunting. His knowledge of the mysteries of wood-craft, and forest life seemed to many people an uncanny endowment. When at his trial he happened to look backward, all the persons fell down whom he was supposed to be afflicting. He was charged with lifting a barrel of cider, with holding out a heavy musket at arms' length. No man, it was thought, without preternatural aid could perform such feats. He explained that he grasped the musket just behind the lock. It was said that he lifted a barrel of molasses by just putting his fingers into the bung-hole. This he denied. He was asked if his house in Wells was not haunted; he denied this, but was willing to own, he said, that there were toads. Alas, the house in Wells was haunted by wife and children filled with agony and dread, as they waited so long for him; but he did not return. Parris managed to have him hanged. He was a spotless man, and possessed a ruling intelligence.

Arrest and prosecution of George Burroughs.

His execution.

It was supposed that the enterprise to arrest him would be a difficult one, so an elder and two constables were sent to bring him to Salem. When they arrived and stated their errand, he promptly replied, "Oh, yes," and left his family, who were cheered, no doubt, with the reflection that a charge so preposterous could not for a moment be sustained. As the party started about nightfall, it was the more desirable to take the shortest route. Burroughs conducted them along a stretch of country leading through Berwick to the upper waters of the Piscataqua. There was no direct road; the track lay through an unbroken forest. The constables demurred at the prospect; Burroughs said that he knew the way; they dreaded him, but had to follow, as they afterwards declared, because they were under a spell. He knew the desolate forest as well as his own acres, for it was favorite ground of his. In the depth of it they were surprised by a storm which began with a pitchy darkness and a great hush. The men trembled with the suspicion that Burroughs

was evoking supernatural aid They watched and shuddered with fear. Then came the powerful wind, bending and breaking trees, the rush of rain and the crashing thunders. The horses were mad with terror, and started at a furious pace over the ground that is now called Witch Trot. The party came out at length upon the river safely, and Burroughs with them, who had no desire to escape; but the constables on the day of his trial added their testimony to his familiarity with the powers of air and darkness, and always believed that he raised the storm.



Burroughs and the Sheriffs.

In 1720, an attempt was made in Littleton, Massachusetts, to revive the witchcraft delusion, but it proved abortive. But the old Scotch ordeal for discovering witches by throwing the accused into the water, when the innocent one would sink, not much to her personal advantage, was tried in the eighteenth century at an inlet of Lynnhaven Bay, Virginia, called "Witch-Duck."

Later attempts to revive the witchcraft excitement.

When the curtain had fallen upon the Salem tragedy, Cotton Mather undertook to sum up the matter and vindicate his share in it. This superficial and ambitious divine wrote thus: "It may be

that errors on both sides have attended them [the troubles] which will never be understood until the day when Satan shall be bound after another manner than he is at this day; but for my own part, I know not that ever I have advanced any opinion in the matter of witchcraft, but what all the ministers of the Lord that I know of in the world, whether English or Scotch, or French or Dutch, are of the same opinion with me."

Mather's vindication.

CHAPTER XX.

COLONIZATION BY FRIENDS.

PROGRESS OF NEW JERSEY. — INSURRECTION UNDER JAMES CARTERET. — CHANGES IN THE NEW JERSEY TITLES. — THE "QUINTIPARTITE DEED." — DIVISION INTO EAST AND WEST JERSEY. — PROSPERITY OF WEST JERSEY UNDER QUAKER RULE. — CONFLICTS OF JURISDICTION. — THE QUAKERS BUY EAST JERSEY. — EARLIEST CONNECTION OF WILLIAM PENN WITH AMERICAN COLONIZATION. — LIFE AND CHARACTER OF PENN. — THE GRANT OF PENNSYLVANIA. — EARLY SETTLERS. — PENN IN AMERICA. — PHILADELPHIA FOUNDED. — THE TREATY AT SHACKAMAXON. — PENN'S RETURN TO ENGLAND. — PROGRESS OF THE COLONY. — PENN AGAIN AT PHILADELPHIA.

THE new Proprietors of New Jersey had no reason to complain of any want of progress and prosperity in their colony for the first few years after it came into their possession. The constitution of government which they had established was acceptable to the people; the climate and the soil were attractive; the vicinity to older colonies made it easy to supply the wants of those who should settle in it, — exempt from the privations and hardships which necessarily attend a settlement in an isolated wilderness. Such representations brought emigrants from England; the enterprising and discontented in New England, whether desirous of more room, or restless for political or religious reasons, saw, or thought they saw, that they could better their condition by a removal to the new province. The first towns grew rapidly; others were begun. The axe and the plough, in the hands of sturdy farmers, everywhere encroached upon the primeval forests and the virgin soil.

Progress of New Jersey.

But when, in 1670, the first quit-rents were demanded by the Proprietors, there came a check to all this prosperity. Titles to lands led to inevitable and bitter disputes. Some had purchased from the Indians; some claimed under the original Dutch owners; others had received grants from Nicolls; fewer still held deeds from the Proprietors at that time, Berkeley and Carteret. Bergen and Woodbridge were among the latter, and acknowledged their liability to the payment of these rents; but Elizabeth, Newark, and isolated farmers here and there, who had settled upon

Trouble over rents and titles.

their lands before the country had come under the jurisdiction of the English, united in resisting the demands of the proprietary government.

Resistance, at length, came to be absolute insurrection. A leader only was wanted, and it was not long before one was provided. About a year after the demand for the quit-rents was made, James Carteret, the second son of Sir George, arrived in the colony on his way to Carolina, of which he was one of the landgraves. A dissolute, unscrupulous, and ambitious man, he was ready to take advantage of any fortune that chance threw in his way. He put himself at the head of the movement against his cousin, Philip Carteret, who held his commission from James's father, Sir George. In the spring of 1672 the insurrectionary party called an assembly at Elizabethtown, formally deposed Philip Carteret, and elected James to be Governor in his stead.

Captain James Carteret at the head of the insurrection.

Philip made little further attempt to contest the matter on the spot, but, appointing a deputy to represent him, took ship in the early summer and sailed for England, to lay the whole matter before his superiors. It was his wisest course. Unaided, he could do nothing against an unwilling people; and possibly he believed that his cousin's government would be to the malcontents a most salutary lesson. Such, at least, was the result. James showed himself to be utterly incompetent. By the time orders were received from the Duke of York, the insurgents were ready to submit. Captain Berry, Philip Carteret's deputy, was acknowledged without further trouble in May, 1673;[1] and James Carteret sailed for Virginia ten days afterward.[2] There was no further interruption of the proprietary government until the Dutch reconquest of New Netherland in the autumn of that year; and even then, though New Jersey received the new name of Achter Col, and ostensibly passed once more under the Netherland rule, the real change was but slight, and internal tranquillity was almost undisturbed.

The Proprietary Government restored.

New Jersey was placed in a new position when by the treaty of Westminster New Netherland was restored to England. The Duke of York's title to New York had been entirely extinguished by the conquest of the territory by a foreign power, and its subsequent passage to the crown by treaty; and he required a new grant from the King, in order to be again the rightful proprietor of the province. How much more, then, it

Title to New Jersey after the Treaty of Westminster.

[1] Whitehead, pp. 58, 59.

[2] He came back to New York afterward, where he was seen in 1679, "running about among the farmers, and staying where he can get most to drink, and sleeping in barns on the straw." — *Journal of the Labadists.*

was argued — and it was an argument the Duke was willing enough to listen to — was the title of his grantees, Berkeley and Carteret, in the province of New Jersey destroyed. James saw that he had an opportunity, under cover of this theory, to possess himself again of the territory he had parted with so rashly; and he availed himself of it without delay. He gave to Andros, after he had taken possession of the government of New England, a commission to govern all his property in America, New Jersey included, assuming that the grant to Berkeley and Carteret was void.

Action of Sir George Carteret. His title confirmed.

In the meantime, however, Sir George Carteret had hastened to do all in his power, not only to protect his own title, but to absorb that of his partner as well. He had gone to the King at once; and Charles, before he sealed his new grant to the Duke, had been induced to assure Carteret by letter that he was "seized of the Province of New Cæsarea, or New



Entrance to Barnegat Inlet.

Jersey," and that he had "the *sole* power, under us, to dispose of the said country, upon such terms and conditions as he should think fit." Berkeley, whose title had been equal with that of Carteret,

Berkeley's grant to Fenwicke and Byllinge.

had, in the spring of this year (1674)[1], conveyed his "undivided half" to John Fenwicke in trust for Edward Byllinge, but both his right to grant and his grantees were utterly ignored in this new royal document.

This step on the part of Carteret, interfering alike with the interest of all parties, led to a compromise. A short time after the

A new grant.

issue of Andros's commission, a new grant was made (August 8, 1674), to Carteret, in severalty, of that part of New Jersey lying northeast of a line drawn from Barnegat Inlet to Ren-

[1] Proud says (*History New Jersey*, i., 136), "in or about 1675;" but there is no doubt it was on March 18, 1674.

kokus creek; but in conveying this the Duke did not give, as he had done before, "the full power and authority to rule and govern," nor did he vary the terms of Andros's appointment to be Governor over all the Duke's possessions in America. For a time all went well once more, and in the beginning of the next year Philip Carteret returned as Governor, made liberal concessions on the part of his cousin, and was quietly accepted by the people. But just as his government was thoroughly restored, the successors of Berkeley's grantees proposed another compromise, the consequences of which were momentous.

Fenwicke and Byllinge.

A quarrel had sprung up between Fenwicke and Byllinge with regard to their respective rights in their new purchase. It was against the tenets of their faith — both were members of the Society of Friends — to go to law with one another, and they had decided to settle the matter by the arbitration of one of their own number. The dispute was referred to William Penn, already one of the most eminent members of their sect in England; and his decision, after some argument with Fenwicke, was made satisfactory to both. Fenwicke in person, with a few companions, set sail for America to found a colony; but Byllinge, overwhelmed by debts, was compelled to make an assignment for his creditors; and the greater part of his right and title in New Jersey was handed over to Penn, to Gawen Laurie and Nicholas Lucas — the latter being two of those to whom Byllinge was most deeply indebted.

The matter had now become so complicated that all who were interested saw the necessity of an exact division of the province; for Berkeley had disposed of his share as an undivided half; while Sir George Carteret's pretensions, as the Duke of York's secretary wrote to Andros, had not yet been so adjusted that he could disregard the claims of others. Carteret evidently thought it better to negotiate directly with those whose rights were at least equal with his own, than to trust to the Duke's last grant, or even to the documents that had preceded it; while Penn, Laurie, and Lucas were anxious to make Byllinge's property of immediate avail, if possible, and perhaps also to carry out another plan of colonization, the outlines of which had just been considered among them. On the first of July, 1676, old style, therefore, after much preliminary negotiation, a "quintipartite deed" was completed, and signed by Carteret on the one side, and Penn, Laurie, Lucas, and Byllinge on the other, which divided the whole province of New Jersey into two great portions. "East New Jersey" included all that part northeast of a line drawn from Little Egg Harbor to a point on the most northern branch of the Delaware River, in north latitude 41° 40′. "West New Jersey" comprehended all the rest of

The "Quintipartite Deed." — East and West Jersey.

the territory originally granted by the Duke. East New Jersey was the property of Carteret; West New Jersey passed into the hands of the associates; and the Quintipartite Agreement marked the first great purchase made by Friends in the New World, where they were to found a powerful State.

Subdivision of West Jersey.

The four managers of the newly defined territory now proceeded to make an equitable division of it among the persons interested. Dividing it into one hundred parts, and setting aside ten for Fenwicke, who had already made (in June, 1675) the first settlement at Salem on the Delaware, — they arranged to administer or dispose of the other ninety in the interest of Byllinge's creditors. And since, to make the scheme profitable, it was necessary, first of all, to attract more colonists than the few who had joined the Salem settlers, they drew up a set of "concessions and agreements," which should at the same time provide for the future government of their province, and, by its liberality, draw emigrants to the province. Like the constitution of New Jersey under Berkeley and Carteret, these "concessions" provided for taxation by the people themselves, through an annual assembly having one delegate from every "propriety;" but the new instrument went farther. It provided for a secret ballot, "whereby every man may freely choose according to his own judgment and honest intention," instead of the "common and confused way of cries and voices;" and every colonist could vote and was eligible to the position of a delegate. Each delegate was to be paid for his services at the rate of a shilling a day during the Assembly's sitting; each was to be known as the "servant of the people." Religious freedom, it need hardly be said, was secured in the fullest sense. Imprisonment for debt was abolished, and a sensible bankrupt law substituted. Trial by jury and the rights of the English common law were secured to every settler.

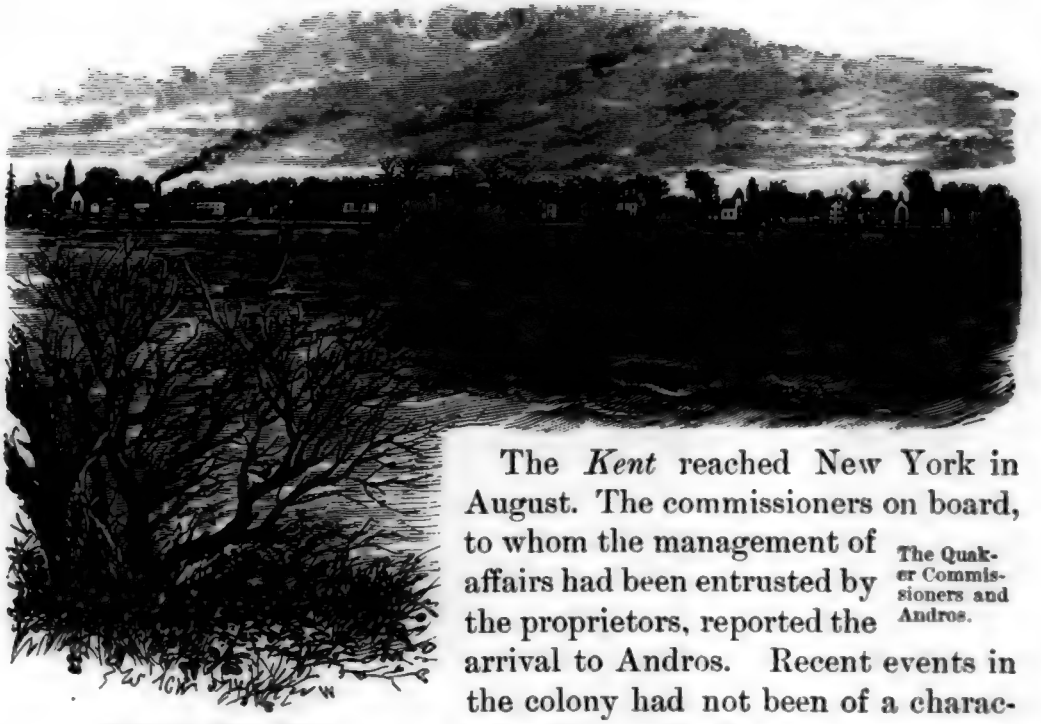


Seal of East Jersey.

Its Laws.

These liberal provisions were published in England in the beginning of 1677. The proprietors invited and urged Friends to remove to a country where they would be secure from persecution, and certain of prosperity. Several hundred persons went over that year. In March a company of two hundred and thirty had collected and embarked on one vessel. As their ship, the *Kent*, lay at anchor in the Thames, about ready to sail, King Charles passed by in his

barge. The crowded decks attracted his attention, and he came alongside. He asked her destination; he inquired if all on board were Friends, for, probably, he had heard of an enterprise in which so much interest had been aroused all over England. It certainly excited his curiosity, perhaps something more, for he wished them a good voyage and gave them his blessing. It did them no harm if it did them no good, though, perhaps, there was not another man in the kingdom less capable than Charles of comprehending the character and the principles of the people to whom he gave his benediction.



Burlington, New Jersey.

The Quaker Commissioners and Andros.

The *Kent* reached New York in August. The commissioners on board, to whom the management of affairs had been entrusted by the proprietors, reported the arrival to Andros. Recent events in the colony had not been of a character to dispose the Governor to welcome their coming. Fenwicke, who had now been two years at Salem, had denied the legality of the Duke of York's customs-duties and other taxes, and in the January preceding the arrival of these new emigrants had been arrested, brought to New York and thrown into prison. He was still confined in Fort James, and when the commissioners came before Andros, his first question was, what evidence had they to produce of title from the Duke. They had none. The successive grants from the Duke to Berkeley, and from Berkeley to others, gave, they asserted, right of government as well as title to the soil. This, the Governor declared, it would be as much as his head was worth to grant without orders from his master; but if they "had but a line or two from the Duke, he would be as ready to surrender it to them as they would be to ask it." As he laid his hand on his

sword in confirmation of his purpose to hold his government over all the Duke's territory till further commands from England, the Friends saw themselves obliged to yield thus far; and agreeing to consider themselves only as magistrates under him until other instructions came, they were suffered to proceed upon their voyage. Fenwicke was permitted at the same time to go upon his own recognizance, and directed to report in the following autumn at New York, for the final decision on his case.

The question of jurisdiction compromised.

The *Kent* arrived at Newcastle on the Delaware on the sixteenth of August. It was three months later, however, before a place of permanent settlement was fixed upon. This was the present town of Burlington. It was first named New Beverley; but this was soon changed to Bridlington — corrupted into Brellington, then Burlington — a parish in Yorkshire, England, whence many of the emigrants had come. "Here is a town," wrote one of them, John Crips, to a friend in England, "laid out for twenty proprieties, and a straight line, drawn from the river side up the land, which is to be the main street, and a market-place about the middle. The Yorkshire ten proprietors are to build on one side, and the London ten on the other side; and they have ordered one street to be made along the river side, which is not divided with the rest, but in small lots by itself, and every one that hath any part in a propriety is to have his share in it. The town lots for every propriety will be about ten or eleven acres." [1]

The new village was prosperous from the beginning, and as shipload after shipload of colonists arrived, other settlements sprung up along the river and its tributaries, until the Proprietors saw their plantation increasing more rapidly in two or three years, than other colonies had done in ten, and this almost entirely through the exertions of Friends alone.

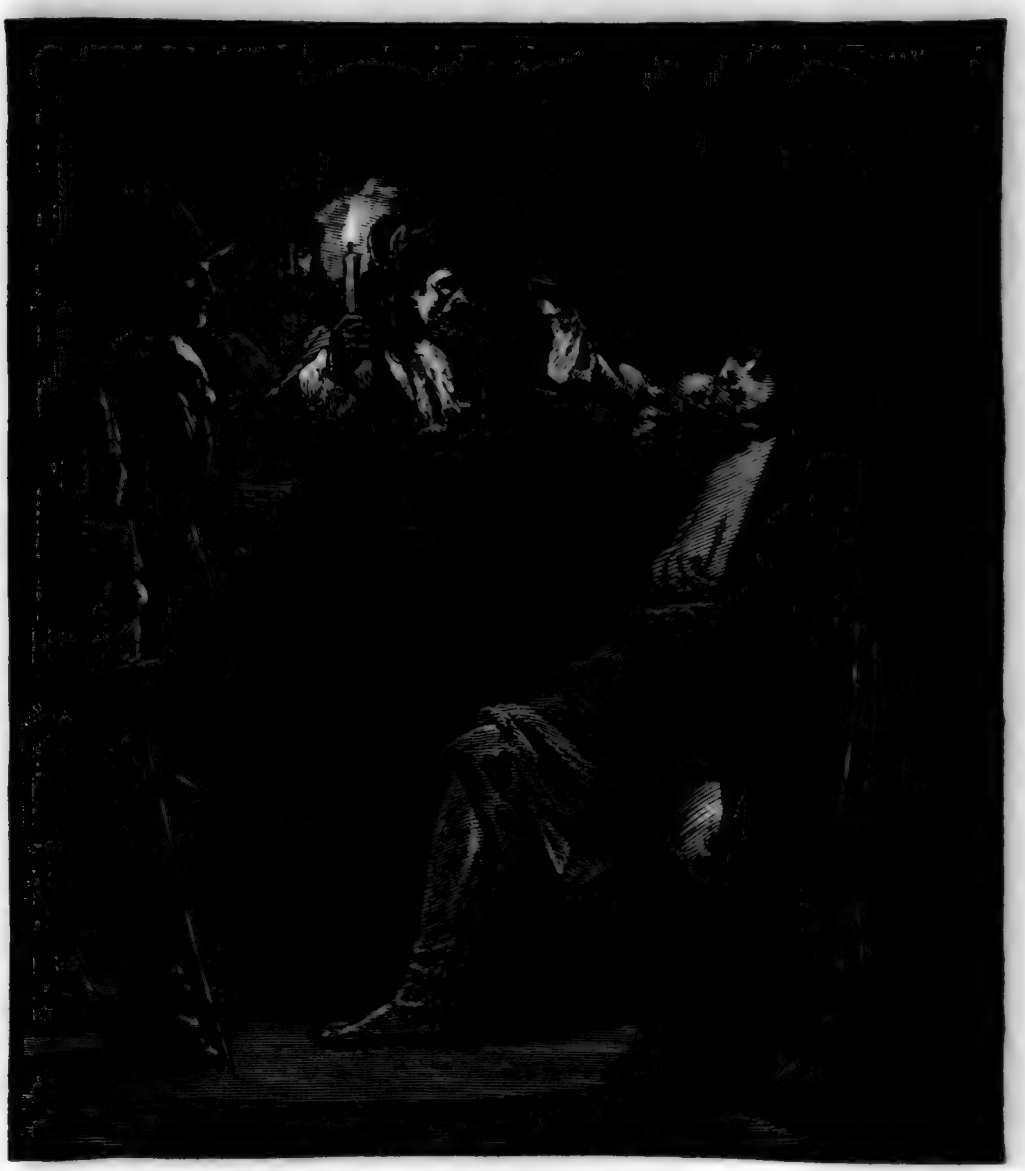
The greatest drawback to the complete success of the undertaking was the question of jurisdiction. Taxes were still assessed on behalf of the Duke of York. In East New Jersey Philip Carteret and Sir Edmund Andros were in open opposition. Carteret had proclaimed, with the hearty support of the Assembly, that all vessels coming directly to the province should be free from duties. Andros intercepted a ketch bound to Elizabethport with a cargo of rum, and compelled her captain to pay duties at the New York custom-house. A proposal for a friendly meeting of the two governors on Staten Island was declined by Carteret. Andros warned him to forbear exercising any jurisdiction; and announced that he should erect a fort "at Sandy Point"

Renewed difficulties as to jurisdiction.

Conflict between Andros and Carteret.

[1] Letter in Proud's *History of Pennsylvania.*

to aid in the enforcement of his authority. Carteret declared that this should be resisted; and when Andros went to New Jersey, a month later, seeking a peaceful conference, Carteret met him with a military force to oppose his landing. As Andros came without troops he was permitted to land, but the conference came to nothing. The



Arrest of Carteret.

crisis soon came. A few weeks after Andros's visit, Carteret was taken from his house at Elizabethtown by New York soldiers, in the night; and taken to the city, where he was put in the sheriff's hands like a common criminal. He was tried at a special term of the Court of Assizes, in May, and, though Andros sent the jurors out three times, acquitted. He was compelled, however, to give security that he would not again assume any authority in New

Arrest of Carteret.

Jersey. As some atonement for this ill-treatment, Andros escorted him back to Elizabethtown. The Assembly was asked to accept the "Duke's Laws," but they maintained their own, while at the same time they accepted the government of Andros. Carteret transferred the dispute to England, where it was presented by the widow of Sir George Carteret — who had died the year before — for the decision of the Duke himself.

The Friends of West Jersey had been even earlier in presenting their complaints against Andros. They succeeded in having their case referred to the Duke's commissioners in September, 1679; and Penn and his associates came forward with a masterly argument which secured their end. It was a bold and striking plea in favor of popular liberty; and the commissioners, advised by Sir William Jones, decided that James's grant had reserved no jurisdiction, and that none could be rightly claimed. The Duke accepted the decision. In August, 1680, he executed a new deed, relinquishing all rights over West Jersey; and in October, Carteret's friends secured a similar document with regard to their portion of the province, and a deed confirming it to Sir George Carteret, the grandson of the original grantee. But East New Jersey had never been a profitable property; and now, while its neighbor grew apace, it seemed to lose rather than to gain. Philip Carteret imprudently brought forward again a question already once decided — the ownership of Staten Island, — and thus came once more into conflict with the representatives of the Duke of York. At the same time his home administration was disturbed by quarrels with a new Assembly, which he at last arbitrarily dissolved in the autumn of 1681. The proprietors at home were discouraged. The watchful Friends, whose own undertaking had been so successful, now saw an opportunity to extend it further. Proposals were made to the trustees of Carteret's estate, which the latter were only too glad to close with; and in February, 1682, the eastern territory was sold to ten of the West Jersey proprietors, among whom was William Penn.

West Jersey freed from the Duke of York's control.

The Quakers buy East New Jersey. 1682.

William Penn was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, a distinguished naval officer born at Bristol in 1621, of a family that had preserved an honorable station and record for fourteen generations. Sir William, the father, was peculiarly fitted for a life of enterprise, and had a capacity for commanding men, which was, however, signally baffled when he undertook to bend his Quaker son to his own notions of preferment and court life. He became a Captain at twenty-one, Rear Admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, Vice Admiral at

Parentage of William Penn.

Career of Admiral Penn.

twenty-five, and Vice Admiral of England at thirty-one years of age. When Cromwell planned his expedition against the Spanish West Indies, he was appointed, in 1654, Admiral of the fleet that was destined to coöperate with the land forces under General Venables. Unfortunately the Protector sent on board civil commissioners charged with some control over the actions of the officers. This, and the climate, and a disagreement or failure of coöperation between the sea and land forces, resulted in a disastrous failure, and the Admiral, on his return, fell into temporary disgrace and was lodged in the Tower. But we find him returned for Parliament from Weymouth, in 1655, and, what is more important, a commander under the Duke of York in a great fight against the Dutch fleet in 1665, when he rendered such important service to the Duke that Charles II. made it a special point in the patent which he issued to his son for the government of Pennsylvania, partly to conciliate the Duke, who had some pretensions to the territory and was opposed to Penn's claim.

The Admiral died in 1670. His turn for public affairs, and a certain vivacity of temper and sense of humor, were inherited by his son William, who was born in London, October 14, 1644, of a pious and high-minded mother. She very early began to impart her religious feeling to her son, and to awake the instinct which he had plainly inherited from her. When he was five years old she asked him a great question. "Who made you, William?" "Sure enough," said the eager boy, "was it not God?" "But, how do you know?" "You have told me so a hundred times." "But suppose I had not told you, could you have found it out for yourself?" "I don't know." "Why, William, nothing is easier." "Tell me, mother." "Do you see that stone lying there?" "What of it, mother?" "It is something, is it not?" "Yes." "But how do you know?" "Why I see it, I can feel it, and lift it." "Then do you think it made itself?" "I don't see how; it is a senseless thing, and no thing can make itself." Many and sweet must have been the colloquies between mother and son upon high matters, while perhaps the Admiral was on the seas, or tempting the unstable element of courts.

Birth of William Penn.

The boy was sent to school at Chiswell in Essex. One day in his eleventh year he perceived an exceeding glory in his room, and great comfort and emotion flowed through his soul. This experience was not traceable to any external influence; he had as yet held no communication with Friends who expected and cherished these mental states. But this first touch of the divine presence did not impair the buoyancy of his youth. He loved sports and manly exercises, was overflowing with animal spirits,

His childhood and youth.

and was fond of a joke. At fifteen, he was so advanced as to enter Oxford, where he associated with noblemen of rather discursive habits.

But there came to Oxford one Thomas Lee, an eminent preacher of the Society of Friends. Penn heard him and was greatly impressed with the new doctrines. Gradually he began to stay away from the Anglican worship because of his love of hearing any Friend speak who came to town. For this he was fined in 1660. When, under Charles II., a mandate came up to Oxford, restoring the habit of the surplice to the students and making its use imperative, Penn, collecting a few of his spirited comrades, attacked the students

Inclines to Quakerism.



Wanstead, Essex, Home of William Penn's Childhood.

who appeared in surplices and tore them over their heads. This led to his expulsion, to the extreme disgust of the Admiral, who cherished views of propriety and advancement for his son. In a fit of anger, in spite of the protesting mother, he turned young Penn out of the house. Repenting at leisure of this undomestic procedure, and alarmed at Penn's increasing tendency to the peculiar views of sectaries, he was summoned back and despatched to Paris in 1662, well provided with money; the father hoping to divert his mind by gayety and to change his habit of life.

Expelled from Oxford.

He is sent to Paris.

Penn did not dislike it; all his senses were keen and vital, and he liked to taste the humor of things. He was engaged once in a street fight, but he acquired fine manners and a more easy accommodation to circumstances. The delighted Admiral presented him at court,

then sent him to Dublin to look after some family property. Here he led a gay life, till one day he saw a placard announcing that a Friend "would preach in the Market House." He was impressed to go and listen. The preacher was his old friend, Thomas Lee, who taught him at Oxford to despise ordinances and cherish the Spirit. His heart was turned back to the old genuine affections of his nature, and he became again the school-boy who had felt a presence in his room.

Penn is sent to Dublin.

The decisive moment of his life had arrived. He doffed the courtly garb and adopted the ordinary costume of the Friend of that period; but the courtly eloquence and suavity of manner which nature had bestowed upon him he could not dispense with. There remained too the inextinguishable force and vivacity of his nature, which still sometimes led him into a broadness of speech and contemptuous allusion. Immediately surrendering his old habits of living he became a constant attendant upon the meetings of Friends. And it was upon one of these occasions in Cork that he was arrested, taken before the mayor, and for the first time committed to prison. His father, though disgusted at the change in his son's opinions, continued to be useful in getting him out of prison, whenever his boldness lodged him there. He was recalled home in 1666, and subjected to the father's arguments and threats. A severe struggle took place in his heart between his paternal duty and the new light which had risen within him. The light prevailed, and the angry father again dismissed him from the house.

Penn definitely embraces the Friends' doctrines.

Now he began to speak in Friends' meetings, and to employ a sprightly pen in defence of the new doctrines. In 1668, after an abortive discussion with some Presbyterian ministers, he wrote his "Sandy Foundation Shaken," which gave such offence that he was committed to the Tower on the charge of heresy. Here he solaced confinement with industrious writing; among other treatises composing his famous "No Cross No Crown," of which he said, "It is a path God in his everlasting kindness guided my feet into, in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age." And we find the key-note of the whole Quaker practice in England and America in this sentence: "To say that we strain at small things, which becomes not people of so fair pretensions to liberty and freedom of spirit, I answer with meekness, truth and sobriety; first, nothing is small that God makes matter of conscience to do or leave undone." He was kept in the Tower for seven months, and at length released in consequence of his clear and positive religious statements in a treatise called "Innocency with her open Face."

Penn imprisoned. — His writings.

The father's temper had "like to break his heart when things went wrong," but he underwent a hard conflict to set them right. A partial reconciliation between him and the son led gradually to a complete one before his death in 1670. Then Penn inherited great estates, which he lavishly used and encumbered in his important enterprises.

Persecution of Penn and other Quakers.

But meantime the persecutions of the Quakers attained unusual severity. Although Charles II. had enjoined the Boston magistrates to suspend their cruelties against the Friends, and had manifested a spirit of toleration in England, he subsequently, when under the influence of his ministers, issued fresh orders to New England to suppress the sect, and allowed the statutes to be enforced at home. Mayors and Recorders took advantage of this mood and revived the municipal statutes against dissenters' meetings and preaching. When the King recovered from his temporary mood of reaction and began to have considerable regard for leading Quakers, it did not affect the popular prejudice. The prosecutions went on, and the King made no active interference. The usual outrages prevailed through the kingdom. Meetings were mobbed, hats pulled off and trampled on, Friends were beaten, robbed, given over to any ruffianly treatment, thrown into loathsome jails, and if they had any money were fined, in some cases at the rate of £20 a month.

Penn's trial.

Penn was arrested for preaching in 1670, and his trial at the Old Bailey occurred in September. He and his friend, William Mead, a linen-draper who knew how to quote Latin in his plea, were arraigned on an indictment that absurdly charged them with gathering a tumultuous assembly in Grace Church Street with force and arms to the disturbance of the King's peace, and did there preach to the great terror and disturbance of many of his liege subjects. We have Penn's own report of this trial, published in Howell's "State Trials" and in his Works. On September first, the accused simply pleaded not guilty, and were remanded till the third. On that day, as they entered the court, some official rudely pulled their hats off, whereupon the Mayor rebuked the officer and made him put on their hats again. At this the Recorder magnified his office by fining each forty marks for contempt of court, though the order for replacing their hats came from the bench. So, said Penn, it is not we, but the bench which ought to be fined. When the Recorder said that the indictment was founded upon the common law, Penn asked him what was that law; to which the testy and virulent Recorder replied that he had not time enough to explain the cases which made the common law; and Penn rejoined, "If it be common it should not be so hard

to produce." Penn's retorts were so sharp that the tolerably well disposed Mayor ordered him into the bail-dock, a felon's dirty place in the purlieus of the court room; and Mead conducted himself with such steadiness that he soon followed. The jury, though vigorously bullied by the Recorder, brought in the simple verdict, "Guilty of speaking in Grace Church Street." Sent out again, they soon returned with the same verdict. But this did not suit the court. The jury was shut up and watched overnight, without meat, drink, fire, or any



Trial of William Penn.

other accommodation. The next morning it returned the same verdict. Again it was angrily sent out, only to return with the original verdict. This happened twice more, the trial lasting till September fifth, and Penn and Mead being transferred to Newgate while it was pending, and the obstinate jury being shut up without food or drink. When at last the original verdict was rendered, each juror was fined forty marks for following his own opinion, and Penn and Mead sent to Newgate till each paid his forty marks for having his hat reset

upon his head. Such was the tolerated spite and injustice of that interval of persecution.[1]

Death of the Admiral.

Soon after the trial at the Old Bailey, Penn's father died, as it appears under great concern of mind at a tardy recognition of his son's courage and virtue. After taking the final leave of the household, he said: "Son William, I charge you do nothing against your conscience: if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests, to the end of the world."

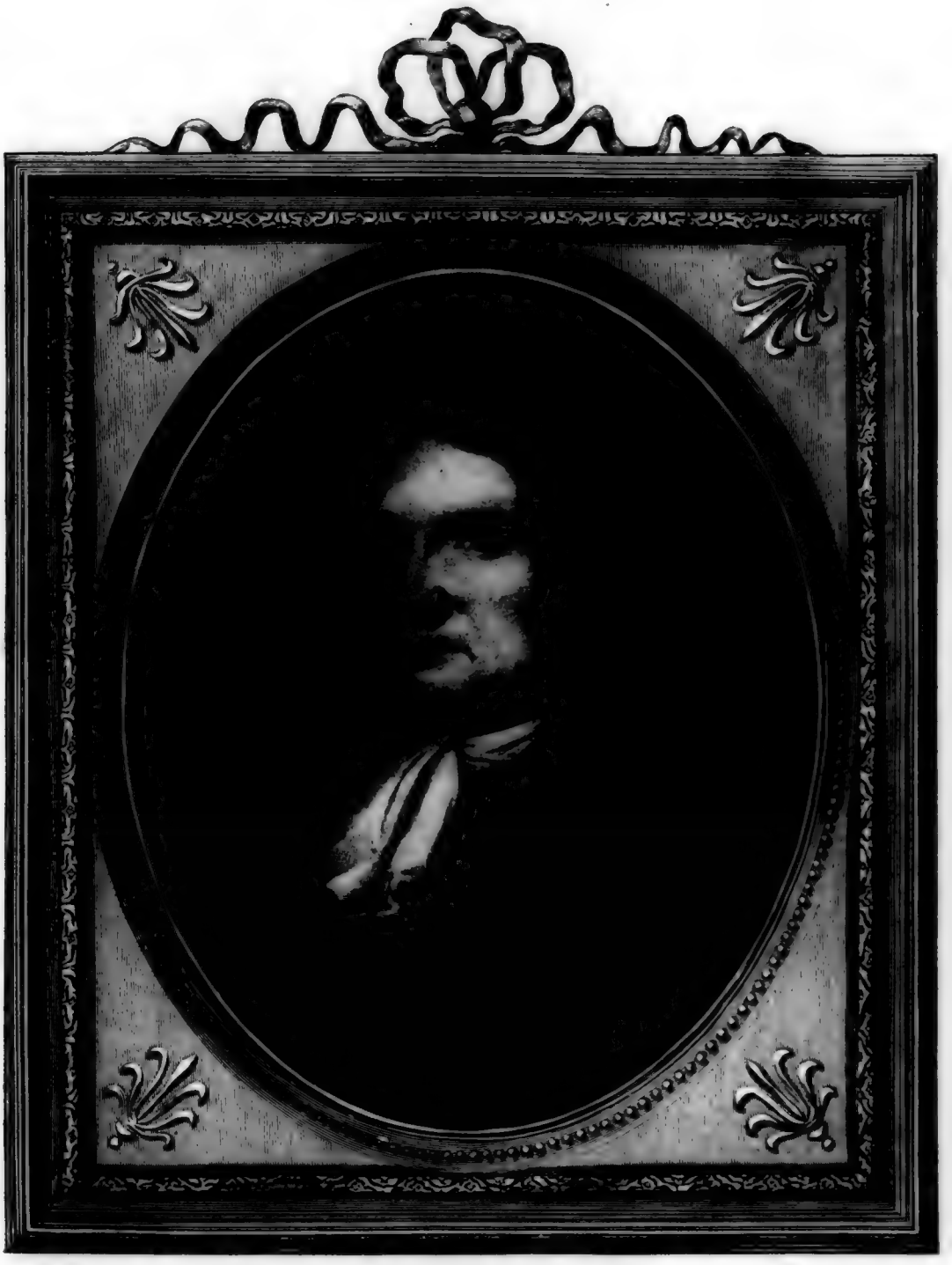
In 1671, Penn was again in Newgate for six months for being present at a Friends' meeting. After his release, he went on a religious mission to Holland and Germany, with Robert Barclay, author of the famous "Apology," and George Fox. His interviews with the susceptible Princess Elizabeth of Germany are memorable in the annals of Quakerism.

Penn's claim against the Crown. His proposal.

Among the effects of his father, Penn had inherited a claim against the Crown for arrears of the Admiral's pay, and for various loans to the Admiralty. What with principal and interest, it amounted in 1681 to £16,000, a sum which, in the money value of to-day, would be a very large one. Penn proposed to the government to liquidate this debt by a grant to him of territory in America. Those members of the Privy Council who were hostile to the views of Quakerism relative to the Church and State, strongly opposed the grant. But even the Duke of York, with whom he had been lately in controversy, favored his petition, mindful perhaps of the Admiral's great service to him in the tight pinch of the naval battle. The Duke might have preferred to extend his own province of New York farther to the southward.

Penn was well skilled in the methods of courts, and knew when to wait, when to persist, how smoothly to deal with the men of influence, in order to prefer his claim. The treasury also was empty, and the King thought he would be well rid of a debt of £16,000 for many square miles of wilderness peopled only by Indians. The Lords' Committee of Colonies, the Board of Trade, were quite contemptuous

[1] Eighty years later, on June 7, 1753, a Quakeress managed to get into the House of Lords, and reprehended the Peers on account of some fashionable excesses in dress and amusements. The *Monthly Review* said: "She was indulged with the attention of the House." During the French Revolution, a Quaker preferred to keep on his hat in the tribune when he was present at a sitting of the Council of Ancients. It was the President's opinion that the Council, by allowing him to remain with it on, would give a proof of its respect for the freedom of religious opinions. But the order of the day was carried upon a very sensible remark by Rousseau, who said: "He may come with his coat buttoned after the fashion of the Quakers, if he pleases, but let him take off his hat or stay away. If the delicacy of his conscience cannot yield to his curiosity, let him make his curiosity yield to the delicacy of his conscience."



WILLIAM PENN.

(From the copy by Place at the National Museum.)

over the idea of establishing over Indians, and amid foreign rivalries, a set of non-resistants. But a very cogent address in Council by Penn's chief advocate, clearing up the anti-governmental, anti-priest, and anti-royal principles of the Friends, prevailed. Chief Justice North was appointed to draw up a charter, with specifications of boundaries, which was signed March 4, 1681. In consideration of two beaver-skins annually, and a fifth part of all the gold and silver that might be mined, the King granted to Penn a territory of forty thousand square miles. This monarch was nothing if not merry; he must be allowed his sport. "Here," said he, "I am doing well in granting all these coasts, seas, bays, etc., to such a fighting man as you are. But you must promise not to take to scalping. And will you practise entire toleration toward all members of the Church of England?" To which, of course, Penn readily assented. As regards the scalping, a striking decline from the principles of his father was shown by the grandson of Penn, who proclaimed in July, 1764, that for every male Indian above the age of ten who was captured, a bounty of $150 should be paid; for every male killed and scalped, $134; for every one thus served under ten, $130; for every female killed and scalped, $50. But Penn's descendants had then long ceased to be Friends, and the frontier influence of the French among the Indians was of the most murderous kind.

The grant of Pennsylvania.

The King had called the new territory, thus granted, Pennsylvania. But Penn, whose family originated in Wales, had intended to call it New Wales. In the conference with the Secretary, who handed him the charter, he objected to the King's designation, and tried to prevail upon the Secretary to substitute his own, even offering him, when he proved stubborn, twenty guineas to alter it. But the Secretary could not overcome his sense of duty. Upon referring the matter to the King, with the compromise of Sylvania, the King said, "No. I am godfather to the territory, and will bestow its name."

The new territory named.

Penn's proprietary jurisdiction thus made secure, he issued a far-sighted and liberal advertisement of the inducements for emigration, which particularly addressed the Quaker disposition. His scheme of administration is too long to reproduce entire: but two or three special traits of it deserve emphasis. He declared that he wished to establish a just and righteous government in his province, that others might take example by it. In England there was not room for such a holy experiment. Government is a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end. Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws. Gov-

Penn's proposals to emigrants.

ernments depend upon men, not men upon governments. The first principle of Penn's new code recognized liberty of conscience; all persons acknowledging the one Eternal God, living peaceably and justly, were not to be molested or prejudiced in matters of faith and worship.

Penn went further than this; with the sad example of New England experience in his thought, he added that nobody shall be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever. Only murder and treason were to be punishable by death. That, at least, was insisted upon by Chief Justice North. But while Penn lived, no gallows was erected in his province. He said that a prison must be converted into a school of reformation and education; that litigation ought to give way to some regularly appointed arbitration; that an oath was a superfluity; so, also, were cock-pits, bull-baiting, card-playing, theatres, and drunkenness. Lying was punishable as a crime. This, indeed, went to the root of the matter, for all nations from the earliest times have acknowledged that a lie is the parent of a horde of vices. Trial by jury was established, and in all cases which involved an Indian, the jury must be composed of six whites and six natives, and whenever a planter conceived that he was injured in person or property by a native he must not take the law into his own hands, but apply to a magistrate, and the latter must confer with the native's sachem. The person of the Indian was declared to be sacred.

Penn advertised the land in his province at forty shillings per hundred acres, and even servants could hold fifty acres in fee simple. "Still," said he to the Friends, eager to enter upon their new homes, "let no one move rashly, but have an eye to the Providence of God." So great was his reputation in Europe that he attracted many emigrants from its countries, mainly from Germany, and recruited from the soberest and thriftiest kind. A German Company, under the guidance of Franz Pastorius,[1] bought fifteen thousand acres.

Early settlers.

Three vessels came over in 1681. One of them was frozen in at Chester, and the passengers could get no further. They were obliged to dig caves in the river bank and live in them. This was a common expedient with the earliest settlers, and at a later period Penn complained of the liquor drinking and excesses in the caves. It had always been his object to live in his province and manage his affairs. When the ship in which he intended to embark

[1] See a German pamphlet in the library of Harvard College, by Fr. Daniel Pastorius, "a geographical statistical Description of the Province of Pennsylvania." It contains the events which occurred from 1683 to 1699. At the time of writing it he was chief magistrate at Germantown.

was nearly ready, he requested an audience of the King. Said Charles, "It will not be long before I hear that you have gone into the savages' war kettle: what is to prevent it?" "Their own inner light," said Penn. "Moreover, as I intend equitably to buy their lands, I shall not be molested." "Buy their lands! Why, is not the whole land mine?" "No, your majesty, we have no right to their lands; they are the original occupants of the soil." "What! have I not the right of discovery?" "Well, just suppose that a canoe full of savages should by some accident discover Great Britain. Would you vacate or sell?" The King was astonished at the retort, and no less at the policy which soon bore such admirable

Penn and the King.



Chester, Pennsylvania.

fruit that was unfertilized by blood. New England began by trying to convert the Indian, taking in the mean time his land in the name of the Gospel. Penn began by paying for the land and solemnly treating with the Indian that he might thus possibly convert him.

After his visit to the King, Penn passed a day with his family at Worminghurst, engaged in devout exercises and domestic converse. He left there a truly Christian document in the form of a letter to his family, which was at the same time an address to all who professed the opinions of Friends. On September 1, 1682, he set sail in the ship *Welcome*, a name as propitious as *May-flower*, with a hundred passengers, nearly all of whom were Friends from his own county of Sussex. Robert Greenaway

Penn's voyage to America.

was the commander. The uncomfortable voyage lasted six weeks, during which thirty of the passengers died of the small-pox. One day the captain saw a ship which appeared to be in pursuit of his own, and took her to be an enemy. He made every preparation for resistance, and manned his guns. Then addressing the non-resistant Quakers, he advised them to take refuge in the cabin. Penn and the rest did so, excepting James Logan, his private secretary. Logan stayed on deck and took his station at a gun. When the strange sail came near it proved to be a friendly one. Penn came on deck and severely rebuked Logan for remaining to fight. Said Logan, "I being thy secretary, why didst thou not order me to come down? But thou wert willing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship when thou thought there was danger."

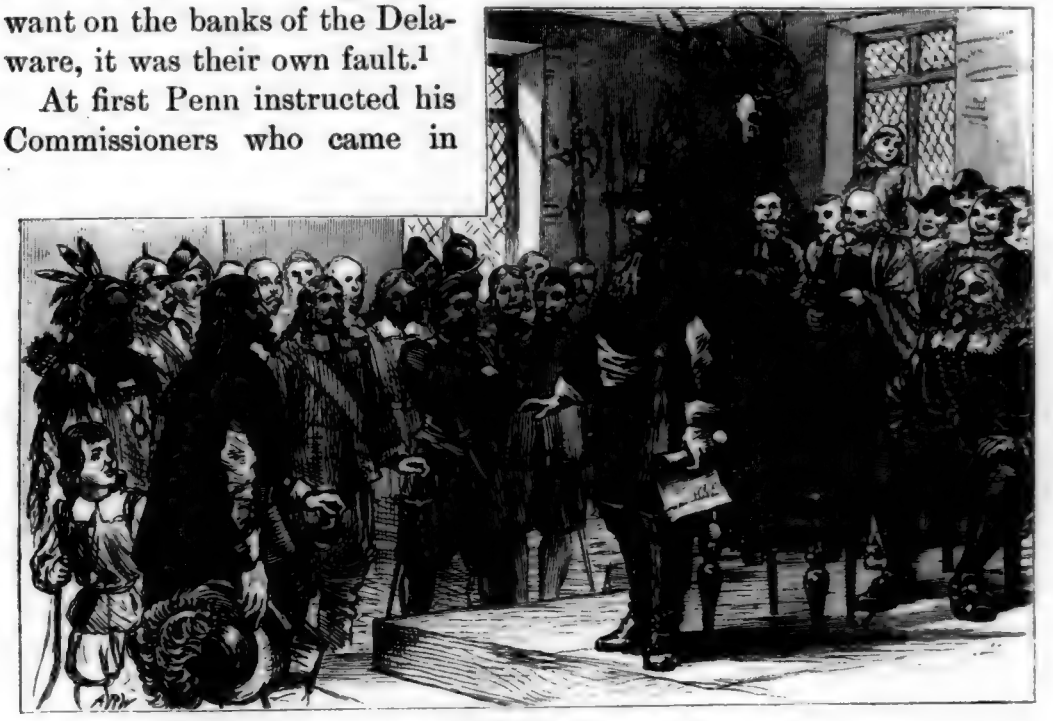
The landing at Newcastle.

At length the Delaware was reached, and a landing was made at Newcastle on the 27th of October. The Dutch and Swedes gave the heartiest welcome to their new Governor. His first act was to naturalize all these inhabitants of the province. They were summoned to the court-house and addressed by Penn on the true nature and functions of government. The commissions of all the existing magistrates were renewed. Then he went up the river to Upland, now Chester, and met the delegates who had been already selected by his Commissioners to compose the first Assembly. Their first session, held in the Friends' Meeting House, lasted only four days, much time being saved by the admirable rule which was adopted, that "none speak but once before the question is put, nor after, but once; and that none fall from the matter to the person, and that superfluous and tedious speeches may be stopped by the Speaker." So the Quaker principle of freedom of utterance as the spirit prompted, was judiciously balanced. No four days of legislative work were ever more harmoniously spent in laying the foundations of society. Penn's own sincere temper was imparted to all. "As to outward things we are satisfied; the land good, the air clear and sweet, the springs plentiful, and provision good and easy to come at; an innumerable quantity of wild-fowl and fish; in fine, here is what an Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with."[1]

Plenty and prosperity in Pennsylvania.

[1] The wild turkeys sometimes turned the scale at forty-six pounds; one of thirty pounds sold for a shilling, a deer for two shillings. One settler bought a fat buck for two gills of gunpowder. Wild pigeons could be killed with sticks, apparently too numerous to get out of the way. Six rock-cod cost twelve pence, salt fish three farthings' a pound. "Peaches by cart-loads," said one letter writer: "the Indians bring us seven or eight fat bucks a day. Without rod or net we catch abundance of herrings, after the Indian manner, in penfolds." There were plenty of swans, and oysters six inches long. But all this was true of nearly all the more southern settlements in the earlier years.

In good years the farmer gathered twenty or thirty bushels of wheat for every one he sowed. A native grape grew in great abundance, and yielded an excellent wine. The woods and meadows swarmed with all kinds of wild berries; and the settlers soon had their various fruit trees and bushes, melons planted, their presses started, and perry, cider, etc., running from them. The natives were always hospitable, well inclined to barter because never overreached. Great plenty ruled in this province from the beginning. If the Dutch and Swedes had suffered from hunger and want on the banks of the Delaware, it was their own fault.[1]



Penn's Address at Newcastle.

At first Penn instructed his Commissioners who came in 1681, to examine the neighborhood of Upland to find a suitable site for a town; but when he went up the river he pitched upon the broad peninsula that lay between the Delaware and the Schuylkill. Here he projected a city upon a great scale of squares, streets with avenues of trees — some of which still preserve the names

Philadelphia founded.

[1] A planter, writing before 1696, gave the following rates of wages: Carpenters, bricklayers, and masons, six shillings a day; shoemakers, two shillings on each pair; journeymen tailors, twelve shillings a week and their diet; weavers, ten pence a yard; wool-combers, twelve pence a pound; potters, sixteen pence for a pot which cost in England only four pence; brick-makers, twenty shillings per thousand of bricks at the kiln; hatters, seven shillings for a hat; all other trades, of which every conceivable kind was pursued in the province, making it quite independent of the mother country, were rewarded in the same proportion. All kinds of food were much cheaper than in England; and the Barbadoes furnished a constant market for corn. Laboring men earned fourteen pounds a year, with meat, drink, washing, and lodging; maid-servants ten pounds a year. Floating mills for grinding corn took advantage of the river's current, and on the land horse-mills were used

of the original trees — and houses to be surrounded with gardens. Before houses could be built the settlers lived in huts, and in caves which were excavations in the river bank arched over with branches and sodded. The chimneys were built of clay strengthened with grass. One house was in process of building by a man with the happy name of Guest. Penn's first landing was made at Dock Creek opposite this unfinished house, which was afterwards known as the Blue Anchor Tavern. The first keeper of the tavern was Guest, and a long line of hospitable Friends succeeded him. Beyond Guest's house, ten others were soon built in the old English fashion, of frames



Letitia Cottage, Philadelphia, supposed First Residence of Penn.

filled in with brick, and called "Budd's Long Row." The tavern "was but about twelve feet front," says Watson in his copious "Annals," "on Front Street, and about twenty-two feet on Dock Street, having a ceiling of about eight and a half feet in height." A little cottage, built by one Drinker, who settled on this site alone several years before the arrival of Penn, was the first habitation on the site of Philadelphia. Penn meant to convey to the settlers by the name of his new city the disposition which he hoped would prevail within its walls.

In this year of Penn's landing twenty-three ships filled with colonists came up the Delaware. In less than a year eighty houses and cottages were built, three hundred farms laid out, and bounteous crops

secured. In 1684, there were three hundred and fifty-seven houses, "large and well built, with cellars," and fifty townships had been settled. In 1685, there were six hundred houses. In one year ninety ships brought more than seven thousand people into his province.

Rapid increase of settlers.

A treaty had been made with the Indian tribes of the neighborhood, which only required to be ratified before the Governor. A scene, October 14, 1682, which history has made memorable, took place under the spreading branches of an American elm, at Shackamaxon, or Sakimaxing, "place of kings," an old resort for Indian councils. The Indians met Penn at "the half-way house," that is, at noon. They were tribes of the Lenni Lenape, a nation which long ago had its seat beyond the Alleghanies, whence it migrated to the Hudson and Delaware. Their tribal names were derived from the creeks and rivers of their territory, as Raritan, Assunpink, Mingo, Navesink. They were of a warlike disposition, and falling into frequent fights with Indian neighbors. Penn described them well, with a few strokes: "They are tall, straight, tread strong and clever, and walk with a lofty chin. Their custom of rubbing the body with bear's fat, gives them a swarthy color. They have little black eyes. Their heads and countenances have nothing of the negro type, and I have seen as comely European-like faces among them as on your side the sea. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion. In liberality, they excel; nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The justice they have is pecuniary. In case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the

Penn's Indian Treaty.

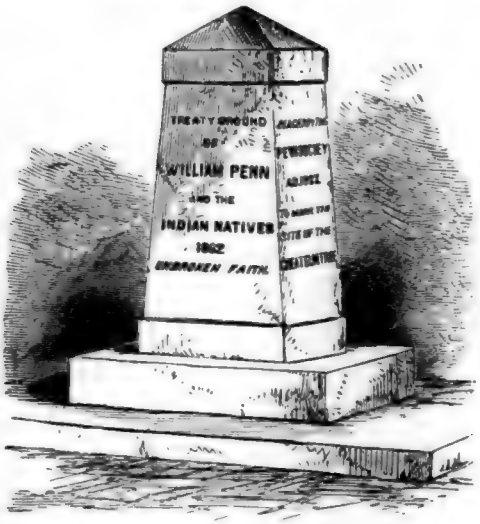


The Treaty Ground at Kensington, before the Fall of the "Treaty Tree."

reason they render is, that she breedeth children, which men cannot do. It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and if drunk, they forgive it, saying, it was the drink and not the man that abused them."

On this occasion, Penn had an interpreter. The chief sachem, Taminent, sat in the middle of a semi-circle, composed of old men and councillors. At a little distance behind, "the young fry," in the same order. The sachem deputed one to address Penn, during whose harangue no one whispered or smiled. Penn's company advanced to this meeting without arms; he was only distinguished by a blue silk net-work sash. The sachem wore a kind of chaplet, with a small horn projecting from it as a symbol of sovereignty. When he put it on all the natives threw down their arms; it was a signal that the place was inviolate.

The scene at Shackamaxon.



The Treaty Monument, Kensington.

The confirmation of the treaty was engrossed upon a roll of parchment. Penn's address, with its emphasis of the Great Spirit, must have sparkled with a peculiar sincerity, because of his personal belief in a direct intercourse with the source of all power. He told the Indians that every thought of the heart was known above; that the desire of his own heart was to live in perpetual amity with them; that he and his friends came unarmed because they never used weapons. Then the conditions of the purchase were read, and in addition to the stipulated price he presented them with various articles of merchandise. The treaty concluded upon this pacific basis, without the exhibition of a single weapon of modern warfare, and expressly disclaiming a resort to force, was faithfully kept by those barbarians for sixty years.

While Penn was allotting land to purchasers, he reserved a tract of a thousand acres for his friend George Fox. Land was frequently purchased of the Indians by paying for as much as the purchaser could comprise in a walk. When some of the best English pedestrians were detailed for this new style of measurement, they covered so much ground that the Indians were mortified at the unequal bargain. Then an additional present of merchandise set the matter right. Thus the peace was always kept in politic fashion, and the Indian could entertain no cause for feud. Only one alarm ever occurred purporting to come from an Indian quarter, when one day in 1688, some

women came running in with the tidings that a large body of Indians were coming down to massacre. This was dire news to the defenceless Friends. But instead of sending out scouts to reconnoitre, who were willing to bear arms, a commissioner was despatched, who, upon arriving at the place indicated, found an old Indian chief lying all alone upon the grass nursing his lame leg, and a number of squaws at work in the field. No other man was in sight. The old chief said the women ought to be hanged for spreading so false a report.

Penn used every lawful art of intercourse to conciliate the Indians. "He walked with them," at one of their earliest meetings, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and hominy. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump, at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, "sprang up and beat them all." We cannot imagine the fathers of New England jumping in rivalry with savages. Their methods seldom raised a smile.

Education and religious matters in Philadelphia.

In October, 1683, one Enoch Flower — what pleasant Quaker symbolism in the name — began to teach boys and girls in a dwelling made of pine and cedar planks. His terms were, "To learn to read, four shillings a quarter; to write, six shillings; boarding scholars, to wit: diet, lodging, washing, and schooling, ten pounds the whole year." A printing-press was set up soon after. From the time of the first settlement of New Netherland it was seventy years before any book or paper was printed there.

In 1683, among the emigrants who came over was James Claypoole, author of several books and pamphlets, an admired friend of Penn. He was an uncle of the Lord John Claypoole who married Cromwell's favorite daughter, Elizabeth. He was one of the Friends to whom Penn addressed a touching religious exhortation, just before his return to England in 1684, to be read at all Friends' Meetings in the province. The first Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia was held in July, 1683.

Penn returns to England.

One reason for Penn's return to England was the necessity for determining the boundary line between his own province and that of Maryland. Lord Baltimore had already gone on this business, reasserting the right, under his patent, to the country along the west side of the Delaware, from Philadelphia to Cape Henlopen, which he had so persistently maintained against the Dutch in Stuyvesant's time. On this vexed question, after many delays, Penn succeeded in getting a decision from the Committee of Trade and Plantations against Lord Baltimore. Baltimore, the Dutch had contended, had no title to this country, because it was settled by their people at the time his patent was issued, and that

patent only entitled him to lands uncultivated and inhabited by savages. The King had conquered the country from the Dutch and granted it to the Duke of York, and the Duke had conveyed it to William Penn. The title, therefore, was now vested in Penn, as against Baltimore, by Order of Council.[1]

But he was moved to go to England by another motive. He had heard of the accusations which were rife against him, that he was working with Jesuits to secure the supremacy of James II., who would have been glad to reintroduce the Roman Catholic religion into England. The only ground for the absurd report seems to have been the favor in which he had been held by Charles II., and still enjoyed from James II. To his care the elder Penn — whom James had so much reason for holding in affectionate remembrance — had warmly commended his son. Surely that son is not to be blamed that he retained the King's esteem by his admirable bearing, his conciliatory temper, and his unflinching integrity. The influence he acquired he used for the benefit of all who were in need, especially for hundreds of his own sect who still suffered in prisons all over England. If he sought to retain that influence for his own purposes, it was only on behalf of that commonwealth he had founded, which he so loved, and for which he spent his own life and estate. If his principles of toleration found favor with James, it was not because of any leaning, on Penn's part, to the Catholic Church. It is impossible not to believe that his numerous avowals against idolatries and ordinances were sincere; impossible not to accept as true his many disclaimers of any sympathy with the Church of Rome. The "No Cross, no Crown," is thoroughly anti-papal.[2]



The Penn Mansion, later Residence of the Penn Family in Philadelphia.

[1] The line fixed by this decision was the present boundary between Maryland and Delaware. The final line between Maryland and Pennsylvania continued a question of dispute till settled by the running of "Mason and Dixon's Line," by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, in 1762.

[2] Were we professing to give a complete biography of William Penn, it would be nec-

But his enemies, and the haters of Quakerism, could not tolerate the favor which his diplomatic disposition, combined with his remarkable independence, won for him at court. They were less the foes of Jesuits. Penn thought it right to use all the influence he could command for the benefit of his American province, and to have the new persecutions against the Quakers abated. He succeeded in both purposes. Before leaving America he appointed a Provincial Council to act for him during his absence; but it was not long before disputes arose which caused him much anxiety. He could not succeed in prevailing upon the Assembly to restrain the use of spirituous liquors, and to withhold them altogether from the Indians. His officers committed many extortions in the sale of his lands. He experienced great difficulty in collecting his quit-rents, and was seriously embarrassed by the great outlay which he had made: "Six thousand pounds out of pocket," he said repeatedly.

Penn in England.

At the revolution of 1688, he fell under serious suspicion of aiding in the plots for the return of James II. Once he was arrested and brought before the Lords of Council, and, at his own request, was taken before the King. A letter had been written him by James, and when examined in regard to it, he could not, he said, prevent him from writing to him; but if that brought him under a suspicion of plotting for a restoration, it did not compel him to violate his duty to the state. The King seemed satisfied with his defence, and he was not again molested. It did not seem to him proper, however, to leave the kingdom while under such suspicion, and he remained in England.

During this time he was pained by the accounts sent to him of the dissensions in his province. The three lower counties on the Delaware, called the "Territories," had insisted on a separate government, and to this he reluctantly assented. Other difficulties occurred, relating to the religious doctrines of Friends. These were chiefly fomented by George Keith, who had been appointed the principal of the Friends' public school in Philadelphia, which was established in 1689. The court took advantage of these disturbances to depose Penn from the government of the province, and another governor was sent out, who administered affairs till Penn was reinstated in 1694, having shown the hollowness of the charges against himself and reëstablished old feelings of amity with the sus-

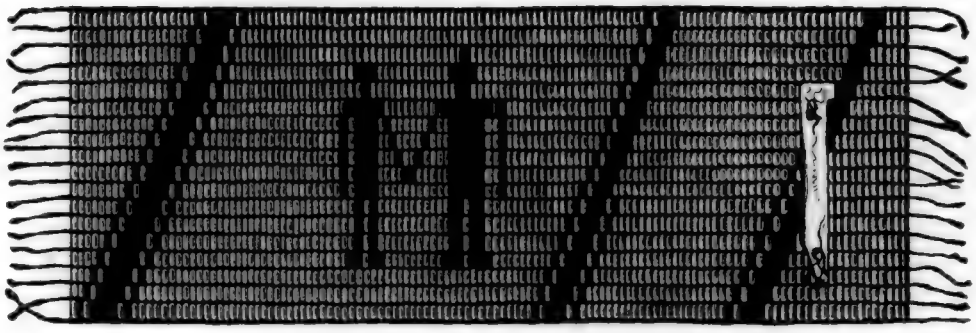
Penn removed from his proprietorship.

essary to meet the various charges brought against him by Macaulay, in his *History of England*. A complete refutation of them may be found in a Preface to Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, by William E. Forster, the English statesman; in *The Life of William Penn*, by Samuel E. Janney; in a *Defence of William Penn*, by Henry Fairbairn; and in Dixon's *Life of Penn*, which on this point, at least, may be considered as an authority. The evidence is ample, and would be accepted in any court of justice.

picious party in the Society. The new Governor, Fletcher, who was also Governor of New York, had, in the meantime, with the usual fatal facility of royal governors, quarrelled with the Assembly and retired in disgust to New York.

His restoration.

Penn made his defence and explanation before the Council in 1693; his reinstatement in the proprietary government took place in August, 1694. While he was preparing to return he appointed his cousin, Colonel Markham, Deputy Governor of the province, his friend Thomas Lloyd, who had been his Deputy for some time, having recently died. Markham's administration was, on the whole, satisfactory, and there was little for several years to disturb the tranquillity and prosperity of the colony, which already contained 20,000 people. Penn permitted his private affairs to retain him in England till 1699, when he once more sailed for America with his family, with the firm intention of remaining there for the rest of his days.



Wampum received by Penn in Commemoration of the Indian Treaty.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FRENCH IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

THE EXPLORATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE SETTLEMENT OF LOUISIANA. — FRENCH MISSIONARIES AND HUNTERS. — DISCOVERY OF OHIO, INDIANA, AND OTHER NORTHWESTERN STATES. — THE POLICY OF COLBERT AND TALON. — DISCOVERY OF THE UPPER LAKES. — CONGRESS OF NATIVE TRIBES AT MACKINAC. — MARQUETTE AND JOLIET SAIL FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI. — FRENCH COLONY OF 1699. — D'IBERVILLE AND HIS BROTHERS. — BILOXI AND POVERTY POINT. — WAR OF SUCCESSION. — PENSACOLA. — MINES. — CROZAT'S GRANT.

THE English and Dutch settlers, to whose history this volume has thus far been for the most part devoted, never showed any disposition to make permanent homes with the aborigines. Their efforts to Christianize them were made loyally, but did not include life in their wigwams or villages. Even the hunter or trapper of English blood, who brought furs from the frontier to the sea, was not a man who had carried on his hunting or trapping in league with the natives. He had lived in a solitary hut, or he had made his excursions from a frontier village.



Totem of the Hurons (from La Hontan).

Tendency of the French toward exploration and adventure.

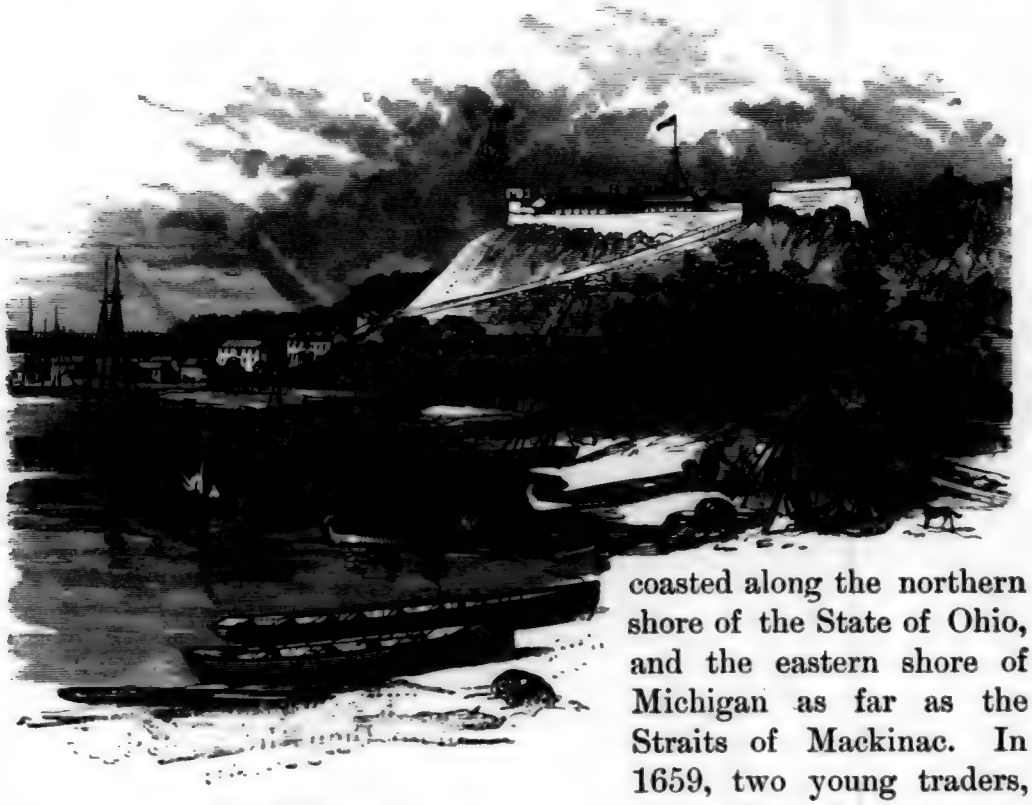
From the very beginning, however, a different disposition showed itself in the French colonies of Acadie and of Canada. When the white population of Canada was not more than three hundred persons, a considerable number of those persons were living in the villages of the Hurons,[1] whose homes were then further to the east than that great lake which now preserves their name. Some of these Frenchmen were traders for furs, some were priests, at first of the

[1] The handful of Wyandots, now in Kansas, represents the great tribe of Hurons. The spelling Yendat is the earlier form. See Gallatin's *Synopsis*. The word "Huron" is itself not Indian but French, derived from the French word *hure*, meaning a rough mane or head of hair.

Récollet order, afterwards of the fraternity of Jesuits. It was by such traders and missionaries that several of the western States of the American Union were first opened to the knowledge of Europe.

The great Champlain, from whom the real history of Canada begins, arrived in Quebec on the 3d of July, 1608, only a year after the settlement at Jamestown.[1] In 1615 he discovered Lake Ontario, and Lake Nipissing. He pressed his explorations westward, and recent research has shown that as early as 1634, Jean Nicollet, a Frenchman who had become an Indian in all his habits, visited, in the course of his western travels, the region which we now know as Wisconsin. These were pioneer adventures. Nicollet was himself a sincere Catholic. He and other pioneers were followed, as early as the year 1640, by the Fathers Chaumonot and Brébœuf, who

French pioneers.



Island of Mackinac.

coasted along the northern shore of the State of Ohio, and the eastern shore of Michigan as far as the Straits of Mackinac. In 1659, two young traders, who pushed their explorations farther west, joined a tribe of Indians, with whom they went so far west upon Lake Superior, that they heard for the first time of the great tribe of the Sioux, whose conflicts against the whites occupy the journals even as late as our day. At that time, the Sioux appeared to these travellers a powerful nation, of more gentle manners than the eastern Indians, whom they had known before. The Frenchmen reported that they were not cruel to their prisoners, and that they wor-

[1] See vol. i., p. 321.

shipped one God.[1] These pioneers returned to Montreal in the spring of 1660, with sixteen canoes packed with furs. In these movements, dictated now by adventure, now by religious zeal, and often by both combined, our States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, were first visited by the whites. Perhaps it would be too much to say, in all cases, that those who made these explorations were what we should call civilized men.

In the summer of 1660 Father Mesnard took with him some Indians of the Algonkin race, and founded a new mission. He established himself at first at a point on the southern shore of Lake Superior which is still known as Chagwamegan,[2] the name it then bore. Mesnard, however, on the invitation of the Hurons, returned to the western bay of Lake Huron, where he lost his life in some unknown way. In 1665, Father Allouez established a mission at the same point, and was able to preach in the Algonkin language to twelve or fifteen different tribes. The same language is still used by the Chippeways of that region.

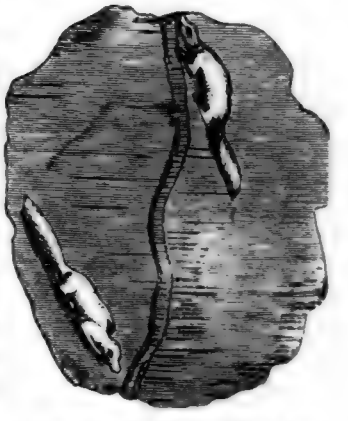
Mesnard's Algonkin mission.



Totem of the Sioux (from La Hontan)

The Jesuit writers say that the fame of Father Allouez extended even to the Sioux, and that they told him of the prairies on the banks of the Mississippi. Father Dablon, another missionary, learned of the Mississippi from a map which the Sioux drew for him, and as early as 1669 proposed to himself an expedition to discover it. With Father Allouez he went as far as the Fox River, and learned that the Wisconsin River, of the present State of Wisconsin, was one of the affluents of the Mississippi.

Other missions.



Totem of the Foxes (from La Hontan).

Meanwhile the genius of Colbert in France had apprehended the value of the French establishment in Canada. He was beginning to undo the unfortunate results of the narrower policy of Cardinal Richelieu. In pursuance of this policy, Jean Talon, who had gained the favor of the king in France, was entrusted with the oversight of commerce in Canada. He arranged a great coun-

[1] The Sioux call themselves Dahcotahs.

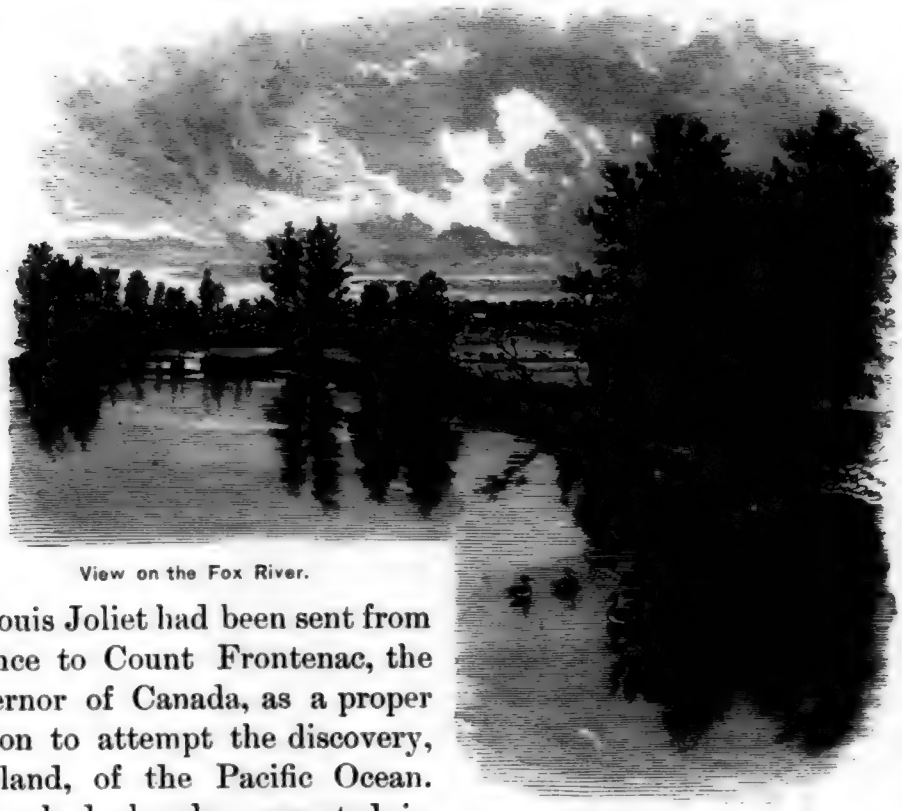
[2] Chagwamegan means "on the long, narrow point of land, or sand-bar." For this, and many similar interpretations, we are indebted to Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, the learned master of the Indian tongues.

cil of Indians at the Sault Ste. Marie, at the foot of Lake Superior, in 1671. Nicolas Perrot, who knew their languages and customs, convened the assembly. It is in the report of this council that the name "Chicago" first appears in literature. M. de St. Lousson represented Louis XIV. He found here the chiefs of tribes as distant as Hudson's Bay on the east, and the head of Lake Superior and Lake Michigan on the west and south. In the joint hyperbole of French genius and the Indian dialect he described the glories of *Le grand Monarque*. The chiefs declared that they asked for no other father than the great *Onnonthio* [1] of the French. A cross was erected, to which the Arms of France was fastened, and possession was assumed in the name of the French crown.

Talon's Indian Council.



Signature of Joliet.



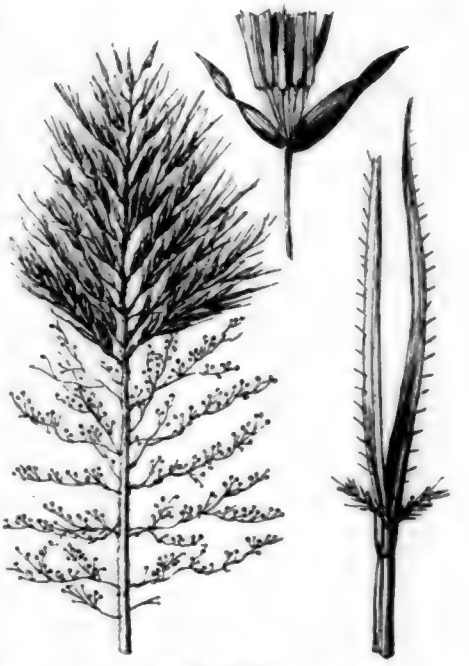
View on the Fox River.

Louis Joliet had been sent from France to Count Frontenac, the governor of Canada, as a proper person to attempt the discovery, overland, of the Pacific Ocean. Talon had already suggested in France, the appointment of Poulet, a captain of Dieppe, for an exploration of the Pacific by way of the Straits of Magellan. Father

[1] The name lingers among the Indians of the St. Lawrence. In the deposition of Charles Soskonharowane, of Caughnawaga, taken to determine whether Rev. Eleazer Williams should or should not be known as King Louis XVII., son of Louis XVI., this Indian says, "Many incidents of his youth would remove the thought of his being the son of the great *Anonthica*." Sworn to April 16, 1853.

Marquette, who had already gone as far as Wisconsin as a missionary, joined Joliet, and, in 1673, they started on the expedition in which, so far as we know, the source and course of the Mississippi were discovered by Europeans. Of the discovery of its mouth by the adventurous Spaniards, and part of the region above, the history is already told in an earlier chapter.[1] Marquette's voyage.

In this eventful voyage, the first in which civilized men navigated a large part of the course of a river, which has since become the highway of half a nation, Marquette and Joliet descended the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Arkansas River. They satisfied themselves that they were in the neighborhood of the Gulf of Mexico, and wishing to avoid any collision with the Spaniards returned to Canada. We have a charming account of the enterprise by Marquette himself, which was published in Paris in 1681. The voyagers passed up Green Bay, and the Fox River. Near the head of the Bay was the most advanced French station, and here they bade their compatriots good-by. The Indian village there was made up of Miamis, Mascoutins, and Kickapoos, of whom the priests rated the Miamis most highly for civility. The travellers saw, with pleasure, a cross, which had been erected in the village, and was adorned by the devotion of the natives. They addressed the assembly of them, explained their object, and enlisted two Miami guides, who should show them the difficult passage by which to cross from the Fox to the Wisconsin River; from the waters of the St. Lawrence to those flowing into the Gulf of Mexico. The channel of the river was so choked with wild rice, that the Frenchmen could not have found its course without such help. A passage of little more than a mile brought the explorers to the waters of the Wisconsin. The two guides there left the party of seven Frenchmen alone on these strange waters, five or six hundred leagues from Quebec, according to Marquette's calculation, to take the stream which would bear them into lands wholly new. Marquette's own map preserves, with curious accuracy, their route in Wisconsin, through the county of Portage, which takes its



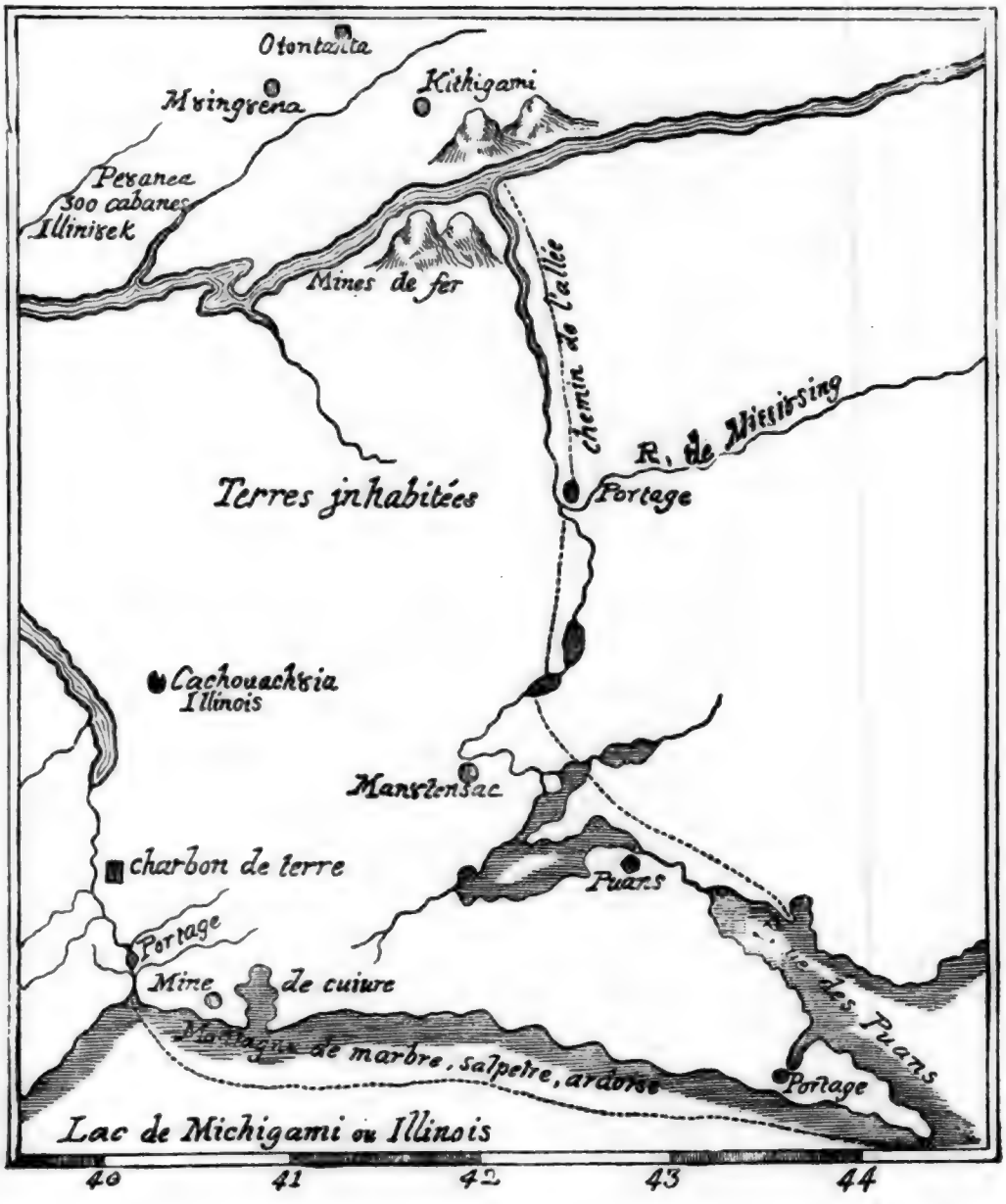
The Wild Rice.

The mission on Fox River.

[1] See chapter vii., vol. i.

name from the easy transfer here made between the two great systems of American waters.

They seem to have crossed the portage on the 10th of June. A week was sufficient for the voyage of forty leagues, according to their estimate, which brought them to the Mississippi, which they entered



Marquette's Map.[1]

with inexpressible joy. They estimated the latitude of the point where the Wisconsin joins it at 42½ degrees, — about half a degree farther south than it is placed by the more modern observations.

[1] The map here given is a part of that published in Paris by Thevenot as "Marquette's Map." It differs from the original manuscript, which is still preserved, in the spelling of a few of the words, — probably only through an error of the engraver.

For eight days the navigators floated down the river, without seeing men or signs of men. The herds of buffalo, which they called by the Indian word Pisikiou, were new to them, and are carefully described. For fear of surprise, the explorers made but little fire, spent the night in their canoes, anchored a little distance from the shore, and always kept a sentinel on the alert. At last, on the 25th of June, a well worn path on the shore indicated the presence of men, and Marquette and Joliet, warning their crews not to be surprised in their absence, followed up the trodden trail to communicate with the natives. These proved to be Illinois; and they re-

Meeting with the Indians.



Marquette's Reception by the Illinois.

ceived the Frenchmen cordially. The chief of the village came forth naked from his wigwam to welcome them, with his hands raised to the sun; others flourished the pipe of peace. To these pipes they gave the name "calumet,"[1] now so familiar to us, which was, however, new to the voyagers. While the formalities of smoking were

[1] Marquette notes the fact that the calumet was made of red stone. The Indians of the Northwest still use the Pipe Rock for their calumets, which has acquired a sacred value. It is found in the ridge between the Missouri and the Mississippi. It appears to be the only locality now known in the world, for that almost precious stone which antiquaries know as Rosso Antico.

going on, an invitation arrived from the great chief of the Illinois that the strangers should visit him at his village, — and they did so. They found him standing between two old men in front of the cabin, which served him for a palace, — all three naked. The chief held a calumet turned towards the sun. After felicitating the strangers on their arrival, he invited them into his cabin, and received them, as Marquette says, "with the usual caresses." After a feast, and a sort of triumphal procession in which the strangers saw the town, which consisted of three hundred cabins, more than six hundred persons accompanied them to their canoes, assuring them of the pleasure which their visit had given. They gave to Marquette a calumet, which proved valuable to him afterwards.

The Painted Rocks.

Leaving their hospitable friends they continued their voyage. They recognized the rocks known long afterward as the Painted Rocks, on which the designs were so striking that Marquette thought the best painters in France would scarcely have done so well. Traces of these paintings have been made out within the present century.[1] They struck the Missouri, — to which they gave the name of Pekitanoui.[2] Their description of its mighty flow, of its muddy water, and the distinctness of its current from that of the Mississippi, notes the points which every traveller first observes, to this day. Marquette says in his journal that he hoped by means of it to make the discovery of the Red Sea or Gulf of California, both these names being given in his time to the same gulf, which we know only by the latter title of the two.



Totem of the Illinois. (From La Hontan.)

The Missouri River.

In this hope he was encouraged by his Indian friends, who told him that by going up the Missouri, for five or six days, he would come to a beautiful prairie twenty or thirty leagues long; that he could carry his canoes easily across this prairie to the northwest, where he would find a little river. By this river he could descend ten or fifteen leagues till he came to a little lake, the source of another deep river "which flows to the west and discharges into the sea." All this imaginary geography may have had little foundation, but it excited Marquette's hopes of visiting the Pacific. From the course of the Missouri, and these narratives of the

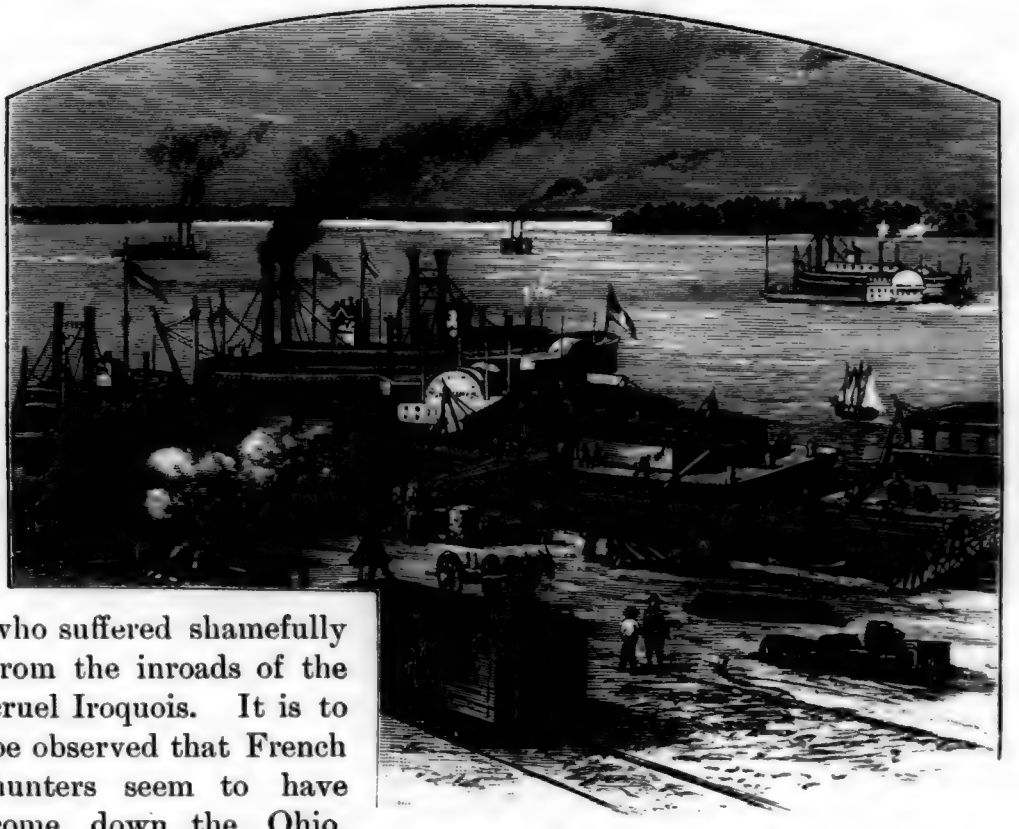
[1] See Dr. Shea's paper, *Wisconsin Hist. Trans.*, vol. viii., p. 116. The painting last preserved could be made out, even from the other side of the river. It was called the Piasa Bird. We have found no representation of it sufficiently accurate to copy. It was destroyed in quarrying, within the memory of the present generation.

[2] For Pekitanoni is the misprint of the French printer.

Indians, he was already satisfied that he should find that the Mississippi discharged itself into the Gulf of Mexico.

He and his companions fixed the latitude of the mouth of the Ohio at 36° north, — supposing themselves two degrees farther south than they were. They give the name of Ouabouskigou to this river. The name Wabash, which is the modern form of this word, is now confined to the stream which makes part of the western border of the State of Indiana.[1] The travellers here speak of the Shawnee Indians, resident on the banks of the Ohio, as a peaceful race, who suffered shamefully from the inroads of the cruel Iroquois. It is to be observed that French hunters seem to have come down the Ohio, almost to the point of its union with the Mississippi, before Marquette's voyage, for he alludes to their account of iron mines upon the river. In a memorial of the date of 1677, La Salle, of whom we are soon to speak, claims

The Ohio.



Mouth of the Ohio.

[1] Ouabachioui, or Wabashiwi, in the Illinois dialect, means "silver." Some romantic red man may have called the stream a "silver stream," as so many other poets, of other races, have called other rivers. But Father Du Marest mentions the report, which would grow naturally from the name, that silver mines had been found near it. This report has not been confirmed, nor is it likely to be. In the Chippeway, "Wabashkiki" means "swampy" or "marshy." So certain is it, that one man's silver is another man's dirt. But there seems no reason why Chippeways should have named a river of the Illinois, or Shawnees. Our name Ohio, is from the Iroquois, in allusion to the beauty of the stream. It is so said on a MS. map of 1673, in Mr. Parkman's possession."

that he discovered the Ohio. Its upper waters are not far from his post on Lake Erie.

Passing the junction of the Ohio, Marquette notes the canebrakes and the mosquitoes, peculiarities of the Mississippi which two centuries have not changed since his time. The discoverers were fain to surround themselves with mosquito nets as they sailed. As they floated down, they saw on shore savages, armed with guns, who invited them to land, and regaled them with buffalo beef, bear's grease, and "white plums."[1] Their hosts assured them that they bought their guns, powder, knives, hatchets, and cloths from Europeans on the eastern coasts; that these men had images and hats and played on instruments, and that a voyage of ten days was enough to bring the travellers to the sea. And they seem to have given to Marquette the impression that they themselves had found European traders at the mouth of the Mississippi. On this news he eagerly resumed his voyage.

Indian tribes along the river.

At a point not far from the site of the city of Helena he found a village named Mitchigamea. The name seems to show that its people had strayed thus far from the north.[2] These savages had no guns, but they appeared hostile until they saw the calumet. By an old man who spoke the Illinois language, communication became possible, and these people took the strangers as far as to the next tribe, of which the chief town was ten leagues further down. It was named **Akansea,** as the French travellers spelled it,[3] and here they met the tribe known to us till lately, as the Arkansas Indians. They have since recovered their original name of Quapaws.[4] Here the Frenchmen were hospitably entertained, a good interpreter was found, and the natives heard with wonder what Marquette told them of the mysteries of faith, and showed a great desire that he might give them further instructions. As to his voyage to the gulf, however, they dissuaded him. It was possible to make it in five days. But the tribes whom he would meet were hostile. They cut off from the Arkansas all commerce with Europeans, and they were so much in the habit of plying to and fro on the river, that the voyagers would be, according to these Indians, in great danger.

[1] The *prunus Americana* of Michaux. Its range is as wide as from the Saskatchewan to Texas. Its colors vary, and, while Marquette calls the plums *blancs*, they are sometimes yellow, and sometimes red.

[2] See Dr. Shea, *loc. cit.*, p. 116.

[3] Or their French printer.

[4] See Dr. Shea, *loc. cit.*, p. 116. Mr. Gallatin suggests that they are the Pacachas of De Soto. Tonty calls them Cappas. Mr. Gallatin says: "The superiority of this race of Indians struck the French, who called the Arkansas '*Beaux Hommes.*' Their men are said to have exceeded in height the average of the Europeans."

This friendly reception by the Arkansas was not to be wholly relied upon. The same evening the chiefs held a council to decide whether they should not knock the Frenchmen on the head and take their goods. But the great chief forbade, assured the travellers of his protection, and even gave to them, as a token, his own calumet. The Arkansas.

Joliet and Marquette, however, decided that it was time for them to return. They knew that they were near the Gulf of Mexico. Indeed they mistook its real boundary, and expected to find it at a point a hundred miles farther north than New Orleans. They supposed themselves to be in the latitude of forty-four degrees, and in this supposition they were nearly correct, for the site of the village of Dakansea, or Akansea,[1] was nearly opposite the mouth of the Arkansas River. They reflected that if they fell into the hands of the Spaniards all the results of their expedition would be lost. They therefore turned on their course on the 17th of July. But, when they reached the Illinois River, they took that beautiful stream, and made one of the portages, since so well known, into Lake Michigan. Of the Illinois Valley Marquette writes: "We have seen nothing equal to this river for the goodness of land, prairies, wood, cattle, deer, goats, wild cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beaver; there are many little lakes and little rivers." A chief of the Illinois guided their return to Green Bay, and here they arrived in the end of September. Voyage up the Illinois.

In this voyage our States of Missouri and Kentucky were discovered, so far as we know, to Europeans. There can be no doubt that Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi, which were now visited by Marquette, had been traversed in some parts by De Soto and his followers.[2]

Marquette, whose simple and devout narrative makes the reader love the adventurer, remained two years among the Miamis. On his way in his canoe to Mackinac in 1675, he stopped on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan to raise an altar and celebrate the mass. He then asked his companions to leave him alone for a little while. They did so, and when they returned they found him dead. Joliet, his companion in adventure, had returned to Montreal in 1674. On his way thither his canoe upset, he lost his papers and his journal, and some curiosities from the discovery. A little Subsequent life of Marquette.

[1] Marquette gives one name on his map and the other in the text.

[2] See vol. i., p. 165. Coxe, in the appendix to the "Carolana," a book written to show that the valley of the Mississippi belongs to the English crown, says that the first rediscovery of the great river after De Soto's was made by adventurers from New England. But Coxe's memorial was dated in 1699, and we have no earlier mention of Col. Wood.

boy, of ten years old, who had been given to him, was also lost. Joliet himself was four hours in the water, and, as he says, rescued only by miracle. He reported, on his arrival, to Count Frontenac, the governor, and he relates the success of the expedition in a despatch to Colbert of the 14th of November, of the year after it was completed.

Robert Cavelier de la Salle.

When Joliet returned with the tidings of the success achieved by this modest expedition, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, a Norman gentleman, was living in Canada. He had been trained by the Jesuits in early life, and was determined both to make a reputation and a fortune. He had come to Canada eager to seek a passage to Japan and China, and at this moment had a trading house at Lachine, above Montreal. It is said that the name "Lachine" is taken from that of China. When the news of Marquette's discovery was made known, La Salle waited upon Count Frontenac, and represented that the time had come for an expedition to the Pacific. So little interest had been taken in France in these discoveries, that as late as April 16, 1676, Louis XIV. writes to Frontenac, in a letter which still exists in manuscript, "With regard to new discoveries you will not address yourself to them excepting in a great necessity." This was not encouraging. But Frontenac gave La Salle a good introduction at court, and he obtained from the Marquis of Seignelay, who had succeeded Colbert as Minister of Marine, all that he asked for.

He sailed from Rochelle for Canada, in the summer of 1678, with thirty men, and with the stores proper for equipping the vessels which he meant to build upon the lakes. Arriving at the head of Lake Ontario, he made the portage by Niagara Falls to Lake Erie, and on Niagara River began to build a ship of forty-five tons, which he called the *Griffin*. On the 7th of August, 1679, she sailed on her western voyage, and on the 28th of that month arrived at Mackinac. The appearance of a vessel of her size, armed with seven cannon, waking on occasion with their thunders the echoes of the wilderness, amazed the natives, who had, till now, never seen the servants of their great Onnonthio, Louis XIV., but in the humbler garb and equipage of trappers and missionaries. La Salle proceeded in state to hear mass at the chapel of the Ottawas at Mackinac, and then continued his voyage prosperously to the settlement of Green Bay, where he arrived in September. Freighting the *Griffin* with furs, he proceeded to St. Joseph at the head of Lake Michigan, at the mouth of the river which still bears that name, nearly opposite the river Chicago. Here he built a fort, and here he expected the *Griffin*, which did not return, however, and was in fact never again heard of.

Voyage of the *Griffin*.



THE FALLS OF NIAGARA. FAC-SIMILE FROM "HENNEPIN'S VOYAGES."

Anxious though he were, he pushed his explorations westward, and somewhere at the head of the Illinois River, probably in the very county which bears his name, he established Fort Crève-Cœur, which took its name from his depression of spirits in the calamities of that sad winter. No tidings came of the *Griffin*, and La Salle determined to return by land to Niagara.

He first detached Father Hennepin, a missionary, with one companion, to trace the Illinois to its mouth, and then to ascend the Mississippi in search of a route to the Pacific. This Hennepin did. He appears but meanly as a narrator, or as a voyager, in comparison with the modest and unselfish Marquette. He availed himself of the "local colouring" which he thus acquired, to give probability to a lying narrative, which he published in France some years afterward, in which he claimed for himself the honor, which belongs to La Salle alone, of tracing the river to the Gulf of Mexico. There is no better instance in literary history of the danger of such an attempt, or the certainty that it will furnish the means within itself to disprove its own statements. What Hennepin did was to sail down the Illinois to its mouth, and then to ascend the Mississippi as far as the falls of St. Anthony. Here he was taken prisoner by the Sioux, who permitted him to return to his countrymen, on condition that he would revisit them in the next year.

Hennepin's journey.



Sioux Chief (from Catlin).

La Salle had left his companion Henri de Tonty[1] in charge at Crève-Cœur while he went back to Niagara. At this time however the Iroquois, always hostile to the French, and excited, as La Salle thought, by his personal enemies, attacked the Illinois, among whom the fort was situated.[2] Tonty's whole garrison was five men. He found himself obliged to evacuate Crève-Cœur and to return. While he passed down Lake Michigan on its west side, La Salle passed up on the other with reinforcements. His heart must have quailed again when he came to Crève-Cœur to find it deserted. After this failure, he could only do his best to secure alliances with the Indians,



Signature of Tonty.

La Salle's return.

[1] He was son of Lorenzo Tonty, who invented the Tontine.

[2] Mr. Parkman has identified the site of the great town of the Illinois. It is near Utica, La Salle County, Illinois.

and then returned to Montreal. Here he had to compound with his creditors, for the loss of the *Griffin* left him unable to meet his pecuniary obligations. He said, himself, that with the exception of the governor, Count Frontenac, it seemed as if every man in Canada were opposed to his adventure. He succeeded, however, in bringing together the resources for his undertaking, and started once more, on the expedition which proved successful, in the summer of 1681.[1]

The party embarked on Lake Erie at the end of August, and arrived at the port at St. Joseph early in November. La Salle there



Site of Chicago

chose for his party twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indians, of the Abnakis and Mohegans, New England tribes, which had put themselves under his protection. Daniel Coxe, in his memorial to William III., cited above, says that these native New Englanders were chosen, because they had in the year before accompanied a considerable number of adventurers from New England to the Mississippi. The statement is probable enough, but the narrative to which Coxe refers has not yet been found in the Massachusetts archives. The Indians took with them ten of their wives and these women had three children. The whole party thus consisted of fifty-four persons, among whom were the Chevalier Henri de Tonty, Father Zenobe, of

[1] We have his own narrative, written in the third person, recently discovered in the archives in France, and printed in Thomassy's *Geology of Louisiana*. We have also Joutel's narrative, and that of the Chevalier Tonty.

the Recollet Order, and Dautray, the son of the procureur general of Quebec.

They crossed the lake to the Chicago River, to which they had given the name of the Divine River.[1] Time has preserved the native name, of which the derivation is not savory, and, as time will, has forgotten the piety of the discoverers. This river proved to be frozen, and Tonty, who commanded the advance, had to build sledges for the party and its boats. They left the site of the present city of Chicago on the 27th of January, 1682, and were obliged to haul their luggage and provisions eighty leagues. On this march they passed the chief village of the Illinois, but the tribe wintered elsewhere. At the widening of the river where Fort Crève-Cœur stood, which they called Lake Pimedy, they found the ice melted. Here they were able to launch their canoes, and in them they arrived at the mouth of the Illinois on the 6th of February. La Salle placed this point at 38° of north latitude. In this calculation he was a degree too far south.

Second expedition of La Salle.

The ice of the Mississippi detained them for a week, when they sailed. The next day, on the fourteenth, they passed the village of Tamaroa, but here, also, they found no inhabitants, and they continued their voyage for more than a hundred leagues without meeting any person. On the first of March, having lost one of his hunters, La Salle established a fort on shore, and ordered several excursions in hope of finding him. In one of these two natives were taken prisoners, who said that they were Sicachas. They were probably of our tribe of Chickasaws.[2] They said their town was distant a day and a half's journey. But, after La Salle had accompanied them for that time, the town proved to be still three days off, and he refused to go farther. One of them returned with him, and the other said he would bring the chiefs to the river. La Salle returned to his boats, — the lost hunter had meanwhile been found,[3] — and on the 3d of March he continued his voyage.

On the 13th, after sailing forty-five leagues, the sound of drums and war-cries gave notice that the savages had discovered them, and on the right bank of the river their village could be seen. La Salle established himself at once on the left bank and in an hour's time built a fort on a point of land there. The Indian chiefs sent across a canoe, — the occupants of which received the calumet of peace, — and pleasant relations were at once opened

A meeting with the savages.

[1] La Salle's text is distinct. "Pour aller vers la rivière *Divine*, appelée par les Sauvages Chicagou." On many of the maps the name *Divine* is given to the Illinois.

[2] Their name is mentioned in the narratives of De Soto.

[3] The hunter's name was Prudhomme, and was given to a fort at this place, which retained that name long after.

between the parties. La Salle remained with his hosts three days, and, when he left, they provisioned him from their stores. He noticed, at once, the difference between them and the northern Indians. "These are better formed," he says, "free, courteous, and of a gay humour. The northern Indians are all *triste* and of severe disposition."

This village is described as opposite the mouth of the Ohio. "Many kinds of fruits and peaches were already formed on the trees." La Salle planted a cross there, with King Louis's arms, and on his return, he found they had surrounded the cross with a palisade. They also gave him provisions, and interpreters to communicate with their allies, the Taensas, eighty leagues further down.



Wisconsin Indians gathering Wild Rice.

The Taensas.

On the 22d he came to the Taensas, whom he found living in eight villages. He had passed, without stopping, the villages of the Arkansas. He describes the houses of the Taensas as built of walls of mud and straw, the roof of canes, which form a dome ornamented by painting. "They have bedsteads and other furniture and embellishments. They have temples in which they bury the bones of their chiefs, and they are clothed with white robes, made of the bark of a tree, which they spin." The whole account shows relationship to the Natchez and, probably, to Mexican or other Southern tribes. Their chief received De Tonty hospitably, La Salle having

sent him as his ambassador. Continuing their navigation, the French opened communication with the Natchez, who told them that they were still ten days from the sea. On the 2d of April they were for the first time attacked by Indians, who belonged to a tribe called Quinipisa.[1] The French had offered them the calumet, but the savages fired their arrows and fled. La Salle did not pursue them, but kept on his course. On the 6th the river divided into three branches. La Salle took the west, he sent De Tonty to the middle, and Dautray to the left. Two leagues farther and the water was salt, — a little more, — and the sea appeared, and the great discovery was made!

La Salle at the mouth of the Mississippi.

On the 9th of April, La Salle planted a cross with the arms of France. They sang the hymn *Vexilla Regis* and the *Te Deum*, and in the name of King Louis he took possession of the river and all the streams which fall into it, and all the countries which belong to them. This act of possession has been substantially respected ever since. It is under this act that France held her rights to the great province known as Louisiana, — and, therefore, it is under this act that the United States holds the State of Louisiana, and all its territory north of the line of Texas and west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, to this day. It must be remembered, that, until 1803, the name LOUISIANA applies to the whole Mississippi valley.



Portrait of Louis XIV.

La Salle's provisions were nearly exhausted. The party found some dried meat near the mouth of the river, and were glad to satisfy their hunger with it, till the suspicion was started that it was the flesh of men. On this the whites left it to the savages, who declared it was delicious.[2] On the 10th of April, La Salle began his return; and, until they came to the Quinipisa Indians, the party had to live on alligator's flesh and potatoes. He suc-

His return.

[1] On the map, as drawn by Franquelin, this is spelled Kennipesa, the same as were afterwards spelled Colapissas, and Aqueloupissas, "Those who hear and see."

[2] See report of Father Zenobe, of which the original is in possession of M Dooz, of Baton Rouge.

ceeded in capturing four women of the Quinipisa; he explained to them that his intentions were peaceable, and by their means purchased maize and other supplies from the tribe. He was well received by the Taensas and Arkansas, arriving at the villages of the latter on the 17th of May. When he was a hundred leagues below the Illinois River he fell dangerously ill. He was therefore obliged to intrust his dispatches to De Tonty, who went on in advance. La Salle himself was detained forty days by his illness. He arrived at St. Joseph at the end of September, but the approach of winter prevented his return to Quebec. "He thus finished," he says in closing his report, "the most important and difficult discovery which has ever been made by any Frenchman, without the loss of a single man, in the same country where Jean Ponce de Leon, Pamphile de Narvaez, and Ferdinand de Soto perished unsuccessful, with more than two thousand Spaniards. No Spaniard ever carried through such an enterprise with so small a force, in presence of so many enemies. But he has gained no advantage for himself. His misfortunes and the frequent obstacles in his way have cost him more than two hundred thousand livres. Still he will be happy if he has done anything for the advantage of France, and if his endeavors may win for him the protection of Monseigneur."

His report to France.

Father Mambré took to France La Salle's report of his great discovery. Unfortunately for the great explorer, Count Frontenac had been replaced by M. de la Barre, who had conceived a dislike of La Salle. He had written home, charging him with the Iroquois war; and he afterwards represented that La Salle was a mischief-maker among the Indians, who perverted his royal commission for the purposes of mere trade. But so soon as La Salle himself was able to report in person at Paris, he swept away any injurious impressions which had been thus made. The French monarchy was never at a higher point of success or ambition. The peace of Nimeguen in 1678 had given to Louis almost all he could ask for. Seignelay, the Minister of Marine, listened with pleasure to La Salle's narratives.[1] He sent directions to La Barre to restore Fort Frontenac (now Kingston) to his agents; and to La Salle himself he gave large powers for the colonization of Louisiana.

In the memoir, which is still preserved, which La Salle addressed to the Marquis Seignelay, he proposes to establish a colony sixty leagues above the mouth of the river. This would have been, according to his own map, not far from the point where the Atchafalaya makes a separate course from the Mississippi to the sea, — and it is probable that he intended at that point to establish his colony. With-

[1] On Franquelin's map, made in 1684, under La Salle's direction, the Mississippi is named the "Colbert," and the Red River is named the "Seignelay."

out any disguise, he proposes, as the principal object of this colony, such an attack on the back of the Spanish possessions, as was to open to the French their thirty silver mines in New Biscay. And he coolly remarks, that if the peace of Europe makes it necessary to postpone such designs, it will be well to be prepared for them in the event of a war. He says that Spain makes six million crowns yearly by these mines, and that, with superior ease of transport of silver, France will make much more. La Salle is truly enough called a representative of the spirit of chivalry, and to the real spirit of the chivalrous ages such a proposition as this not unfitly belongs.

Seignelay and the King gave him more than he asked for. The colonists sailed from Rochelle on the 24th of July, 1684, admirably well equipped, in four vessels, — a part of a fleet of twenty-five, of which the others were bound to the French West Indies and to Canada. But the passage across the Atlantic was then long. Much time was consumed in stopping at San Domingo, and the year had almost ended before the squadron of La Salle was near the mouth of the Mississippi. By a terrible misfortune, due to the difficulty of rightly calculating longitude in those times,[1] they passed the true mouth of the great river.

La Salle's third voyage.

On the 1st of January, 1685, La Salle landed, — perhaps on the southern shore of our State of Louisiana, near the Sabine, — but he could learn nothing from the Indians, and continued west for a fortnight longer. When they found the coast trending south, they were sure of their own error. But the captain of the fleet, Beaujeu, refused to return along the coast, and after an altercation between him and La Salle, the vessels entered Matagorda Bay, which they called the Bay of St. Bernard. Here the stores of the colony were landed, and here Beaujeu, who had been at cross-purposes, left them. By such a series of misfortunes did it happen that the State of Texas was the earliest, after Florida, of the States which we call Gulf States, to be colonized by Europeans. Beaujeu left the party on the 12th of March,[2] under circumstances of cruel desertion. On his return to France he made the most unfavorable report, and to him, and possibly to Jesuit hatred, may it be attributed that no relief was sent out to the great explorer.

Lands at Matagorda Bay.

To the stream which flows into Matagorda Bay from the northwest, La Salle gave the name *Les Vaches*, from the buffaloes he found

[1] A quarter of a century after, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and his fleet were lost on the coast of Cornwall, because their longitude was more than a degree out of the way.

[2] He left among other stores eight cannon, which the King had given to the colony. They were lately to be seen at Goliad, identified by having Louis XIV.'s mark upon them.

there. Near the same spot, the town of Lavaca retains the name, the only name given by La Salle to his establishments in Texas which has been preserved. The name St. Louis was given to the new settlement. The Indians, whom he found in Texas, were of the same great race as the tribes he had met on the Mississippi. They had large and populous villages, with well-built cabins, said to

The Texas Indians.



La Salle's Landing in Texas (reduced fac-simile from Hennepin).

be sometimes forty and fifty feet high.[1] They had traded with the Spaniards for horses, clothing, spurs, and silver spoons, and knew what money was. La Salle found them gentle and hospitable. Among such tribes he was to pass what little was left of his adventurous life.

[1] Father Douay's narrative. It is supposed that the name Texas is from the Spanish Tejas, in allusion to these covered houses.

His colony once sufficiently established, he left it on the 1st of November, 1685, on an expedition of discovery, always hoping to find, what Joutel, his second in command, learned to call "his unfortunate river." Once and again from such expeditions, in which he traversed Texas far in different routes, he returned to the settlement, always to hear some new story of misadventure. But his own buoyant and easy temper would restore the spirits of his men, and he would find new resource in every difficulty. At last, at the end of 1686, he determined to lead a party across to Canada to obtain succors from France for the colony, for which, thanks to Beaujeu's treachery, no supplies had arrived in two years' time.



Signature of Beaujeu.

On the 7th of January, 1687, this hero, who combines in his own character so much that would have challenged regard in a chevalier of the days of Philip Augustus, — and would command respect in the vigorous enterprises of to-day, — left the wretched colony, on what was to prove his last adventure. For want of better material, the clothing which he and his men wore was made from the sails of the little vessel which had been lost. He was to lead his party nearly two thousand miles overland. The same journey may be made to-day by railroad, and the traveller if he chooses, takes his ease. But even now, no man thinks the journey a trifle. Poor La Salle and his companions were to make it with little guidance beside that which the compass gave them, and must trust to their weapons or their address, to secure their passage among hostile tribes.

Overland journey to Canada.

He had bought five horses from the Indians, who had already learned the use of horses from the Spaniards. These beasts were used as pack-horses for the party. Twenty of the colonists, among whom were seven women and girls and some children, were to remain behind under Barbier, a hunter, who had been married since their arrival in America, and who was appointed governor in the place of Joutel. La Salle made them a farewell address in his own engaging way, and all who were to stay, while they felt the necessity of his journey, were melted to tears. Yet, doubtless, they felt that their dangers were less than his.

The travelling party consisted of about twenty also. La Salle and his brother Cavelier, the priest, with their two nephews, — Joutel and Father Anastasius, Duhaut and Liotot, the surgeon, were those who seemed the most distinguished of the party.

La Salle's companions.

Beside them were a man named Hiens, who had been a buccaneer, and was sometimes known as English Jem, and Nika, a faithful Shawnee Indian.

In that climate, there is no real hardship in travelling in January, and had the party been better provided, it would have made rapid progress, compared with what proved possible. But they lacked shoes, until they could supply their place with buffalo-hide and deer-skin. The rivers were swollen, and they were obliged to make boats from hides to ferry them. Thus they crossed the Brazos, and in two months' time, they approached Trinity River. Nothing but the scantiness of their equipment, and the fullness of the streams and rivers, accounts for the slowness of their progress. Meanwhile the members of the party were not on good terms. La Salle appeared reserved and anxious, and Liotot and Duhaut had quarrelled with young Moranget, his nephew



Signature of Cavelier.

On the 15th of March, La Salle sent a party from camp to find some provisions which he had left on his last expedition. They found the provision spoiled,— but they killed two buffaloes, and sent to La Salle for horses to bring the meat. La Salle sent Moranget and two others with the horses. They found the successful hunters, among whom were Duhaut, Liotot, and Heins, already curing the meat. Moranget, hot-headed boy as he was, broke into rage with them, because they had put by for themselves some part of the meat, to which the customs of hunting entitled them. It was not the first of Moranget's outbursts of rage. Duhaut was so angry, that he conspired with the others to kill Moranget, — and, as he knew the fidelity of Nika the Indian, and Saget, La Salle's servant, their death also was determined. Night came, the three victims each served his watch in turn. So soon as they slept, Duhaut and Heins stood by with their guns cocked, — and Liotot, with an axe, killed the three sleeping men. La Salle was six miles away.

Mutiny in the camp.

They did not dare join him. When the others had been absent two days, La Salle sought them in his anxiety, accompanied by the friar Anastasius. As they walked he talked with the priest on religious themes, and of his gratitude to God for his safety in twenty years' peril. Suddenly he was overcome with profound sadness, and was so much moved that Father Anastasius scarcely knew him. They came near Duhaut's camp, and La Salle noticed two birds of prey hovering above. He saw on the ground a piece of bloody clothing. He fired his two pistols to summon the hunters. They heard the shots, and crossed a little river to meet him. La Salle asked for his nephew. One of them replied insolently, that "Moranget

Murder of La Salle.

was along the river." La Salle rebuked him. Duhaut fired his gun in reply, and La Salle fell dead, — shot through the brain.

"There you are, great pashaw," [1] — this was the contemptuous cry of the false surgeon. Such was the death of one of the noblest heroes of France, when he seemed at the very prime of his life. He was only forty-three years old. Had he lived, with his spirit and power of command, to carry out the enterprise he had planned, the history of Louisiana must have been different. By his death, the valley of the Mississippi was left for nearly twenty years more to be the home of savages.

After his death, the first history of his colony, which had left France in such high hope, sinks into the separate effort of the colonists to escape with their lives from a wilderness. In a quarrel among the murderers, Duhaut, who had himself fired the fatal shot which killed La Salle, was himself killed, and the little company afterwards broke in pieces. Joutel, Father Anastasius, — the two relatives of La Salle, — and four others, made a separate party, which persevered towards Canada. They had horses, which they had obtained from the natives, and, by following a northeast course, from the country of the Caddos, above the lake of that name on Red River, they came out, to their delight, on the 24th of July, upon a cottage built in the French fashion, and a cross upon the northern side of the Arkansas River, just above the place where it unites with the Mississippi.

Death of Duhaut.

The cottage was the home of two Frenchmen, Charpentier and De Launay, both of the city of Rouen, whom De Tonty, La Salle's old companion, had left at the junction of the Arkansas and Mississippi, in the spring of 1685. De Tonty had gone down the river, in vain, in hopes to meet his old chief there. The names of these Frenchmen deserve permanent record, as those of the persons who established the first permanent post of Europeans south of the Illinois River, in the valley of the Mississippi.

From this point the friends of La Salle went home by routes now familiar to the French. The fate of the twenty colonists left at St. Louis, in Matagorda Bay, is not clear. A Spanish officer, dispatched to find them in 1689, found only the deserted settlement. Two of the

[1] "Te voilà, grand bacha, te voilà." Joutel's narrative. There are three narratives by members of this wretched expedition: Father Cavelier, Joutel's, and that of Father Anastasius. We have followed Mr. Parkman's thrilling narrative. The spot is not determined. The Texan historian supposes it to have been near the Neches River where the old Indian trail crosses that stream. Yoakum's *Hist. of Texas*, i. 38. But the old map of De Lisle places it distinctly at a point about seven miles west of Trinity River, in the county of San Jacinto, not very far from the field of the critical battle known by that name.

murderous party were arrested by the same officer, and were eventually condemned to the Spanish mines. Thus the first French effort to colonize the southwest left no sign, in 1689, but the cottage of the two Frenchmen who were established at the mouth of the Arkansas, with the addition of a third from La Salle's party.

The successful colonization of Louisiana, and from Louisiana upwards, of the valley of the Mississippi, was due not to the spirit of chivalry, so far as that was represented by La Salle, or to his chivalrous plans for seizing the Spanish silver mines, but to more modern developments of the spirit of mercantile adventure.

Canadian explorers.

It is probable that the long and successful enterprises of La Salle and his companions were the first steps which led to the education of a race of men still existing, known as the Canadian Voyageurs. In all the great river adventures of North America from those days down, these voyageurs have taken their part, humble, but none the less essential. The names of such men are in the narratives of Hearne and Mackenzie, of Lewis and Clarke, of Franklin, Back, and the Simpsons. The nomenclature which they have created is still in use on all the American rivers between New Brunswick and California, and their readiness to undertake any of the hardships of a campaigner's life makes them favored volunteers in the composition of any expedition of adventure. From the time when De Tonty went down the river in 1686, in unsuccessful hope of meeting La Salle, there was, perhaps, not a single year that some of these voyageurs did not "try the adventure" of the Mississippi in whole or in part.[1]

But it was not for ten years after La Salle's death that the French Crown made any effort to renew the colonization of the Mississippi valley. The work was then put into competent hands.

The Sieur Lemoyne d'Iberville was the third of eleven brothers, sons of Charles Lemoyne, Baron Longueuil, of Canada. To him was intrusted the oversight of an expedition fitted out by the King to plant a colony. Two frigates conveyed the colonists, of which D'Iberville himself commanded the larger, so that the evils of a divided command, which had broken the strength of La Salle's effort, were avoided. A third vessel joined at Saint Domingo, and on the 25th of January, 1699, the expedition arrived at the island of St. Rosa, just below Pensacola. At this point the Spaniards had established themselves more than a month before.

Expedition of D'Iberville.

[1] It has been said that a party went to the mouth of the Mississippi as early as 1686 No such party made a permanent establishment; this statement is derived from some recollection of De Tonty's expedition.

D'Iberville spent some weeks in exploring the coast, and on the 2d of March entered the Mississippi River. He had with him Father Anastasius, who had accompanied La Salle, and who found no difficulty in recognizing its turbid waters and its majestic flow. Evidence more convincing to D'Iberville was found, when, forty leagues up the river, they found the Bayagoula Indians, who brought out cloaks which La Salle had given them, a breviary which Father Anastasius had left in 1682, and a letter which De Tonty had left in 1686. They called it "a speaking bark."[1] D'Iberville's first post was at Biloxi Island, in Mobile Bay. He returned to France, and was again despatched to the river. He founded his second post at a point on the Mississippi, now known as Poverty Point, about thirty-eight miles below the present city of New Orleans.



Signature of D'Iberville.

The settlement at Biloxi was within the limits of the present State of Alabama, and was the first establishment of whites there. It was abandoned after a year for a station further up on the Mobile River, about eighteen leagues from the sea. The settlement at Poverty Point was the first settlement made in Louisiana. It was established in 1700. By this time D'Iberville had the assistance of a Canadian colony to meet him by the way of Lake Erie and the Miami portage.

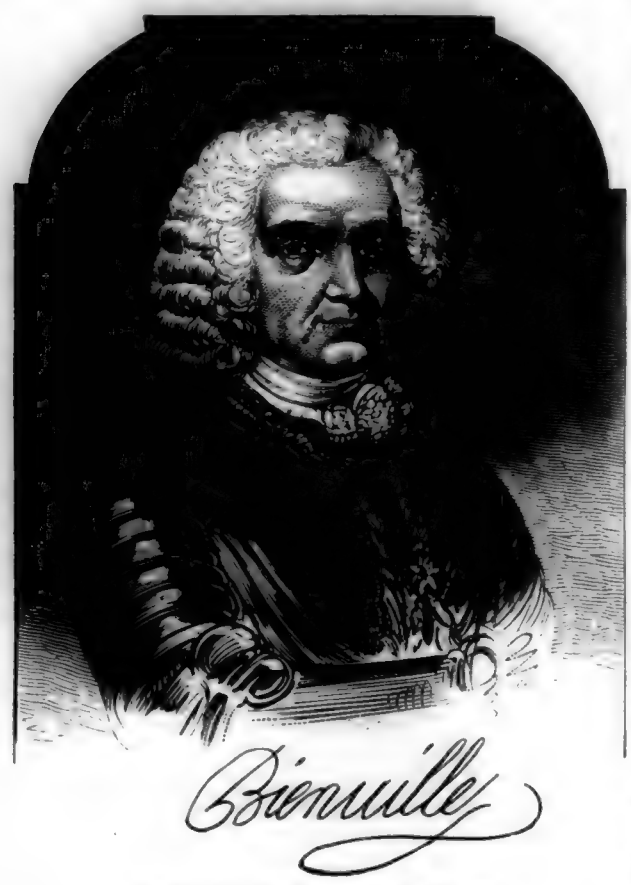
The settlement at Biloxi.

While D'Iberville was absent in France, his brother Bienville fell in with an English ship, commanded by Captain Barr, which was twenty-eight leagues up the river, having been sent out to explore and take possession of the Mississippi. Bienville boldly told him that the Mississippi was farther west, that this river was a dependency of Canada of which he had taken possession, and Barr went in search of the great river, just where poor La Salle had looked for it so vainly. The reach of the river where this interview took place is still known as the "English turn." The expedition thus arrested was a private expedition sent out by Coxe, an Englishman, who held a charter given by Charles I., for a supposed province of Carolana or West Florida. Our only other account of this expedition is by Coxe's son, and was published twenty years after. He complains that the captain of one ship deserted the other, but says that one of the two ascended the river one hundred miles.[2]

[1] "*Écorce parlante.*"

[2] The younger Coxe's map is drawn to show that all of southern Louisiana, except the

During the war of succession, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, Spain and France were in alliance, and the Spanish governors, both of Mexico and of Florida, rendered one and another service to the infant French colony which D'Iberville, and his brothers Bienville and Serigny, requited as they could in their weakness.[1] The history of the infant State is but little more than that of a small garrison, whose enterprising commanders were making alliances with the neighboring savages. Communication was constantly kept up with Canada, and in 1700, Le Sœur, an explorer of mines, went so far as Lake Superior, and returned, with what the chronicler says was two hundred thousand pounds of copper ore.[2] It must be doubted whether any such quantity was carried across the Portages of Wisconsin or Minnesota, especially as Le Sœur's journal says that it was in three canoes.



Portrait and Signature of Bienville.

The pacification of Europe resulting from the Treaty of Utrecht, gave the signal for an enlargement of the little colony. At that time the military force in Louisiana did not exceed one hundred French soldiers, and seventy-five Canadians. There were perhaps three hun-

very mouths of the Mississippi, was included in the charter of "Carolana," that is, was north of 31° north latitude. The line of 31° is the northern line of our State of Florida, and the southern of the greater part of Mississippi. Coxe claims the river for England on the ground that his father's ship was the first to enter it from the sea. It probably was, but the claim of discovery is absurd. Still, had William the Third lived longer, he might have followed up this claim.

[1] *Archiv de la Marine.* No. 9, No. 458 in Mr. Forstall's list.

[2] La Harpe's narrative, preserved in MS. in the Philosophical Society's Library. The text is, "Monsieur Le Sueur arriva avec 2000 quint^{x} de terre bleue y verte, venant des Scioux." The narrative, in an English translation, has been published by Mr. Trench in the *Louisiana Historical Transactians.*

dred whites beside, and twenty negroes held as slaves, scattered over the enormous territory known as Louisiana. So soon as the peace came, the King granted the whole territory to Antoine Crozat, one of those great financiers who play so curious a part in the French history of those times. The grant says specifically, that in consequence of the war there had been no possibility of reaping the advantages which might have been expected. It says also that Crozat's zeal, and singular knowledge in maritime commerce, encourages hope for as good success as in his former enterprises, "which have procured great quantities of gold and silver to the kingdom in such conjunctures as have rendered them very acceptable."

Grant of Louisiana to Crozat.

In the grant, the great rivers are thus named: "The river St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, the river St. Philip, heretofore called Missouri, the river St. Jerome, heretofore called Ouabache." But these names have lasted as little as the other special privileges granted to Crozat. The grant cedes all territories watered by the Mississippi. Crozat appointed as his governor, La Mothe Cadillac, a soldier, in place of Le Muys, who had died on his passage home. Le Muys had been the governor-general named by the King.

Crozat's government.

Cadillac arrived at the colony in May, 1713, bringing the news of peace, the news of the grant to Crozat, and of his own appointment. With him came several officers of administration. D'Iberville had died, but his influence in the colony was inherited by his brother, Bienville, so long celebrated in the history of Louisiana. Naturally enough altercations grew up between the new officials and Bienville and his friends, which were the basis of parties extending well down into that century. In a colony where there were not a hundred persons resident at any one point, and at this time not more than four hundred persons in all, such altercations were, doubtless, all the more bitter. Crozat's plans were based on the hope of commerce with the Spaniards. But the Spanish government changed its policy, and fell back on a system of exclusion, which had originated with Philip II., and which generally characterized its rule of its colonies, until it brought that rule to an end. Cadillac remained in the country but two years. He made some personal explorations, and ordered an expedition into Texas, which will be best described in our chapter on the early history of that State.

Beginning of Bienville's influence in the colony.

His successor was M. de L'Epinay. Bienville was appointed King's Commandant, while De L'Epinay was Governor-general. There was

no less dissension between these two than between Bienville and Cadillac. But the fortunes of the colony were not dependent on as trivial motives as the discords of local commanders. With the death of "Le grand Monarque" in 1715, and the accession of the Regent Duke of Orleans to the sway of France, a new destiny awaited Louisiana. It came through the spirit which was given to emigration by the enterprise, so disastrous in Europe, of the famous John Law, known in history as the Mississippi Scheme.



Indians in a Canoe (fac-simile from La Hontan).

CHAPTER XXII.

THE MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.

JOHN LAW. — THE REGENT ORLEANS. — LAW'S BANK. — THE WESTERN COMPANY. — RENEWED EMIGRATION. — THE INDIAN COMPANY. — SPANISH WAR. — NEW ESTABLISHMENTS. — FAILURE OF LAW'S PLANS. — RUIN OF SPECULATORS. — MISSIONS IN LOUISIANA. — THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS. — ESTABLISHMENT AT NATCHEZ. — RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS. — CUSTOMS OF THE NATCHEZ. — CHOPART'S FOLLY. — ITS RESULTS. — CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE NATCHEZ AND CHICKASAWS. — BIENVILLE RE-APPOINTED. — HIS ILL-SUCCESS AS A MILITARY LEADER. — VAUDREUIL AND KERLEREC.

JOHN LAW was born in Edinburgh in April, 1671, the son of a goldsmith of considerable fortune. The goldsmiths of that day were the bankers of the world, and all the social privileges of a banker of to-day belonged to this Scotch goldsmith then. John Law was but fourteen years old when his father died. He was educated with care, but did not choose to embrace his father's calling, preferring a life of pleasure and travel. He left his mother at the age of twenty, and went first to London, where, like many other adventurers, he applied his knowledge of finance and mathematics to the calculations of the gambling table, without more success than is usual. His mother paid his debts and saved his estate. For himself he became popular in London; but the fortune of Louisiana was changed, as it happened, on the 9th of April, 1694, when in a duel in Bloomsbury Square, he killed on the spot a gentleman named Edward Wilson, "commonly called Beau Wilson." For this

John Law.



John Law.

offence he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, but was pardoned by the King. He was, however, thrown into prison on some charge connected with the duel, but he effected his escape and fled to the continent.

His career and financial schemes.

At Amsterdam he became a clerk of the English Resident, in order to study the system of the celebrated Bank of Amsterdam; and at thirty years of age he returned to Scotland. About the year 1700, he presented in print a plan for what we should now call The National Bank of Scotland, — far in advance of the financial wisdom of the day, and, indeed, only differing from the systems now in use in the European national banks, so far as it included the system, then universal, of monopolies of commerce and of farming out the revenue. Another plan of his, at this time, that for a land bank, has been often brought forward since, but never really tried.



The Regent Orleans.

Neither Scotland nor England was prepared for his financial schemes, and, returning to the continent, he engaged himself in the not uncongenial occupation of gambling, — managing faro banks with profit. This occupation brought him into acquaintance with the Duke of Orleans, an acquaintance which afterwards proved so important. On the close of the war of the succession he urged his financial plans on the French government, which was already bankrupt. But Louis XIV. rejected them, not so much because the plans were not good, of which nobody in France was a judge, as because the author of them was a Protestant. Law went to offer them to Victor Amadeo at Turin, and to the Emperor of Germany. Both these sovereigns declined to try his experiments. But at their courts and elsewhere, he won two million livres at gambling, — and this he carried to Paris, where it became the nucleus of his after fortunes.

Reception of his plans on the continent.

Louis XIV. died. His ambition, his selfishness, and in especial, the war of the succession, had brought France to bankruptcy. It is not fair to ascribe this bankruptcy to John Law. The truth is, that he

postponed for a few years the inevitable catastrophe. To borrow the language of the modern exchange, he flew the great kites, which, for a little while, promised to carry France over an abyss. When the King died the royal stocks were at a discount of from seventy to eighty per cent. A treasury report of September 20, 1715, shows that the annual expenses were one hundred and forty-eight million livres.[1] All the receipts of the year were pledged in advance, except three millions. Seven hundred and ten millions of stocks were due in the current year. The troops were not paid, commerce was ruined, and whole provinces were depopulated. The Regent was urged to proclaim the crown bankrupt. The Regent declared that he should be dishonored, and that France would be dishonored, by such a course. In place of it he attempted every half way measure known in his time, or indeed, since, to insolvent states or failing merchants. When it is remembered, that in fourteen years the expenses of the monarchy had been two billions of livres more than the revenue, and that this amount had been borrowed; that the arrears, when the King died, were seven hundred and eleven millions, and the deficit on the year then current was seventy-eight millions; when it is also remembered that Law's plans, such as they were, maintained the credit of the crown for five years; the injustice will be seen of that sweeping charge, which says that the public bankruptcy of France was the consequence of those schemes.

Their acceptance in France.

When the Regent came into power he had placed the Duke de Noailles at the head of the department of finance. To this department he referred Law and his plans. Law proposed a public bank, which should collect the revenues, carry on the great monopolies, issue bills current as money, and discount notes of merchants and others who wished to borrow. The Council of Finance rejected this proposal, and Law substituted a private bank of discount, on a basis which seems modest to later times. The capital was six million livres, divided into twelve hundred shares. It was authorized to discount merchants' notes, and to issue bills redeemable in coin. The Duke of Orleans accepted the title of Patron of the bank, which was opened in Law's own house.

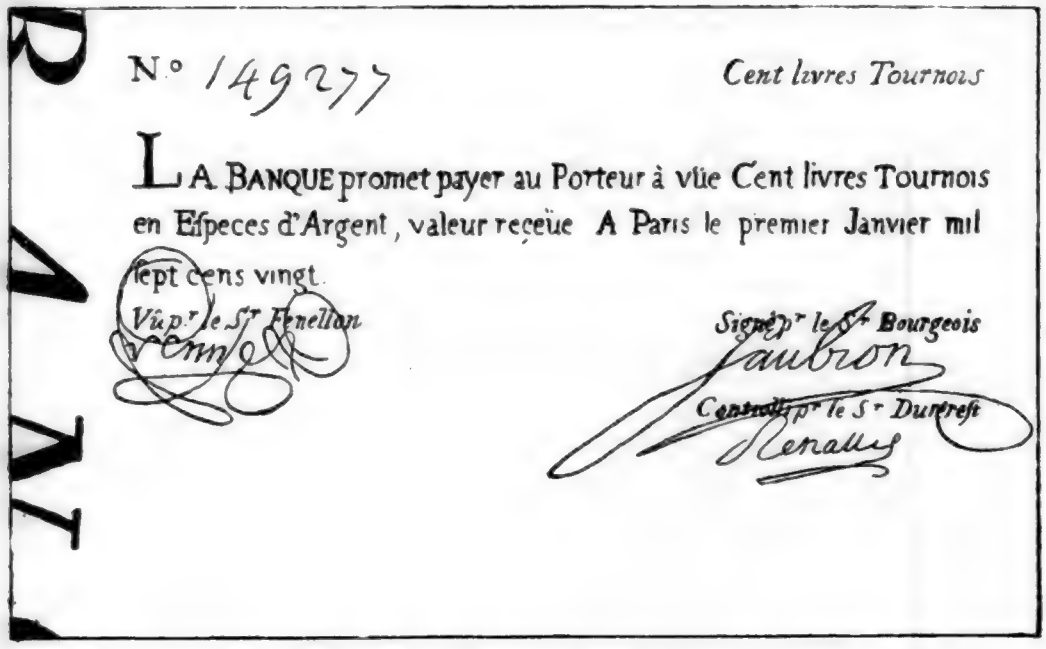
History of Law's Bank.

So necessary were these simple bank facilities, in the disordered commerce of France, that the bank at once became popular and acquired credit. At the end of a year Law's predictions were fulfilled, and he was able to take a second step. The government, also, could give him its countenance, by a decree ordering

[1] The value of a livre varies, from time to time, especially as it is a paper livre or made of silver. But the reader of our time may remember to advantage, that, in 1700, the word represented, in substance, what the word "franc" stands for now.

public officials to receive the notes of the bank, as if they were coin. From this time, of course, they answered all purposes of exchange within the kingdom. With such facilities the notes instantly gained value, the deposits of gold and silver increased, and the bank was on the high road of prosperity. Its notes even commanded one per cent. more than specie, at times, for the government was not above tampering with specie; but the bank redeemed its notes in the coin it received. The trade of the country felt the benefit to commerce of such a currency. Taxes were paid cheerfully, and branches of the bank, in accordance with Law's original plan, were established in five provincial cities.

A second feature of Law's great scheme had been the management of the great commercial monopolies, which made, at that time, a part



Fac-simile of Bank-note issued by Law.

of the commercial system of all the great nations. He was now tempted to engraft this part of that plan upon his private bank. And it is from that temptation, and the plans made in consequence, that Law became the founder of New Orleans, and, practically, the person who directed the French settlement of the valley of the Mississippi. Crozat, who had obtained the grant of the Mississippi trade for twelve years, had not been successful in his plans, for reasons which have been stated. He asked permission to give up his privilege, and Law gladly became his successor. It seems as if Crozat had attempted commerce only, with hopes of success in mining, while Law, with a broader view, expected to make

Formation of the "Western Company."

the colonists at least support themselves by agriculture. The contract for the trade in beaver in Canada expired in 1717. Law, therefore, asked permission to form a company, which should unite all the commerce of Louisiana with the fur trade of Canada. The Regent granted all that he asked, in an edict issued in August, 1717.

The company thus formed received the name of the "Western Company." The grants made to it were for twenty-five years. The sovereignty over all Louisiana was granted to it, on the condition of homage to the king of France, and of a gold crown at the beginning of every new reign. This token of vassalage indicates the nature of the hopes with which it was undertaken. The capital was nominally one hundred million livres. But subscribers were permitted to pay three fourths of their subscriptions in royal bonds, which were still at the old discount of seventy or eighty per cent. Only one fourth of the subscription was asked for in coin. It will be seen, therefore, that the real capital paid in was about forty million livres.



New Orleans in 1719 (from an old Map).

With this capital Law and his associates went to work with spirit in the details of colonization. We can still refer to the little emigration tracts which they circulated through France and Germany to collect emigrants. Vessels were armed, troops sent forward, and colonists enlisted. The great feudal cultivators of France did not encourage the emigration of peasants. The emigrants, therefore, were not so often as might have been wished, persons used to agriculture. They were indeed enlisted largely by the hope of collecting gold, — then, as now, the hope most tempting to a poor and discouraged people. M. de L'Epinay was recalled, and Law showed his good sense and knowledge of the position by appointing Bienville Governor-general of Louisiana. Bienville was also instructed, probably by an echo of advice given by himself, to select a new site for the capital. With the

Preparations for colonization.

Bienville governor. The settlement of New Orleans.

knowledge he had acquired of the geography of his dominions, he chose the admirable site of New Orleans, commanding the approaches to the sea by the river and by Lake Pontchartrain, and here in February, 1718, he left fifty persons to clear the ground and to build. Through the year different vessels arrived with colonists for different landowners, — in one party alone eight hundred persons.

The next year two of Bienville's brothers arrived with news of the short Spanish war, set on foot by the folly of Alberoni. With great promptness Governor Bienville moved against the Spanish port of Pensacola, and took it. It was soon retaken by a superior force, but was again captured by a French squadron in September. Meanwhile, without check from the war, John Law was going forward with apparent success in his great schemes. The Western Company, as the charter called his corporation, had not at first attracted much public attention. But its shares gradually rose to par, that is, to a money par, though they had been largely paid for in reduced securities. In May, 1719, he was strong enough in public confidence to obtain from the Regent power to join with it the East India Company of France. The exclusive right of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope was given to it. Its name was changed to that of "The Indian Company," and, for its new purposes, it was authorized to issue fifty thousand new shares at a par of five hundred livres.

The Indian Company.

But the company was already so prosperous that it refused even to issue these new shares at less than five hundred and twenty livres, fifty livres down, and the remainder in twenty equal monthly payments. Nor was any person permitted to take one new share who did not exhibit four old ones. Old shares, therefore, rose rapidly under the new enthusiasm. This condition brought them from three hundred livres up to seven hundred and fifty livres, — that is, they rose from sixty per cent. of their nominal value to fifty per cent. above it.

It was at this crisis, when the Western Company became the Indian Company, that it really won the bad name which from that moment to this has hung around the "Mississippi Scheme," so called.[1] A capital of forty million livres was not an extraordinary sum with which to develop the fur trade of Canada, and all the resources of the Mississippi Valley. The methods of the Company for its legitimate business, even in the midst of stockbroking in Paris, were judicious, though they were not so considerable as its capital would have justified. Concessions of land, as they were called, were

[1] Which has seemed to attend subsequent financial transactions which bore the same name.

made to adventurers under the Company, and these adventurers sent out settlers, as the Company itself did. In 1718, seven vessels were sent out with stores and emigrants, numbering in all, perhaps, fifteen hundred persons. The year 1719 sent eleven ships, besides those ships of war belonging to the crown, which assisted in the operations against Pensacola. Meanwhile new establishments for trade were opened on the Red River, the Missouri, and the Upper Mississippi.[1] In this year five hundred negroes from the Guinea Coast were brought in, and another cargo arrived the next year. A terrible epidemic, contracted at St. Domingo, where the vessels always stopped, swept through the emigrants of 1720. From one vessel, one man, who was set on shore at his own request, was the only person who ever arrived; the ship itself was never heard of again. In 1721 nearly a thousand white emigrants arrived, and thirteen hundred and sixty-seven slaves were brought from Guinea, not three quarters of the poor wretches who were embarked for the voyages. In this year the *Garonne*, belonging to the Company, with supplies and three hundred German emigrants, was taken by pirates near St. Domingo.

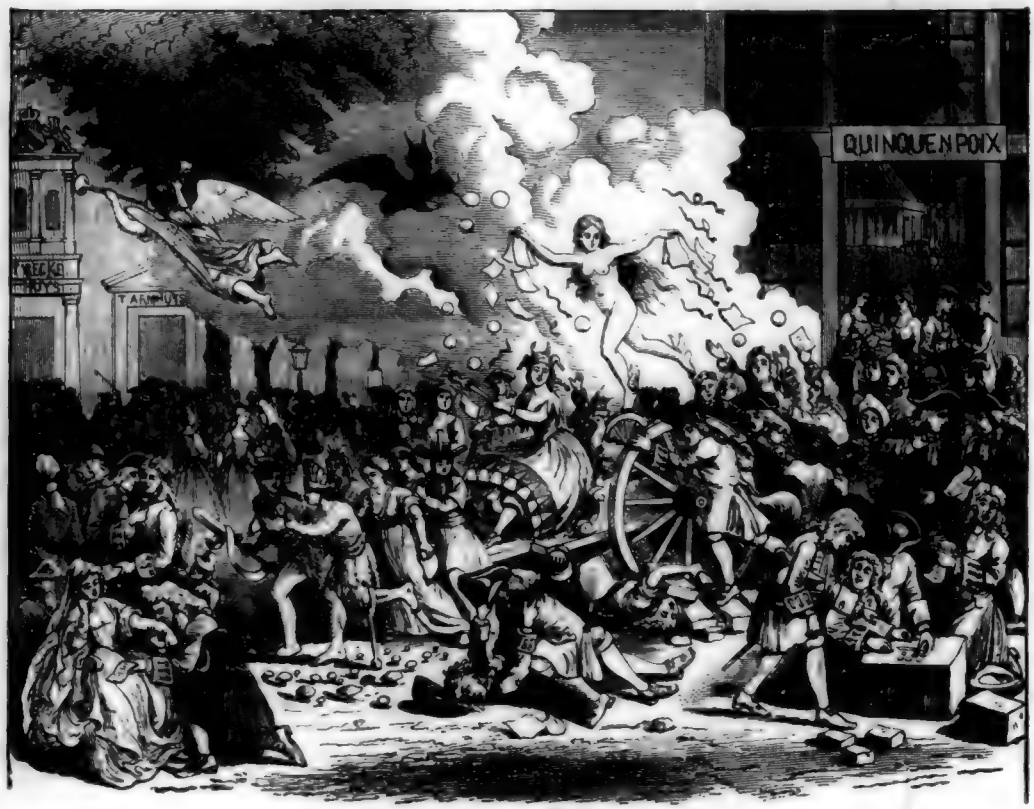
Progress of emigration.

This year, however, the most active of the operations of the Company, as far as Louisiana was concerned, was the last of its prosperity at home. The popularity gained by the union of the East and West India Companies in August, 1719, was so great, and the demand so flattering for the consolidated stock, that Law was able to advance another step towards his original design, and to undertake, by the Company, the payment of a considerable part of that terrible public debt, with which the Regent's administration had found itself saddled by the later wars of Louis the Magnificent. In exchange for the privilege of collecting the revenue of France, he proposed to take up, by the issue of company stock, government stock to the amount of more than fifteen hundred millions, a considerable part of which was approaching maturity. The plan was gigantic, but it offered unquestionable advantages. If so large an enterprise could have been carried out with the privacy and delicate handling necessary, it seems to have rested on an intelligible and practicable basis. In fact the new shares which Law issued, of which nine tenths were to be paid in government stock, were sought with overwhelming eagerness. This means, partly, that the French people went crazy. But it also means, partly, that people trusted John Law and his business-like methods of administration more than they did

The "Mississippi Scheme."

[1] In the Yazoo country, at Baton Rouge, at Bayagoula, at Ecores Blancs, at Point Coupée, at the Black River, at Pascagoula, and among the Illinois. All these plantations proved permanent.

the Regent Orleans and the men around him. For the real question was, whether the holders of government securities would or would not exchange them for his securities, when they could do so, if they would add a payment of one ninth of the amount in cash, for all which they would receive his bonds, or those of his company. The speculators and the capitalists of France alike, chose to make the change. And this is the cause of the frenzy, in which all France combined to give, for a moment, an exaggerated value to the bonds of the India Company. It was not the possession of the whole valley of the Mississippi. Land is as valueless in itself in any market, as is the ocean



A Caricature of the Time of the "Mississippi Bubble."

or the clouds. It needs the occupancy of men — men who know how to subdue the earth — before it has a money value. If the Indian Company could have given this element of value to their empire on the Mississippi, it would have been worth the whole debt of France a hundred times told. But such inhabitancy, or such a population, is not to be gained by any inducements which such companies can offer.

For the moment, however, the public enthusiasm supplied the place of more substantial values. Three hundred thousand new shares were applied for, where there were but fifty thousand to distribute. The enlargement of currency, accompanied by universal confidence, quick-

ened every form of industry. The annual taxes were reduced by fifty-two million livres in the year 1719, while thirty-five millions had been taken off before, since the Regent's accession to power. The rate of interest fell, lands rose in price, labor found its reward, and plenty appeared everywhere. The author of such wonders was hailed as a demi-god; the crowds followed him, the nobility courted him, the Regent honored and obeyed him. To John Law, the Scotch goldsmith's son, poor France owed the one gleam of prosperity which she had enjoyed for twenty years.

Momentary effects of the plan. Law at the height of power.

It is said that in the three years of its power in Louisiana, the Indian Company expended twenty-five million of francs. It would probably be impossible to say what this immense sum was expended for. La Harpe, a very competent authority, testifies that eight million francs only were expended on supplies and transportation for the colony, and he avers that this sum brought no return to France. He says that convicts and prostitutes were sent out as colonists; that inexperienced clerks were put in charge of the stores and plundered them openly; that the Company did not hold to its contracts with Swiss and German companies, and with miners; that these contracts themselves were unfortunate; that it was always making places for adventurers, and always quarrelling with Bienville. All this is said more simply, when we say that a company of directors in Paris undertook to rule a colony in America. Napoleon has taught us that two good generals are worse than one bad one. When a directory of generals is on one side of the world, and their army is on the other, its ruin is certain. It is a curious question, whether under a careful management, that part of the capital of the Company which was subscribed for the development of Louisiana, could, in these days, have been made productive. An annual income of four per cent. would have satisfied the shareholders. Their privilege ran for twenty-five years, and when it reverted to the crown, the separate holders could take lands to represent the principal. It is certain that the furs of Canada and of Louisiana would not amount to an annual value of one million six hundred thousand livres. Indeed, the Company relied, not so much on furs, as on mines and tobacco. They never found any mines of value, and the product of tobacco was inconsiderable. So far their empire in the West yielded them but little. If, however, the Company had been willing to do as Winthrop and his associates did, go themselves with their charter to the province of which it made them masters, it could not have been

The Company's rule in Louisiana.



Arms of the Western Company.

hard to make that province worth forty millions francs before 1742. But no man of the stockholders, though the examples were before them of Winthrop, of Champlain, of Penn, and other colonists, had, at any moment, any such idea.

Wild speculation in the stock.

Whatever may have been the legitimate basis on which Law's earlier plans were founded, all recollection of it was swept away and all thought of any basis was forgotten in the whirlwind of excitement which swept over France, when all men tried to join in the successes of those whose early investments in Indian stocks had proved fortunate beyond the wildest hope. Under this wild excitement shares issued at 500 livres eventually sold at 5,000 livres, and even more. In its five issues, the Company put out 624,000 shares, which at the nominal par amounted to 312,000,000 livres. To pay four per cent. interest on these, would have required 12,480,000 livres annually. It is an interesting fact that its income was more than six times this amount, being 80,500,000 livres annually. The Company was therefore amply able to make good its technical obligations. But, of course, persons who had bought for 5,000 livres a share nominally worth 500, would not be satisfied with a miserable annual income of twenty livres for that investment. The price of shares was merely fanciful. It could not be held at the fictitious level. And the moment the decline began, nothing would arrest it. These statements are due to the memory of John Law. He undoubtedly made the grossest errors in his efforts to arrest the fall of these securities. But it was, in the first instance, not the audacity of his proposals, but their success, which caused his ruin.

Ruin of the Company and of Law.

Ruin came. So soon as the holders of shares began to buy with them houses and castles and jewels, and did not buy other shares, so soon as they ceased to speculate and began to invest in real securities, so soon the price of bonds fell. All the ingenuity and all the audacity of Law, all the willing help of the unscrupulous Regent could not arrest the fall, more than they could make water run up hill. In one year from the greatest success of the "system," as this rash adventure was called, it had wholly disappeared. In that time thousands had become rich who were poor, thousands were poor who had been rich. Law fled from Paris, and all his estates were sequestered.[1] This was in November, 1720. News of his fall and flight arrived in Louisiana on the 15th of April, 1721. The year 1721, however, saw the largest accession yet made of emigrants to the colony.

[1] For an admirable account of all Law's transactions, examined in the light of modern financial science, such as it is, see M. Thiers's chapters, translated into English with illustrations, by Frank S. Fiske.

As the "system" rolled on, adding one extravagance to another, it was announced that Law had become a Roman Catholic. Whatever may have been the sincerity of this conversion, it was followed by his appointment as minister of finance, and men said he had become a Catholic that he might become a minister. It was perhaps this conversion which gave rise to the first measures of the Company for assisting the religious missions in Louisiana, — missions to which, in the outset, France owed even her knowledge of the river. Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix, the writer to whom we have since owed our most interesting history of New France in that century, who was indeed the diligent historian of Jesuit enterprise

Voyage of Charlevoix.



View on the Arkansas River.

through the world, embarked at Rochelle, in July, 1720, to visit the Canadian Missions. He was at Kaskaskia, in our State of Illinois, in November 8, 1721. The brethren of his order had already established a post here, six miles from the Mississippi. He went from this point down the river in a canoe made from a long walnut tree. Thirty miles above the mouth of the Arkansas he found the village already in ruins where Law was to have established, on his own concession,[1] nine thousand Germans from the Palatinate. All who came were discouraged, and eventually planted what is now known as the "German Coast" above New Orleans. No part of the world shows more beautiful homes and farms than those made there by these exiles who were then thought to be abandoned to misery. Charlevoix found that

[1] The concession was twelve miles square.

the small-pox was already ravaging tribes which La Salle had found numerous. He arrived at Natchez, on the 15th of December, and at New Orleans on the 31st. It is amusing now to see, that the little circle of critics in New Orleans thought, that, if he had chosen, he could have found his way to the Western Ocean.[1] That enterprise was reserved to Lewis and Clarke, nearly a hundred years after, and occupied them then more than two years. The Jesuit missionary proved his own good sense, and made good his Christian profession, by reconciling Bienville the Governor, and Hubert, one of the other officers, who were in one of the chronic quarrels which embittered life in the petty colony.

Reports of early explorers.

Charlevoix, like the other early explorers, sent home accounts of the resources and geography of the country, which are amusing when read by the light of our modern knowledge. We have seen that La Salle proposed to establish his colony as an easy method by which the French could attack the Spanish silver mines. La Harpe, one of the most valuable officers who served under Bienville, in a report which he presented at home, urged the necessity of keeping the English away from these same silver mines of New Mexico. And in Charlevoix's first letter describing the resources of the new colony, the two productions which he describes with most enthusiasm are the "apalacchine" and the wax of the candleberry. The first of these is already wholly forgotten. It is the *Ilex Cassine* of the botanists, and, at the time Charlevoix wrote, had a reputation as a substitute for tea, and even as dispelling the emotion of fear. There will be many, even among the American readers of these lines, who have never heard of candleberry wax, which Charlevoix supposed was to be an important article of foreign export. Those who ever have made a candle from it, will sympathize with the "five or six slaves," who being unfit for ordinary duty, were thought by the good father sufficient to gather a shipload of wax every year.



Ilex Cassine (Yaupan).

[1] By a curious parody on this criticism, the biographical dictionaries, French and English, say that Chateaubriand, at the end of the eighteenth century, crossed from the Mississippi to the Pacific, — an impossible journey in the period of his tour.

The city of New Orleans, so named in honor of the Regent, was regularly laid out on paper when Charlevoix visited it, — on the convenient plan made by La Tour and Pauger, but it was still a city on paper. There were two hundred people encamped there, who were to carry out the plans of the engineers. To each applicant a lot was given sixty feet in front by twice that depth. Each landholder was directed to fence in his lot and to leave a vacant space, three feet wide, for open drains which should carry off superficial water. These ditches were connected, and a dyke or levee of earth made on the river side. The seat of government was removed thither in the same year, and the names of the two hundred settlers whom Charlevoix found there, are preserved. Bienville's is first upon the roll.

Founding of New Orleans.

The result in America of the work of the Western Company, or the Indian Company, had been the establishment of a few thousand emigrants in a climate to which they were not accustomed, on soil of whose capacities they were ignorant, with hopes which could not be gratified. A staff of officials, larger than would be appointed now for the same region, though its population is counted for millions, quarrelled among themselves, but regularly drew their salaries. The common-sense and practical intelligence of Bienville were the most cheerful element in the horoscope of the infant state.

The French establishment at Natchez was the most flourishing of the trading establishments on the river. The massacre by the Natchez Indians of almost all its male inhabitants, was the first terrible event which broke the course of the development of the colony, and the vengeance taken upon that tribe was the first great effort made by the colonists against the natives.

The settlement of Natchez.

The policy of La Salle had been to conciliate the natives of all tribes. He would not permit his men to fire upon them, except under extreme provocation, and he would not adopt the easy policy, which was a favorite policy with the Spaniards, of taking one side or another in their mutual feuds. D'Iberville and Bienville seem to have been willing to continue in a policy of conciliation. But, from the beginning, it was the custom of the French to supply the Indians with guns, powder, and shot. They relied on the Indians of the north for hunting, as the supply of furs to Europe made the largest element in their trade, and they boldly took the risk that such arms might be used against themselves.

So long as the charge of the outposts was entrusted to officers of humanity or discretion, this hazardous policy, which armed the Indians as well as the whites, brought few disastrous consequences. All parties regarded themselves as adventurers, and the loss of one life,

more or less, in a brawl with savages was not regarded so seriously as it would have been in the earlier settlements of New England. As early as 1716, some Indians of the Natchez tribe, or allies of theirs, had killed some *voyageurs* coming down the river. Bienville suspected that they had been instigated to this atrocity by English traders from the Carolinas. He took resolute measures. He seized on some of the Natchez chiefs, and gave the tribe to understand that he would take the lives of these men if the heads of the murderers were not sent to him. After some intrigue and wavering, caused partly by their doubt of his firmness perhaps, and partly by real inability to meet so hard an order, it was complied with in full. From this moment the Brother of the Sun, as the chief of the Natchez was called, must have felt that he had a master. This transaction is known in the colonial history as the first Natchez war.

French policy toward the Indians.



View of the Mississippi at Natchez.

So far as we can see, the Natchez might have been retained, as a useful ally of the French, for an indefinite period, but for the folly and selfishness of one French commander, named Chopart. The tribe was more compactly organized than most of the Indian tribes. It understood subordination to its chiefs, and, indeed, in many other regards, showed a higher civilization than that of most of the Indian nations. The conjecture has always seemed probable that it was an off-shoot from that superior Mexican race, the civilization of which, as described in the exaggerated accounts of the

The Natchez tribe.

companions of Cortez, is still one of the problems and wonders of history. The Natchez worshipped the sun. His temple was of oval shape, built of clay, without windows, and arched in a dome. It was about one hundred feet in circumference, and, to defend it from the rain, was covered with three layers of woven mats. Above it were three wooden eagles, one red, one white, one yellow. No person was permitted to live in it, but the Guardian of the Temple had a little shed without, where he lodged. The whole was surrounded by a palisade on which were exposed the skulls which had been brought back from battle. In this temple a perpetual fire was kept, supplied from time to time by the Guardian of the Temple. It was his duty to feed the fire with logs, to see that they did not blaze, and that the fire did not go out.

The palace of the great chief, who took the name of the Brother of the Sun, was similar to the temple. It was raised on an artificial mound, that he might the better converse with his brother in the heavens every morning. The door of the palace fronted the east, and, when the sun arose, his brother saluted him with howls, ordered that his calumet should be lighted, offered to him the three first puffs of smoke, and raising his hands, and turning from east to west, directed his course for that day through the heavens.

Their government and customs.

On the death of the supreme chief his sister's son succeeded. The princesses of the blood espoused none but men of obscure family, and had the right of dismissing a husband whenever they pleased. The power of the Brother of the Sun was absolute; no man would refuse him his head if he asked for it, and if he appointed a guard to wait upon the French, none of these men were permitted to receive any wages. He had a sort of body-guard, or personal staff, appointed even at his birth. For, so soon as an heir presumptive was born, a certain number of infants was chosen from the infants of the tribe near his age, and these were assigned for the service of the young prince. They hunted, fished, planted, and farmed for him, — they were his servants, and they furnished his table. That they might serve him in another world, they all sacrificed themselves to follow him, when he died. In a religious rite of great solemnity they were strangled that they might go at once to be his servants in the world of spirits. All these customs, and many others, described in the early writers, are analogous to those ascribed in the Spanish writers to the Mexican tribes. Charlevoix observed bas-relief carvings, "not so badly done as one expects," among the chiefs of a neighboring tribe.

The Natchez were not disposed to make war, but for some reason, perhaps because of the small-pox which their new friends gave

them, their numbers diminished rapidly after the arrival of the French, or were supposed to do so. It was thought that they were more numerous in La Salle's day than when Iberville landed; and, in 1722, Charlevoix thought they had diminished in six years from four thousand to two thousand fighting men. They were fond of the French, and the French found them very useful. Opposite to their town, the French had established a post which bore the name of Rosalie, a name still preserved. It was given by Bienville in compliment to Mad. la Duchesse de Pontchartrain. The convenience for trade, the excellence of the soil, and the beauty of the situation, which is exquisite, called up a very considerable number of whites,—and, as has been said, this was the most successful settlement in the valley. After the "first Natchez war," for nearly ten years this beautiful village showed every sign of external prosperity. But for the folly and selfishness of Chopart, the commander, this prosperity might have continued.

Chopart's madness

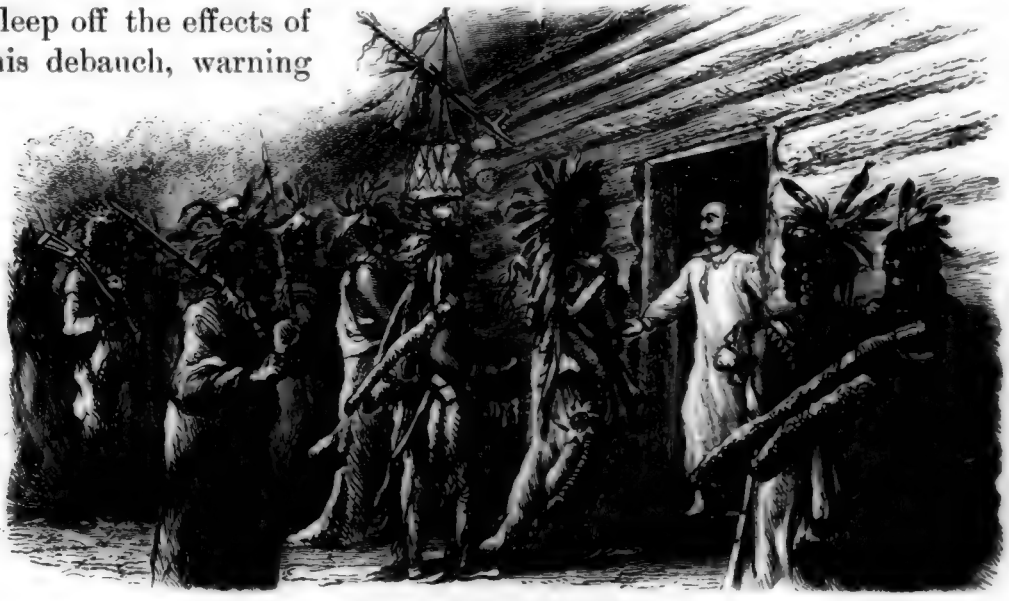
Chopart formed the idea, which seems almost insane, that he should like the site of the great village of the Natchez for his own home, and that the fine plain about it would be an admirable plantation for himself. He had the effrontery to send for the Brother of the Sun, and to tell him that the great chief of the French had ordered the Natchez to leave this village, as he needed it. The chief and council refused indignantly. They said that the nation had long possessed this territory, and that it was sacred. The very ashes of their fathers were buried beneath the temple. They reminded him that till now all the points occupied by the French in their territory had been given in token of regard, or had been bought and paid for. Chopart was deaf to their arguments. He insisted that in two months' time they must be ready to remove. The wily Natchez pretended, after deliberation, to assent to his mad demand. Chopart even made them agree to pay an indemnity in compensation for the extension of time.

The Indian plans for retaliation.

In fact, however, the Natchez agreed, in secret council, that they would by one fell stroke get rid of the French, and that forever. They sent messengers to the other Indian tribes to bind them to the same work of destruction. Nor did any tribe refuse so far as to betray them. The Choctaws joined eagerly in the plan, and took, as their part, the destruction of the French on the lower part of the river. To make sure that the massacre should take place on the same day, at all the lower settlements the Choctaw chief and the Natchez chief exchanged parcels of little sticks, in each of which were as many twigs as would indicate the number of days before that appointed for the butchery. This had been fixed at the

time when Chopart had directed the abandonment of the village and the temple.

The fatal night came on without any preparation on the part of the French to oppose the Indians. Women from the Natchez tribe, more faithful to their French lovers, or to those who are so called, than to their race, warned them of their danger. Some of these men communicated the warning to Chopart, but he ridiculed their fears, arrested them and put them in irons. He had just returned from a visit of state to the Brother of the Sun. The Indians had well kept their horrible secret, all parties had drunk and revelled together, and it was not till three in the morning that Chopart returned, received the report of danger, ordered the men to be ironed who brought it, and then retired to sleep off the effects of his debauch, warning the sentinel not to call him till nine in the morning. This was on the 28th of November, 1729.



Chopart and the Indian Envoys.

Morning came. There was not a settler's house but had in it one or more Indians, who came in on one pretence or another. The great chief set out from his village, attended by his warriors, beating the drum of ceremony, and bearing the calumet aloft. The calumet, as La Salle had seen, may be a calumet of war as well as of peace. The pretence of the procession was that they might bring to Chopart the tribute exacted in payment for delay. They reached his house and wakened him. He came out in his *robe de chambre*, and bade the cortége enter. They did so and offered their tribute. They then proceeded to the river, where a galley just up from New Orleans was unloading valuable stores. Every Indian in the train picked out his man among those

Massacre of the French settlers.

at work on the galley, fired, and killed him. The discharge was the signal agreed upon. All through the settlement the Indians closed on the French, and in an hour's time more than two hundred[1] Frenchmen were killed. Of the garrison, which consisted of one small company, only one soldier escaped. Most of the women and children were spared, to be held as slaves. But some of the women were killed in the effort to defend their husbands.

Death of Chopart.

Chopart was among the last to be killed. He saw the slaughter, but saw it too late. He fled to his garden, not so much as seizing a gun. He whistled for his soldiers, — but, they were not left to hear. He was surrounded by Indians. But no Natchez would lay hands on him. He was a dog, they said, unworthy to be killed by a brave. A Puant chief was called, who killed him with a club.[2]

Had the simple arithmetic of the Natchez and Choctaws proved as accurate as they expected, that day would probably have been the last of the whole colony. But if, in the best calculations of the greatest, a little dog may do more mischief than he can conceive, — what must not be expected in the computations of ignorant savages? It happened that one day when the Natchez chief burned his fatal stick in the temple, his little son stood by. While the father's attention was engaged elsewhere, the boy, with a child's passion for imitation, burned two sticks, as he had seen his father burn one, without being observed. In consequence of this accident, the Natchez pounced upon their prey two days earlier than the day fixed upon in their solemn treaty.

With all the facilities of modern skill, the traveller is a long day in descending the Mississippi, even on the flood, from Natchez to New Orleans. The distance, in a direct line, is more than a hundred miles, and, by the winding of the river, it is twice as far. The poor fugitives from Natchez had no means of carrying the intelligence of the massacre to New Orleans in the fatal two days which were left to that post. When, therefore, on the appointed day, the first of December, six hundred of the Choctaws assembled in force by the Lake of St. Louis, Perier, the governor, had no notice of what had taken place above. The Choctaws sent to him a delegation, saying that they had come to present to him the calumet. Perier was alive to the advantage of conciliating this important tribe; but he was too good a soldier to admit them inside his fortifications. He sent a civil message, that he would gladly receive the chief with thirty of his warriors. This answer disconcerted the Choctaws, and seems to have been enough

[1] This number corresponds best with what we know of the colony. But Dumont says seven hundred.

[2] The Puants were Indians from Green Bay, now in Wisconsin.

to avert an immediate attack. They sent a delegation to the Natchez to present the calumet to the great chief. The delegation was not received with such honor as was expected. They soon learned that the Natchez had made their attack two days before that agreed upon. What was worse, perhaps, in the presents which they received, from the plunder then taken by "the Brother of the Sun," there were no guns, powder, or balls. The Choctaws were indignant at all this, and turned their rage against the Natchez. They accused them of selfishly anticipating the assault, that they might gain all the benefits. They forbade them to kill any of their captives, lest they should have to account for such lost lives to the Choctaws.

Meanwhile, on the third of December, fugitives who had escaped the slaughter, arrived at New Orleans. Perier acted with promptness. He sent an officer to communicate with the Choctaws, and, before long, had succeeded in engaging these fickle savages on his side. He formed a little army, and, with his new allies, moved against the Natchez. The negotiations and preparations consumed the months of December and January, but, in February, the Choctaws arrived at Natchez, sixteen hundred in number. The French contingent joined them in March, and the fort of the Natchez was invested. They did not stand a siege in which cannon were to be served against their palisades. They agreed to surrender their prisoners and to make peace on those terms. Loubois, the French commander, on the spot, acceded to these terms, without meaning to keep them, having a theory that he was not bound to keep faith with them, more than they would with him. The next morning, therefore, after he had received the prisoners, he prepared to renew the siege. But he found that the Natchez did not trust him

The news at New Orleans.



Costumes of French Soldiery early in the Eighteenth Century.

any more than he deserved, and that they had abandoned their town.

The main body of the tribe kept together, and, after one or two efforts to surprise the fort at Natchez, moved up the Red River, and made an attempt on that at Natchitoches. But St. Denis, the commander, was too watchful for them. The same summer, Perier, finding himself reinforced by three companies of marines from France, made a final movement up the river. He found the Natchez in their last retreat, attacked them and compelled them to surrender. In truth, two hundred of them, of whom most were women, were taken prisoners, and were sold as slaves to the plantations at St. Domingo. Three hundred escaped, and found asylum among the tribes which hated the French. At this day, among the Creek Indians, who now cultivate the fertile lands reserved to that tribe in the upper valleys of the Washita River, there are three hundred or more good citizens who speak the Natchez language, and trace their descent back to the vassals of the "Brother of the Sun."[1]

The poor Natchez, however, in their untimely insurrection, achieved more than they knew. For when the news of the destruction of the only promising post on the river reached Paris, the Western Company, quite discouraged, represented to the king their loss, and returned to him their unprofitable right in the colony. The king, very wisely, appointed Bienville its governor again, in the place of Perier, and Bienville's last administration began. He arrived at New Orleans in 1734; Perier, who had been promoted to be lieutenant-general, resigned the government and returned to Europe.

Failure of the Western Company's system.

The surrender by the Western Company marks the miserable failure of the old system of giving the business of colonization over into the oversight of favored boards of men who did not mean to emigrate. After thirty years of nursing, after all the energy of Law's movements, and the large sums of money which had been expended on the colony, its population, when it was returned to the king, was estimated at only five thousand. Of these, nearly two thousand were negroes. The whole number was scattered among eleven posts. Fourteen years later, a careful census showed even a smaller number, — so that this estimate of five thousand, even, was probably exaggerated. In 1745, there were but seventeen hundred white men, fifteen hundred women, and two thousand and twenty slaves, of whom the Illinois had about three hundred white men, the Missouri posts two hundred, and Natchez, which had been the most attractive settlement of all, only eight white men and fifteen negro slaves. It must be remembered, therefore, that we are still tracing

[1] See Gallatin's *Synopsis, Arch. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 114.

chronicles which derive their interest only from the results which were to grow from petty beginnings, and not from the numbers engaged, or, indeed, even from the personal characteristics of most of the actors.

Bienville's designs against the Chickasaws.

Bienville probably wished to show, that if he had been commander, the savages would not have come off so well as they did under Perier's administration. He demanded of the Chickasaws that they should surrender the Natchez. The Chickasaws had by this time cemented alliances with the English of Carolina, — they were confident of their own power, — and they sent back word to Bienville that the Natchez and they now formed one nation, and that they should not comply with his demand. Bienville then determined to attack the Chickasaws. He sent orders to D'Artagnette, who commanded the fort at Kaskaskia, among the Illinois, to



Bienville's Army on the River.

meet him in person on the 10th of May, 1736, in the Chickasaw country, with the largest army he could muster from Illinois Indians, French troops, and settlers. Bienville himself proposed to lead an army from New Orleans and Mobile. The expedition thus set in motion was by far the most formidable which the little colony ever attempted. Bienville's contingent made its rendezvous at Mobile. On Easter Day, the 1st of April, it moved up the Mobile River in a fleet of thirty piraguas and as many batteaux. On the 20th he reached a point which he called Tombecbé, — which is the Jones's Bluff of the Little Tombigbee River of the Alabama geography of to-day. Hither he had sent an advance guard, the year before, to

build a fort. The Choctaws met him there with the calumet, and received the tribute, for so they began to regard it, — in consideration of which they served as auxiliaries. On the 4th of May, the army, thus reinforced, reëmbarked and proceeded slowly up the river, and, on the 24th disembarked for the last time, and then began the construction of a palisade and shed for the protection of its stores.

His expedition.

The enemy was in a stockade fort, seven miles distant, built upon a hill, surrounded by the cabins of an Indian village. The fort was built of heavy timbers a foot in diameter: it was circular in shape, with three rows of loop holes. The Chickasaws were not only protected by the logs, but stood in pits or trenches which covered all but the upper parts of their bodies. They kept silence, and let the French come within good musket shot before they fired. As the French approached they saw Englishmen whom they supposed to be allies of the Chickasaws. The stockade proved to be quite too strong to be taken by storm, as Bienville had proposed. After a loss of nearly one hundred and twenty, very severe for so small a force, he was obliged to withdraw his men, without producing the least effect on the enemy.[1] He spent the night in his camp, but on the next day he had the grief of seeing that his men, who had been left dead on the field, had been cut to pieces by the Chickasaws, who had exposed the quartered bodies on the palisades in derision. A rumor was spread that D'Artagnette, with the Illinois contingent, was approaching. But Bienville had no such good fortune. He returned to his camp on the Tombigbee, not much molested on his retreat. His attack was made on the 26th of May.

The French repulsed.

Poor D'Artagnette had, in fact, with military precision, arrived in time to make the junction contemplated in his orders. He reached the Chickasaw country on the 9th of May, and waited within sight of the enemy till the 20th, but heard no news of Bienville. His Indians murmured, and wished either to retreat or attack. D'Artagnette chose to attack, — and did so successfully, — but while driving the Chickasaws from a second village he was himself wounded. His Indians abandoned him, — but a loyal company of forty-eight Frenchmen held by him. This force was so small, that he was compelled to surrender, and he and they were prisoners of the Chickasaws at the time when Bienville made his rash and unsuccessful attack. The whole Illinois detachment had been 396 men, of whom 130 were French, 38 Iroquois, 38 Arkansas, and 190 Illinois and Miamis. So soon as Bienville retreated, the savages took their French prisoners to a plain, tied all but one of them to stakes and

Fate of the prisoners.

[1] This estimate of the loss is that of Du Tortre in a despatch sent to Paris. Dumont's account says the French loss was thirty-two killed, and at least sixty wounded.

burned them to death by a slow fire. The whole expedition was a wretched failure, of which the blame seems to rest with Bienville. The Chickasaws never lost the prestige which their success gave them. The historian of Alabama says of them: "The Chickasaws have never been conquered." [1]

In 1740 Bienville led another expedition against them by way of the Mississippi river. He moved with thirty-six hundred men, — of whom one third were whites and the rest negroes and Indians, — from Fort Assumption, which stood near the site of our city of Memphis. This was the largest army which the colony had ever put in the field. The unconquered Chickasaws were frightened, and offered to make peace on condition of surrendering all their white slaves. Bienville assented. He received from them two English prisoners, satisfied himself that they had no French in their hands, and with this concession, withdrew his expedition. The Chickasaws pretended, and the French believed what was probably true, that the Natchez had, for the time, so far withdrawn from their confederacy, that a war against the former tribe did not serve the purpose of vengeance against the latter. The two campaigns certainly did not add to the reputation of Bienville as a military leader. But he retains the reputation of a successful administrator of a colony, who had to act often on his own responsibility, who was always separated from his metropolitan masters by an ocean of slow navigation, and often by the frequent wars. He dismissed his auxiliaries with presents. Fort Assumption was razed, and no new military works were erected on its site for one hundred and twenty years. After an absence of more than ten months the army returned to New Orleans. Bienville himself returned to France the next year, and was succeeded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Bienville never returned to America. He died in 1767.

In truth Louisiana had succeeded as a royal colony no better than it succeeded under the Western Company. Its officers and garrisons in Bienville's time entailed on the Crown an annual expense of five hundred thousand livres, — not a very large sum in current money, but not inconsiderable in the pinched finances of the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. If the figures could be relied on, with which the Western Company gave back their charter to the King in June, 1731, its population was then five thousand on the Mississippi and all its affluents, beside two thousand slaves. A census taken fifteen years later showed a population of only four thousand whites, of whom eight hundred were the troops in the garrisons. These figures would show even a decrease in the years of the Royal administration. Twenty years later, under the careful admin-

Second campaign of Bienville.

[1] Pickett's *Alabama*.

istration of Ulloa, a census showed a population of 5,526 whites, and about as many blacks. It was not unnatural that Louis XV. should care but little for his namesake, which, after half a century of nursing, had shown such inconsiderable growth, and gave so little visible promise of improvement. An army of eight hundred men to protect four times their number of settlers gave indeed but little hope for any permanent establishment of value.



Louis XV.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was appointed Bienville's successor, and he filled the post of Royal Governor at New Orleans for eight years, whence he was transferred to Canada. He was in fear that the English would attack him by sea, as through the Choctaw allies of the Carolinians and Georgians they threatened him by land. Under more vigorous lead the English would have done so. But no English fleet attempted to force his petty fortifications. By land, his people were, again and again, in terror of attack from the Choctaws of the English party. At one time Vaudreuil was inspecting his post at Mobile, so that the colony at New Orleans was without its chief. On the German Coast so called, on the river, and indeed close to the little city, the Choctaws killed one and another Frenchman. Vaudreuil returned to find the city in dismay. He sent out detachments of regulars, militia, and friendly Indians, on every side. His strategy was successful, and was rewarded by the capture of the whole Choctaw army, excepting two men. The others, — only eleven in number, — were brought prisoners to the city, and the Marquis's satisfaction for such a victory was of course chastened by his mortification for the terror of his subordinates.

Vaudreuil's conflicts with the Choctaws.

In 1750 that part of the Choctaws who were attached to the French interest obtained a series of crushing victories over the smaller party who were in the English interest, and, by what was known as the Grand Pré Treaty, extorted such hard terms as to secure for a time peace from their most dreaded enemy. The Chickasaws offered peace also. But Vaudreuil wrote to his government that he did

not want to make a treaty with them till he had conquered them. In this desire, he was never gratified.

In 1751, so great was Vandreuil's consideration at Court, and so desirous was the Court to maintain Louisiana against the English, that he had under his orders two thousand soldiers, — a force more than one third of the whole white population of that immense region. With such a force the expenses of the colony of course increased also, and in the last year of his administration they were 930,767 livres. On the 9th of February, 1753, he gave up his place to Capt. Kerlerec of the Navy, and took the command of Canada. The petty victory over the Choctaws which we have mentioned, a series of anxious discussions about the paper currency of a handful of traders, and the well sustained memoirs in which a large staff of officers explain how the river should and how it should not be defended, make up the voluminous annals of the colony during his administration. Meanwhile that conquest of the soil and climate made progress which is so seldom recorded in history, but on which all history of course depends. That commerce in the wax of the candleberry to which Charlevoix had called attention, still attracted interest. One year the king bade Vaudreuil purchase the whole crop on his account at the rate of ten or twelve livres a pound. A dispatch of a later year says that one planter raised six thousand pounds of the wax, a handsome crop for those days at the rate named. The report says that this is the only luminary used by the inhabitants. Another report of the year 1752[1] speaks of the difficulties of the cotton culture, resulting from the amount of labor necessary to separate seed from fibre, and alludes to a gin which M. Dubreuil, the same planter who had succeeded best with the wax, had invented for that purpose. This unsuccessful gin antedates Eli Whitney's by forty-one years. The manufacture of sugar, sufficient for the needs of the few colonists, was introduced, but afterwards declined. Indigo was cultivated, and eventually became an article of export. There can be no doubt that while the expenses of the crown doubled in the period of Vaudreuil's stewardship, the real prosperity and wealth of the planters were increasing in a larger proportion. Full memoirs preserved in the French Archives show that intelligent men, even then, foresaw in a small degree some part of the immense value which the valley of the Mississippi had in store for the world. It is interesting to see that at a period of scarcity in New Orleans the Illinois farms were already productive enough to supply the distant seaport with bread-stuffs. The culture of silk and tobacco

Administration of Kerlerec. — Productions of the Colony.

[1] No. 241. Portfolio No. v. *Archives de la Marine*, Sept. 22, 1752. M. Michel to the minister.

is eagerly recommended, and the development of the mines of copper and lead in the northwest, the existence of which was perfectly well known to the officers of the crown.

The administration of Kerlerec, as governor, covered ten years. At the end of that time he was recalled to France, and thrown into the Bastile. He was a captain in the French navy, who had distinguished himself in battle. But in the colony he was constantly quarrelling with Rochemore, the intendant of commerce, and his arrest was caused by charges of mal-appropriation of ten millions of livres in four years under the pretence of preparation of war. He held office during the most of the French war of George II.'s reign, and for long periods of that time was left without any direct dispatches from France; for the English cruisers, who never attacked him directly, were successful in cutting off all his communications. Kerlerec's administration began with high hopes of conciliating the Choctaws. But he soon lost confidence in them, and his reports home, regarding the under officers of the crown, and indeed most of the people, with whom he had to do, were anything but flattering. The army itself was recruited from such worthless material as to give Kerlerec quite as much trouble as the savages whom it was to keep in order.



Coins struck in France for the Colonies.



The Old Fort at Saint Augustine

CHAPTER XXIII.

SPANISH COLONIZATION.

SPANISH FOOTHOLD IN THE UNITED STATES. — SUCCESSIVE ACQUISITIONS BY THE UNITED STATES. — THE FORTUNES OF FLORIDA. — BORDER WARS WITH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA. — OGLETHORPE'S EXPEDITIONS. — FLORIDA CEDED TO ENGLAND. — ITS POPULATION. — DISCOVERY OF CALIFORNIA. — ORIGIN OF THE NAME. — ROMANCE OF ESPLANDIAN. — FATHER NIÇA'S PRETENDED DISCOVERIES. — CORONADO'S EXPLORATION IN ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO. — DRAKE IN CALIFORNIA. — HIS RECEPTION BY THE INDIANS. — LOCALITIES OF HIS DISCOVERIES.

THE destiny of the United States has passed so far under the empire of institutions which have an English origin, that it is easy to forget how large a portion of her territory has in other times belonged to the Spanish crown. The prevalence of the English language as the language of public procedure in every State and Territory, and the sway, in a very large degree, of English law and the habits of English administration, are enough to keep out of view the fact, that, at one time or another, more than half the present territory of the United States has been, on the map at least, subject to the King of Spain. The Spanish claim to Mexico and the regions north of it, was pressed indefinitely northward. Somewhere on the coast of what we call Oregon, Drake saw the shore in 1579, and he took possession of the country in California for

Extent of Spanish dominion in North America.

the English crown as New Albion. But England scarcely asserted her rights under this discovery for centuries.

At one and another time since she seized the port of Astoria in 1813, she has made one and another claim to this territory, running back to her rights under Drake's discovery. But the decision which gave to the United States, holding under the Spanish claim, the region south of the line of 49° north latitude, states, quite correctly, the average opinion of the older geographers.[1] On the seacoast of the Pacific the Spanish claim resulted from a series of discoveries and explorations, beginning, as will be seen, when Hernando Cortez discovered California in 1536. In the interior the eagerness for silver early established colonies of which Santa Fé in New Mexico was the most important of those far to the northward. It is generally supposed, that the droves of wild horses now found through the whole of Western America, as far north as the climate will permit, were of Spanish origin. So far as the natives received any supplies from the workshops of civilization, it was from Spanish traders; and, to this hour, some fragments of the Spanish language, acquired at a very early period, will be found in their dialect.

The Pacific slope.

Eastward of the Rocky Mountains, the Spaniards showed no disposition to extend their dominion, after the expeditions of De Soto and Ponce de Leon had seemed to prove that no treasure of gold or silver was to be found there. The Spanish government made no protest when, under Louis XIV., the French claimed a right to the whole valley of the Mississippi, founded upon the discoveries of Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle. On the ground, an irritable commander of a Spanish post in Texas might quarrel with an impetuous French officer in a garrison on the Red River. But at home the policy of Spain was well defined; and if the King of France were willing to keep a line of defence between the English colonies and the Spanish mines, the King of Spain made no objection. It was not until the treaty of Paris, in 1763, that the King of France showed that he was tired of this expensive good-nature. He then gave this immense territory to his well-beloved brother of Spain, who showed himself, indeed, somewhat coy about receiving the magnificent but costly present. Twenty years afterward, the Spanish crown gave it back to France, only to learn, in a few months, that France had sold it to the young Republic of America.

Spanish policy east of the Rocky Mountains.

Florida, from which so much was hoped in the days of Ponce de Leon, had remained in the possession of Spain, after the cruel mas-

[1] This claim was reinforced by Gray's discovery of the Columbia River, and Lewis & Clarke's exploration of it. These discoveries gave to the United States precisely the same sort of right as that which La Salle's gave to France, for the valley of the Mississippi.

sacres which have been already described.[1] But no discoverer had found gold, or silver, or the fountain of life in Florida. The Spanish posts, therefore, were simply military positions, held to insure the command of the Gulf of Mexico. On the eastern side St. Augustine, without trade, and with but a small civil population, was held by Spain until 1762, when it was ceded to England, to be restored in 1783. By Spain it was ceded to the United States in 1819. On the other side, Pensacola, as has been seen, once and again fell into the hands of the French. Afterwards, with Eastern Florida, it fell to the English. But no settlement of Florida followed from either of these establishments. The territories, nominally Spanish, thus added to those which were colonized under the flag and protection of England, or under titles derived from her, cover rather more than half of the superficial area of the United States, with the exception of the province of Alaska, recently purchased from Russia. Of the several parts of this immense domain, the earliest to come under the dominion of the United States, was the western part of the valley of the Mississippi, which was that which came latest under the Spanish flag. In 1819 the United States acquired Florida from Spain, and all her rights on the western shore of the continent north of 42° north latitude, comprising the State now known as Oregon, and Washington Territory. In 1845, by a joint resolution, the Congress of the United States annexed Texas to the Union, and this decision was confirmed by the arbitration of war. The question whether Texas were a part of Louisiana or not, had always been an open question between France and Spain, but it had practically been yielded by France, and in the treaty of 1819 the United States had acquiesced in that decision. By the treaties with Mexico of 1848 and 1853, the dominion of the United States was extended by the acquisition of California and the region now covered by the territory between that State and Texas.

The Spaniards in Florida.

We recur now to the earlier history of the Spanish possession of these regions.

The reader has already been told[2] of the destruction of the oldest town in the United States, St. Augustine, by Sir Francis Drake, on his return from his expedition to the Spanish Main. The Spanish Armada occupied the attention of England too intensely, when Drake returned, for any effort to be made, either to follow up his victory in Florida, or to renew the English establishment at Roanoke. The Spaniards who had fled from his arms in Florida, returned to the ruins of their fort and reëstablished it. The Menendez, who has earned the right to be

Events after Drake's capture of Saint Augustine.

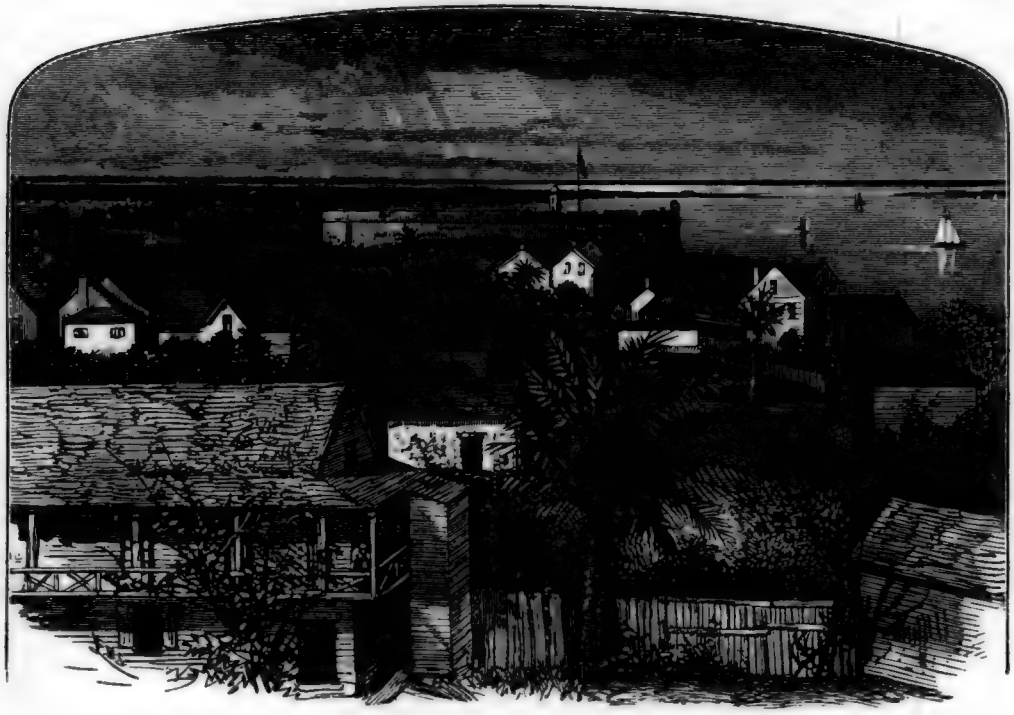
[1] Vol. i., p. 208.

[2] Vol. i., p. 222.

called "great" by his cruelty and falsehood, had died. But the government of St. Augustine was made hereditary in his family[1] until the year 1655. The history of the colony, meanwhile, is scarcely more than that of an insignificant garrison, elevated occasionally to general interest in the events of a general war.[2]

Missions in Florida.

In 1593 twelve brothers of the order of St. Francis were sent to Florida, to continue such missions as had been established among the natives. By their efforts and those of other brethren sent to continue and enlarge their work, many missions were



General View of St. Augustine.

established in the course of the next hundred years. Of these, the most important was at first at the island of Guale. But the chief of the savages in this neighborhood excited his people against them, in a severe attack which resulted in the murder of five priests, and the cruel injury of another. The Governor avenged them by burning the granaries and dwellings of the Indians. In the years 1612 and 1613, thirty-one missionaries of the same brotherhood were sent to Florida, and the name of St. Helena was given to it as a religious province of that order.[3] Twenty missions were now established, and the brethren

[1] In Buckingham Smith's collection of Florida papers is the will of one of the smaller Menendez governors.

[2] It has been admirably treated, in its detail, by Mr. Fairbanks in his history. The South Carolina Historical Collections give original authorities on the "wars" with Carolina

[3] This name must not be confounded with the name of St. Helena on the shore of South Carolina, though both had the same origin.

preached to the natives with success in their own language. In 1638, a war broke out between the colony and the Apalachee Indians. Such Indians as were captured were reduced to slavery; the tribe was so far overcome as to be kept for the time within its own limits. Meanwhile the growth of the colony was so small, that in 1647, eighty-two years after Menendez founded the colony, the number of families in St. Augustine was but three hundred, and this was almost the whole of the settlement. There were also fifty Franciscan friars domiciled in the city. When it is remembered that Menendez took with him two thousand six hundred and fifty colonists from Cadiz, it will be seen that the history of Florida, thus far, had been a history of decline and not of progress.

Slow growth of the colony.

With the colonists of Virginia and other northern colonies the Spaniards had little intercourse, peaceful or otherwise. So soon as Charles II. gave a charter for the settlement of Carolina, which was in 1663, jealousies arose on both sides, and the hatred of Englishmen for Spaniard, and Catholic for heretic, was enough to keep the little colonies suspicious of each other, even when nominal peace united their sovereigns at home. In 1665 an expedition under Captain John Davis, a buccaneer, made a descent on St. Augustine and ravaged the town. In 1667, however, Charles II. of England concluded a treaty with Spain,[1] in which Spain conceded to England all colonies which Charles and his subjects "then possessed." On the other hand, Charles agreed to cut off all future protection from the buccaneers, who, till this time, had considered Spanish property to be fair prize if found in the Pacific, and were not distressed if they seized it in the other great ocean. No English settlement was in fact made in Carolina, under Charles's charter, until 1670. But, in the diplomacy of the two nations, it was virtually agreed that the English claim to that region was good, and the line of the St. Mary's River was eventually agreed on as the line of the separation between the English and Spanish dominions. It is therefore, to this day, the dividing line between the State of Georgia, which bears an English name, and that of Florida, which retains the Spanish name given it by Ponce de Leon.[2]

Spanish and English claims.

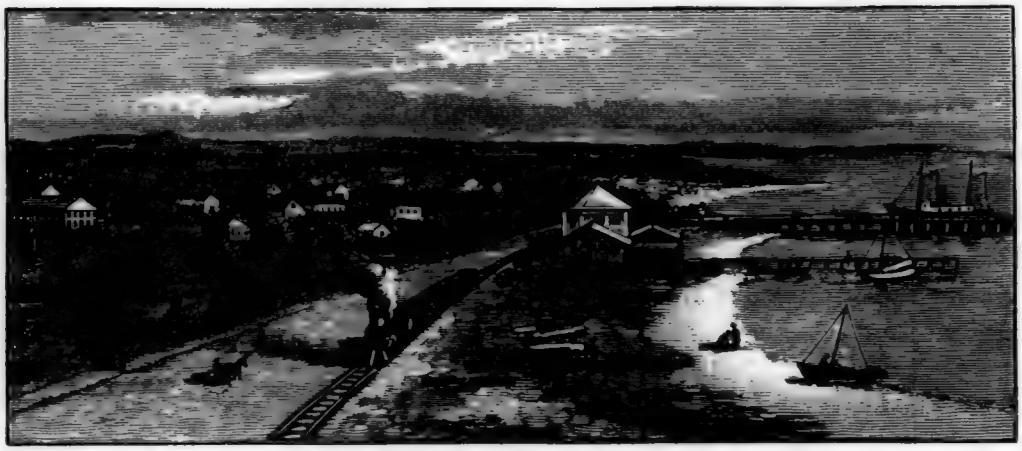
The Spaniards, on their side, attacked the English colonies in 1670 and 1686, but without other success than burning and ravaging the homes of a few settlers on the coast. Such raids, of course, kept up the feeling of mutual hatred, strong enough at the very best. But

[1] Each king was Charles II. Charles II. of England reigned from 1660 to 1685. Charles II. of Spain reigned from 1665 to 1700.

[2] See vol. i., p. 147.

for the rest of the seventeenth century, there was no exploit on either side which deserves the name of war.

Menendez had been authorized, at the very beginning of the colony, to introduce five hundred negro slaves. So many laboring men pressed themselves upon him in Spain, that he made no use of the concession. But in 1687 one hundred negroes were introduced as slaves, and for nearly two centuries Florida suffered under the disadvantage of slave labor. Cabrera, who was governor in 1681, undertook the enterprise of removing the Indians not Christianized to the islands of the coast. The result was simply an insurrection of these tribes, who took refuge within the limits of Carolina. In a subsequent incursion, these Indians attacked the Tomoquas, a Christian



Pensacola.

tribe, friendly to the Spaniards, whose name is still preserved in the Tomoka River. They killed a large number of the Tomoquas, and carried the other prisoners to the colony of St. Helena, where their Christianity did not protect them so far but that they were reduced into slavery.

The settlement of Pensacola.

Meanwhile, on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida, the Spanish government established a fort at Pensacola, in the year 1696. The name of the place, spelled by them Pençacola, is that of a tribe of Indians who once resided there. The Spaniards were stimulated by the efforts of the French to settle at the mouth of the Mississippi, and, indeed, had only just founded Pensacola when the French colony under D'Iberville arrived. A square fort, known by the name of Charles, the king of Spain, a church, and other public buildings, were erected. Andres d'Arriola was the first governor. Within two years D'Iberville touched at the new post, nor was it long before his brother was attacking it, in the War of the Succession. Before that time, however, new opportunities

for carnage and ravage had been found by English and Spaniards on the eastern shore.

Near the close of the year 1700, on the death of Governor Blake of Carolina, James Moore had been chosen as his successor. With the poor object of personal gain from the traffic in Indian slaves, he granted commissions for the capture of Indians with power to sell them as slaves; and, on the outbreak in Europe of the war with Spain, he undertook an expedition against St. Augustine with the same object in view. He embarked with this purpose in September, 1702, having arranged that Daniel, an officer of spirit, should make a descent upon the town by land, while Moore himself blockaded the harbor by sea. The Spaniards, under their governor Cuniga, had heard of the movement, and retired with their effects into their castle. When Moore arrived, he found his guns too weak to assault them, and sent Daniel to Jamaica for heavy artillery. While Daniel was absent, two Spanish ships, one of twenty-two guns and one of eighteen, appeared off the harbor, and so terrified the English that they raised the siege. Moore retired by land to Charleston, without losing a man, burning the town of St. Augustine and his own transports. Daniel, on his return with the mortars and guns for which he had been sent, hardly escaped capture.

English expedition to St. Augustine.

The Spaniards retaliated for this foolish assault in exciting the Apalachee Indians, their allies, to attack the English settlements. The Apalachees marched, nine hundred in number, but fell into an ambush of the Creeks, who were always the firm allies of the English, and were routed by them. In reward for this service, all who survived of the Indians who had been held as slaves in St. Augustine and those who had been taken since 1640, were now set free by Cuniga, under a promise that they should return to work on the fortifications whenever they were needed. Cuniga urged the government at home to send him the means to make five new posts on his frontiers. Before any such aid reached him, Moore, with a thousand Creeks and about fifty of the Carolina militia, attacked the Indian allies of the Spaniards and defeated them. He carried away three hundred slaves, — most of the people of seven Indian towns.[1] He burned San Luis and Ayaralla, and took the church plate and vestments, and everything else of value. These Indians had, before this time, made some progress in civilization — it was, perhaps, the loosening of the habits of savage life which made them so easy a prey to the untamed savages who attacked them. This incursion was followed by others, frequent enough to forbid the

Spanish Retaliation.

[1] South Carolina Report in Carroll's *Collections*, ii. 353.

recolonization of the wasted country before the end of the war. So enraged were the Indians that the Carolinians were obliged to put up forts for their frontier defence, one of which was established at Apalachicola, close to the limits of the State of Florida.[1] The Yemassees, who had been driven out from Carolina into Florida, kept up an unremitted warfare on the frontiers.

Capture and recapture of Pensacola.

So soon as Bienville, Governor of Louisiana, learned in 1719, that war existed between Spain and France, he took Pensacola by surprise. The Spaniards retook it at once, in the same way. But, in September of the same year, Bienville took it again. This time the French commander destroyed the fortifications and the town, leaving only a small battery and a handful of men. In 1722, the Spaniards reoccupied the harbor, and built a town on Santa Rosa island, near where Fort Pickens now stands. But the settlement was gradually transferred to the northern side of the bay, where the present city of Pensacola stands; the point taken on the island having proved particularly sandy and barren.

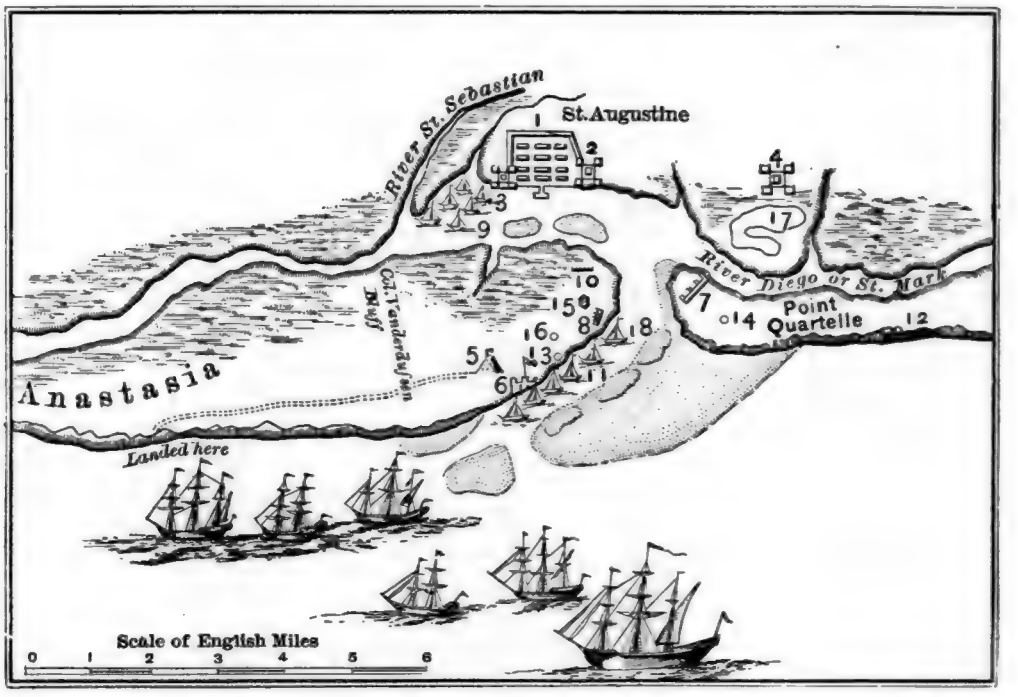
Hostilities between Georgia and Florida.

In 1732, Oglethorpe's settlement of Georgia pressed even closer than Carolina had done on the frontiers of Florida. Oglethorpe claimed that the Altamaha was the southern boundary of his province. The English fort, King George, erected on the banks of that river, had already given umbrage to the Spaniards, and in 1736, the Spanish government ordered Oglethorpe to evacuate all territory south of St. Helena Sound. The Governor brought three companies of foot with him to Frederica, the most northerly Spanish settlement, — the place still known by the same name on the sea-coast of Georgia. Oglethorpe went at once to England for aid. At that moment the people of England were indignant with Spain for other reasons, and Oglethorpe returned, with the commission of major-general, and a regiment of men. The Spaniards strengthened St. Augustine in their turn. In October, Walpole's pacific policy was abandoned, war was declared, and the English sent a squadron under Admiral Vernon to the West Indies, with directions to aid Oglethorpe, who at once set on foot operations against St. Augustine. He succeeded in cementing the alliance between the English and the Creeks, who hated the Spaniards with a very perfect hatred.

The officers of the navy having agreed to coöperate in the attack on St. Augustine, Oglethorpe appointed a rendezvous on the Florida side of the St. John's River and moved on the 9th of May, 1740, with

[1] This is not at the site of the present town of Apalachicola. The point was farther up the river of that name, not far from Chattahoochee. The fort known as Savanas was still farther up, and must not be confounded with the site of Savannah.

four hundred whites and a large party of Indians. The next day he invested a Spanish outpost called Diego, belonging to a Spaniard, named Spinosa, reduced and garrisoned it. He then returned to his rendezvous, and with his whole command — two thousand men, regular troops, provincials, and Indians, moved against Fort Moosa, two miles from St. Augustine. The Spaniards abandoned this post and retired into the town, which he had given them time to provision by driving in cattle, while he was occupied with Fort Diego and his counter-marches. He was compelled to blockade the harbor and invest the town. He left



Oglethorpe's Attack on St. Augustine (from "An Impartial Account of the Late Expedition to St. Augustine." London, 1742).[1]

ninety-five Highlanders and forty-two Indians at Moosa, to intercept all supplies of cattle for the town. This was all the force he left on the land side. He sent Colonel Vanderdussen, with the Carolina regiment, to take Point Quartelle on the water side, about a mile distant from the castle, and build a battery. With his own regiment and most of the Indians he landed on the island of Anastasia. One of the ships was stationed to the southward to block up the Matanzas passage, and the others blockaded the harbor. Batteries were erected on Anastasia.

Having made these dispositions, Oglethorpe summoned the Spanish

[1] KEY TO THE MAP. — 1. The Town. 2. The Castle. 3. A Battery. 4. Moosa or Negro Fort. 5. The Look-out. 6. Small Fort abandoned by the Spaniards. 7. A Battery of one mortar, and three six-pounders. 8. A Battery, one mortar, two eighteen-pounders, and one nine-pounder. 9 Six half galleys at anchor (Spanish). 10. A Battery, two mortars, four eighteen-pounders, and one nine-pounder. 11. Harbor "where our vessels lay." 12. Carolina Regiments, first Camp on Pt. Quartelle. 13. Sailor's Camp. 14. Carolina Regiments, Second Camp on Pt. Quartelle. 15. Carolina Camp upon Anastasia. 16. The Volunteers' Camp. 17 Gen. Oglethorpe's Camp after he went from Anastasia.

garrison; to receive from the Governor the cheerful answer that he should be glad to kiss his hands in the fort. Oglethorpe then began his attack by throwing shells into the town, which were returned by the fort and six half galleys in the harbor. Little execution was done on either side. Captain Warren of the English navy offered to lead a night attack against the Spanish galleys, but a council of war declared this impracticable. On the other hand, the Spanish commander sent out a detachment against Colonel Palmer in his isolated post at Moosa, and broke it up, killed him and sixty-eight of his men, and took many prisoners. A party of Chickasaws coming to the English camp, cut off a Spaniard's head and brought it to Oglethorpe. He showed his indignation, called them barbarous dogs and bade them begone. The proud "unconquered Chickasaws" were offended, and said the French would not treat them thus, had they carried in an English head, — which was probably true. These allies, thus rebuffed, deserted the English camp. The vessel at the Matanzas passage was not a sufficient guard on the south. For, by the Mosquito inlet, which runs parallel to the sea, supplies from Cuba were received by the garrison. The master of the vessel at Matanzas Inlet could see them pass, beyond his range of prevention. Some Spanish prisoners, who were carried to Oglethorpe, told him that the reinforcements were seven hundred men, with a large supply of provisions. All prospect was thus lost of starving the garrison.

Retreat of the English.

The naval commander of the English feared hurricanes, and said he must withdraw. The Carolinian troops withdrew without asking leave. And poor General Oglethorpe himself, sick of a fever, was obliged to withdraw his own regiment, and reached Frederica early in July.

So disgraceful a defeat of a force so considerable greatly elated the Spaniards. When their supplies arrived from the Havana, they had but three days' bread, and they piously ascribed their relief to St. Rosana, the Virgin of the Apalachees. The Carolinians, who had expended men and money freely in the expedition, were indignant, and charged Oglethorpe with utter incompetency, nor were the officers of the English army and navy of another opinion.

Monteano, the Spanish Governor, who had defended his post so well, expected a renewal of the attack in the autumn, which would have been a much more favorable season for his enemies. He begged for reinforcements, and received eight companies of infantry. But no second attack came. He was tempted to retaliate. A terrible fire had devastated Charleston, and he urged the Governor at Cuba to make an attack on the place at the moment of its exhaustion. His advice was not taken in 1741, but in the next year a fleet of thirty-

six sail with two thousand men was sent to him. He added a force of one thousand men, took the command, and sailed for the harbor of St. Simon's, better known now, perhaps, as the harbor of Brunswick. This movement, however, was, in its turn, unsuccessful, and Monteano returned as much mortified as Oglethorpe the year before.

In March of the next year, Oglethorpe took the aggressive, and marched to the very walls of St. Augustine, with such celerity, that his Indian allies killed forty Spanish soldiers before they could enter the fort. But, failing to draw out the Spaniards for an encounter in the field he again retired, and in 1748, peace at home closed these miserable hostilities on the frontier. The garrison

Continued hostilities.



Old Gate at St. Augustine.

at St. Augustine was so reduced that in 1759 the whole force was but five hundred men. When in 1762 hostilities broke out again between England and Spain, an English fleet seized the Havana, and, on the negotiation of peace, Spain was glad to cede Florida to regain Cuba. This measure indeed was necessary to the tripartite diplomacy between England, Spain, and France, in which eastern Louisiana was ceded to England. For, where eastern Louisiana began and where Florida ended, had never been determined. Spain gained by that treaty all western Louisiana, and could well afford to give up Florida to the victorious English, who thus carried to the Gulf the frontier of that colonial empire which was to be theirs for so few years. The English government named

Cession of Florida to England.

General Grant Governor of East Florida, and he received the post from the Spaniards. At the period of the evacuation the whole population amounted to 5,700 persons, including a garrison of 2,000 men. Many left the place never to return. Three years afterward, a traveller speaks of Picolata, a small fort and garrison on the St. John, Mr. Rolle's settlement, twenty-five miles above, and Mr. Spalding's trading house, fifteen miles farther up, as the only stations on this magnificent river.[1] The greater part of the population of Florida consisted of a mixture of the remnants of the Cowetas, Talipoosas, Coosas, Apalachees, Cussetas, Ockmulgees, Weetumkas, Pakanas, Taensas, Chaesihoomas, Abékas, and other tribes, who had organized in a confederacy under the name, since well known and formidable, of Muscogees. From this confederacy the Seminoles afterwards parted; their name Isty-Semole, wild men, indicates that they were hunters, rather than farmers. In 1773, Bartram speaks of the Seminoles as but a weak people in respect of numbers; he supposes all of them would not people one of the Muscogee towns. As civilization advanced, and the Indian towns were broken up, the "wild men" must have gained accessions from their former kindred. Bartram "ventures to assert that no part of the globe so abounds with wild game or creatures fit for the food of man" as the territory which they then inhabited. The population of this Muscogee confederacy, sixty years after, was twenty-six thousand.[2] The population of Indians and whites in 1762 was probably larger than that of whites and negroes in 1830, when there were only about fifteen thousand of each of those races, reported in the census of the United States.

Condition of Florida at and after the cession.

While the kings of Spain followed up thus languidly the expeditions of Ponce de Leon and of Hernando de Soto, in Florida and the other eastern regions traversed by those adventurers, their viceroys and other officers in Mexico showed more eagerness both in discovery and in colonization to the northward, and their enterprises, both by sea and by land, come within the range of the historian of the United States.

Hernando Cortez himself, as early as 1534, sent out an expedition of discovery under Hernando de Grijalva on the Pacific coast, in which that commander first discovered the peninsula of California. Not long before, a Spanish author,[3] who had with very inferior genius attempted to write a sequel to Lobeira's inimitable romance of Amadis of Gaul, had invented a pagan queen of

Grijalva in Lower California.

[1] Bartram found only the same settlements in 1773, three more trading-posts were to be established in that year. His map shows the sites of "Rollestown" and Spalding's post.

[2] Roman's *Florida*. Gallatin's Synopsis, p. 101.

[3] Garcia Ordoñez de Montalvo.

Amazons, who brought from the "Right hand of the Indies" her allies to the assistance of the infidels in their attacks on Constantinople. In this romance — which bore the name of "Esplandian," — the Emperor Esplandian, the imaginary son of the imaginary Amadis, appears as the Greek emperor, living in Constantinople. The imaginary Amazonian queen is Calafia, and to her imagined kingdom, blazing with gold and diamonds and pearls, the author had given the name "California," a name perhaps derived from the word Calif, which in the mind of the children of crusaders was connected with paynim lands. This romance, which would now be forgotten but for this name California, and from a single reference to it in Don Quixote, was a comparatively new novel in the days of Cortez, the first edition having been issued from the press only in the year 1510, and the second in 1519. Both Grijalva and Cortez were still deluded by the universal impression of their time that they were on the coast of Asia or in its neighborhood; and, having discovered this region near the latitude of Constantinople "on the right hand of the Indies," they were not unwilling to engage the interest of the romance-reading world by giving to their discovery the name of the gold and diamond bearing region of Amazons.



Portrait of Cortez

Origin of the name California.

This unknown country, which by this accident gave the name to the country which proved to be the richest gold-bearing region in the world, was thus described by the exuberant fancy of the romancer. twenty-five years before Grijalva discovered the peninsula of California, and at least thirty years before the discovery of that part of the mainland which has yielded to the world its untold millions of gold.

"Know that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very close to the side of the Terrestrial Paradise,[1] and it was peopled by black women without any man among them,

[1] In the cosmogony of that time it was supposed, as it had been supposed in Dante's time, that the Terrestrial Paradise was opposite to Jerusalem. Compare Mr. Hale's paper, *Am. Ant. Soc. Transactions*, April, 1872.

for they lived in the fashion of Amazons. They were of strong and hardy bodies, of ardent courage, and great force. Their island was the strongest in all the world, with its steep cliffs and rocky shores. Their arms were all of gold, and so was the harness of the wild beasts which they tamed and rode. For in the whole island[1] there was no metal but gold. They lived in caves wrought out of the rock with much labor. They had many ships with which they sailed out to other countries to obtain booty." In another part of the romance it is said coolly that precious stones are to be found in California like stones of the field for their abundance.

Expedition of Cortez.

The imperious and impetuous Cortez was dissatisfied with the slow progress of Grijalva, and embarked himself, in hope of more success, with four hundred Spaniards and three hundred slaves in 1535. He had, before this, sent a small expedition north by land, of whose fate he never heard a word. He now coasted both sides of the Gulf of California, then called the Gulf of Cortez, but known for nearly two centuries afterwards as the Red Sea.[2] During his stay in the bay of Santa Cruz he learned the distressing news of the arrival of the Viceroy Mendoza. The appointment of this officer by the Emperor Charles left to the great conqueror no civil administration, and restricted him to his duties as military commander. So eager was he, however, for the further prosecution of discovery at the north, that he sent Francisco de Ulloa to continue it, and in the course of two years Ulloa traced the coasts of California nearly to the mouth of the Colorado River of the West.

The very first exploration of the Gulf of California resulted in the discovery of pearls, and from that day to this the pearl fishery has been prosecuted there. In the excited notions of that day, it was taken for granted that a country which produced pearls would produce gold and diamonds; and it can hardly be doubted that a reflected glory from the romance of "Esplandian," and the gorgeous description there of the imagined California, hung over the unexplored parts of the namesake of that province. Spaniards are proverbially ready for building castles in the air; and, although the voyages of Grijalva, of Cortez, and of Ulloa, brought back no diamonds, and no gold, yet they brought pearls enough to awaken popular interest and curiosity. As it happened, also, these reports gave birth to another romance hardly second in absurdity to the fables of Esplandian. Mendoza, the viceroy, was disgusted when he found that his rival Cortez still insisted on his right to send out explorers. When

[1] It is possible that this reference to the island gives the reason why, in face of all explorations, the geographers so long marked the peninsula of California as an island.

[2] So called by Marquette in his Narrative.

Cortez sent out Ulloa, Mendoza borrowed money with which to send out Vasquez de Coronado in the same direction. Coronado sent in advance a Franciscan friar named Marco de Niça, who had with him a negro, one of the four men who had crossed the continent from the perilous expedition under Narvaez.[1] This Father Marco showed a facility in narrative, which belongs only to the master of that "lie with a circumstance" which is said to be the most deceptive lie of all. Returning to Coronado he announced the discovery of seven cities, whose number alone suggested the famous "seven cities" of the island of the old legend.[2] To the capital of these Seven Cities the name Cibola, or Cevola, was given. He gave a description of the city of Cibola, as he finally arrived there after thirty days of travel from St. Michael in Culiacan.[3]

Expedition of Marco de Niça.

According to his story, Stephen Dorantes — the negro, who had served as in some sort a guide, and whom he had sent before him — had been killed by the jealous inhabitants of this city. Niça himself, however, determined to see it with his own eyes; and thus came near enough for the mountain prospect which he describes. He then fled back with his story to St. Michael in Culiacan, "with more fear than victuals," as he says.

In sharp contrast with his tales of gold and silver and turquoises and diamonds, is the business-like report of Vasquez de Coronado, who with a little army followed up the father's traces. On the 22d of April, 1540, they left St. Michael, and on the 23d of June, had arrived, by travelling in a northern and northeasterly direction, on the confines of a desert country of which Niça had warned them. Through the desert "is a most wicked way, at least thirty leagues and more because they are inaccessible mountains." After the thirty leagues, however, they found pleasant country, with rivers and grass, and, in a day more, they met Indians who at first seemed friendly. But a day or two more showed that the natives meant to defend their passes, but brought Coronado to a town, which he called Grenada, and which, however unlike the Cibola of Father Marco's description, he was willing to accept for it.

Expedition and report of Coronado.

"To be brief," he writes, "I can assure your honour that the friar saith truth in nothing that he reported, but all was quite the contrary." Still the names of the cities proved to be correct, and although the houses were not wrought with turquoises nor lime nor brick, they proved to be "very excellent good houses" of three or four lofts high, with good lodgings and fair chambers and ladders

[1] See vol. i., p. 156.

[2] See vol. i., pp. 13, 35. Compare note xxiv. in Appendix to vol. iii., Irving's *Columbus*.

[3] See vol. i., p. 192.

instead of stairs. The seven cities were within four leagues of each other and all together made the kingdom of Cibola.

Of turquoises, Coronado found none, though he thought some had been carried away in fear of his arrival; of emeralds he found two, which were lost on his way home; and of gold none. This was the sorry result of the monk's story and of the expedition founded upon it. The natives wore cotton dresses, though Coronado thought the country too cold for cotton.[1] He said they ate the best cakes that he



A Pueblo restored (from Cozzens).

ever saw, and had the best way of grinding. One woman of Cibola would grind four times as much meal as four Mexican women. They brought their salt from a lake only one day's journey from their city. But they had no knowledge of the Northern Sea, nor of the Western Sea, at which ignorance Coronado did not wonder, for he believed himself one hundred and fifty leagues from the Western Ocean. He describes what we must suppose to be buffaloes, as "sheep as big as a horse, with very great horns and little tails, — with their horns so big that it is a wonder to behold their greatness."

Here ends Coronado's own narrative, which deserves respect and credence. He would not return without doing something nor with empty hands, and as he was told that the country was better and better he went on. Cardenas with a company of cavalry continued

[1] It afterwards proved that these dresses were made from the thread of the *maguey*.

westward till he came to the sea. Coronado went to Tiguex and there had news of the long-sought Quivira. After sieges and battles and other adventures, he found a region which he accepted as worthy of that name. But in place of the hoary headed King Tatatrax whom he was to find here, who was girt with a Bracamart and worshipped a cross of gold with the image of the Queen of Heaven, Coronado found a naked savage, with a jewel of copper hanging from his neck, "which was all his riches." After two years of such misadventures, Coronado fell from his horse and went mad. The rest of his party, excepting one or two stragglers, returned to Mexico.[1]

Fate of Coronado.

They represented Quivira as in the latitude of forty, with grass, plums, mulberries, nuts, melons, and grapes, but without cotton. The people dressed in ox-hides and deer-skins. They reported, Gomara says, that they had seen ships on the coast, with golden albatrosses or pelicans on their prows, the seamen of which made signs that their voyage had been thirty days.

The narrative of Gomara is entitled to little historical regard,—that of Father Niça to none. But the manly letter of Coronado commands respect, and his narrative was unexpectedly confirmed nearly half a century after, by a new discovery which enables us to fix with some precision the site of Cibola and the "seven cities." Coronado's report displeased Mendoza, who had spent large sums in the expedition. But Coronado insisted that the country was poor and too far from succor, and therefore no establishment was made there. An after narrative gives a more particular description of the buffalo, and alludes to the custom of the natives of burning the buffaloes' dung. These notices are alone sufficient, in a degree, to locate Quivira. But his tale of dogs, trained as beasts of burden, has not yet been confirmed by other writers. With the introduction of the horse, the Indians may have abandoned such use of those animals. Meanwhile, upon the coast, after various failures, a voyage was made in 1543, which resulted in the discovery of the sea-coast of that part of California, which is now so important a State. Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailed with two ships from the port de Navidad, on the 27th of June in that year.

Voyage of Cabrillo.

Touching near the point of the peninsula, he coasted it on its ocean side as far as the latitude of 44°. Here he found extreme cold in March of 1543–44, and returned. He gave names to different points, which have not been retained, with the exception of Cape Mendocino, which he named in honor of the Viceroy Mendoza, who had sent him. He described it as a large cape between mountains covered with

[1] Gomara, cited in Hakluyt, iii. p. 454.

snow. This cape subsequently became the point best known upon that coast, because the Spanish fleets took their departure from it on their way to the East Indies, and it was made the object of the fleets eastward bound. Cabrillo placed it about the latitude of 40° north; it lies, in fact, a few minutes northward of that parallel. Like all other Spanish voyagers of that time, Cabrillo missed the remarkable Bay of San Francisco, the entrance to which is not easily discerned. Near its parallel he described some hills covered with trees, which he called the Point of San Martin.

In the next year Juan Rodriguez repeated this voyage, by sailing as far as Cape Mendocino; but it was reserved for Sir Francis Drake, the great English seaman, to discover a seaport in California. He spent some weeks on shore, and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth. He was engaged in his celebrated voyage round the world. With his little fleet, consisting of the *Pelican* of one hundred tons, the *Elizabeth* and the *Marigold* each of eighty, Drake had passed the Straits of Magellan, and entered the Pacific Ocean on the 6th of September, 1578. On the 30th, he lost sight of the *Marigold* in a gale, and never saw her again. On the 8th of October, the *Elizabeth* deserted him; and he was left to pursue his voyage of adventure and discovery in the *Pelican* alone. He was for the rest of that year and the beginning of 1579 the terror of the Spanish ports in the South Seas. Having left the port of Guatulco on the Mexican coast, on the 16th of April, he went directly to sea, and having first sailed west and afterwards north, he ran as far north as the parallel of 43°, or, according to other accounts, of 48° north latitude, — where they were all dismayed by exceeding cold. Six men could hardly do the work of three, so stiff was the rigging from ice, and this as late in the year as the month of June. On the 5th, they made land, and anchored in a bay much exposed to winds and flaws, and, "when they ceased, there instantly followed thick stinking fogs, which nothing but the wind could remove." If this land, the first seen by Drake on the

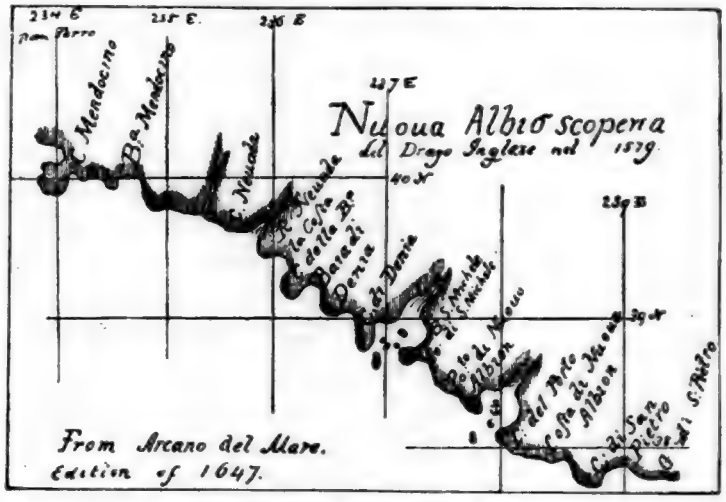


Sir Francis Drake.

coast north of Mexico, were indeed under the parallel of 42°, as one account implies, it is the shore of Pelican Bay, which has been rightly named from his ship, at the line which divides Oregon from California. But, although the accounts are confused, Drake seems to have seen the coast as far north as 43° 30′ of north latitude, and indeed the claim was made that he saw it at 48°.[1] This latitude corresponds best of all with the accounts of the severe cold. But Robert Dudley, a son of the Earl of Leicester, himself an explorer, and well acquainted with the survivors of these voyages, says: "The reason why Drake sought and found the port of New Albion, was that having passed beyond Cape Mendocino in latitude forty-two and a half, in seeking for water as far as forty-three and a half, he found the coast so cold in the month of June that his people could not bear it."[2] Dudley gives the same latitudes to Drake's discoveries on his map, and it seems probable that the parallel of 43° 30′ marks the northern limit of Drake's discovery. Discouraged by the cold, Drake ran down the shore toward the south-east, and on the 17th of June, "it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay with good wind to enter the same." In this bay, which he called the Port of New Albion, he lay for more than a month, having landed his men, while he refitted his vessel, and built a little fort on shore.

Drake in California.

Drake's port of New Albion.



Drake's Port of New Albion.

The next morning after their arrival an Indian appeared in a canoe making tokens of respect and submission. He brought with him a little basket of rushes filled with an herb called tabak, which he threw into Drake's boat. Drake tried to recompense him, but in vain, — he took nothing but a hat thrown into the water. Then and afterwards, the ship's company of the *Pelican* thought that these natives reverenced them as gods. Drake proceeded to land his stores, by way of preparation for repairing his ship. As he landed, a large company of the Indians

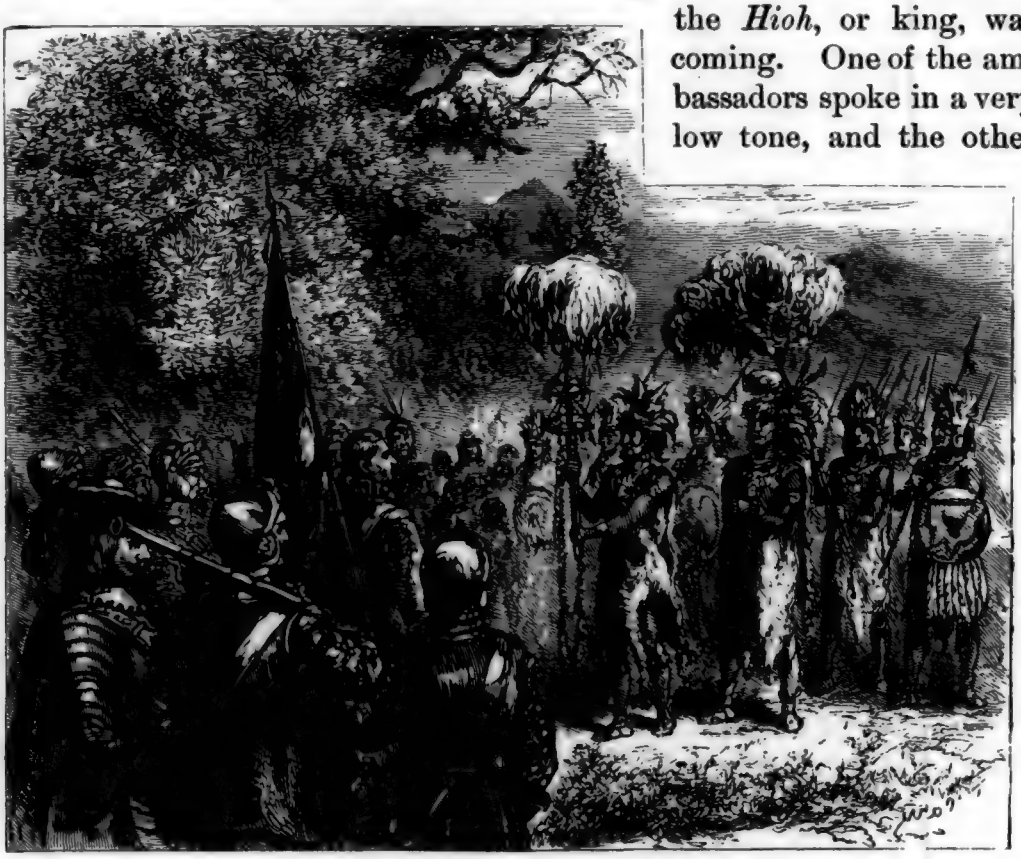
[1] Humboldt evidently thought so. See Humboldt's *New Spain*, ii. 337, *et seq.*

[2] Early maps, and a note on Robert Dudley in *The Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc.* Oct. 21, 1873.

approached, and, to the end of his sojourn, the most friendly relations were maintained between them and the Englishmen. Drake exerted himself, probably not without success, to remove the impression that he and his were gods. But he took the precaution of fortifying his camp with care against too eager advances.

An embassy from the Indians.

On the 26th of June, the news of the arrival of the strangers having been widely dispersed, a greater number of people assembled, among them the king himself, a man of goodly stature, with many other tall and warlike men, and a guard of a hundred strong. He sent two messengers in advance, to say that the *Hioh*, or king, was coming. One of the ambassadors spoke in a very low tone, and the other



Drake and the Indian King.

repeated the message verbatim, very loud, in a ceremony which lasted half an hour. They then asked for a present in token of friendship, which Drake gladly gave. On their return to the king he and his train appeared in pomp. In front of him marched a tall man with the sceptre or mace of black wood, a yard and a half long. Upon it hung two crowns, one larger than the other, with three long chains of bone. Such chains were regarded as marks of honor, the links in each were almost innumerable. The king was clothed in a dress of rabbit skins, — this being a distinction which the others might not claim. The guard were dressed in other skins. The great body of the people

were almost naked. Those about the king's person wore feathers as a sign of honor, and had "cawls of feathers" covered with a down growing on an herb, exceeding any other down for fineness, and only to be used by those around the king. The common people were almost naked, but their hair, also, was tied with feathers, arranged in a different way.[1]

Drake received them cordially but with precaution. The sceptre-bearer and another officer then spoke for half an hour, one repeating very loudly what the other said in low tones. This ceremony was followed by a dance, in which the women joined. After this they asked Drake to sit down, and the king and others were then understood by the Englishmen to ask him "to become the king and governor of their country," to whom they were most willing to resign the government of themselves and their posterity; and more fully to declare their meaning, the king, singing with all the rest, set the crown upon Drake's head, and enriched his neck with all their chains. They saluted him by the title of *Hioh*, and in a song and dance congratulated themselves that now he was their king and patron they were the happiest people in the world.



California Indians and their Summer Huts. (From Bartlett.)

Drake having half a continent offered him in this manner, thought best to accept it, not for himself, but for his queen. "In the name and for the use of Queen Elizabeth, he took the Sceptre, Crown and Dignity of that Land upon him, wishing that the riches and Treasures thereof, wherein the upper parts abound, might be as easily transported to England as he had obtained the sovereignty thereof." When the ceremony was finished, the common

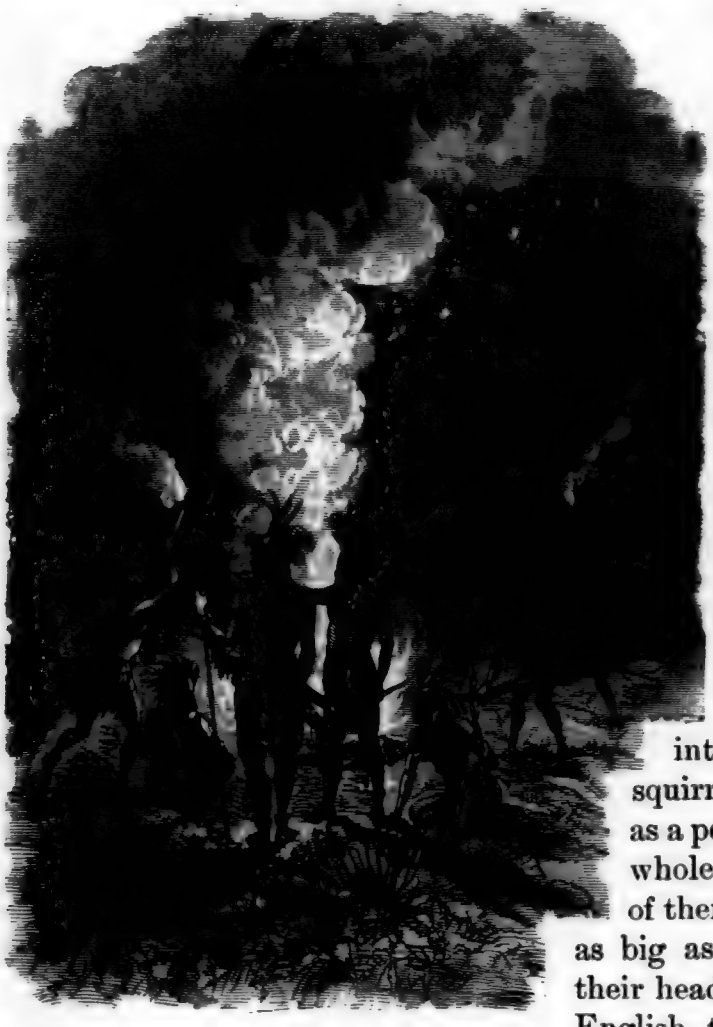
Drake made king by the savages.

[1] La Perouse and Langsdorff observed their fondness for feathers, as late as the end of the eighteenth century. "The feathers are twisted together into a sort of ropes, and then these are tied close together, so as to have a feathery surface on both sides." Langsdorff counted in one feather bandeau four hundred and fifty tail-feathers of the golden-winged woodpecker. Each woodpecker furnishes but two feathers. — See Forbes's *California*, p. 183.

people eagerly offered sacrifices to the strangers with shrieks and weeping, tearing the flesh from their faces with their nails. The English vainly attempted to dissuade them, by lifting their hands and eyes to heaven. During their stay the people generally brought sacrifices every third day, till they at last understood how much the English were displeased by them.

Expedition into the interior.

As soon as the English had finished the repairs upon their ship, Drake and some of his company made a journey into the interior. He found the Indians living in villages. The houses were made by digging round holes in the earth, covered by poles of wood, which met in the centre "like a spired steeple," the whole being covered with earth. The door "made slopous like the scuttle of a ship" was also the chimney.[1] The people slept in these houses on rushes on the ground, around a fire in the middle. The country was very different from the barren sea-shore. It was fruitful, and furnished with all necessaries. The adventurers saw thousands of deer in a herd, and were much interested by the ground squirrel, which they describe as a peculiar "coney." The whole country was a warren of them. Their bodies were as big as the Barbary coneys, their heads as the heads of the English, the feet like the feet of a want, and the tail long like that of a rat. The coney had on each side of the chin a bag into which to gather such food as he did not need to eat.



Drake's Departure.

Returning to his port, Drake took possession of the country in the

[1] Captain Beechey found similar houses as late as 1827.

name of Queen Elizabeth. He erected a monument which was, like so many other monuments of possession, only a wooden post with a copper plate upon it. On this he inscribed an assertion of the right of Queen Elizabeth and her successors to that kingdom, with the time of his own arrival, and a statement of the free resignation of the country by the king and people into her hands. Her picture and arms, and Drake's arms, were also engraved on this remarkable plate, which must have done credit to the amateur engraver from the crew of the *Pelican*.

Drake's departure.

After this ceremony of possession, the ship sailed for the Moluccas, to the great grief of the native king and his followers, who lighted fires on the cliffs as if to cheer them on their way.

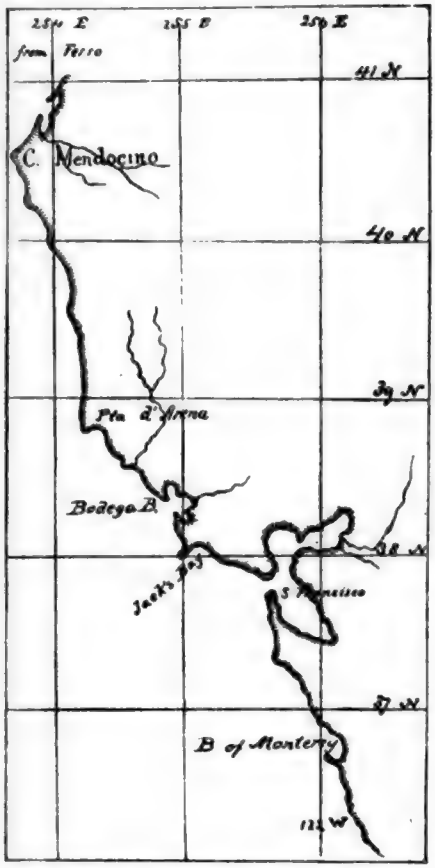
Locality of Drake's Bay.

It is a curious question, not yet decided by geographers, what was the bay where Sir Francis Drake repaired his ship, and on the shore of which he encamped and took possession. The various accounts differ about the highest north latitude attained by Drake, but when driven back by cold weather he came south, they agree "it was within thirty-eight degrees toward the line." "In which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay with good wind to enter the same." Was this bay the Bay of San Francisco, of which the opening, by the Golden Gate, is in 37° 49′ N. latitude, or is it the open bay just above this, marked on the maps as Sir Francis Drake's Bay, or is it Bodega Bay, where the latitude of the anchorage is 38° 19′?[1] Within so narrow a range it would be idle to infer anything from Drake's general statement that the good bay which God led him into was in 38°. Either of them is near enough to meet that definition.

The maps annexed will enable the reader to understand this difficulty. The more modern one represents the coast substantially as it has been drawn by the accurate hydrographers of our own time. The other was drawn early in the seventeenth century by Robert Dudley, son of the great Earl of Leicester, himself a navigator and the son-in-law of Cavendish, one of the explorers of the South Seas. Drake's port of New Albion will be found on this, so drawn as to represent sufficiently well the double bay of San Francisco. If this were the only authority it would probably be granted that Drake's port was San Francisco Bay. But it is quite certain that the Spaniards, who eagerly tried to rediscover the port, with this map in their possession, did not succeed until near two hundred years after. Long before they did discover it, they were seeking for it, calling it the Bay of San Francisco — that name probably having been taken from no less a

[1] These latitudes are those of Captain Beechey's survey.

saint than the heretic, Sir Francis Drake. In 1769, a land party discovered the great bay which runs south from the entrance, now called the Golden Gate. But it was not until 1776 that this inland sea was connected by the Spaniards with the ocean.



Map of a Part of the California Coast.

It is urged on the one side, that Sir Francis Drake would never have called "Jack's Bay," which is the Sir Francis Drake's bay of the maps, "a fair and good bay," nor thanked God as for a special providence for the wind which took him into that open roadstead, which under the circumstances, he could hardly have kept out of. If indeed, he did land, and unload his ship there, repair her, and take in his cargo again, lying for five weeks there, he is the last shipmaster who has done so. Having done so, that he should have drawn the bottle-shaped bay, which appears on the charts of his time, seems impossible. For such reasons, high authority[1] concedes that he entered the Golden Gate and the Bay of San Francisco, now known by that name. On the other hand, it is urged that the physical distinctions of the Golden Gate and the present San Francisco Bay are so marked that Drake or his historian must have said more of them: that "fair and good bay," is not language as strong as should be used of that matchless harbor, and that once discovered, it could never be forgotten. The weight of Californian opinion at this time seems to be that Sir Francis Drake never entered the Golden Gate. In one of the early narratives of his voyage, in Hondius's voyages, the annexed map of the bay, unfortunately with no scale, is given in the margin. It bears this inscription in very bad Latin: "The inhabitants by terrible frequent laceration of their bodies deprecate the departure of Drake, now twice crowned, from this harbour of Albion." But it is clear enough, from an examination of the copy of a small part of the Bay of San Francisco, from Captain Beechey's survey, that the draughtsman of Hondius's[2] map, had no knowledge of that great estuary.

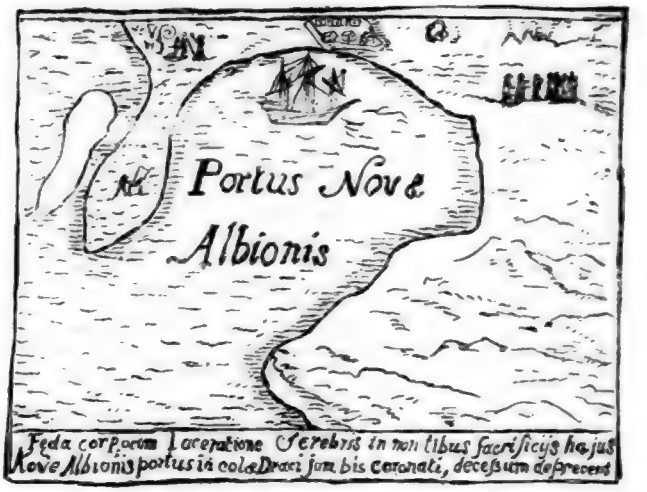
Opinions of geographers.

[1] So Davidson in the *Coast Pilot*, and Mr. Greenhow.

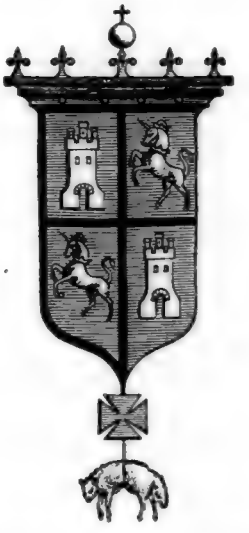
[2] For the copy of Hondius's very rare map, we are indebted to Mr. Charles Deane.

It is equally sure, however, that his map represents no other bay on the coast, and that it must, therefore, be taken as merely imaginary.

Dudley also says that Drake found many wild horses at the northward, — at which he wondered, because the Spaniards had never found horses in America. It is customary to account for the immense herds of American horses on the assumption that the Spaniards introduced them. Drake's visit, however, to Port New Albion was but thirty-eight years after Coronado's visit to Cibola, — which, as we now know, was at least five hundred miles away. It is difficult to believe that a few stray horses from Coronado's troop, should, in so few years, have multiplied into large herds observed by Drake on the distant seaboard of Oregon. Coronado had but few horses, would have had fewer brood mares, and would have been apt to mention any loss of a large number of auxiliaries so essential.



Hondius's Map of Drake's Bay.



Spanish Coat of Arms on the St Augustine Fort.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND COLONIZATION.

Father Augustin Ruyz. — Rio del Norte. — Cunames. — Acoma. — Zuni or Cibola. — Juan de Oñate. — El Paso. — "El Moro." — Inscriptions. — Viscaino. — Eusebio Francisco Kino. — Salvatierra. — Arizona — Pablo Quihue. — Father Augustin de Campos. — Expulsion of the Jesuits. — La Salle. — De Leon. — St. Denis. — Don Martin d'Alarcorne. — Texas.

Two years after Drake's departure a land expedition on the other side of the Sierra brought the lost cities of Cibola to light again.

Expedition of Ruyz.

In the year 1581, the Franciscan Father, Augustin Ruyz, interested by the report of some Conchos Indians, undertook an expedition northward, which resulted in the re-discovery of Quivira and some certainty as to the location of the Cibola of Coronado. Eager to save souls, Ruyz obtained leave to travel thither, and started with two brethren of his order, and eight soldiers. Leaving the mines of Santa Barbara in Northern Mexico, in the southern part of the present province of Chihuahua, four hundred and fifty miles from the capital, they began their journey northward; but one of the friars having been killed by Indians, the soldiers deserted the others, and left them to go forward alone. When at Santa Barbara the soldiers reported the plight in which they had left these holy men, a spirited gentleman of St. Bartholomew, a station in the neighborhood, named Antonio de Espejo, raised a company for their relief,

Journey of Espejo.

and started, in November, 1582, with a caravan of one hundred and fifteen horses and mules and some Indian guides. They travelled northward through various tribes, and soon struck the Conchos River, which flows into the Rio del Norte. Here they found natives who seemed to have some knowledge of the symbols of Christian faith, and when asked how they obtained it, they said that three Christians and a negro had passed that way, and had instructed them.

The Spaniards believed these missionaries to have been Cabeça de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo Maldonado, with their negro whose escape from the wreck of Narvaez's party has been described.[1] Con-

[1] Vol. i., p. 156.

tinuing northward, the explorers met men, willing to trade with them, who wore cotton garments, made of stuffs striped with white and blue.[1] They could only converse with them by signs. But they saw among them the precious metals; they learned that these were obtained from a place at five days' journey westward. After travelling together for some days, — probably along the foot of the Organ Mountains — they found a Concho Indian whose language they could



The Organ Mountains, near El Paso.

in part understand. He told them that fifteen days westward there was a large lake, and that, after passing this, they would come to large towns with houses of three or four stories high, whose inhabitants were well clothed. He even offered to conduct them thither. The adventurers were not able to follow his directions, because they were still pressing to the north in pursuit of the two priests whom they hoped to succor.

Travelling up the valley of the Rio del Norte they passed for fifteen days together a forest of pines, "such as men see in Castile," without meeting any inhabitants. Eighty leagues farther they came to a little village, whose inhabitants surprised them by the skill with which they tanned their leather, which was of as fine quality as that of Flanders. After two days' stay with them, still following the river, of which they found both banks cov-

The Valley of the Rio del Norte.

[1] The impression of later travellers is that this cloth was that made from the maguey fibre.

ered with poplars, varied sometimes by nut trees and vines, a journey of two days brought them to villages containing ten thousand persons, where they were well received. The houses were well built, four stories high, with good chambers, most of them having fire-places for winter. The people were well dressed in cotton and leather, with good shoes and boots, such as the Spaniards had not seen among the natives before. To this country they gave the name of New Mexico.

The Tiguas.

After remaining with them for four days the travellers went on to another tribe called the Tiguas, of sixteen towns. Here it was that the missionary had been killed, and here in a town named Poala, they obtained news of the murder of the two other fathers whom they were seeking, Lopez and Ruyz. The Indians seeing the interest taken in these men by so large a company, fled from their houses and could not be persuaded to return. Espejo determined to establish a camp here, and with only twelve companions to prosecute the further discovery. In two days more he came to a country of eleven towns, of which the natives said the population was more than forty thousand. Espejo believed that this country was next to the famous Cibola. He was cordially received and found the appearance of rich mines, and observed that, in the houses where the idols were, there were pieces of silver. After this expedition he returned to his camp. Here he obtained news of the province of the

The Quires.

Quires, six leagues from the Del Norte. He visited them, and found five towns, with a population of fifteen thousand people. The Spaniards were pleased to find a pye in a cage, "as you may see in Castile," and umbrellas, like those of China, on which were painted sun, moon, and stars. At this point Espejo fixed his latitude and found it 37½° north. If this observation were correct, he was in the limits of the present State of Colorado; but this must have been an error of more than two degrees.

The Cunames, the Amejes, and the town of Acoma.

Fourteen leagues further he found the Cunames, who had five towns, with a population of twenty thousand people. Their houses were built of stone and lime and were the best he had seen. They also had the precious metals. Next to them were the Amejes, thirty thousand in number; fifteen leagues westward, the travellers found the town of Acoma, inhabited by six thousand people. This town is still in existence, probably with the same race of inhabitants. It was on a high cliff, which has more than fifty platforms in height, and could only be ascended by steps cut out of the rock itself. At this the Spaniards greatly wondered. All the water was in cisterns. The people met the Spaniards cordially and brought them presents of clothes. Their arable land was two leagues away and was watered by artificial means from a little

river in the neighborhood. Here the Spaniards spent three days, and were entertained by a solemn ball.

This curious spot is perfectly known. Similar cave dwellings in other regions have been identified, described, and pictured by the recent surveying parties of the United States government. The description of Acoma is so distinct that it is clear that at some point Espejo must have left a little while before what we call the Del Norte, and come on the waters of the Puerco River.[1]

Espejo reaches Cibola.

Twenty-four leagues further west, Espejo and his men came to the province known as Zuni by the natives, and Cibola by the Spaniards, which Coronado had entered half a century before from the Gulf of California. They found the crosses planted by him and other tokens of his presence, among others three baptized



Acoma.

Indians, who served them as interpreters. These men apprised them of a great lake sixty days further on, where were great cities with much gold. The province of Zuni still retains its name. The Zuni

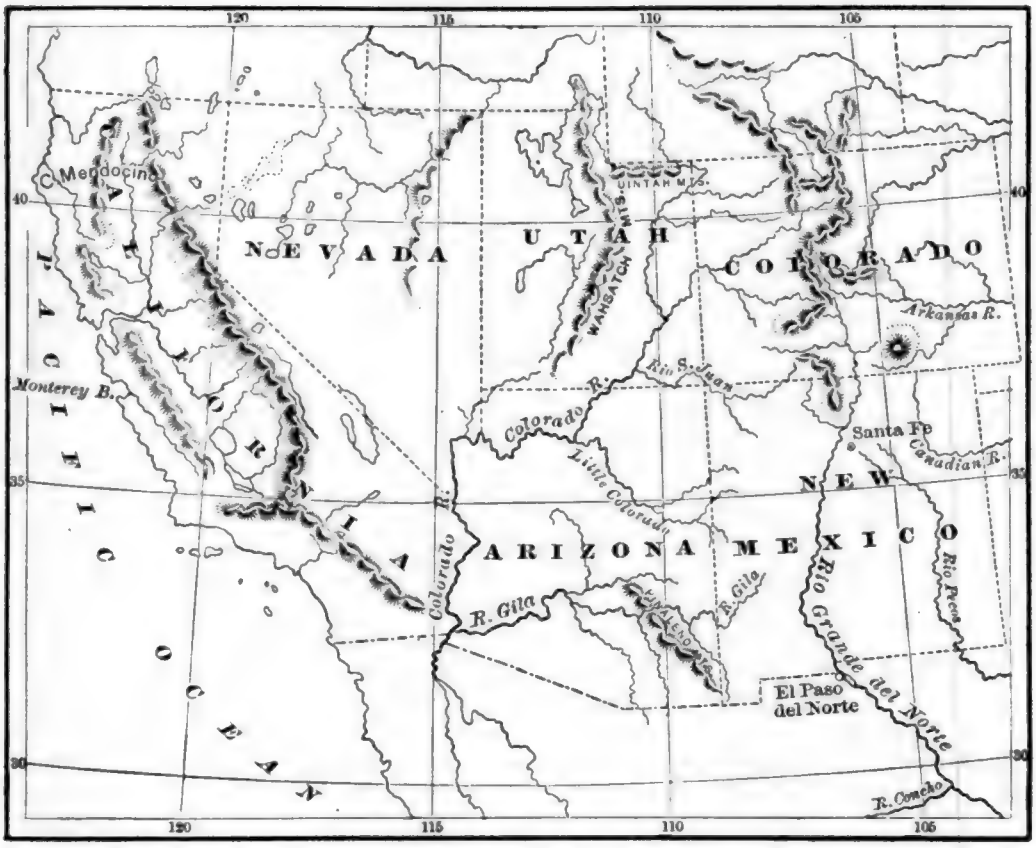
[1] Judge Cozzens thus describes Acoma in 1860: "It stands upon the top of a rock at least three hundred and fifty feet above the surrounding plain. The Pueblo can only be reached by means of a staircase containing three hundred and seventy-five steps, cut in the solid rock. At the upper end of this is a ladder eighteen feet long, made from the trunk of a tree, in which notches have been cut for the feet." — *The Marvellous Country*, p. 287.

A narrative by Mr. Holmes of similar residences now in ruins, further west, describes such edifices where Spanish civilization has not followed on that of the natives. The remnant of the cave dwellings may still be traced. The openings are arched irregularly above, in a soft and friable shale, a hard stratum serving as a floor. In many instances, this gave a platform by which the inhabitants passed from one house to another. Fragments of mortar still show that the houses were plastered. They probably had doors and windows.

A drawing by Mr. W. H. Holmes, who visited a series on the San Juan, in 1875, shows their appearance at that time. In another drawing, Mr. Holmes gives his impression of their appearance when occupied, as Espejo may have seen them.

people still live there, and maintain at their altars the worship of the days of Espejo.

Espejo was disposed to go still farther on his adventures. But, finding the religious men and most of the party unwilling, he went on with nine soldiers only. After travelling twenty-eight leagues, they came to the city Zaguato. After some suspicion, they were hospitably welcomed. Espejo, after a few days' stay, went with five companions forty-five leagues farther. Here he found the mines of which he



Map of California, Arizona, and New Mexico.

had been told. With his own hand he took ores which contained a great quantity of silver, of which he could see that the vein was very large. The Indians of the neighborhood received him kindly. They told him that on the other side of their mountains was a river eight leagues wide. They showed by signs that it flowed to the Northern Ocean, and on its banks the towns were so large and so many that their own were nothing but hamlets in comparison. With this intelligence Espejo returned to Zuni, or Cibola. Unfortunately the account does not tell in what direction Espejo travelled from the site of the Zuni. Their pueblos are placed by the surveyors of the United States government about latitude 35° north, and longitude

109° west.[1] The city of Zaguato, twenty-eight leagues distant, is not easily identified. The interesting tribe of Moquis are now at about that distance to the northwest of the Zuni.

When Espejo rejoined his party the greater part of his people determined to return to Santa Barbara. But he himself, with eight soldiers, undertook the further exploration of the River del Norte. Having returned to the Quires, he found, twelve leagues west of them, the Hubates, twenty-five thousand in number, who received him kindly. Their houses also were four or five stories high, and their hills covered with pine and cedar. Next to this tribe were the Tamos, who were not friendly; and Espejo, rather than risk a conflict with them, returned home by another valley, of a river which he called the River of Cows, so many did he find there. This stream brought him to the Conchos River, by which he returned to the valley of St. Bartholomew, whence he had departed. He found that the other part of his party had preceded him. The expedition had lasted nearly two years.[2]

Further explorations of Espejo.

The interest excited in Spain by these discoveries must have been very great, although with the policy which then prevailed at Madrid, no official publication was made of them. It seems to be by accident that the narrative of Espejo was printed in connection with the history of China, from which the vigilance of Hakluyt at once reproduced it for English readers. Orders were given from Madrid that New Mexico should be occupied, and as early as 1594 we have the thanks of the king to the company of Jesuits for their success in planting missions there. In that year it was attached to the ecclesiastical charge of Father Martin Pelez of Cinaloa, the most northerly station till then held, and on the other side of the Sierra. In 1595, the Viceroy of Mexico, the Count of Monterey, sent Juan de Oñate into New Mexico, and under his directions colonies were planted in the valley of the Rio Grande.[3] One of Oñate's settlements was near Santa Fé, which may probably, therefore, claim to be settled before Jamestown, and to be, after St. Augustine, the oldest town built by whites in the United States. Acoma is an older town. The original settlement by Oñate was made with

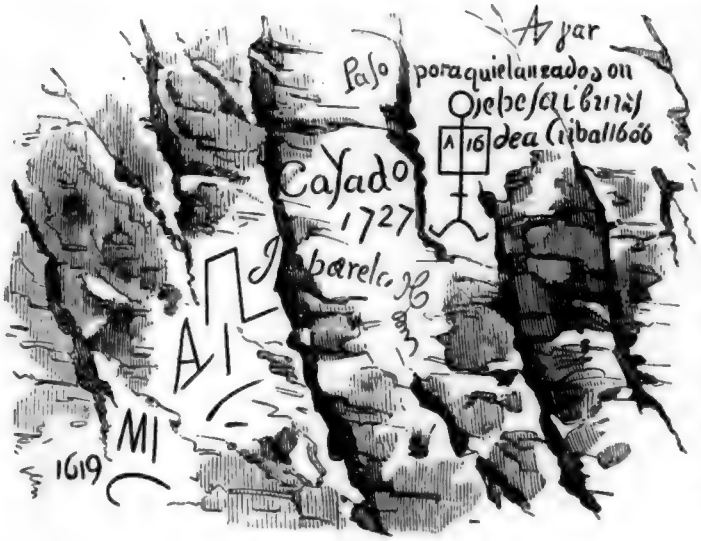
The news of these discoveries received in Spain.

[1] It is in section 77 of the Hayden Survey.

[2] This narrative is preserved by Gonzales de Mendoza, the author of the "History of China" and the "Itinerary to the New-World." It is perhaps embellished by exaggerations. But it carries with it, — in many of the local descriptions which were not verified for nearly three centuries by other narrators, — evidence that Espejo went over the ground which he described. He may be considered, therefore, as the discoverer of New Mexico, and the valley of the Gila, above the points where it had been explored by Coronado. It is probable that in the word Tiguas we have the origin of the name Texas, which next appears in the form Latekas, used by La Harpe.

[3] Allegre, *Hist. Jesuits*, vol. i., p. 325. Mexican edition of 1842.

one hundred soldiers and five hundred settlers, and it is not probable that the establishments in New Mexico largely exceeded these numbers for a century. A bloody massacre by the Indians in 1640 is alluded to by the Jesuit historians, and in 1680, by a successful union of the pueblos, they drove all the Spaniards from the upper river and compelled them to take refuge in El Paso. Successive expeditions against the Indians from that point proved unsuccessful till 1692, when Diego de Bargas regained possession of the valley for the Spanish garrisons.[1] The town of El Paso, on the Mexican side of the frontier of the United States, where the western boundary determined by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo begins, was probably founded by Oñate. The Piro Indians had a village called Sinecu, which still exists within the precincts of the town. From the missionary establishment there, it is probable that the town of El Paso sprung. The signs of Moorish architecture may be still noticed in the public buildings of El Paso, as in other mission buildings of Mexican or Spanish origin in that region; and the venerable church itself is supposed by the worshippers to have been built in the earlier part of the seventeenth century.



Inscription Rock.

From this time, with various reverses, the valley of the Rio Grande was held by Spanish priests and officials, with some settlers. Inscription Rock, a remarkable rock on the west side of the Sierra Madre, not far from the pueblo of Acoma, records, not insufficiently, the history of this outlying province, in the autographs, or autoglyphs, of the men who belonged to the time. For two hundred and ten feet of its height this rock has a natural polish. At a distance it perfectly resembles a Moorish castle, so that the Spaniards called it "El Moro." Indians and Spaniards have used it as a monument rock; and when Lieut. Simpson saw it in

Inscription Rock.

[1] The dates given by Pike, Allegre, and Venegas are confused, but those in the text are furnished for Lieutenant Simpson by Don Donaciano Vigil, Secretary of State for New Mexico, and may probably be relied upon.

1849, he found a large number of inscriptions still visible. Some were mere savage carvings of hands or animals, but many were in Spanish or a sort of Latin.[1]

Action of Spain in regard to California. Viscaino's voyage.

On the western coast, the news of Drake's discovery stimulated the court of Spain to make some new efforts to save the land, whose natives had given it to the heretic queen. Under the king's own orders Viscaino, an officer of ability, was again despatched on the survey of the coasts of California. After one voyage on the gulf, which resulted in disaster, he sailed from Acapulco for a second on the 5th of May, 1602, and went as far as the parallel of 42° north. He rediscovered the harbors of San Diego and Monterey, and gave to them those names. He reported that the natives on the coast were docile, clothed with the skins of sea-wolves, — but with abundance of hemp, flax, and cotton. The Indians all told him, he said, that in the inland were large towns, silver, and gold. Viscaino's manuscripts have not been brought to light. His second voyage was not finished until 1603. It appears that his instructions were to put into "Puerto Francisco," and see if anything was to be found of the ship *San Augustin*, which in 1595, had been sent from the Philippine Islands to survey that coast, and had been lost there.

[1] With praiseworthy accuracy Lieutenant Simpson copied these curious records, and in his Report fac-similes of them were published. There are thirty-eight inscriptions in his list, ranging from the 16th day of April, 1606, when some officer "passed this place with despatches," down to 1836. It seems to have become a custom with the Spanish officers to leave here a brief account of their mission. As the other records of New Mexico before 1680 were burned by the Indians in that year, the earlier of these inscriptions supply names and dates not elsewhere accessible. The character of them may be understood from such examples as these:

"Passed this place with despatches — 16th day of April, 1606."

"J. Apaulla, 1619."

"Bartolome Narsso, Governor and Captain General of the provinces of New Mexico, for our Lord, the King, passed by this place on his return from the pueblo of Zuñi, on the 29th of July, of the year 1620, and put them in peace at their petition, asking the favor to become subjects of His Majesty; and anew they gave obedience. All which they did with free consent, knowing it prudent, as well as very Christian.

"To so distinguished and gallant a soldier, indomitable and famed, we love. . . . ." (The rest of this inscription is illegible.)

"Here passed General Don Diego de Bargas to conquer Santa Fé for the royal crown, New Mexico, at his own cost, in the year 1692."

Judge Cozzens, in 1860, found and copied an earlier inscription: "Don Joseph de Bazemzalles. 1526." Judge Cozzens rightly says, that such an inscription could only be truly carved by one of the lost officers whom Cortez sent north in a quest for the lands of silver. Of that band of twenty men there is no history since they left Cortez, excepting on this silent stone.

But, among Lieutenant Simpson's inscriptions, there appears, perfectly distinct, on another part of the rock, "Por aqui pazo el Alferez D^{n} *Joseph* de Payba *Basconzelos* el ano que tugo el Canildo del Reyno a su costa a 18 de feb^{o} de 1726 Anos." *Tugo* is some misspelling of the stone-cutter, — but the meaning is that this officer, whose rank was that of lieutenant, passed here in an expedition undertaken at cost of the council of the kingdom.

She was under the direction of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermenon. Her pilot, Volanos, was chief pilot of Viscaino's squadron. Having passed the latitude of Port Francisco, they returned to look for it, and anchored under La Punta de los Reys. This is the westerly point of "Jack's Bay." They did not land, and Viscaino having parted from his tender, continued his voyage in search of her. He thus lost his opportunity of discovering the great Bay of San Francisco. He ran up the coast, as far north as 42°, and then, because his whole company were sick with a terrible distemper, they returned to Acapulco. The tender persevered as far as 43°. Here her com-



Acapulco.

mander found a river whose banks were covered with ash trees, willows, and other Spanish trees. But he had passed farther than his orders directed, and he returned to Acapulco also. No such river exists in that latitude. The Columbia is as far north as 48°.

Order of Philip III.

Philip III., of Spain, or some minister of his, on the reception of this report, issued a very interesting order, of the greatest stringency, that the search for a harbor should be renewed, and that Monterey should be occupied. But the fatality of inaction, which governed both Mexico and Spain, prevailed. Viscaino died as he was preparing for the expedition ordered, and the occupation of Northern California was reserved to another century. Men, widely differing from those who discovered California, acting under another class of motives, undertook the colonization which for a century and a half had been neglected, since it proved that she had no cities of gold and turquoises. The Spanish court, meanwhile, had changed as

much as the adventurers in Mexico had changed; and the appeals to Charles the Second of Spain rested on different motives from those which had swayed the Emperor Charles, who from his distant throne lifted Cortez or put him down at his will.

After one and another inefficient scheme for the conquest, as it was called, of California, a royal order came from Mexico to Spain that all enterprises in that direction should be laid aside. At this moment the Jesuit body, hardly yet declining from the maturity of its power, was urged by the persons in command in Mexico to take the charge of California. The Viceroy offered to the Jesuits the necessary sums, to be paid out of the king's treasury, if they would undertake the enterprise. The Mexican chapter of the society was convened for the consideration of the proposal, and answered that while the society would undertake the spiritual duty of furnishing missionaries, they saw great inconveniences in undertaking the temporal charge of such an enterprise, and declined. The general council urged it again, but again the society refused. The last of these refusals was in 1686.



Portrait of Philip III. of Spain

Eusebio Francisco Kino, a brother of the Jesuit Society, who had come from Ingoldstadt in Bavaria, in pursuance of a vow made when seemingly at the point of death, undertook, almost single-handed, the regeneration of the peninsula of California. To his efforts, as it proved, the first settlement was due of those parts of California and Arizona which now belong to the United States. It is said that as early as 1658 he had been connected with the explorations of Arizona.[1] He had afterwards been engaged in the examinations of the peninsula of California made by order of the government. In 1686 he left the city of Mexico, as superior of the province of Sonora, the Mexican province immediately south of Arizona.[1] In 1670, with other priests, he set out on a mission on the Gila. In 1672, he began a mission among the Yaquis. Before 1679 he and his companions had established five missions among Yaquis, Opotes, and Papa-

Father Kino in California.

[1] Cozzens's *Wonderful Land* (Arizona), p. 32. Mr. Cozzens refers to MSS. in the monastery of Dolores. Kino accompanied Admiral Otondo as early as 1648.

goes.[1] On the left bank of the Gila, he established Encarnacion and San Andres. In San Andres he describes one of the "great houses," four stories in height, which recall the memories of Cibola. His wishes for California were not accomplished until 1697, when Father Salvatierra was appointed to make collections for a mission in Lower California, and at length sailed from Hiagui in that service on the 10th of October.

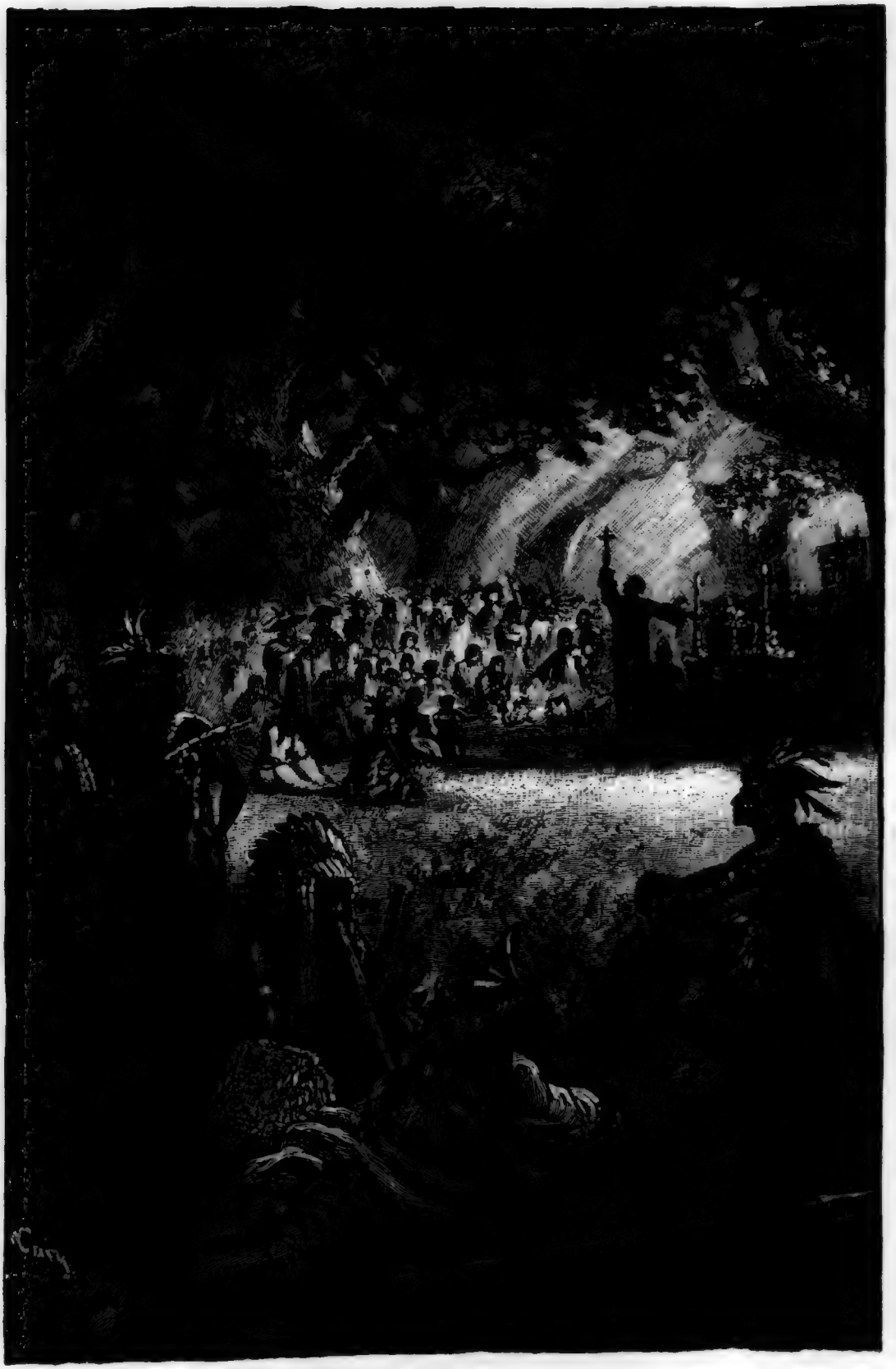
The Californian Missions.

The sedulous efforts by which he and his companions attempted to civilize and Christianize the savages of that peninsula, do not belong to this narrative. But as a consequence of these plans, a series of missionary efforts grew up, which resulted in the first civilization of the State known as California of the American Union, the limits of which correspond nearly with those of the province of Upper California, as it is described in the narratives of Mexico. The friendly relations of Father Kino in Sonora on the eastern side of the Gulf of California, with Father Salvatierra on the west side, led constantly to mutual offices of kindness and help; and the history of the two regions is substantially one history of two provinces, administered in the same spirit and under the same general system. In one expedition of Salvatierra, he passed to the head of the gulf, and satisfied himself that California was indeed a peninsula. "This discovery," he says, "we owe to the holy virgin of Loreto;" and he adds, "these are the steps by which within a few years California may come to be the soul of this kingdom, the main source of its opulence, the scene of cheerful industry; and accordingly I conclude that you will charge all persons that they continue to assist us in these missions of Nuestra Senora de Loreto de Californias."[2] There was only this external distinction between the missions of California and those of Sonora: that in California a handful of soldiers was in each mission placed under the direction of the Fathers. In Sonora, the garrisons, if garrisons there were, were directed immediately by the viceroy. But scarcely any difference in result seems to have arisen from this distinction. It must be understood that the word Sonora, in the history of that country at that time, includes what is known to our geographers as Arizona.

Having selected a point for a mission, the fathers began immediately to invite and induce the Indians to attend the daily religious services. As soon as they themselves acquired the language of the country, they taught the natives the catechism in that language. By way of rewarding those who attended on the services, the fathers served out rations to them, and attempted in the same way to wean all the

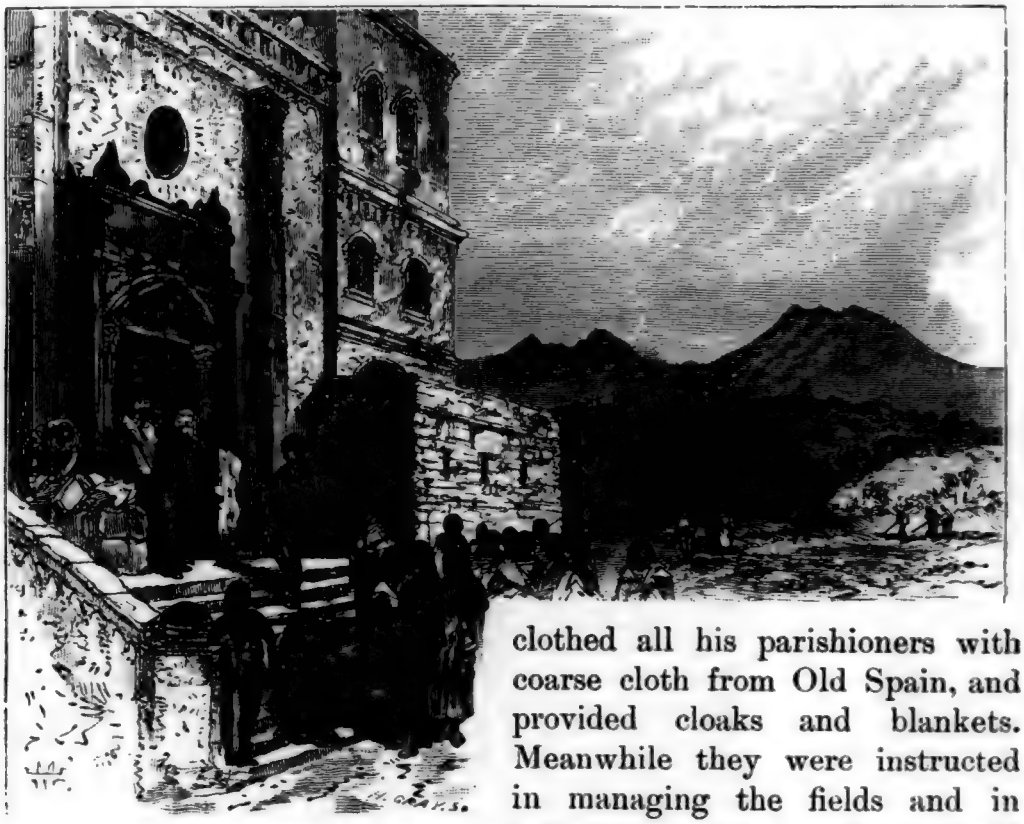
[1] *Noticias Estadicas del Estado de Sonora*, by Jose Francisco Velasco. Mexico, 1850.

[2] *Venegas*, vol. i., p. 307. English translation.



JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN CALIFORNIA.

savages from the habits of wanderers. In California all who attended divine service were wholly supported by the mission. Every morning and night they received an allowance of "atole," a sort of hominy; at noon they were served with boiled Indian corn, called pozoli,[1] and with fresh or salt meat and vegetables, according as the mission provided. All the sick, aged, and children from six to twelve, and the Indian governor of the village, were also thus provided with food. Beside these, a weekly allowance of the same amount, was made to such Indians of the rancherias as came to be catechised and as attended the divine service on Sunday. The missionary priest also



The Mission Indians.

clothed all his parishioners with coarse cloth from Old Spain, and provided cloaks and blankets. Meanwhile they were instructed in managing the fields and in irrigation; and as they would not save the crops, Venegas says, the fathers preserved them for their regular use. Wine, which was at an early date produced in the Californian missions, was the only product withheld from them, the fathers early learning that such was the only method to save them from drunkenness.[2]

The effect produced by such a system would not immediately appear. But, after a generation, a body of children had grown to be men and women, without any habits of the chase or of war, and with the habit of farm labor and regular attendance on the

Effect of the Missions.

[1] Cozzens's *Wonderful Land*, 37.

[2] *Venegas*, i. 432.

rites of the church. The missions were, in many instances, very small establishments. One father with one soldier might be all the white population. The father then appointed one Indian as governor of the village, one to the charge of the church, and a third to be the catechist of those who were undergoing instruction. So simple a system was considered sufficient. In the absence of the father the soldier acted as his vicegerent, having "an eye to everything" as is the expressive phrase of Venegas.[1] He could seize delinquents, and mildly punish them, "unless in capital cases," which were referred to the captain of the garrison. The minor punishments were more or less lashes; the severer punishment was imprisonment in the stocks. The first care in every mission was for the education of the children. Some of them were selected from every Californian mission to be sent to Loreto, the chief station. They were instructed in reading, writing, and singing, and in the Spanish language, and afterwards as they showed ability were promoted to be churchwardens or catechists in the several "rancherias."

It is mentioned as an exceptional instance in these plans, that, on the peninsula of California, Father Ugarte taught his Indians to spin wool and weave it, himself making the distaffs, wheels, and looms. He added the industry of making sail-cloth from hemp. This was a violation of the whole colonial system of Spain, which attempted to compel the colonies to obtain all their manufactures from Europe. Venegas, the Jesuit historian, is eloquent in his description of the ruinous effects of this policy in the province of Sonora. The cause of the poverty of Sonora, he says, is its want of almost all necessary manufactures and trades. While other European nations encourage these in their colonies, Spain depresses them. But the immediate consequence of manufacture, he says, is the promotion of agriculture, for the providing of the raw material and for feeding the artisan. The policy of Cortez, therefore, was to encourage manufacture, and this policy was continued by some of his successors. But his policy having been overturned, poor Sonora must receive from Mexico the cloth which had been bought in Cadiz, after it had been carried thither from Holland.

Their support.

As the expense of the Jesuit missions involved the feeding and clothing of all the converts, neophytes, and catechumens, it was of course considerable, and, so long as any mission was in its infancy, it must be supplied by contributions from the faithful all over the world. At this point the literary ability of the Jesuit brethren was called upon, and the attractive histories of their missions, published through Europe, assisted their indefatigable collections

[1] *Venegas*, vol. i., 435.

of money. The Fathers never founded a new mission unless some benefactor had endowed it with ten thousand dollars. This sum furnished, at five per cent. interest, five hundred dollars, which was allowed for the support of the missionary and his unavoidable expenses with the Indians. A royal grant of three hundred dollars for each missionary seems to have provided in part for other missions. Venegas, the historian of Jesuit missions, explains still farther, that the funds for the first seven missions were invested in farms near the city of Mexico, and that the necessary supplies of cattle and of corn were furnished from these farms. To the agent who had these farms in charge the king's payment was made, of eighteen thousand dollars a year for the payment of the garrisons and of the seamen employed by the missions. From these funds, and from the products of the farms, were paid everything necessary for worship, for the building and repair of the church and for the maintenance not of the priest only, but of his people. It is interesting, at this time, to observe, that in Salvatierra's report of the 25th of May, 1705, he says, "in those parts of the country that are conquered and discovered there are very promising appearances of mines."

These anticipations were fully confirmed as that century went on. The acquisitions from mines in Arizona, as we now call it, and from Sonora cannot be accurately distinguished. But it is certain that Arizona well earned its name, — which is derived from Arizuma, a name said to be given by the king himself to denote its richness in silver. As early as 1683, the attorney of the king brought a suit in Sonora to recover a mass of virgin silver weighing twenty-eight hundred pounds, which he claimed as a "curiosity," although it was found in the mine of an explorer named Gandera.[1] A wide desert separated the silver-bearing parts of Arizona from the Pacific. A long transport by land separated them from the Gulf of Mexico. But the traces of old mining operations and the records of the viceroyalty of Mexico alike show, that in face of these discouragements, very large mining operations were conducted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the frontier provinces which are now States and Territories of the United States.

Difficulties encountered by the Missionaries.

The tranquil arrangements of the Jesuits, which attempted to substitute for savage life the proprieties and decorum of pueblos of men and women trained to act like obedient children, were constantly broken in upon by savage uprisings, which the fathers considered as so many triumphs of the devil. As early as 1695 the Janos, Jocomes, and Apaches were at war. The Conchos Indians joined in the fray, which was for the time suppressed by

[1] Cozzens, as above, p. 41.

the energetic efforts of Antonio de Solis, the military commandant. But none the less on all sides of the frontier were there fears of a general rising. An Indian called Pablo Quihue was considered the head of a conspiracy. He had been the governor, under the scheme just now described, of the mission of Santa Maria Basieraca, but he now proved faithless to his masters. He told all the natives that in the last sixty years they had gradually given away all their lands to the Spaniards; that the fathers, instead of acknowledging such gifts gratefully, had seized the lands and enslaved the people. Lands, flocks, herds, houses, women, and children were all at the disposal of the priests. "Do they tell you that their soldiers protect you? Do they tell you that they will defend you? Do they tell you that you live in true religion, in obedience to the king and in peaceful life? So they told us when they came, and we, like fools, received them as men who came from heaven to bless us. What has come of these magnificent promises? You can see. The Apaches, the Jocomes, the Janos, have for years desolated our fields and stolen our flocks. Have the fathers protected us? Have their soldiers helped us; have they not been our ruin? Have more Sonoras, Pimas, Tarau-mares, and Conchos fallen under the arrows of the Apaches, than have perished under the cruelty of the Spaniards. At the least alarm, they charge us, whom they have enslaved, with being apostates, traitors to God and to the king, enemies of our country and allies and accomplices of the Apaches! They show more enmity to us than to them! Do they treat them as cruelly as they treat us? Have the Apaches ever seen their faces? And have they ever hurt us so much, as these protectors of ours?" Such is the remarkable speech, which Allegre, a Jesuit historian, is frank enough to put into the mouth of this rebel.[1]



Indian Council (from La Hontan).

So well founded were his arguments, so imposing the outside force of the Apaches, and so hateful the Spaniards, that his hopes might have been crowned with success, but that, by an accident so often repeated in savage annals, the conspiracy broke out too early in one quarter. The Cuquiarachi, Cuchuta, and Teurcicatzi broke into rebellion before his plans were ripe. The people of these places seized the ornaments of the churches and fled with them into the mountains. This precipitancy disarranged all the plans

An unsuccessful Indian rebellion.

[1] *Allegre*, iii., 93: Mexican edition.

of Quihue. The rebellion was suppressed; and the fathers were able to praise the loyalty of many of the pueblos, whose people joined with the Spanish soldiery in the movements necessary, and in one case sustained a battle which lasted from day to night, without their assistance.

In 1697 new invasions from the Apaches and Jocomes wasted Sonora; and again the suspicions of the Spaniards were roused against the people of their own flocks, including Pimeria, as the missions among the Pimos began to be called at that time. It was true that the Pimos suffered as much as the Spaniards, or more, but they fell under the suspicion which in all colonies, English, Spanish, or French, has always hovered over converted Indians. An inspection by a Spanish officer wholly relieved them from this suspicion. It proved that they had beaten the Apaches in fight, as they do to this day, and were in no way entangled with them. His report estimates the numbers of the Opas and Maricopas as about 4,000. He speaks of their aqueducts and fertile land, their crops of wheat and houses of adobe, much as a traveller of to-day might do. But it must be remembered that they then occupied a site lower down the Gila River than that which they live upon to-day.[1] At length, on the 30th of March, the chief of the Quiburi, one of the "reduced" or converted tribes, struck a fortunate blow with his people upon the marauders and wholly defeated them. By this blow, rather than from any action of the Spanish troops, as would appear, the tranquillity of the missions was for some time assured. In a pastoral visit made to the northern stations at this time Father Kino made an observation of latitude at St. Rafael de Actun, which fixes that place as in the parallel of 32° 30′ 45″ north. He frequently alludes in his letters to the certainty that California is a peninsula, as it had been pronounced by Cortez and his

Indian invasions. — The invaders repulsed.



California Indians catching Salmon.

[1] Emory's report, on the authority of Kit Carson.

contemporaries. The later geographers, for a long time, insisted on marking it as a long island; and it was long before the intelligent assertions of the Jesuit Fathers, though founded on personal observations, were attended to by the map-makers. In January, 1699, on one of these tours of inspection, Fathers Kino and Gilg met five hundred Yumas, Opas, and Cocomaricopas at a point three leagues above the junction of the Gila and Colorado. These people had traditions of the arrival of Spaniards from the east, which probably referred to the party of Oñate. They told of a visit from a white woman whom the Fathers supposed to be an enthusiast named Maria de Jesus Agreda, who had gone out alone as early as 1630, among the savages.



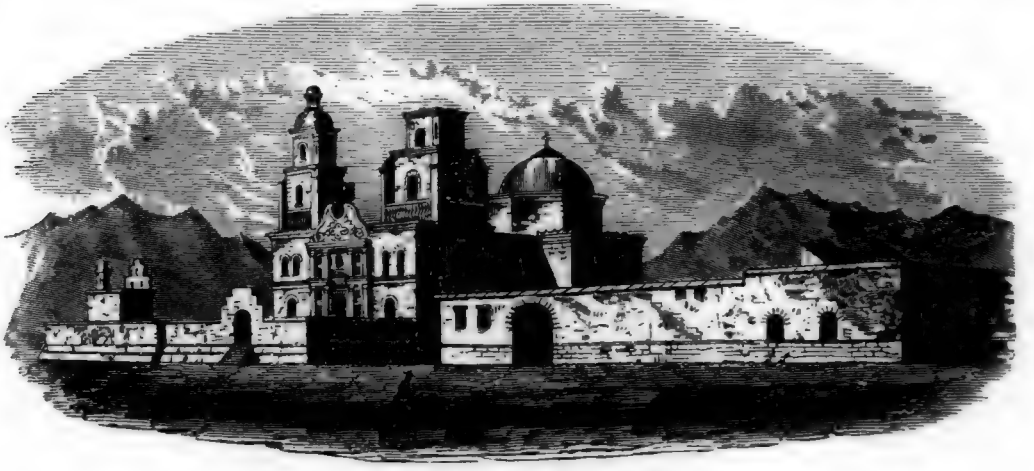
Junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers.

These people also said that at the north there lived white men who wore clothes, who at times came armed to the Colorado, and brought goods in exchange for skins. This can only allude to some expedition of French traders, of which we have no account, or possibly to the expedition from Boston, already alluded to, which is said to have preceded by a year the expedition of La Salle.

Death of Father Kino.

So far at least, as their written history goes, the flourishing condition of the Pimeria, which was the result of the Jesuit labors in Arizona, ended with the death of Father Kino in the year 1711. This remarkable man, one of the most successful and enterprising of apostles, had been a professor of mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria. By a divine call

he was led to abandon his professorship and to enter on the work of preaching the gospel to the heathen. His indomitable spirit, his courage and adventure, led him to such successes, as have been described. His zeal constantly outran the slower notions of the Mexican Viceroys, and he was frequently in conflict with them and with other authorities. It was only after long delay that his plans for the reduction, as it was called, of California, were adopted; and he was frequently held back in his undertakings in his beloved Pimeria. It is said that he himself baptized more than forty thousand infidels, — and that he would have baptized many thousand more had the zeal of the church behind him been sufficient to provide them with teachers and ministers. San Xavier del Bac, as it now appears, gives an idea of the external appearance of the churches he founded. The people of



The Mission of San Xavier del Bac.

Arizona believe this building to be the very same which was erected under his direction. In this temple the worship of the Catholic church is still maintained by a handful of Papajo Indians.

His successor was Father Augustin de Campos. But he could not prevent the decay of the missions. Probably the enthusiasm of Europe and Mexico had been turned in other directions, and it was impossible to provide ecclesiastical chiefs for these frontier settlements. The slow death settling upon Spain, — attributed by most students of history to the inevitable lethargy attendant on Jesuit counsels, — hindered the aid which the Spanish monarchs themselves often tried to give the missions. Nothing is more amusing, if it were not at the same time pathetic, than the narrative by Venegas of the ingenious ways in which the officials of the crown resisted and defeated the pious orders of their kings. For many years, the Jesuit historian tells us, the people of the villages maintained their crops and built their houses in a civilized way. But as time passed, they fell

Decay of the Missions.

back toward the habits of savage life. Many of the villages had no Spanish ministers till 1731, when a sudden revival for a moment filled the posts anew. Dolores and Remedios were entirely unpeopled, and many others suffered from the invasions of the Apaches.

A new Indian rebellion.

In 1740 a rebellion broke out, more critical than any before, led by an "apostate" Indian named Muni, one of the Yaquis, — another named Baltazar, and another named Juan Calixto. Succeeding in Mayo they passed to Cedros and Bayorca. Muni was at one moment taken prisoner, but having been liberated he was so far encouraged that with his Yaquis he continued his ravages. So efficient was this rebellion that the villages of the valley of the Gila were wholly cut off from Mexican inspection, and, indeed, they have remained in much that condition ever since. In 1744 Father Keeler, who attempted to revisit them, was permitted to pass no farther than the first village of the Moquis. A second revolt in 1750, under one Luis, did still more to break up the missions of the southern part of Sonora, which now constitutes the Mexican state of that name, and well-nigh completed the isolation of Pimeria in the valley of the Gila. The authority of Luis over the Pimeria was not broken until the year 1753, when a new governor seized him and put him in prison, where he soon died of "melancholy." His relative took refuge with the Seris, a barbarous tribe on the Gulf of California, always their enemies till now. Some fathers were despatched, after this success, to renew the abandoned missions; but it would appear that their decay could not be arrested.

The lesson taught by these attempts.

Their history is at the bottom the same as that of the Jesuit missions in Paraguay, which have attracted more of the attention of students of social order. By these experiments it is proved possible to educate savages in a state of tutelage, and to maintain the outward external aspects of exquisite order and simplicity. The lover of tranquillity, delighted with such social order when he sees it contrasted with the strifes of a more active world, describes the pretty scene as an Arcadia, if he be of a classical bent; or as the kingdom of heaven on earth, if he be trained in another school. But the moment a storm comes, or the moment the mild tyranny of the spiritual father is removed, it proves that this people, so gentle and so simple, have not been educated to the care of themselves. They have been taught to obey, in a false school, which has not taught them either to direct or to command. And the lovely village, so charming to the traveller who sees it from the outside for a day or two, is swept away, like a vision of the night, and leaves almost as little trace behind.

For the missions of Pimeria and of Upper California, the final blow was struck, — so far as Jesuit supervision went, — on the 25th of June, 1767. "A little before the break of day," says the historian, with a certain pathos, "the decree for the expulsion of the Jesuits went forth, with the great seal itself, from the council chamber of Charles III." In the endless intrigues, in which the history of the company of Jesuits is involved, perhaps from its own nature, the balance had gone against it heavily, at that moment, in the dying court of Spain. King Charles was so eager to secure the execution of his decree that by an autograph letter to the viceroy of Mexico he notified his will, and the expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico followed with much more rapidity than had attended the execution of many of the decrees in their favor. The accounts given by the Jesuit writers and their enemies as to the origin of this decree, belong rather to the history of Europe than to that of Pimeria. It was due to the influence of Choiseul and Aranda, who seem to have succeeded in convincing Charles that the Jesuits had circulated slanders regarding his own birth. Certain is it that the blow was sudden and unexpected.

The expulsion of the Jesuits.



Portrait of Charles III. of Spain.

When, in 1683, the French explorer, La Salle, addressed to the king of France his memoir on the foundation of a colony in Louisiana, the silver mines of New Mexico were so well established, that the prime reason suggested by him for his enterprise, was the ease with which the French might seize the product of those mines, and bring it down the Red River. After two hundred years, that route is not yet taken by the silver of New Mexico and the neighboring regions. But it may yet prove true, that by a railway through the valley of the Red River these stores of silver, the magnitude of which has deranged the balance of the coinage of the world, may find their way to their market. The Spanish government was as quick as La Salle to note the danger to their mines from his enter-

New Mexico and Texas.

prise. When his unfortunate colony landed, in fact within the limits of our State of Texas,[1] in Matagorda Bay, which they called the Bay of St. Bernard, the nearest Spanish positions on the gulf were the port of Panuco, near the present Tampico, more than two hundred leagues distant, and El Paso on the Rio Grande. The Spanish settlers had been driven from New Mexico by the rising of 1680, nor was possession regained until 1695. Early in 1686 the viceroy of Mexico, Laguna, was informed of the French expedition of La Salle. But its destination was unknown; and the historian of Texas believes that the Spaniards learned from the Camanche Indians of the colony in St. Bernard's Bay. A council held in Mexico determined on an expedition of discovery and repression, and to this expedition Captain Alonzo de Leon was appointed, under the title of Governor of Coahuila.

Expedition of De Leon.

De Leon arrived at Fort St. Louis on the 22d of April, with his command of one hundred men. He found there the wreck of the unfortunate French colony; and, learning from the Indians that there were French stragglers among the Cenis, he visited them and found two of the murderers of La Salle, whom he took prisoners. They were sent to Mexico and thence to Spain, and then sent back to Mexico and condemned to the mines.

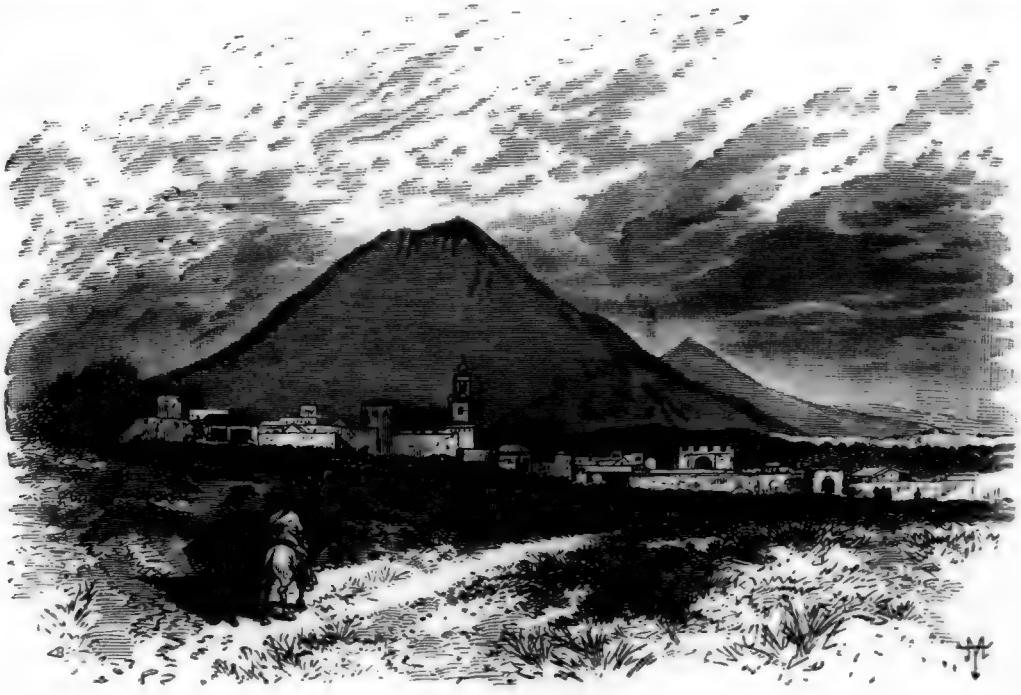
De Leon made a favorable report as to Texas, and it was determined to establish a mission at Fort St. Louis. In 1690 this was done. The king approved of this proceeding, saying it was of importance for the security of his dominions in New Mexico. Venegas, the historian of California, expresses a mild regret that the necessities of the crown diverted to this enterprise treasure which he is sure could have been well used on the Pacific shore. But the French were too near for delay. It would indeed seem as if, till this time, the policy of Spain had been that ascribed to the ancient Persian prince, who kept a portion of desert three days journey in width between his own empire and many others. But Texas was then a desert far more than three days wide. If such were the policy, it gave way before the danger that other colonists might inhabit the desert. In 1691, Don Domingo Teran was appointed governor of Coahuila and Texas, and with fifty soldiers and seven lay friars, proceeded to establish missions and military posts. These they began, but in 1693 they were all abandoned, in face of hostile Indians, and the king approved of the abandonment. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, therefore, Spain had no posts in Texas. On the west side of the Rio Grande, the posts still known as Presidio del Norte and El Paso were maintained as stations on the road to New Mexico.

When in 1712, Louis XIV. gave to Antoine Crozat a grant of

[1] See chap. xxi.

Louisiana, it was so phrased as to extend his boundaries to the Rio Grande on the west. In 1714, he sent out Huchereau St. Denis, a young man of noble family, on an expedition to the western part of his new domain. Leaving Natchitoches on the Red River, where a trading post had already been established, St. Denis crossed Texas, and in August reached the mission of St. John Baptist on the Rio Grande, where he was hospitably received by the commander. But, so soon as Don Gaspardo Anaya, the Governor of Coahuila, heard of his arrival he arrested St. Denis and one of his

Expedition of St. Denis.



El Paso.

companions and sent them to Mexico, where they were imprisoned for six months. After two years, however, he returned to Mobile, having escaped or been released. He married the daughter of Villeseas, the governor of St. John Baptist, and from that day began a system of smuggling between the Mexican territories and those of Louisiana, which has continued to this time.[1]

Those movements alarmed the Spaniards again, and the Duke of Linares, now Viceroy of Mexico, made new efforts to prosecute the colonization of Texas. A new mission was established in the Bay of St. Bernard, and one among the Adaes, only fifteen miles from Natchitoches. It was therefore within the present line of the State of Louisiana. A mission called Dolores was

Spanish attempts to colonize Texas.

[1] Yoakum, *Hist. Texas*, vol. i., 48. *American State Papers*, vol xii. Mr. Gayarré has made a romance from these adventures.

established west of the Sabine, and San Antonio de Valero was placed on the right bank of the San Pedro, about three fourths of a mile from the present church at San Antonio. The present position of San Antonio was soon after chosen instead of the first, for reasons which recommend themselves to every visitor to that beautiful city. Soon after, a mission was established near the present town of Nacogdoches, and a sixth near San Augustine. The establishment of these missions was intrusted to a captain named Don Domingo Ramon. When he was at the Adaes he visited San Denis at Natchitoches, and was hospitably received.



San Antonio, Texas.

The Texan missions were from the first in the hands of Franciscan fathers. But the methods of these fathers were not materially different from those which we have described as practised by the Jesuits. At each presidio or mission there was a garrison, with a military commandant; but these garrisons were sometimes very small. A *plaza de armas*, surrounded by the church, barracks, storehouses, and other public buildings, was the centre of the establishment. Around these huts were built for the "reduced" or converted Indians.

Conflicts between the French and Spanish.

After the declaration of war of 1718 between France and Spain had been heard of on this distant frontier, the little garrisons made an attempt to imitate the contentions of their masters in Europe. The Frenchmen, La Harpe and St. Denis, broke up the Spanish posts and drove the garrisons from the lesser stations to San Antonio. The Marquis de Aguayo, the Spanish Governor of New Estremadura, collected five hundred men to drive them back, but they had already retreated, and Don Aguayo reëstablished the garrisons[1] which they had put to flight.

[1] *Am. State Papers*, vol. xii.

In the same year Don Martin d'Alarcone had been appointed Governor of Texas. After the success of Aguayo's expedition, a larger army was fitted out against the French settlements on the Upper Mississippi. The Spaniards lost their route, and falling in with the Missouri Indians, mistook them for Osages. They had relied on the assistance of the Osages against the French. Now, the Missouris were the firm allies of the French. The Missouris had the address to encourage the mistake, till they had received from the Spaniards pistols, sabres, hatchets, and what the narrator speaks of as fifteen hundred muskets, a number which is incredible. With these arms, however, the Indians massacred all the Spaniards except the priest, and this misfortune ended the Spanish claims on the Upper Mississippi.[1] The French home government, in the meanwhile, ordered Bienville to establish a new post in Matagorda Bay, which he did. But the detachment was soon withdrawn on account of the hostility of the Indians.

A royal order of 1721 directed the Spanish authorities to attempt no further hostilities against the French, but to fortify the bay of St. Bernard and other important posts. A garrison called "our Lady of Loretto" was accordingly established at St. Bernard. In the next year the four garrisons which defended Texas, consisted of one hundred men at the Adaes Mission, twenty-five at the Neches, ninety at the bay of St. Bernard, and fifty-three at San Antonio. There were no colonists, excepting the fathers, at the missions, but Aguayo, before returning to his own department, recommended the introduction of colonists. So soon as he departed, the forbidden trade between French and Spanish frontiersmen began again, and when, in the war of 1726, France and Spain were in alliance, this trade gained new activity.[2]

Further progress of Texas under Spanish rule.

In 1728 the Spanish government ordered the transportation of four hundred families from the Canary Islands to Texas. The garrisons were reduced to one hundred and fifty-three men in the whole province. Of the four hundred families ordered, thirteen arrived at San Antonio, and this new population was a stimulus to the missionary efforts. In 1732 the Spanish troops defeated the Apaches, and this victory gave security to the colony. In 1734 Sandoval took the place of Cevallos as governor, and again checked the depredations of the savages. While he was Governor, St. Denis removed the French garrison of Natchitoches to a point west of the Red River. Sandoval having been charged with conniving with this, a long litigation took place, — with the interminable slowness of Spanish procedures, — in

[1] Gayarré's *Hist. of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 264.
[2] Yoakum, i., 77.

which he and Franquis, his successor, were engaged. In 1740 Sandoval was thrown into prison, in one of the consequences of this charge, but with the arrival of a new governor, he was liberated.

In 1744 the European population of Texas did not exceed fifteen hundred, divided mostly between Adaes and San Antonio; a few were at Bahia, and a few at San Saba. The settlements to the south of Texas made but very little progress, and the old policy of Spain, to leave a desert between her provinces and her neighbors, was in no way violated.



The Yucca Tree of New Mexico.

TABLE OF DATES.

1540. Coronado's expedition in search of Cibola.
1579. Drake on the California Coast.
1582. Espejo's expedition on the Rio del Norte.
1602. Voyage of Viscaino on the coast of California.
1636. Endicott's Expedition to Block Island.
Providence founded by Roger Williams.
1637. The Pequot War.
Sir John Harvey returns as Governor of Virginia.
1638. New Haven founded.
Settlement of Rhode Island at Portsmouth.
A *quo warranto* issued against the Massachusetts charter.
Exeter, New Hampshire, founded.
1639. First Constitution of Connecticut adopted, and a Government formed.
1640. Explorations of Fathers Chaumonot and Brébœuf, in Ohio and Michigan.
1641. The Body of Liberties adopted in Massachusetts.
New Hampshire passes under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.
1642. Sir William Berkeley Governor of Virginia.
1643. The Confederation of New England Colonies formed.
Trial of the Gorton Party at Boston.
Issue of the Narragansett Patent.
Murder of Miantonomo.
1644. The Charter for Providence Plantations granted to Roger Williams.
Indian massacre in Virginia.
1647. Stuyvesant arrives at New Amsterdam as Governor of New Netherland.
Stuyvesant's controversy with the popular party at New Amsterdam.
1650. Boundary Treaty between Connecticut and New Netherland concluded at Hartford.
1651. Clark, Holmes, and Crandall tried in Boston.
1652. Surrender of Jamestown to the Commissioners of the Commonwealth.
A mint established in Massachusetts.
1653. Elective municipal government established at New Amsterdam.
Rhode Island declares war against New Netherland.
First Settlements in North Carolina, on Albermarle Sound.
1655. The Dutch take possession of New Sweden.
Establishment of the Colony of New Amstel.

Conflict in Maryland between the Puritans and Roman Catholics.
Indian massacres at Hoboken, Pavonia, and elsewhere.

1656. The First Quakers arrive in Boston.
1657. Persecution of Quakers in New England.
1659. Execution of Quakers at Boston.
1660. Berkeley reëlected Governor of Virginia,
(Or 1661), Settlement of New England men at Cape Fear, S. C.
Execution of Mary Dyer at Boston.
Father Mesnard founds a Mission on Lake Superior.
1661. Charles II. checks the persecution of Quakers in New England.
1663. Charter of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations granted by Charles II.
First Grant of Carolina.
1664. Grant of New Netherland to the Duke of York, and its Surrender to the English. — Named New York.
Landing of the Colony under Yeamans at Cape Fear.
Government of North Carolina established.
Grant of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret.
First settlement of Central New York at Schenectady.
1665. Second Grant of Carolina.
Arrival of Philip Carteret as Governor of New Jersey. — Elizabeth founded.
The "Duke's Laws" adopted in New York.
1666. Newark, New Jersey, founded.
1668. Lovelace, Governor of New York.
1669. Completion of John Locke's "Fundamental Constitutions for Carolina."
1671. Great Indian Council at Sault Ste. Marie.
1672. Anti-rent insurrection in New Jersey.
1673. Recapture of New York by the Dutch.
Marquette explores the Mississippi.
1674. Treaty of Westminster confirms New York to England. — New Patent issued to the Duke of York.
Andros Governor of New York.
Fenwicke's and Byllinge's Purchase of West New Jersey.
1675. Outbreak of Philip's War in New England.
Indian War in Virginia.
1676. Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia.
The "Quintipartite Deed" for the Partition of New Jersey.
Close of Philip's war.
1678. Royal Commissioners arrive in Virginia. Berkeley's recall and death.
Emigration of Friends to West Jersey.
Insurrection in the district of Pasquotank, N. C.
Indian Treaty concluded at Casco, Me.
1679. New Hampshire made an independent Royal Province.
1680. Hennepin's Voyage on the Mississippi.
Charleston, S. C., founded.
1681. The Grant of Pennsylvania signed. — Emigration begun.
1682. The Friends buy East Jersey.
Penn sails for America.
Philadelphia founded.
Penn's Indian Treaty.

La Salle's Voyage on the Mississippi.

1684. Lord Cardross's Colony founded at Port Royal, S. C.

Judgment against the Massachusetts Charter.

Penn returns to England.

1685. La Salle's colony founded in Texas.

1686. Andros Governor-general of New England.

1687. Andros attempts to seize the Connecticut charter. Its concealment in the Charter Oak.

Murder of La Salle.

1688. Indian War renewed in Maine and New Hampshire. Massacres at Dover and elsewhere.

1689. Deposition and Arrest of Andros at Boston.

William and Mary proclaimed.

1690. Sothell seizes the government of South Carolina.

French and Indian expeditions into New Hampshire.

1692. Phips Governor of Massachusetts under the new Charter.

Outbreak of the Witchcraft Panic at Salem, Mass.

1694. Rice introduced into South Carolina.

1695. Archdale Governor of South Carolina.

1696. Spanish fort established at Pensacola, Florida.

1699. Penn returns to America.

1700. Iberville establishes a settlement at Poverty Point, La.

Attack by the Carolinians on St. Augustine.

1712. Louisiana granted to Crozat.

1717. Law's "Western Company" established.

1718. New Orleans founded.

1719. Law's "Mississippi Scheme."

Capture of Pensacola by Bienville.

1720. Charlevoix's voyage to visit the Jesuit missions in America.

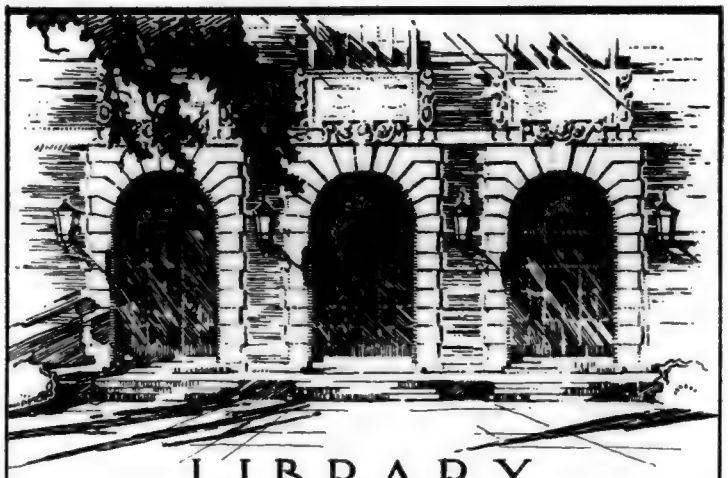
1722. Recapture of Pensacola by the Spaniards.

1729. Massacre of French by the Natchez.

1740. Oglethorpe's Attack on St. Augustine.

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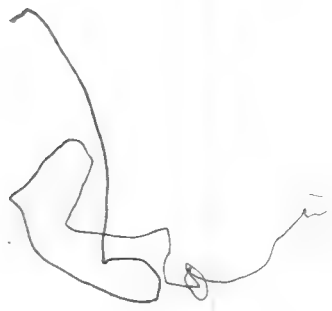
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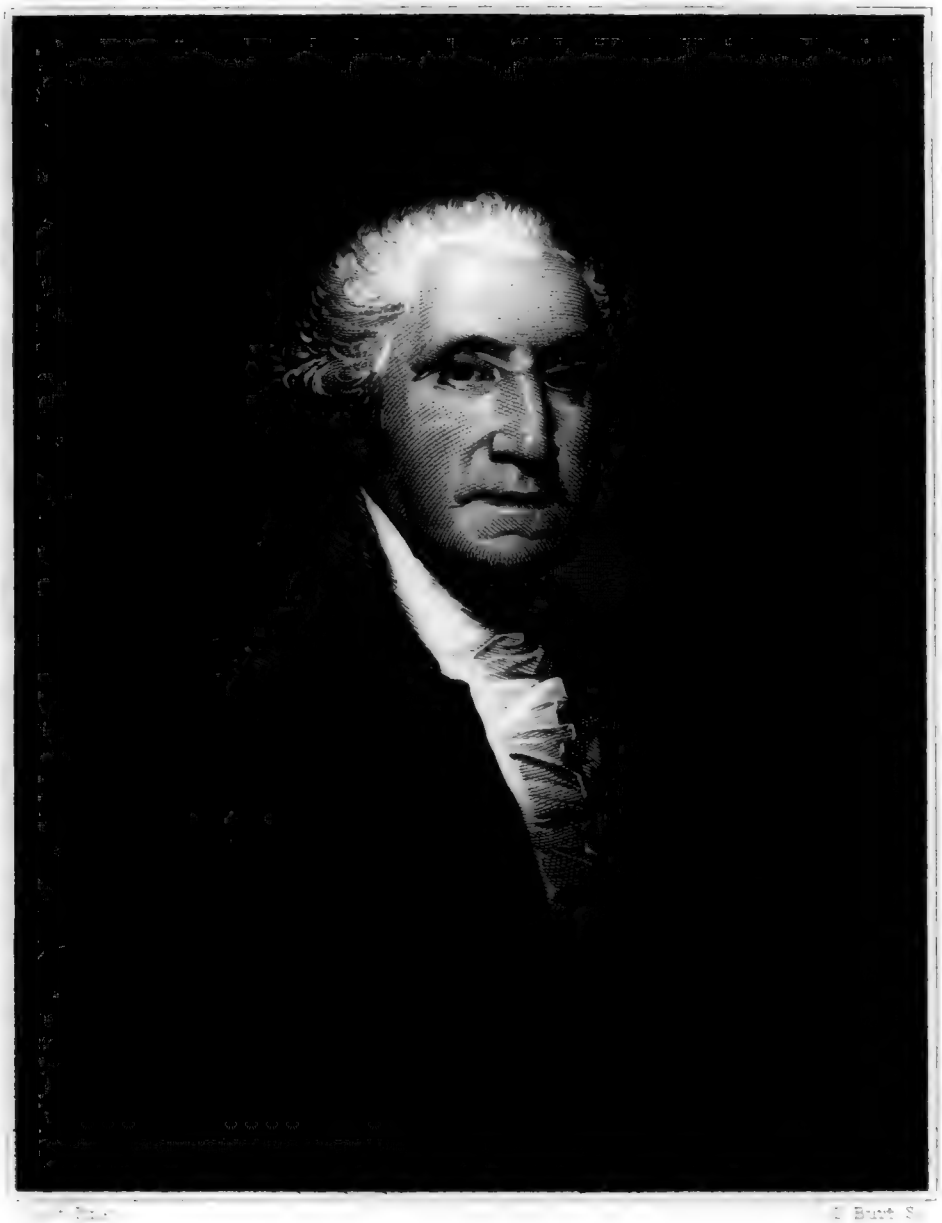
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FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
SIDNEY HOWARD GAY
NOAH BROOKS

WITH MORE THAN SIXTEEN HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

VOLUME III

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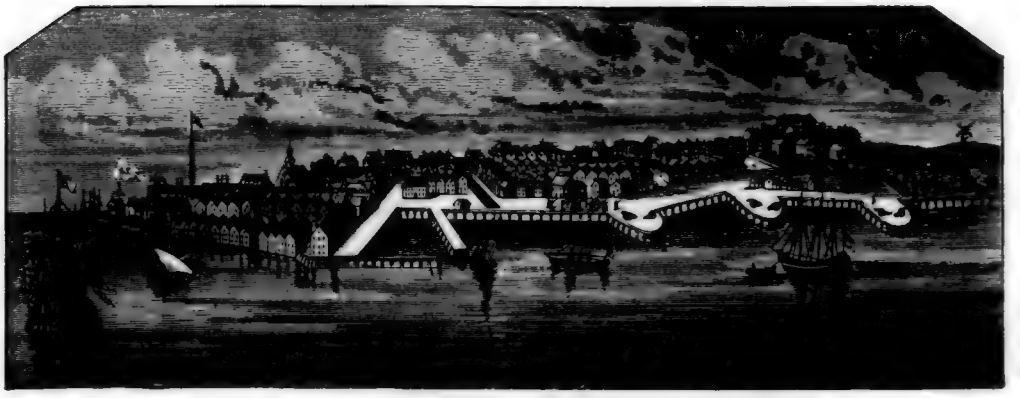
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INDEPENDENCE HALL.



New York in 1673.

CHAPTER I.

NEW YORK UNDER THE ENGLISH.

Condition of New York on the Arrival of Andros as Governor. — Comparison with New England. — Andros visits Connecticut. — His Reception by Captain Bull at Saybrook. —Complained of by Lady Carteret, and others. — His Recall to England. — New Proprietors of East Jersey. — Thomas Dongan appointed Governor of New York. — General Assembly ordered by the Duke of York. — Charter of Liberties adopted. — Assembly dissolved by James. — Dongan's Administration. — Andros as Governor-general. — Accession of William and Mary. — Affairs under Lieutenant-governor Nicholson. — His Council-men, Phillipse, Van Cortlandt, and Bayard. — Captain Leisler assumes Command, and acts as Governor. — Supported by a Committee of Safety and recognized by the Colonies. — His Difficulties. — Troubles with the French and Indians. — Contest with Captain Ingoldsby. — Surrenders the Government to Colonel Sloughter. — Trial and Execution.

When Edmund Andros first arrived in America, — fifteen years before the catastrophe, already related, that overtook him in Boston,[1] — the colony of New York which he was to govern contained only about six or seven thousand people. The population of New England is computed to have been at that time not less than one hundred and twenty thousand. Striking as the con-

New York under Gov. Andros.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 393, *et seq.*

trast is between these colonies of nearly the same age, it is not difficult to account for it. The colonial commerce of that period had no need to seek out the most commodious, or the most accessible of harbors; the small or inconvenient ports, whose selection was determined by some other exigency than that of trade, answered all commercial necessities. The superiority of soil and of climate, the easy access from the sea, the navigable inland waters, and the central position of New York, so certain to insure the future supremacy of the State, were not yet taken advantage of with that stern purpose and restless energy through which the hardy people of New England so outstripped their slower and duller neighbors of another race.[1]

Condition of the province

From the accession of the English, however, there came, with English ideas and English enterprise, an increase of prosperity and a more rapid growth to New York, although the influence of the Dutch, especially in the social character of the people, was long felt. Within four years of Andros's arrival there was an addition of probably a third to its population. Besides the natural increase, which prosperity would stimulate, there was some emigration from England, — still more, perhaps, from other colonies.

The eastern part of Long Island, from its relations to Connecticut, felt this new impulse more sensibly and rapidly than any other part of the colony. Whaling soon became an important industry on that shore, and Southampton was deemed worthy of mention with New York by Andros as one of the two principal places of trade. Nantucket, — settled in 1659 by Thomas Macy and his family,[2] — which, with Martha's Vineyard, made a county of New York, was also at this early period engaged in the whale-fishery along the coast; but it was a far more important industry at the eastern end of Long Island than anywhere else in any of the colonies. Albany continued the centre of the Indian trade, and was of importance as the place of negotiation with the Indians, and with the French. These negotiations, involving the question of whether the Iroquois or Five Nations should be

[1] Even a century later the population of New England was nearly three times as great as that of New York, though the area — exclusive of Maine, which was still largely a wilderness — was less. It was not till within the last fifty years that the natural advantages of New York were able to overcome the superiority which New England had so long held, and which was largely due to difference of character in the founders of the colonies.

[2] The first proprietor of Nantucket was Thomas Mayhew, who bought the island of James Torrett, the agent of the Earl of Stirling, in 1641. Mayhew conveyed nine tenths of it to nine others, namely: Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Richard Swain, Thomas Barnard, Peter Coffin, Christopher Hussey, Stephen Greenleaf, John Swain, and William Pile. Pile sold his tenth to Richard Swain, and the nine proprietors then took as partners John Smith, Nathaniel Starbuck, Edward Starbuck, Thomas Look, Robert Barnard, James Coffin, Robert Pike, Tristram Coffin, Jr., and Thomas Coleman. Thomas Macy was the first to settle, with his family, upon his lands. Others soon followed. — *A Short Journal of the First Settlement of Nantucket, etc.* By Zaccheus Macy. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii.

controlled by French or English, a question on which peace or war so often depended, occupied much of the time and attention of Andros and his immediate successors.

In a report upon the condition of his colony in 1678 Andros says that he could muster two thousand militia men; the fort in New York — James-Fort — mounted forty-six guns; that at Albany twelve guns, and the fortifications at Pemaquid in Maine seven guns. In each of these the garrisons were victualled for a year. Within two years twenty thousand acres had received new settlers. The colony contained twenty-four towns or villages; it exported yearly about sixty thousand bushels of wheat, besides provisions, fish, tobacco, peltries, lumber, and even horses; and the valuation of its estates was £150,000. A merchant was thought a substantial citizen who was worth a thousand or even five hundred pounds; the standard of wealth in a planter was only half as high.



Island of Nantucket.

Condition of the province.

The annual export trade of the province was carried on in fifteen vessels of an average measurement of a hundred tons. Of these one third belonged to New York, and some were built there. Occasionally there was an arrival from England, the yearly value of the imports amounting to £50,000; but most of these small vessels must have been engaged in a coastwise trade, the most important of which, no doubt, was bringing tobacco — their single staple — from Virginia and Maryland, and exchanging

for it bread-stuffs and provisions. No law, however severe, could induce their planters to raise for themselves sufficient food for their slaves so long as a crop of tobacco returned a profit.

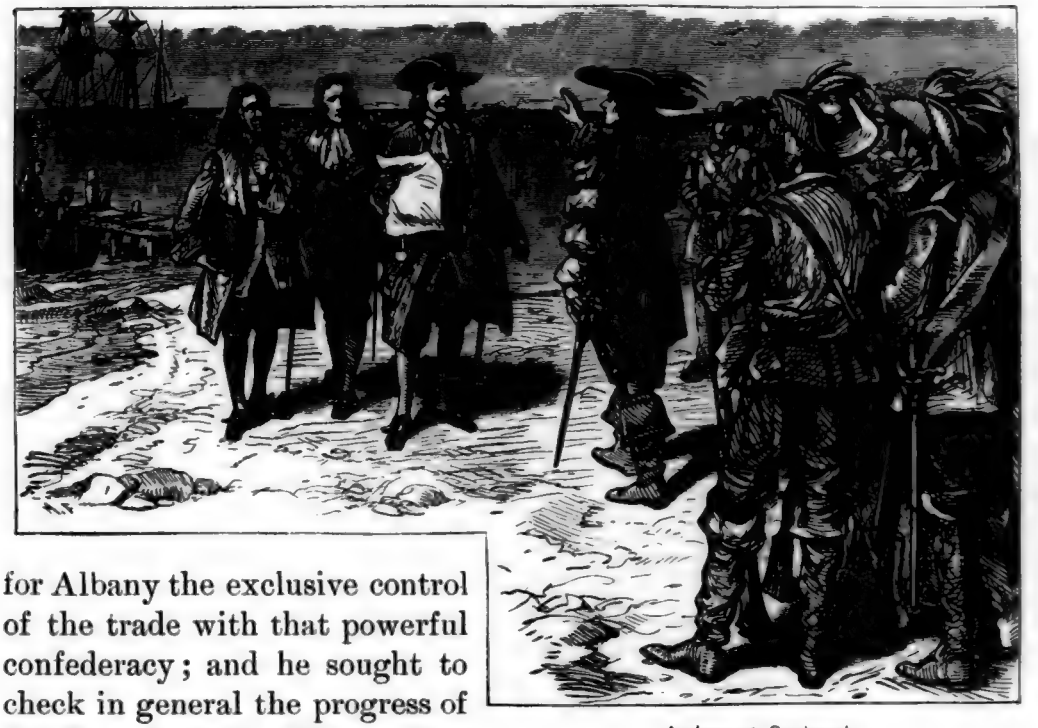
There were slaves also in New York, but not enough to influence the system of labor. As Andros said, they were "but very few." Beggars there were none; the poor who could not support themselves were taken care of — easily taken care of, no doubt, as there could not have been many. The manufacture of flour soon became an important industry; and more than one attempt was made by legislation, which for some years succeeded, to give a monopoly of it to the city of New York. Ministers, Andros said, were "scarce," and "religions many." The Catholic Duke, his master, could tolerate all sects so long as the law of England proscribed his own.

This, briefly, was the condition, two hundred years ago, of the little town destined in the lapse of time and events to become one of the foremost cities of the world. To Andros the province seemed, doubtless, of small value, as it had to Nichols, unless he could retain New Jersey and the country on the Delaware within his jurisdiction, and extend it also over that portion of New England embraced within the Duke of York's patent. One of the earliest acts of his administration was to assert this claim, seizing as the occasion information sent him by Winthrop of the breaking out of Philip's war. He was "very much troubled," he wrote to the Connecticut Governor, "at the Christians' misfortunes and hard disasters in those parts, being so overpowered by such heathen." But, he added, "I intend, God willing, to set out this evening, and to make the best of my way to Connecticut River, His Royall Highnesses bounds there."

Andros visits Connecticut.

The Connecticut authorities were alarmed at this plain intimation of the purpose of the new Governor to maintain the Duke's claim to their province. The General Assembly was convened, and one Captain Bull was sent to Fort Saybrook with a hundred men to resist this violation of their chartered rights. Andros was not permitted even to read the Duke's patent to the people, and, after declining to submit the question in dispute to a commission, he yielded to the evident determination to be rid of him, which he could not resist, and reëmbarked for New York. The rebuff may have irritated him, but if the tradition preserved by Trumbull be true, it amused him no less. This Captain Bull, he said, was a bull whose horns should be tipped with silver. He hardly could have failed to remember this first reception in Connecticut when twelve years later he came to Hartford as Governor-general, to demand the colonial charter. He could then compel submission, but he was met with the same spirit of defiance, which could still baffle if it could not rout him.

Though his efforts to retain New Jersey were unsuccessful;[1] though the distant settlement at Pemaquid, in Maine, where he built a fort, was an expensive and almost useless acquisition; and though he failed to bring Connecticut under the jurisdiction of New York, his administration of the affairs of his immediate government was judicious. He inaugurated the policy which aimed to detach the Five Nations from an alliance with the French, and to secure for Albany the exclusive control of the trade with that powerful confederacy; and he sought to check in general the progress of the French at the West. But he saw that the position of New York was, in comparison with other colonies, one of insignificance, and he believed it would remain so unless all the northern provinces were united under a single government.



Andros at Saybrook.

He urged this policy upon the Duke of York, and it is quite possible that he did not regret being recalled — as he was in 1680 — when complaints from Lady Carteret, the widow of Sir George, of unwarrantable interference in the affairs of New Jersey, required that he should return to England. Some charges of misgovernment were also made against him by others between whom and himself differences, more or less serious, had arisen, — particularly by Christopher Billop of Staten Island, whom Andros had sent as his deputy to the Delaware and then recalled for misconduct. These accusations fell to the ground, and events disposed of those of Lady Carteret. Andros, who, on a visit to England three years be-

Recall of Andros.

[1] See chap. xx., vol. ii.

fore, had been created a knight, was now further rewarded by being made a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber.

New proprietors of East Jersey.

The Carteret interest in East Jersey ceased, soon after the recall of Andros — as has been already shown in another chapter — by the sale of the young Sir George's patent to Penn and his associates. In March, 1682–83, these twelve proprietors associated with themselves twelve others, most of whom were Scotch.[1] The Governor of the province was Robert Barclay of Ury, a distinguished member of the Society of Friends, a favorite of the Duke of York, and the author of that Quaker classic: "An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same is Preached and Held Forth by the People, in scorn called Quakers." The Scotch interest in East Jersey induced, from time to time, a large emigration from Scotland, many seeking in the new colony an asylum from both religious and political persecution at home. At Ambo Point, at the mouth of the Raritan, a new city was founded at this time and called Perth — now Perth Amboy — in honor of the Earl of Perth. This became ere long the capital of the province, in place of Elizabethtown, and for a while was a successful rival even of New York in commerce.

Brockholst appointed Lieutenant-governor of New York.

On leaving the colony Andros had appointed Anthony Brockholls — or Brockholst — as Commander-in-chief of the Militia and as Lieutenant governor. But he neglected to renew the order for collecting the customs-duties, which had expired by limitation, and Brockholst was at once involved in a controversy with the merchants. They refused to pay these duties, and William Dyre, formerly of Rhode Island, who was collector of the port as well as mayor of the city, seized a cargo of goods. The merchant brought a suit against the collector; his act was pronounced illegal,

Payment of customs-duties refused.

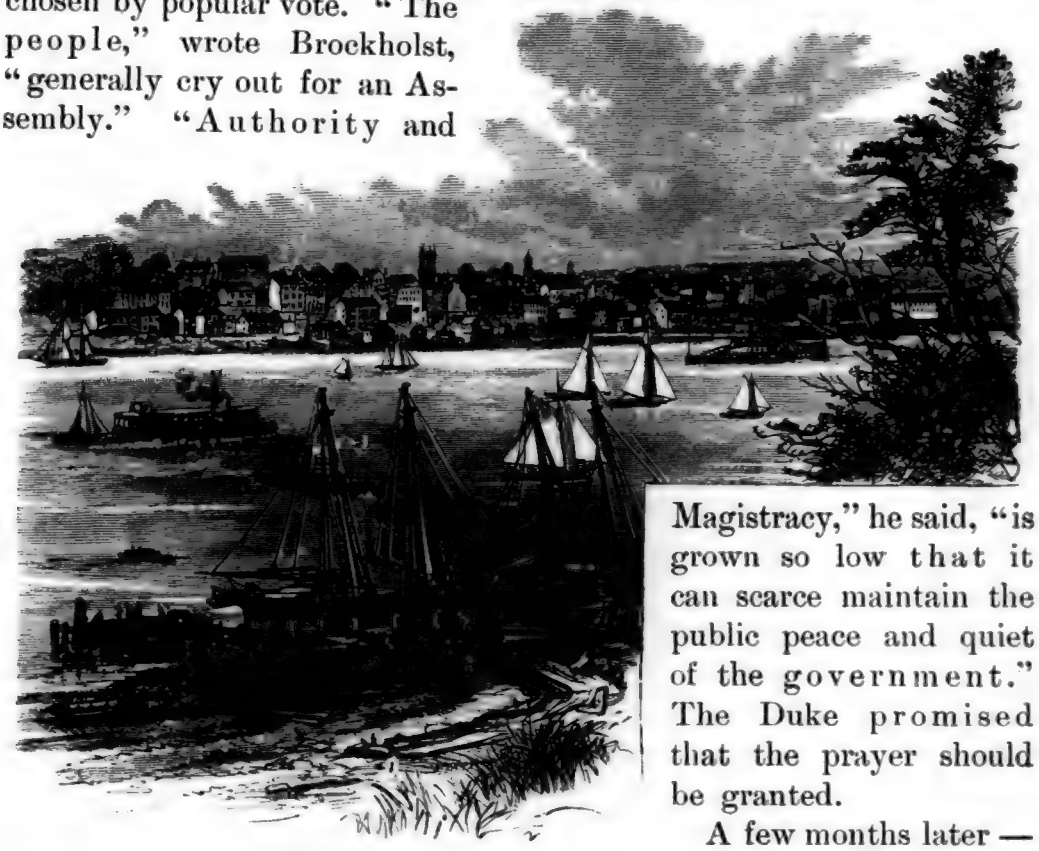
and an indictment found against him for treason in usurping power over the people. Brockholst and his council sustained the decision of the court, and the city seal and his commission were demanded of Dyre. He refused to surrender them, disputed the authority of the court, summoned specially for his trial, on the ground that their power and his emanated from the same

Collector Dyre tried and acquitted.

authority, — the Duke of York, — and one could not be responsible to the other where there was a common master. He was hereupon arrested and sent to England for trial, where, in due time, it was decided that he was guiltless of any offence.

[1] The twenty-four proprietors of East Jersey, a majority of whom were Friends, were, James, Earl of Perth, John Drummond, Robert Barclay, David Barclay, Robert Gordon, Arent Sonmans, William Penn, Robert West, Thomas Rudyard, Samuel Groome, Thomas Hart, Richard Mew, Ambrose Rigg, John Haywood, Hugh Hartshorne, Clement Plumstead, Thomas Cooper, Gawen Lawrie, Edward Byllinge, James Braine, William Gibson, Thomas Barker, Robert Turner, and Thomas Warne.

For some months there was entire free trade in the colony, for customs-duties are never a free-will offering; but a more important result of the controversy was that the Court of Assizes, which attempted the trial of Dyre, represented to the Duke that arbitrary taxation, without regard to the wishes and interests of the people, was a grievous burden, and that a remedy for this and other evils could only be found in the right of self-government through a General Assembly chosen by popular vote. "The people," wrote Brockholst, "generally cry out for an Assembly." "Authority and Magistracy," he said, "is grown so low that it can scarce maintain the public peace and quiet of the government." The Duke promised that the prayer should be granted.



Perth Amboy.

A few months later — in the summer of 1683 — a new governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan, the younger son of an Irish baronet, was sent out to supersede Brockholst. He brought orders to issue writs for the election of eighteen representatives of the people, who were to constitute a General Assembly to be, with the Governor and Council, the government of the colony. Their acts were to be subject to the approval of the Governor, and finally of the Duke. The Governor and Council, whose appointment still remained with the Duke, were to grant lands, establish courts and custom-houses, control the militia; but no tax was to be levied without the consent of the Assembly. No man was to be punished except by due course of law; a grand jury of inquest, and trial by jury, were decreed; martial law and the billeting of soldiers in private houses were declared illegal; the right of dower, in

Thomas Dongan, Governor.

one third of the real estate of the husband, was secured to widows; religious freedom was guaranteed to all professing Christians who did not disturb the public peace; the right of suffrage was given to every freeholder and freeman in any corporation; the Assembly was to meet every three years with the right of meeting and adjourning as it saw fit during the session; and the members and their servants — if not more than three — were for that time free from arrest or any legal action, except in cases of treason or felony.

The Charter of Liberties and Privileges proposed.

An Act embodying these franchises, under the title of "The Charter of Libertys and Privileges" was passed by the Assembly, at its first meeting in October, 1683, and sent to the Duke of York for his approval.

The new form of government was quite as liberal as that accorded by royal charter to any of the colonies. But it was not to last long. The Duke gave no formal assent to the Act of the Assembly, and within less than two years from the time of its first meeting Charles II. died and his brother succeeded to the throne. The new policy, begun with New England, of uniting the crown colonies under a single governor, soon embraced New York.

When the first troubles, which awaited the King at home, were disposed of, James had leisure to give his serious attention to colonial affairs; a new commission with fresh instructions was then given to Dongan, and Andros was sent out as Governor-general of New England. In these the King declared it to be his will and pleasure that the recent "Charter of Franchises be repealed, determined and made void." New England was first to be reduced to obedience; New York, meanwhile, was to be held in subjection as a royal province, its government invested in a governor and council of the King's appointment without regard to the popular will. James objected to the phrase, "The People, met in General Assembly." The motto upon the great seal of New England, delivered to Andros, was more to his mind: "Nunquam Libertas gratior extat," — "Liberty is never more agreeable than under a pious King."[1]

Andros Governor-general of New England

Dongan was faithful to his master but not less faithful to the interests of his colony. He followed the policy of Andros in unwearied efforts to conciliate the Five Nations, to secure their trade for his own countrymen, to cripple the influence of the

Dongan's policy.

[1] The whole sentence in Claudian's *De Laudibus Stilichonis*, from which the motto is taken, is: —

. . . . Nunquam libertas gratior extat,
Quam sub rege pio. . . .

It was probably assumed that the loyal subject would remember, or evolve from his own consciousness, the latter portion of the passage in looking at the figure of the King on the seal.

French over the native tribes, and to repel French intrusion upon the territory south of the St. Lawrence and the chain of the great lakes. In these efforts he was the more successful because he was a Catholic, could call English Jesuits to his aid, and satisfy the religious sentiment in the Indian, which inclined to the symbols of the Church of Rome, so far as he was moved at all by Christian teaching.

No former governor saw more clearly than Dongan how much the wealth and importance of the province would be enhanced if its jurisdiction could include the territory south and east, originally covered by the Duke of York's patent. Penn had planted his vigorous commonwealth at the south, taking from New York the rich lands of the Delaware; East Jersey, under its successive Lieutenant-governors, — for Barclay remained in England, — Rudyard, Lawrie, Lord Neill Campbell, and Andrew Hamilton, had in ten years doubled in population. If the prosperity of his neighbors did not excite the jealousy of Dongan, it at least made him the more anxious that his own colony should have the advantage of it. He proposed that Pemaquid — too far off to be of any value to New York — should be given to Massachusetts, and in lieu thereof Connecticut and Rhode Island be annexed to New York. That any part of Connecticut should go to Massachusetts would be, he said, "the most unproportionable thing in the world, they having already a hundred times more land, riches, and people than this Province, and yet the charge of this government more than that." He complained that New Jersey robbed New York of her trade and her people; that Pennsylvania was encroaching upon New York territory on the Susquehanna; that Connecticut was, as always, grasping, tenacious, prosperous at her neighbor's expense, of evil influence over the New York towns of Long Island, whose "refractory" people would carry their oil to Boston and



Seal of New England.

their whalebone to Perth, rather than to their own capital. In 1687, while on Long Island they were already complaining of the want of land, the Governor wrote that he believed there had not come into his colony, within seven years, twenty English, Scotch, or Irish families. The population, he added, had increased by Dutch and French — Huguenot — emigration; but this fact he used only as an additional argument for annexing the nearest English colonies to his own; — "that a more equal ballance may be kept between his Mat^{ys} naturall born subjects and Foreigners, which latter are the most prevailing part of this Government."

Prosperity under Dongan.

He hardly did justice, however, to the growth of New York, in his ardent desire to extend its dominion. In the first fourteen years of English occupation its population had trebled. Yet he acknowledged that "the people [were] growing every day more numerous," and as a reason for suggesting the necessity of more forts, he said, they were "generally of a turbulent disposition." He gave them credit for great vigor, for, he said, "the men that are here have generally lusty strong bodies;" and of the other sex he had an equally high opinion, for this is his representative woman: "In this country there is a woman yet alive from whose Loynes there are upwards of three hundred and sixty persons now living."

But the old pleas were powerless now. The policy of the Duke, the provincial Proprietary, was not the policy of the King, who meant to take away all charters and unite the colonies in a single royal province. In only one case did Dongan succeed in effecting any change in colonial relations, — it was agreed to end the long and vexatious controversy as to the boundary line between Connecticut and New York by fixing its starting-point, where it has ever since remained, on the Byram River instead of the Mamaroneck. Another early act of his administration makes it memorable: the province was subdivided into twelve counties with new names to some of them, which names, though not the boundaries, remain unaltered. Ulster was so called for the Irish earldom of the Duke of York; Orange, for his son-in-law, William of Orange; Richmond, probably, for his illegitimate son by the Duchess of Portsmouth; Duke's, which comprised Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Elizabeth Islands, and No Man's Land, was so named, no doubt, for the Duke himself, as Duchess was either for his wife or his mistress. Suffolk took its name from an English county, and so also did Cornwall, which included Pemaquid and the rest of the Duke's possessions in Maine.[1]

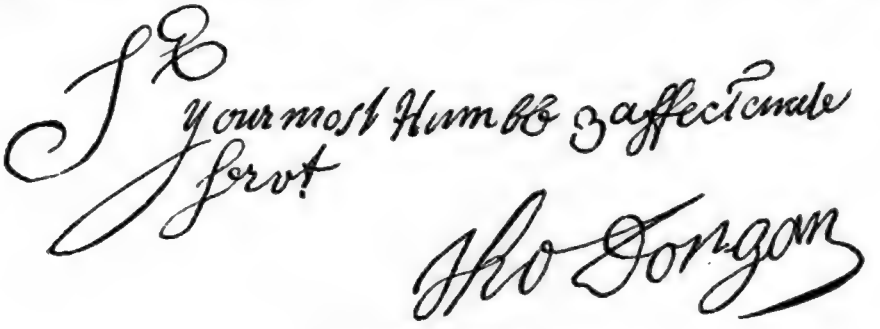
The Connecticut boundary.

Naming of Counties.

[1] The twelve counties were: The City and County of New York, Richmond, Queen's, King's, Suffolk, Duke's, Westchester, Ulster, Orange, Duchess, Albany, and Cornwall.

The new government of the "Territory and Dominion of New England" was enlarged by the addition of New Jersey and New York, and a new commission issued to Andros as Governor-general in 1688. Though many may have rejoiced at the removal of the Catholic Governor, Dongan, the act by which he was superseded was by no means popular. To merge New York in New England was not to annex New England to New York in the way that had been so long wished for. The greater would now swallow the less in fact as in name. The independence of the colony was sac-

New York annexed to New England.



Signature of Dongan.

rificed to the policy of the King. They might be reconciled to this in the eastern part of Long Island, where they were chiefly New Englanders, but elsewhere the feeling was one of humiliation and chagrin.

Andros, nevertheless, was received in New York with military pomp and civic honors. The seal of the province was formally broken in pieces and that of the Dominion of New England presented as its substitute. Whatever the popular feeling might be, official gentlemen had much to expect from the new Governor; and he on his part was not slow to reward his old favorites, the more readily that every office — whose duties were to be discharged in Boston, the proposed seat of government — bestowed upon a New Yorker, not only served a friend but mortified an enemy. He visited New Jersey; at Albany he called a council of the chiefs of the Five Nations, and exchanged with them high-sounding phrases on the inferiority of the French, — who had recently consented, under a general pacification, to abandon the fort built the year before on the site of La Salle's old Fort de Conty — on the superiority of the Iroquois, and their willingness to be considered, not the children, but the brothers, of the English. After a sort of vice-royal progress through his southern provinces, the Governor-general returned to Boston, taking with him the most important of the official records of New York. Francis Nicholson, a lieutenant in the army, remained as Lieutenant-governor.

We have sketched already the character of the administration of Andros, and the heavy hand that Boston laid upon him in return

when the opportunity came to her.[1] William of Orange landed in England only about a month after Andros returned to New England from New York. In another month James had fled to France; in February, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed in London King and Queen of England. All winter, tidings of the progress of the revolution had crossed the Atlantic; in February they knew in New York that the Prince of Orange was at Torbay. The news was sent by Nicholson and his Council to Sir Edmund both by land and by water, and they ordered, at the same time, that the King's money should be placed in the fort, — a fact that shows that even at the outset they were apprehensive of some popular outbreak. A more timid or a wiser man than Andros would have taken prompt measures to anticipate an event which, he should have foreseen, would be sure to follow in the colonies any serious disaster to the King in England. But he sent no instructions to his New York Council till nearly three months later, when he was already a prisoner in the hands of the Boston Committee of Safety.

Revolution in England and deposition of Andros.

The government of New York was left in the hands of Nicholson, the Lieutenant-governor, Frederick Phillipse, Stephen van Cortlandt, and Nicholas Bayard, the three more active members of the Council.[2] These men were to work out their difficult problem with such wisdom as they had, — wisdom which, as it happened, would have been insufficient for an exigency of much less moment. The popular mind was governed by other though not less efficient influences, than those which moved the people of Boston. The Dutch inhabitants naturally sympathized with the Prince of Orange and hoped for his success. There were in New York more Romanists than in all New England; the Protestant population were alive to the fear of Popery, quickened by the apprehension that Dongan — not without power, though out of place — and Nicholson were both under Jesuit influence. Dongan was frankly and openly a Catholic; Nicholson, it was suspected, only pretended to be a Protestant.

The Revolution in New York.

But neither the people on one side, nor the Council on the other, took any action until the 26th of April, when news came from Boston of the revolution there on the 18th, and Colonel Nicholson called together his Council and read to them the formal declaration of "the

[1] See vol. ii., p. 387, *et seq.*

[2] Brodhead says (*History of the State of New York*) that Phillipse was remarkable only for being the dullest and the richest man in the town. Van Cortlandt had made himself ridiculous a few months before at a celebration of the birth of the Prince of Wales, when he "both sacrificed his hat, peruke, etc." (Letter from Leisler, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*), and it was remembered against him. Bayard, the most efficient of the three, was a wealthy and respectable merchant, but a hot-headed militia captain, quite unfit, as his own letters show, for important command in a time of emergency.

gentlemen merchants and inhabitants of Boston." [1] To him and his associates in the Government this was a "great surprizall." Being but four in number, as they said, they took the usual refuge of weak men in conditions of unexpected responsibility, and called together the mayor, the members of the common council, and all the officers of the militia. It was agreed to fortify the town against the French, with whom England was now at war, and, as the merchants were already sensitive about paying import duties to the old officers, it was agreed that all such duties should be expended on the new fortifications. For some time the little town assumed the aspects of a camp.

Action of Lieutenant-governor Nicholson and the Council

On the first of May the Council wrote an ingenious letter in duplicate to be sent to Boston, one copy to Sir Edmund Andros, to ask him to return the Records of the Province which he had with him, — the other to Governor Bradstreet and the other leaders of the popular movement, in which the request for the Records is changed into a request that Andros himself may be forwarded to them. But the Massachusetts Committee of Safety declined to release the Governor, and Colonel Nicholson and his three friends were again left to face their own difficulties.

The Council write to Boston.

Meanwhile — to mention a straw which showed the wind — the chaplain at the fort prayed regularly for the infant Prince of Wales, and that the dethroned king might be "victorious over his enemies." No proclamation of William was made. The anxious Council wrote to the Secretary of State, whoever he might be, and the Board of Trade, whoever they might be, explaining how doubtful their position was, and how fortunate it was that New York was not more closely united with Boston. A few days after a verbal message arrived from Andros, asking that Hamilton and Smith, two of his councilmen, might be sent on to him. But both these gentlemen had troubles enough at home, and declined mixing in his affairs. This was on the 22d of May. On the 6th of June Nicholson had determined on what was certainly the course of prudence, — to leave his jurisdiction; on the 10th of June his administration ceased, though he did not sail till the end of the month. But the power, and the duties of government, had already passed into other hands.

The transfer of power had really taken place when this imbecile Council called together the officers of militia, and with their advice embodied the military force. At a time when some one must take command, it followed, almost of course, that those who in arms supported the little state took the place for which the Council showed itself wholly incompetent. Among the captains of the militia Jacob

[1] The *Bostoines*, as a despatch of the time calls them.

Leisler appeared as the most prompt and courageous man, willing to take responsibility. While the temporizing policy of the Council — waiting for more news — exasperated the great body of the people; while terrors of French invasion kept the little army on the alert, everybody asked why William was not proclaimed. A foolish speech of Nicholson's gave rise to a rumor that he had threatened to burn the town. When Leisler's turn came to guard the fort with his company, he gave notice that he should call all the train-bands on parade, and ask the inhabitants to unite to defend the Protestant religion. A rumor spread that the French fleet was

Captain Leisler takes command.

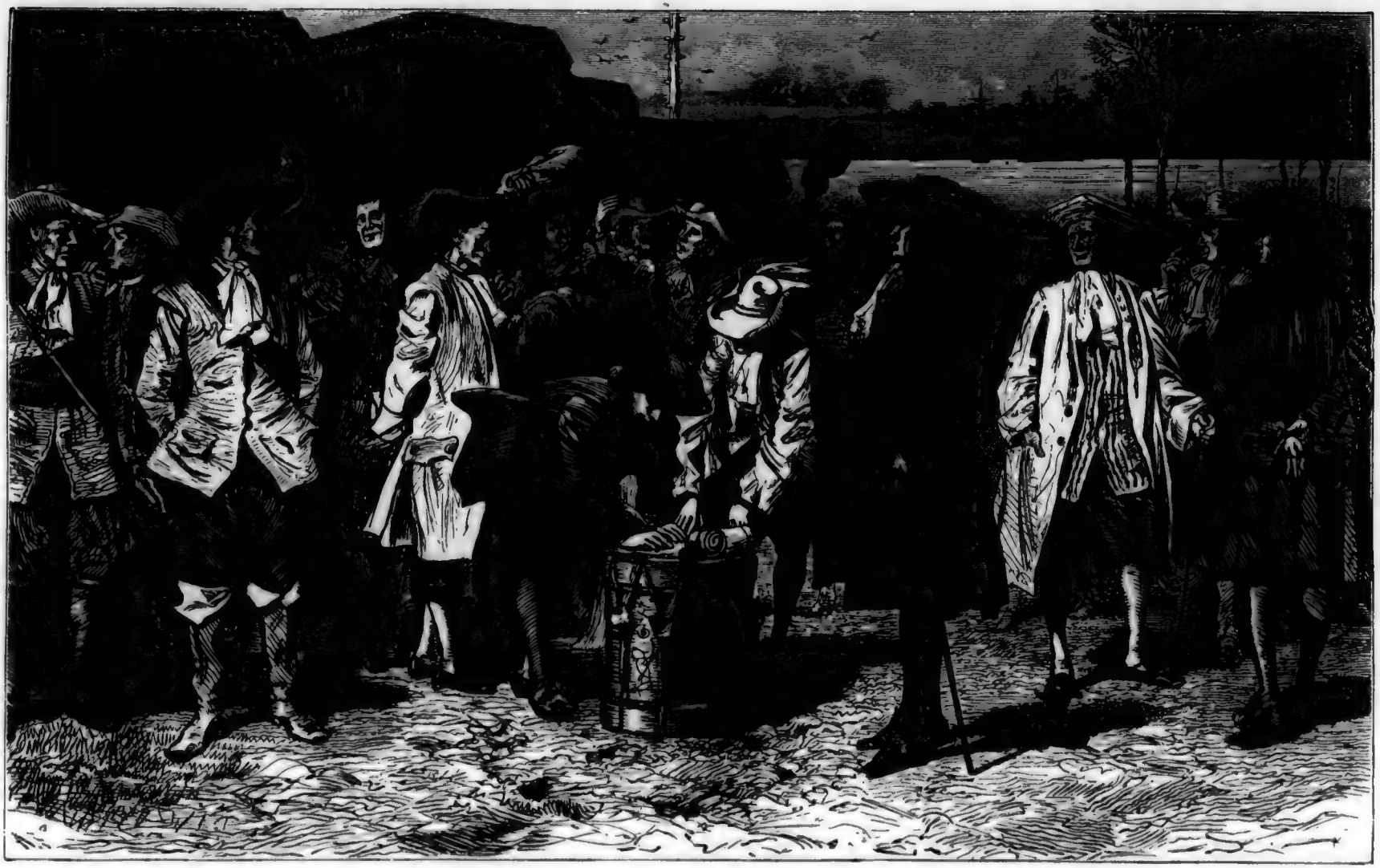


Leisler's House.[1]

below. Leisler's critics afterwards said that he started this rumor; — certainly he improved it. He gave the signal agreed upon, and the train-bands met. The captains of some companies ordered them to disperse, but they refused; and at Leisler's direction they all signed a declaration, by which they said they held and should hold the fort for his Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, on behalf of such person as he had appointed Governor. Six captains and four hundred men signed this document.

Within a very short time news arrived that William and Mary had for the present confirmed in office all Protestants holding commissions

[1] Leisler's house was on Whitehall Street, south of Pearl Street, and was the first brick house in New York. The picture — taken from the *Corporation Manual* — is from a drawing made in 1679. Leisler's house is marked L.



THE TRAINBANDS SIGNING LEISLER'S DECLARATION.

in the colonies. Had Nicholson possessed the confidence of the people at all, or, indeed, had he been a man of resource, he might even now have resumed authority under this order. But Leisler was in command. Almost all the counties, except New York, had thrown off all allegiance to Nicholson already. And thus, as we have seen, he notified the Council on the 6th that he should leave for England. They approved of his departure, and Leisler at the head of his train-bands was thus left the only commander of the city. Comparing his position with Bradstreet's in Massachusetts, it is impossible to say that Leisler was more a usurper than Bradstreet. In the case of the New York interregnum, the Governor who held under James was permitted to depart in peace; while in Boston he was put under close watch and ward. Had Leisler's assumption gone no further than this, he would probably have received, in the end, not even a momentary censure, but the constant favor of the new monarchs.

Nicholson leaves for England.

Leisler thus became leader of the Protestant movement, — which happened to be the Dutch movement, — which happened also to be the popular or plebeian movement in the little city, all of whose people, of every shade of politics and religion, did not number more than three thousand. It was at the same time the "country" movement, to adopt a convenient phrase, often used in English politics, and sometimes in the politics of America, to express the sentiments of the rural districts, where they differ from those of the merchants, or other men of cities. Leisler, however, was not himself a Hollander, or of Dutch origin. He was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and had come to New York thirty years before as a soldier. But for many years he had been a merchant, and, of late years, a prosperous merchant. He first appears in the records of recent dissensions as receiving a cargo of wines, on which the duties, amounting to a hundred pounds, he refused to pay to a revenue officer, who was still serving under King James's commission and claimed no other authority.

Connecticut proclaimed William and Mary on the 13th of June, and delegates from Connecticut, who had the printed English proclamation of the accession, delivered this to Leisler. On the 22d he made the formal proclamation. The fact that the Connecticut delegates recognized him as the actual Governor instead of going to the "rump" of a Council, excited the indignation of the Councillors. The King's proclamation, confirming all Protestants in office, was made public by them; but this was but a half triumph on their side, as it compelled them to dismiss Plowman, the Collector, who was a Catholic, and who had most aroused the indignation of the Protestant party. Leisler appointed Peter de la Noye Col-

William and Mary proclaimed.

lector in his place, turning out the three commissioners appointed by the other party. Bayard took alarm at the audacity of Leisler's proceedings, and on the 28th fled to Albany, leaving Phillipse and Van Cortlandt the only representatives of the Council. Van Cortlandt soon followed, and from this time, for a year and a half, Leisler was practically at the head of the government.

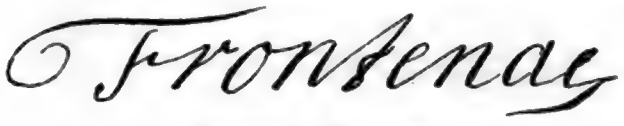
Flight of the Council.

In imitation of the proceedings in Massachusetts, and in London, he invited the counties and towns to meet in convention. The call was obeyed, and the delegates assembled on the 26th of June. The meeting consisted of twelve members, of whom two withdrew after the first session. The others signed a paper appointing Leisler to be Captain of the Fort, and constituting themselves a Committee of Safety. Under this authority Leisler assumed from this time to be the governor of the province.

Committee of Safety appointed, and Leisler recognized as commander.

This unskilled, self-taught merchant, into whose hands the conduct of affairs had fallen at a dangerous and critical moment, was beset with difficulties from without as well as within. King James, who had commissioned Nicholson and his council of three, was at this moment the guest and ally of Louis XIV. That king, on the 7th of June, in the very week in which Leisler took command of the fort, gave these instructions to Frontenac, Governor of Canada, with regard to the whole Province of New York: "If among the inhabitants of New York there are any Catholics whose fidelity can be assured, they may be left in their homes after they have sworn fidelity to King Louis. From the other inhabitants, artisans and people necessary for agriculture may be kept at work as prisoners. All officers, and all the principal inhabitants, will be kept in prison till they are redeemed by ransom. With regard to all others who are not French, they will be transported to New England, France, or other places. But all Frenchmen, especially those of the pretended reformed religion, will be sent to France." These were a part of the direct orders for an invasion of New York. And at this very moment the Jesuit body, at once servants and masters of this French king, were carrying on, on the frontier, those intrigues which in this and the following years resulted in the massacres of Pemaquid, of Schenectady, of Salmon Falls, and of Wells' River. Of these massacres the cruelties were due, in the first instance, not to savage ferocity, but to the counsels of men who took the name of Jesus for their own.[1] At such a time Leisler

French hostilities.



Signature of Frontenac.

Indian massacres on the frontiers.

[1] Compare, for the details, Parkman's *Life of Frontenac*.

found one of the few Roman Catholics in his province a governor of Albany on the frontier, and another the collector of the king's revenue in New York. He would not have been justified, either as the representative of King William, or as governing the province for its own best good, had he consented to serve, on equal terms, with these Catholic officers.

The city and county of Albany was the only part of the province which for a time refused to recognize his authority. Albany was probably strengthened in its independence by Colonel Bayard, and not unwilling to resent New York interference. She had called her own convention, and intrusted all public affairs to her own magistrates. She had declined to send delegates to Leisler's convention. This quasi independent attitude would probably have excited little attention in history, but that the news of the butcheries of Pemaquid and at Dover[1] arrived at this time in Albany. The frontier village now felt its weakness. She sent for aid to the city whose ruler she had defied, asking for help. Leisler would not recognize the Albany government, and they wrote to Connecticut and to Massachusetts asking for a garrison for the fort. They appointed Schuyler to its chief command, displacing Sharp, against whom as a Catholic there were "jealousies." Leisler sent up a company under Milborne, but he was refused admission to the fort. He returned, and the fort and outposts at Schenectady were garrisoned by Connecticut men.

Albany refuses to recognize Leisler as Governor.

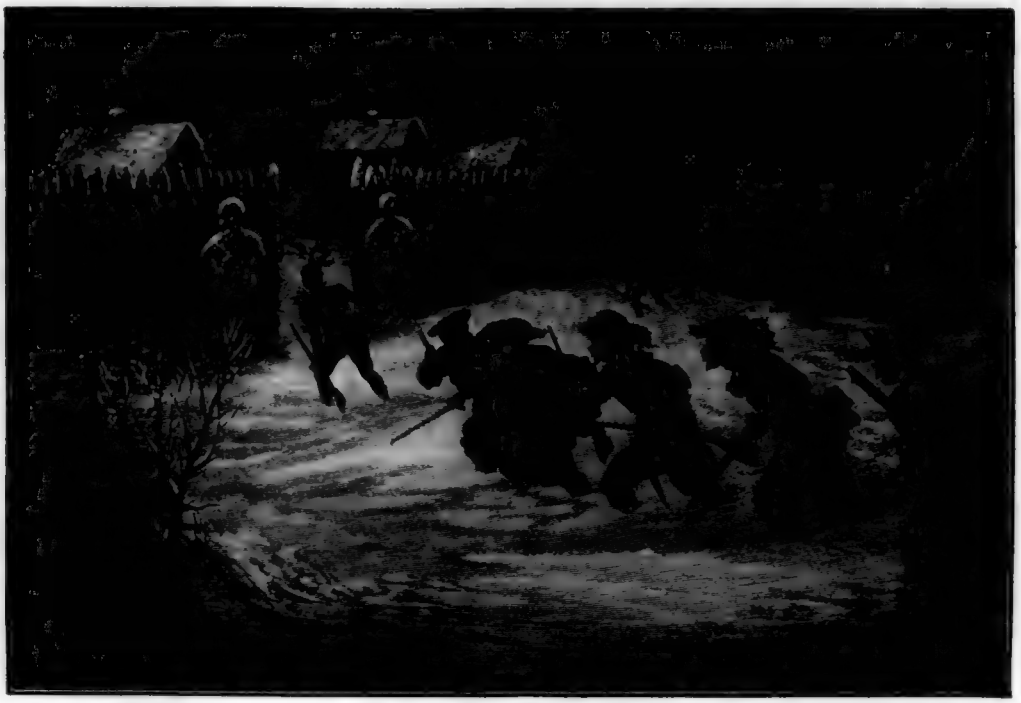
Had Nicholson dared to remain in New York he would have received a commission from King William broad enough and strong enough to relieve him from all difficulty. For, all through these confusions William showed no fondness for any revolutions but such as he made himself On the 30th of July, while Nicholson was yet on the ocean, an order issued at Whitehall to appoint him Lieutenant-governor, enclosing instructions from the King and Queen. The letter was addressed to him, and, in his absence, "to such as for the time being take care for preserving the peace and administering the laws." It is said that Nicholson arrived in London before the letter was started, and it has been conjectured that no alteration was made in the address because it was supposed that Phillipse, Cortlandt, and Bayard would open it. But Nicholson must have told the authorities that a convention had been summoned, and that Leisler was in actual command. It is probable either that the despatches were beyond correction, or that the English authorities were willing to avail themselves of the doubt hidden under the address. In point of fact at the moment they were writ-

Orders received from England.

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 444, *et seq.*

ten, Bayard and Cortlandt had both fled from New York, and there was no government there but that of Leisler. Nor did the Council, which was thus reduced to Phillipse alone, make any pretence of exercising authority.

The letter did not arrive till the 9th of December, when Bragge, who brought it, came by way of Boston. He delivered it to Leisler, who claimed it as "the person who administered the laws and preserved the peace." When Cortlandt, who had returned, and Phillipse claimed the despatches, the messenger prudently said he would not be hanged for any of them. With this addition to his authority Leisler continued his administration and again proclaimed William



The Attack on Schenectady.

and Mary, "Scotland being formerly omitted." Cortlandt and Phillipse sent a protest to the King against his claim, but made no pretence of assuming the duties of governor themselves.

The duties of the post to which Leisler found himself called might well have appalled him. Frontenac on the north, one of the ablest rulers over hunters, Jesuits, and savages, who ever served France, was taking advantage of the declaration of war to pounce upon the exposed frontier. In February, 1689–90, the blow came. He formed three war parties of picked men, who were to attack Albany, New Hampshire, and Maine. The first gathered at Montreal, made up of ninety-six Christian Iroquois, so called, and more than a hundred French *coureurs du bois*. They were led by three of the Le Moynes,

of the same blood as Iberville and Bienville who founded Louisiana, — of the distinguished family to whom France owed so many victories in the years of her American rule.

These leaders were destined to meet one cruel disappointment. After the party had crossed Lake Champlain on the ice, a council was called in which the Le Moynes named Albany as the point of attack. "How long," said the sullen Indians, "since the French have been so bold?" The Frenchmen answered that since their late misfortunes, honor required them to take Albany or die. The Indians had no such notion of honor, and at the Hudson, where the tracks then and now diverge — one for Albany and one for Schenectady — they took the path to Schenectady. The French were obliged to acquiesce. A thaw had softened the snow and ice, and it was nine days more before they came near the fated village. About dark on the 8th of February, they reached the river Mohawk, a little above the village. Sunset has a peculiar marvel at that spot, which even savages have observed. The range of southern mountains on its western side is so curved that the red ball of the sun, seen through the mists of the river, seems to roll slowly down the ridge to its repose. But in this fatal twilight and bitter storm there was little thought of nature's beauty or of savage legend. The scout, sent forward, saw nobody. The cold was so bitter that they feared to dispense with fires, while their prey was so near that they dared not make them. Nor was delay needed. Some village festival was just finished and the whole town was asleep soon after nightfall. Talmadge of Connecticut, with eight or nine of his militia, was in the block-house, and only two snow images stood as sentinels at the gate of the palisades of the town, in fatuous derision of danger. In two bands the invaders entered, without opposition, having failed to close the Albany gate so as to shut in the fugitives. One band marched to the right, one to the left, till the sleeping village was surrounded. The signal was then given, they "screeched the war-whoop together," and fell to their horrid work. No resistance was made but at the block-house. In two hours of carnage sixty persons were killed, — men, women, and children, — and eighty or ninety captives were secured. A few escaped through the storm to Albany. The village was fired, and at noon it was in ashes. Four hundred thousand livres' worth of property was destroyed, says the French report, with a curious precision.

War with the French.

Destruction of Schenectady.

The Albany commander, Schuyler, learned from prisoners whom he took in pursuit, that Frontenac meant to attack Albany in the spring. He sent messengers to Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia, urging them to relieve him, and even to "the civil and mili-

tary officers at New York." Connecticut gave him sound advice in suggesting that this was no time for quarrel with New York, and this advice prevailed. Leisler renewed and pressed the urgent demands made by the Albany government, upon the other provinces; Albany received the reënforcements, and sent delegates to the House of Assembly which he summoned to meet on the 24th of April. An expedition was concerted against the French, and to form plans for this Leisler invited the other colonies to send delegates to New York.

Seven delegates attended this first Colonial Congress, which was in session on the 1st of May. The names of all have become historical in the annals of this and the next century. They were Stoughton, Sewall, Gold, Pitkin, Walley, Leisler, and De la Noye. They agreed that New York should provide four hundred men, Massachusetts one hundred and sixty. Connecticut one hundred and thirty-five, and Plymouth sixty. Maryland had promised one hundred. It was agreed that Leisler should appoint the commander.

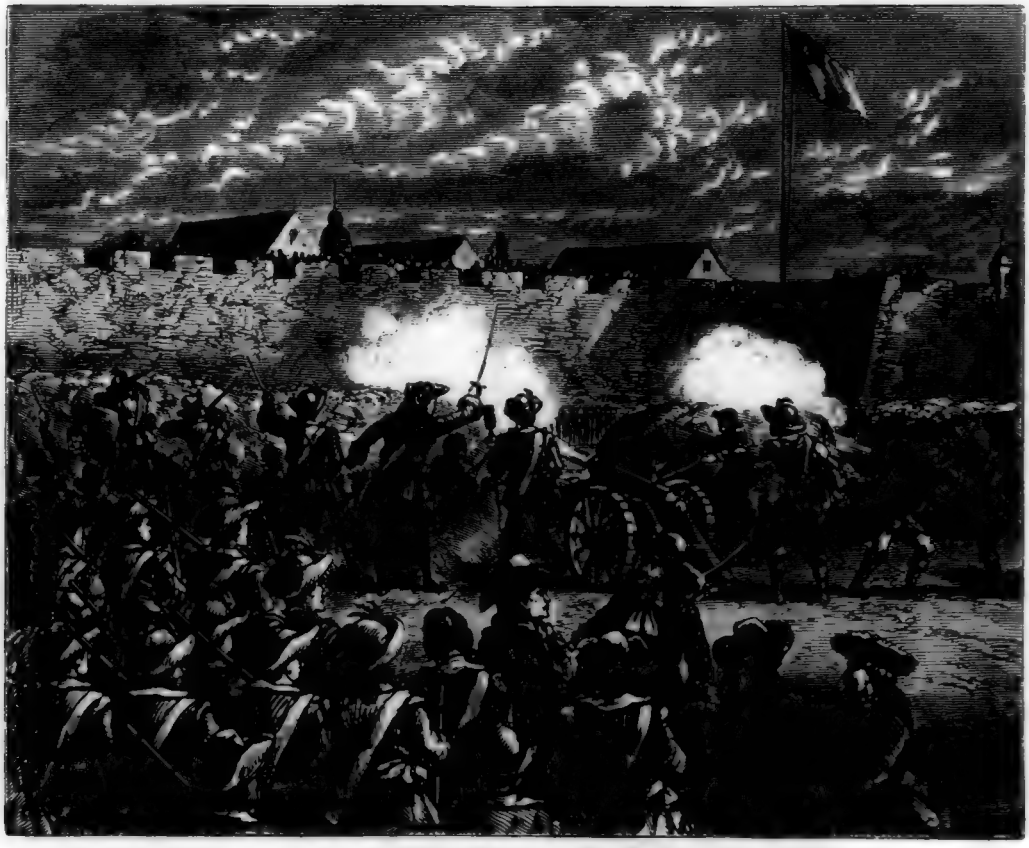
With the energy which merchants or other men of affairs often show when some accident throws them into the administration of government, and with the eager and terrified zeal of the burghers and sea-faring men of New York to back him, Leisler rebuilt the fortifications of that city, which had fallen into decay in the preceding peaceful years. Hearing of French cruisers at sea he sent out privateers, some of considerable force, to capture them; and he was able to offer some assistance also to the ill-fated New England expedition against Canada. The year 1690, for the whole of which he was the sole Governor of New York, was a year of spirited military and naval enterprise. And the occasional arrival of a prize showed that neither the dangers nor the rewards of the seas had been over-estimated.

His foreign was more successful than his domestic policy. At home there was no lack of complaint; and probably many of those who had found fault with the imbecile languor of King Log, found fault now with the activity of his successor. When the royal Governor arrived, who had been fifteen months in coming, he found a hotbed of sedition and bitter complaint ready to welcome him. Walley, the Plymouth delegate to the Congress, not unfriendly to Leisler, had characterized his temper well enough when he said, "He is a man that carries on some matters too arbitrary."

Still, had King William at this juncture appointed any competent person governor of New York, the troubles which followed, with the cruel tragedy which they involved, would have been prevented. But, with the recklessness which has not yet been outgrown in the administration of colonies, William considered the needs of the candidate for office rather than the need of the colony which was to be governed.

Soon after the letter was sent, under which Leisler continued his rule, but long before it arrived, William appointed Col. Henry Sloughter, a personal favorite of his own, to represent the crown in New York. Even now, had Sloughter with any promptness assumed his office, he would have arrived in New York as soon as the paper which served Leisler for a year as his commission. In fact, however, Sloughter, who was commissioned November 14, 1689, did not sail until December 1, 1690, — after a year of inexplicable delay, — and then went by way of Bermuda. Unfortunately again, Rich-

Sloughter appointed Governor of New York.



Ingoldsby's Attack on the Fort.

ard Ingoldsby, who sailed at the same time with Sloughter as a captain of a company of grenadiers, arrived in New York on the 29th January, 1691, a few weeks before his Governor. Finding Leisler in command of the fort, he ordered him to deliver it. He had no civil commission; he had no warrant from Sloughter to hold the fort; he had no commission whatever but that of major in the King's army. No officer of any rank, superior to Ingoldsby's, would have obeyed such a command, unless special orders were given him by a superior. Leisler offered to Ingoldsby every courtesy, and quarters for the troops, but declined giving up the fort until Sloughter or some one commissioned by him, should arrive. On

Arrival of Captain Ingoldsby.

this Ingoldsby proceeded to mount cannon against the fort, and actually fired upon it. The fort returned the fire. There was afterwards a collision of testimony as to which began this combat. But it is certain that almost all the injury and loss of life were caused by Ingoldsby's party, who maintained a fire against the fort for some hours. At the utmost but a few men, most of them soldiers, were killed.

He attacks Fort James.

In this state of half war, Leisler maintained the fort for some weeks, until on the 19th of March, Sloughter, the long looked-for Governor, arrived, for whom all along he said he had been waiting. Here, on the after trials, testimony differed again. Leisler's son said that his father, as soon as he had notice of Sloughter's arrival, although late at night, sent two gentlemen to congratulate him on his arrival, and offer the fort and government to him as their Majesty's Governor, but that they, without being heard, were committed to the common jail; that the next morning Captain Leisler sent a letter to the Governor desiring him to send some persons to receive the fort, which he did, but immediately caused said Leisler and others to be committed to prison.[1] Colonel Sloughter, in his official report to the King, says he sent Major Ingoldsby to demand the fort, to whom Leisler replied that he would own no Governor without orders from the King directed to him. Sloughter also says that Leisler sent a man out that night to identify him and make sure that he was Colonel Sloughter; that he then demanded the fort from Leisler a second time, and that he refused it; that only when preparations were made to storm it, did Leisler send out the two persons spoken of to surrender it.

Ingoldsby marched into the fort. Some of Leisler's men threw down their arms, and without further opposition he relinquished the command. Sloughter issued a commission at once for the trial of him and his Council for murder and treason. The trial immediately followed. It has become one of the celebrated cases in our history. Six of the prisoners pleaded in form. Leisler and Milborne, his son-in-law, refused to plead until the court would decide whether the King's letter of July 30, 1689, had not given Leisler formal authority. The court would not go into this question, but referred it to the Governor and Council. They replied that the King's letter and the papers with it gave no power or direction to the said Leisler. Leisler and Milborne still refused to plead, and after a trial of eight days, they and six others of Leisler's Council were found guilty and sentenced to death. Dudley, a Massachusetts man, whom the king had made judge, pre-

The fort surrendered to Sloughter.

Leisler and his Council brought to trial.

[1] Administration of Leisler. *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections*, 1868.

sided at the trial and pronounced sentence. The Governor, by the advice of the judges, reprieved all the prisoners until the king's pleasure was known.

This was on the 20th of April, 1691. The whole picture is a wretched web-work woven by men who were wild with the excitements of religious bigotry and the hot rivalries of race, in the narrow confines of a petty seaport, far from their chiefs, and jealous of their privileges. The historian who traces it feels all along that even thus far it might all have dropped into the oblivion to which the most of such wretched broils belong, but for the terrible blunder made a few weeks later.



Sloughter signing Leisler's Death-warrant.

Sloughter called, as he had been bidden, the first regular Assembly summoned by a royal governor. The province was more wild than ever in its dread of the papists, under the horrible lessons taught on the frontier. But the Assembly was chosen wholly in the interest of the party whom Leisler had ousted; and it had captured, as a modern phrase has it, Ingoldsby and Sloughter. All the men whom Leisler had deposed from authority were now ready to take their revenge. On the one hand petitions for Leisler's pardon were pressed on the Governor. Counter-petitions for his execution came in, some of them even from women. Bayard, of kin to Leisler by marriage, pressed Sloughter, who was his guest, to carry out the sentence. "Tradition says that when no other means could prevail with him, a sumptuous feast was prepared, to which Colonel Sloughter was

invited. When his reason was drowned in his cups the entreaties of the company prevailed on him to sign the death-warrant, and before he recovered his senses the prisoners were executed."[1] This was on the 16th of May, 1691, nearly two years after Leisler had assumed the government. On that day Leisler and Milborne were hanged, and their bodies were then beheaded, in the presence of a crowd of indignant people.

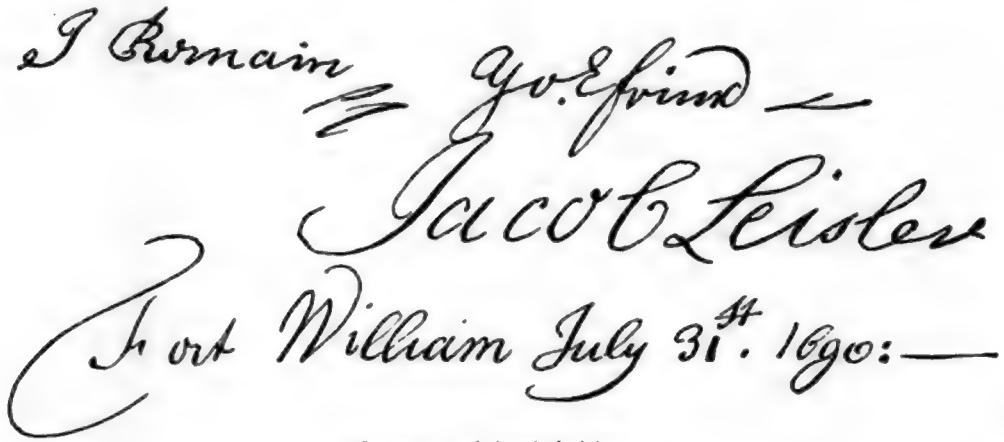
Sloughter signs Leisler's death warrant.

Sloughter himself died suddenly on the 23d of July. There were suspicions that he had been poisoned, but a medical examination gave no color to them. It is not difficult to account for the sudden death of such men. Within three years, on the application of Leisler's son at London, the whole question as to his father's guilt was argued before a committee of the House of Lords, the attainder pronounced on him was reversed by Parliament after full discussion, and such reparation as money could give was made to his family, for the charges which his private estate had met in his conduct of the administration. Bellomont, who succeeded him after some years as Governor of New York, made no scruple in saying that the evidence on the trial convinced him that Leisler was murdered judicially. That he would have been more prudent had he surrendered his command to Ingoldsby, the event has proved. That he should have yielded to Sloughter, at the moment he knew who Sloughter was, is certain. That he was unjustly charged with murder and treason was the decision of the English Parliament, and such will probably be the verdict of history.[2]

Leisler's attainder reversed by the House of Lords.

[1] Smith's *History of New York.*

[2] The student interested in Leisler's rule and in his fate must read not only the papers in the Colonial Documents, but the invaluable collection in the *New York Historical Society's Collections* for the year 1868.



Signature of Jacob Leisler.

CHAPTER II.

ROYAL GOVERNORS UNDER WILLIAM AND MARY.

COLONIAL POLICY OF WILLIAM AND MARY. — GOVERNOR FLETCHER OF NEW YORK. — HIS VISIT TO CONNECTICUT. — RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES WITH THE FRENCH AND INDIANS. — SCHUYLER'S EXPEDITION. — ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF BELLOMONT. — PREVALENCE OF PRIVATEERING AND PIRACY. — CAPTAIN KIDD'S ADVENTURES. — LORD CORNBURY, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY. — EAST AND WEST JERSEY UNITED AND PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT ENDED. — CONTROVERSY BETWEEN CORNBURY AND THE NEW JERSEY ASSEMBLY. — GOVERNORS LOVELACE, INGOLDSBY, AND HUNTER. — PORT ROYAL TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH. — PROPOSED INVASION OF CANADA. — NOVA SCOTIA CEDED BY THE FRENCH. — ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BURNET.

SLOUGHTER had been governor only four months at the time of his death. Except for the melancholy tragedy which marked his administration, it is remembered only for a visit to Albany and the Mohawk River, when he renewed the treaties of friendship with the Iroquois, and succeeded in detaching the Mohawks from the French. The Chief Justice, Dudley, would have been his temporary successor, as the senior member of the Council, had he not been absent in the West Indies. Captain Ingoldsby for a brief period discharged the duties of that office, but was relieved in August, 1692, by the arrival of Benjamin Fletcher from England with a commission from the King.



Signature of Fletcher.

Appointment of Fletcher as governor.

The Whig party, and William and Mary whom that party led to the throne of England, understood as well as any people in the world of that day, how to use those phrases which denounced tyranny and asserted the rights of Englishmen. But, as has been often remarked, this oligarchy — for it was nothing more — was quite as willing to use the results of the tyranny of the Stuarts, as if that tyranny had been their own. When Mather and Phips were in England, pleading for the restoration of the charter of Massachusetts, Somers

was as ready as any Tory lawyer would have been, to instruct them that the crown could take no steps backward. In his government of the new province of New York the new King did as his predecessor would have done. The Governor was instructed to send home all laws for approval; he was directed to introduce the Book of Common Prayer among Presbyterians, Huguenots, and Dutchmen, where perhaps James II. would have been glad to introduce a mass-book; he was to take a salary of £600 a year from the colony revenue, accepting no gift from the Assembly unless the King permitted; and he was to send to the King a list of prominent persons from whom the Governor's Council would be named. The Stuarts would hardly have found anything to change in this scheme for colonial administration.

Colonial administration under William and Mary.



King William.

William and Mary's first appointments, also, were such as reflected little credit on their advisers. It must be remembered that New York was more distant in time from England than any of her colonies are to-day; that the population of the city was hardly four thousand; that besides the city were "only Long Island and some other small islands, Zopus, Albany, and the limitts thereof," — to borrow from one of the Council's declarations of its weakness. If one considers how little care is given at this time by the most careful ministry to the selection of a colonial governor for ten thousand people on the other side of the world, it is easy to understand why the new-created Whig monarchy of William and Mary was as indifferent as it seemed to be in the choice of its representative in New York.

No more striking proof, for example, could be given of the carelessness with which colonial affairs were managed than the power bestowed upon Fletcher, who was not a man of more than ordinary ability, and of rather less than ordinary good character. His commission gave him the command of the militia of the New England colonies as well as his own. But Sir William Phips, when appointed Governor of Massachusetts, was also, by his commission, made commander-in-chief in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Yet both these colonies were under governments of their own in accordance with their

charters, and neither of them was likely to submit quietly to any assumption of authority within their borders by either Phips or Fletcher. It was thought necessary, for the safety of all the colonies against the hostility of the Indians, that there should be somewhere exclusive command over the whole body of provincial militia. The heedless appointment of two commanders-in-chief would have necessarily defeated that purpose, even had Connecticut and Rhode Island been disposed to submit to the orders of any other governor than their own. Phips and Fletcher quarrelled with each other, and both quarrelled with Treat of Connecticut. That colony sent General Fitz-John Winthrop to England to complain to the King of the violation of their rights under the charter. So strong was the feeling of her people, that twenty-two hundred of her three thousand freemen assembled to give popular sanction to Winthrop's mission. Rhode Island was no less determined to withstand Phips's attempt to displace her militia officers, and also sent an agent — Mr. Almy — to England with a protest against this assumption of power by the Massachusetts Governor.

Conflict of authority over the provincial militia.



Queen Mary.

But Connecticut was quite capable of defending her own rights without waiting for help from the King. Fletcher appeared in Hartford in October, 1693, and ordered the militia under arms. He assured the Assembly that he had no intention of exercising any undue authority over the colony, and in proof he offered the command of the troops to Governor Treat, as his lieutenant. The Assembly were equally determined that he should exercise no authority at all, whether he intended it or not; and Treat declined to be appointed second in command where he was already commander-in-chief.

Fletcher visits Connecticut.

The grim humor of the sturdy Puritans of Connecticut again showed itself as it had more than once before in recent years in resisting usurpation, or what they believed to be so. The militia were allowed to muster at Hartford, apparently to give to Fletcher's pretences a practical answer which could not be misunderstood. He ordered his commission and instructions to be read to the troops.

Captain Wadsworth was in command in front of the ranks, and, as some there remembered, he was not afraid of governors. When the reading began, he gave the order, "Beat the drums!" Their rattle completely drowned the voice of Captain Bayard, — Captain Nicholas Bayard, of New York. Governor Fletcher commanded silence. The reading recommenced, when Wadsworth shouted, "Drum! drum! I say." "Silence! silence!" cried the Governor. "Drum! drum!



The Reading of Fletcher's Commission.

I say," repeated the captain. Then, turning to Fletcher, he added, with a fine disregard of the present facts, but a keen perception of his duty to Connecticut, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment!" No further attempt was made to resume the reading, and such was the evident spirit of the crowd, that the Governor and his suite thought it prudent to quit Hartford with what dignity was still left them.

Fletcher and Phips both claimed Martha's Vineyard, and with equal heat promised each other to meet there in arms in the spring

of 1693; but when the spring came, each was otherwise engaged. Fletcher's principal occupation, according to Bellomont his successor, was rifling the revenue, and in particular, dealing with privateers and pirates, to whom he sold licenses, quite indifferent how they were used. Under his sway New York became, as Bellomont says, "a nest of pirates."

The Governor, however, did not altogether neglect his public duties. So long as Count Frontenac was governor of Canada, no English colony on the border had leisure to rest for an instant without alarm. He was every inch a soldier, and even in his old age, active and adventurous. The savage attacks made on the New England frontier have been described in another chapter.[1] The Mohawk villages, and Albany itself, were to renew the terrors of the capture of Schenectady.

Renewed French and Indian hostilities.

On Wednesday, the 8th of February, 1693, three years after the massacre of Schenectady, the settlers of that village were aroused by the report that an expedition of French and Christian Indians had arrived on the upper Mohawk. The news was sent at once to Albany, and the next day Schenectady was reinforced by a troop of horse, soon followed by Major Peter Schuyler, who took command. On his arrival he sent messengers to warn the nearest Mohawk fort; but these returned without being able to cross the river. On Friday a party of observation brought the news that two of the three Mohawk towns were already in the hands of the French. On Saturday an advance party of fifty was sent out to feel the enemy and build a fort of observation. They heard firing at the nearest Mohawk town. When the news that the enemy were so near came to Albany, the commander there collected a hundred men and sent them on Sunday to Schenectady. With these and the Schenectady detachment, in all about three hundred men, Major Schuyler marched on Monday afternoon, but too late to help the two Mohawk towns. These had been surprised by their Christian kinsmen on succeeding nights, and the inhabitants killed or captured, men, women, and children. It is said that the French tried to keep their Indians to a promise they had made of killing all their prisoners, but that, more humane than faithful, they refused.[2]

Schuyler's expedition.

After burning the towns the allies had turned to a jubilant, victorious return to Canada. Schuyler by a quick night march reached, early on Tuesday morning, the block-house built on Saturday; the enemy, it was said, were within eight miles, and a large party of friendly Indians were coming from the upper river. He sent out scouts towards the enemy and also a demand to Albany for more sup-

[1] See vol. ii., chap. xviii.

[2] Parkman's *Frontenac*.

plies to feed the reënforcements. These scouts, apparently without the knowledge of Schuyler, gave the enemy the surprising information that peace had been declared, and that Schuyler wanted only to parley. At this the Indians refused to go further, despite the prayers of the French, but built themselves a log fort where they prepared to wait for the overtures of peace. The French, unwilling and afraid to desert them, were constrained to stay as well.

On Wednesday Schuyler was joined by his reënforcement of about three hundred Indians, men and boys, and, in the afternoon, he cautiously marched ten miles on the track of the enemy, without meeting them. The next morning he marched ten miles further, when one of the Oneidas met him who had been sent by the French to gain over the Mohawks to their side. He told Schuyler of the encampment of the French. Sending back information of this to Schenectady, Schuyler again pushed on two miles, when the news was confirmed by an escaped prisoner. Advancing to a favorable position he built a fortified camp where he passed the night. On Friday morning his scouts brought him information that the enemy were but a mile distant. Breaking camp he marched forward till he came in sight of them. At this he gave orders to engage, risking his five hundred and fifty men against the rumored seven hundred protected by a log fort. But here his Indians failed him. They insisted on building a counter-fort, and he, like his French opponent, was compelled to assent.

Schuyler overtakes the enemy.

The French, not receiving the promised overtures of peace, sallied out three times against him, to be repulsed each time. It then began to snow, and both parties retired to their fortifications, and passed the night in great discomfort, the Albany troops suffering from hunger as well as from cold. The next morning a deserter brought in news that the enemy were packing up for flight, and scouts venturing up to the fort announced that they were gone. Schuyler wished to march immediately in pursuit, but his men refused to move till provisions should arrive. He therefore remained in camp all day, merely sending out a party of observation.

Retreat of the French.

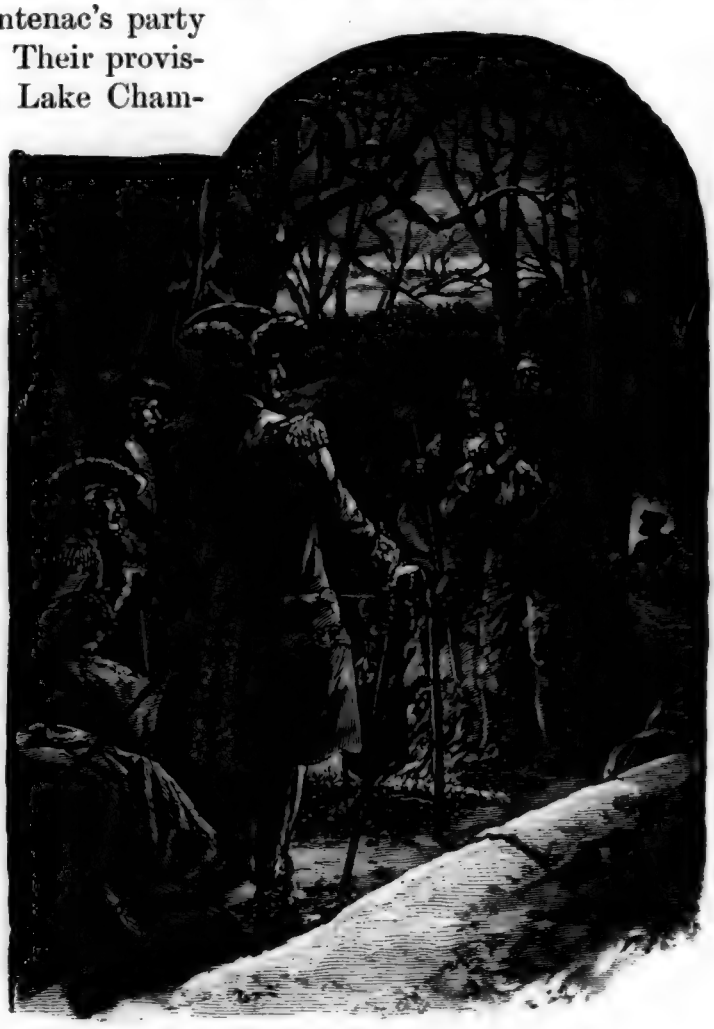
On Sunday, at ten, the convoy arrived, and when the men had been served with their biscuits they were sent after the enemy. They marched quickly, and at four the news was sent from the front that they had come up with them. Now again, however, the Indians refused to move, their reason being that the French threatened to kill all the prisoners if they were attacked. After an hour's pleading they were persuaded, but too late; the enemy had crossed the Hudson on a "flake" of ice and were beyond pursuit.

Schuyler would have followed still, but the men were worn out and

hungry, and the Indians still mutinous. He therefore turned back, and reached Schenectady on Tuesday, a fortnight after the first alarm. Here he found Governor Fletcher, who had heard the news at New York on Sunday, the 12th, and had immediately collected one hundred and fifty men and set sail up the river. The voyage had taken three days, and he arrived too late.

Failure of Schuyler's pursuit.

After this raid Frontenac's party were not successful. Their provisions, left in dépôt on Lake Champlain, were spoiled, and the ice failed them. They broke into small parties, and in dreadful straits for food, returned to Canada only after severe hardships.



Schuyler and the Scouts.

Fletcher's laurels, such as they were, earned in this expedition, were all that belong to his administration. Its after history, till 1698, is merely the record of his intrigues for money, and his quarrels with assemblies. He was recalled that year to answer many charges of maladministration brought against him.

The Earl of Bellomont succeeded him. His appointment, with enlarged powers, had been talked of for two or three years. A party of some strength, comprising men of influence in England and the colonies, had urged a consolidated government of all the northern provinces, like that which had existed under Andros. But it was found difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile all their rival interests. Connecticut and Rhode Island, governing themselves under their recovered charters, were peculiarly hard to deal with. Jealous of their rights, which agents in London

The Earl of Bellomont Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

carefully watched over, they never willingly submitted to any law meant to be of general application; much less were they patient and obedient when conformity implied subordination. In matters of trade they consulted their own interests, without much regard to the interests of other colonies, or to royal regulations. They bought where they could buy cheapest, and sold where they could sell dearest, without asking leave of either Boston or New York, or consulting always the orders of the Board of Trade. When military aid was needed for defence against the Indians on other frontiers than their own, both colonies reserved the right of judging for themselves of their ability to meet such requisitions. It was in deference, probably, to their chartered rights and independent spirit, that Bellomont, who was appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, was only made Captain-general over the military forces of the two other New England provinces and of the Jerseys.

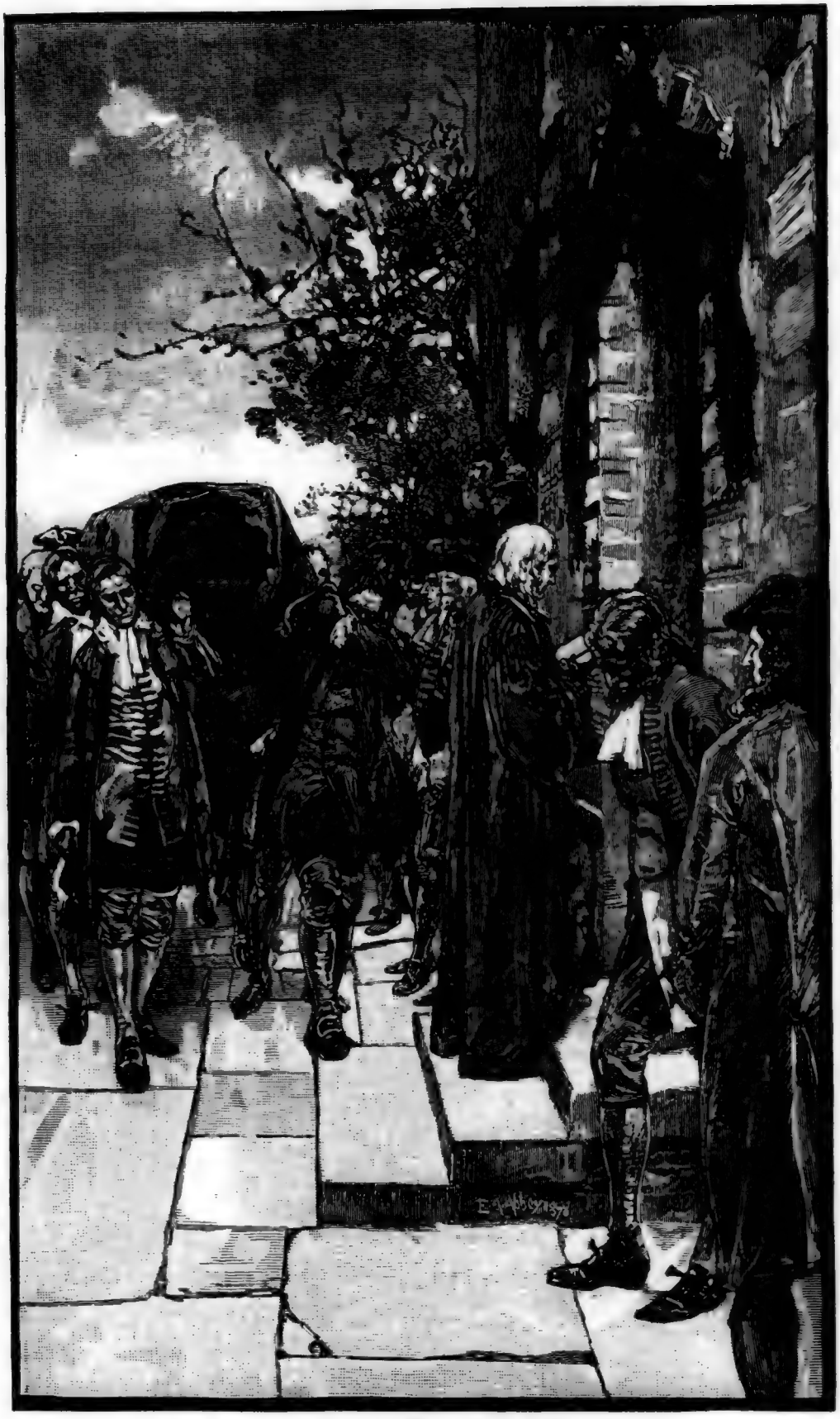
The new Governor found awaiting him in New York every kind of irregularity which had grown up under Fletcher's administration, — frauds upon government, systematic violations of the Navigation Laws, and the whole population of the city divided by a bitter feud between the Leisler and anti-Leisler factions. He came with a determination to break up piracy, reëstablish legitimate commerce, and enforce an honest collection of the revenue. To these objects he devoted himself with great energy and zeal during the three years of his administration.

Bellomont's policy.

Bellomont's sympathies were known, before he was appointed a provincial governor, to be with the Leisler party. As a member of a Parliamentary Committee he had heard all the testimony in regard to the execution of Leisler, and had said emphatically, that "he was murdered, and barbarously murdered." The new Governor used his influence at once over the New York Assembly to procure an act of indemnity for the family of that unfortunate victim of party hate; and within a few months of Bellomont's arrival the bodies of both Leisler and Milborne — which had been interred in private ground — were taken up and reburied, with public solemnities, in the Dutch Church, and their hatchments hung upon its walls.

His sympathy with the Leisler party.

The adherents of the murdered Governor were those who had earnestly believed in the wisdom of that revolution which had called William and Mary to the throne; it was their aim to maintain religious freedom, and to secure for the people the right, as far as possible, of popular government. Bellomont's decided course in favor of the popular party meant, perhaps, more to them than he intended. But he could have done nothing more certain to secure the applause of



THE RE-BURIAL OF LEISLER.

the larger portion of the people than this support of the Leisler party. It justified the popular abhorrence of a tyrannical and cruel act, and was hailed as the promise of a just and tranquil government.

Piracy.

The great object of Bellomont's administration, and to this he devoted himself with almost passionate zeal, was the suppression of that form of piracy which in the guise of privateering had almost supplanted honest commerce in nearly all the colonial seaports. The success of the English privateers in the long wars with France bred a race of men — the successors to the buccaneers — who cruised in all latitudes, and became quite indifferent whether the unfortunate ship which they captured was of one country or another. The ease with which commissions were granted for privateering increased the evil. The governor of a province like New York, when it had not ten thousand inhabitants, had no doubts as to his right to commission a rover who might never return to the harbor of New York, and might be a terror in all seas.

Captain Kidd.

It was under such a system of naval lawlessness that New York became a "nest of pirates." The name of William Kidd or Kyd has become prominent among these because political rancor in England seized on his association with some of the great Whig leaders. But Kidd was only one of a class, — a man whose guilt was probably less than that of other men of his calling; but he is remembered where others are forgotten, because he confided too much in his great associates. His name first appears in the troubles of New York, in the midst of the excitement when Leisler held the fort against Ingoldsby. Then "this blaspheming privateer" as he is called, apparently with approval, brought his vessel up to the town, to assist Ingoldsby's party, and in their despatches he is commended for it. For this timely service he afterwards received a grant of a hundred and fifty pounds from the anti-Leisler Assembly.

Kidd commissioned against the pirates.

In 1695, Col. Robert Livingston of New York appeared before the Commissioners of Trade in London, to press against Governor Fletcher a charge for overawing the elections in New York. Among the witnesses against Fletcher called by Livingston was Captain Kidd, who was then in London. Livingston's confidence in him was such that he recommended him to Bellomont as a proper person to be commissioned against pirates; — the English government being already eager to break up the system of piracy, and Bellomont having been already suggested as Governor of New York.

Bellomont acceded to the proposal and a joint-stock company, as we should now call it, was formed for the outfit of the *Adventure Galley* to be placed under Kidd's command. Somers, Halifax,

Shrewsbury, Romney, and Bellomont, were among the chief subscribers; and the King himself was to receive one tenth part of the profits of the adventure. The agreement provides that Kidd should sail in search of pirates who had left America with intent to cruise in the Red Sea and elsewhere. Bellomont and his friends were to provide a proper ship for Kidd's use, paying four fifths of the cost, while Kidd and Livingston paid one fifth. The crew was to be enlisted on condition of receiving for their service not more than one fourth of the prizes taken from pirates. If nothing were taken, Kidd and Livingston were to return the cost of the galley before March 21, 1697. Of the three fourths prize money after the crew were paid, Bellomont for the subscribers was to receive four fifths and Kidd and Livingston the remaining fifth. The King's tenth was to be paid by the stockholders. Kidd was bound in an obligation of twenty thousand pounds, and Livingston in a similar obligation of ten thousand, to fulfil their part of the agreement. The royal commission authorizing the adventure finally passed the great seal on the 26th day of January, 1695–96.

Beside giving leave to cruise against the French, the commission instructed Kidd to seize certain notorious pirates, Tew, Ireland, Wake, and Maze. There can be no doubt that his expedition was supposed to be fitted out against them.

He sails for New York.

Captain Kidd sailed for New York in April, 1696, with a crew of eighty men, taking on the voyage a French ship. In New York he advertised for volunteers, and enlarged his crew to about one hundred and fifty men of so bad repute that, after the issue of his adventures, people remembered it was said that Kidd would never be able to control so desperate a company.

He is next heard of at Madagascar, then a noted rendezvous for pirates, where they made themselves secure and lived in barbaric luxury. Kidd had cruised about for nine months without falling in with a single one of the sea-rovers whom he was commissioned to suppress. It was disobedience of orders to leave American waters for this distant latitude, but in Madagascar he hoped for such good fortune as would condone his disregard of instructions.

But not a single pirate-vessel was there in the ports of Madagascar. Then Kidd sailed for the western coast of Hindostan, almost in despair at his bad luck, aggravated now by scarcity of provisions. He soon fell in with the wreck of a French vessel with some coin on board, and with this he made purchases that relieved his immediate necessities. But still not a pirate was overtaken. Many richly laden Eastern ships were met with which the eager crew urged Kidd to take. He resisted until they fell in with a Mogul fleet under Dutch

and English convoy; one of the largest of the merchantmen he attacked, was roughly handled and repulsed. His position now was worse than ever; he had virtually fired upon the English and Dutch flags, and that offence must be atoned for by success at any hazard. He was now a pirate by force of circumstances, and his own inability to resist their pressure.

He turns pirate.

In August, 1698, when he was first heard from in New York, news came that he had taken an East Indiaman, called the *Quedagh Merchant*, and transferred his stores from the *Adventure* to that ship, burning his old vessel. Other piracies he also committed; many of his crew nevertheless deserted him for service more to their minds, Kidd still professing to act under the King's commission, and to reserve a large share of his plunder for the noble subscribers, through whose influence he hoped that his offences would be overlooked. But the East India Company had already given notices of his several piracies, particularly of the *Quedagh Merchant*, and orders had been issued for his arrest.

Orders issued for his arrest.

In May, 1699, he was heard from at Nevis. Soon after he was in Delaware Bay with forty men in a sloop; thence he "sailed into the Sound of New York and set Goods on Shore at several Places there, and afterward went to Rhode Island." From Block Island, where his sloop lay, he sent a message to the Earl of Bellomont, who was at Boston. He told him that he had left the *Quedagh Merchant* in a creek in Hispaniola, with goods of great value. On board his own sloop he had, he said, goods worth £10,000. As to the crimes alleged against him — of these, he said, he could prove his innocence. Bellomont showed this letter to the Massachusetts Council. With their approval, he wrote to Kidd "assuring him that if he would make his innocence appear, he might safely come to Boston."

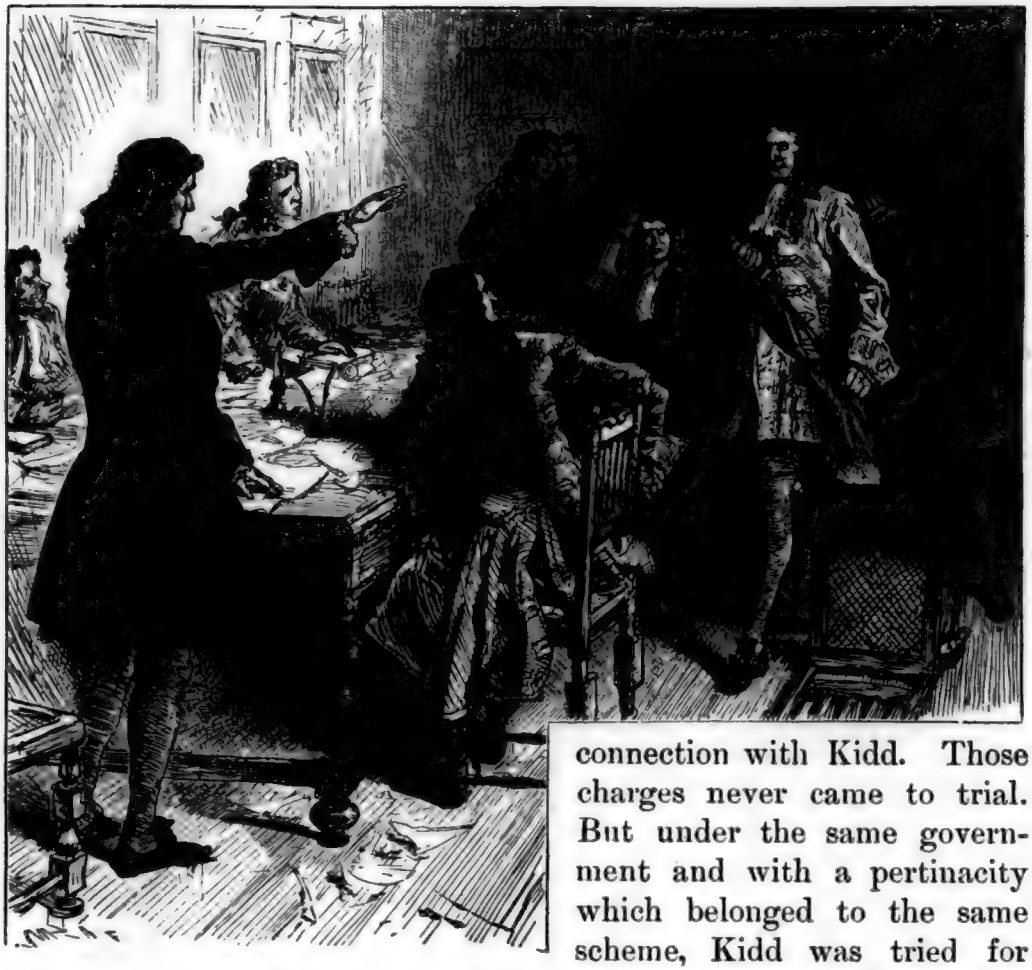
The audacity of Kidd's appearance in Boston is wholly accounted for by the existence of this safe conduct from Bellomont. Robert Livingston came to Boston also. He demanded from Bellomont the surrender of his bond for £10,000, and said that unless this were given up Kidd would never bring in the *Quedagh Merchant* and the wealth she contained. Bellomont says he construed this as a threat, and on the 6th of June, six days after Kidd's arrival, he arrested him at the Council Board. Kidd drew his sword, but was secured and sent to the Boston jail. While in jail he offered to Bellomont to go, as a prisoner, to the West Indies, and bring back £40,000 of treasure which would else be lost. But Bellomont refused the offer.

Kidd goes to Boston and is arrested.

The Admiralty received the news of Kidd's arrest in September, and on the 12th sent a vessel for him and his crew. She was driven

back by stress of weather, and Kidd did not finally arrive in England a prisoner until April, 1700. The delay was thought to be intentional by the critics of the Whigs. He was kept in prison a year. On the 15th of April, 1701, when the great Tory prosecution against Somers, the Whig Chancellor, was begun in the House of Commons, one of the charges against him was his

Kidd taken to England, tried, and hanged.



Arrest of Kidd.

connection with Kidd. Those charges never came to trial. But under the same government and with a pertinacity which belonged to the same scheme, Kidd was tried for murder, and another bill was found for piracy against him and several of his crew.

The report of his trial is one of the melancholy instances of the unjust administration in those days of English criminal law. The evidence brought against him justifies no sentence but one of manslaughter, resulting from the death of Moore, his gunner, from a blow given in a brawl, in which there could have been no previous intention to kill, so far as appeared from the testimony. But Kidd was found guilty of murder. The trial for piracy followed. Kidd claimed that the *Quedagh Merchant* was sailing under a French commission when he took her, and that her capture was, therefore, justified. But this commission, if it existed, was among Bellomont's

papers, and Kidd could not produce it. The government was determined to have him hanged, and he was hanged.

One of the most popular of seamen's ballads [1] has preserved his name, while those of Tew and Bradish and Bellamy are well-nigh forgotten. If a man is innocent unless he is proved at law to be guilty, Kidd must be regarded, in the light of the present legal ruling, as innocent when he was hanged. But his stay in the East was extended long after the period when he promised to return. The capture of the *Quedagh Merchant* in no sense fulfilled the object for which he was sent, and the stealth and concealment of her treasure cannot have been the acts of innocent men. On the other hand Bellomont's correspondence, now fully made public, is consistent all through. He unquestionably believed that the original purpose had been abandoned, and he did not dare, therefore, to sully his hands with the treasure which Kidd gained by that course.

Injustice of Kidd's sentence.

Had such a French commission existed as Kidd pretended, the seizure of the *Quedagh* was lawful, and four fifths of £40,000 of treasure belonged to Bellomont and his associates. It is hard to believe that, without a motive, the Governor sacrificed an innocent man, and gave up wealth which was large to him, merely in obedience to the pressure of political enemies. The true verdict is, probably, that Kidd deserved to be hanged, though never found guilty by a fair trial. It is to be observed that at the time no one pretended that Kidd was innocent. The utmost that the critics of the trial maintained was that Bellomont and his friends were also guilty.

Lord Bellomont died in March, 1701, having passed about one half his term of office in New England. To his administration of the affairs of that portion of his government we shall recur in subsequent pages. At the time of his death Nanfan, the Lieutenant-governor, was absent from New York; and the party known as the "White People" — the "Black People" and the "White People" had become the designations of the Leisler and anti-Leisler factions — seized the opportunity for an attempt to regain possession of power. The timely return of Nanfan, however, defeated this purpose, and the leaders were signally punished. Edward Livingston, who was one of them, was the collector of customs and receiver of quitrents. The Assembly demanded his accounts. Whether disposed or not to obey this order it was out of

Death of Lord Bellomont.

Contest between the Leisler and anti-Leisler parties in New York.

[1] Strangely enough, in the ballad, even in the early editions, his name is made "Robert Kidd." William Moore the gunner is rightly named, as the song is sung in the forecastle to this day: —

"I murdered William Moore,
As I sailed, as I sailed."

his power to do so, for his papers were in the hands of Lord Bellomont's widow, who had gone to England. The Assembly thereupon, whether justly or not, declared him a defaulter, and confiscated his property.

Against Bayard, who had had so much to do with Leisler's death, the feeling was even more bitter than against Livingston. An act, passed while Sloughter was Governor, making it treason "to disturb the peace, good, or quiet of the province by force of arms or otherwise," was largely Bayard's work. To this law he now made himself liable by sending to England complaints of Nanfan's conduct of affairs. He was brought to trial and found guilty. And he would certainly have been punished under the act of his own contriving, had not a new Governor, Lord Cornbury, arrived, whose character and associations led him into immediate affiliation with what in our time would be called the conservative party. Bayard and his friends were again in the ascendency, and Atwood, who had presided at Bayard's trial, rather with the zeal and asperity of a prosecuting attorney than the cool impartiality of a judge, thought it prudent to leave the province for his own safety.[1]



Queen Anne.

The new Governor, Lord Cornbury, was the cousin of Queen Anne — who came to the throne at the death of William in 1702 — and the grandson of Hyde, Lord Clarendon. He was simply a disreputable profligate, and so overwhelmed with debt that he could only escape a jail by quitting the kingdom. As he was to be provided for, his worthless character was not considered a disqualification for a colonial governorship. The summer of his arrival was marked by a dreadful mortality from yellow fever, introduced

Lord Cornbury Governor.

[1] A tradition is preserved that Bayard was respited from time to time by the payment of money to Lieutenant-governor Nanfan. But his children, tired at last of these costly appeals to their filial piety, expostulated with their father for not consenting to be hanged, as the cost of saving him would come to be, they feared, their pecuniary ruin. — *Du Simitiere, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1868.

from the West Indies, and in ten weeks' time more than five hundred of the population were swept away. Among them were some of the most distinguished citizens, but the Governor escaped by retiring to Jamaica on Long Island.

Cornbury was by no means singular among colonial governors, in that he regarded his office as given him solely that he might enrich himself. He entered upon its duties, with that purpose, with enthusiasm and success. The Assembly was persuaded to appropriate £1,500 under a pretence of fortifying the Narrows at the entrance of New York harbor, in anticipation of a French invasion. The Narrows remained unfortified and the Governor was the richer by £1,500. The lesson was not lost on the Assembly, and they appointed a Treasurer of their own, who was to see that future appropriations were spent in accordance with their intentions. The Governor resented this reflection upon his conduct and interference with his will, and an appeal was made to the Crown. It was a substantial gain to the cause of popular rights that the royal authority sustained the action of the Assembly. The incident is one of many to point the truth of the reflection, that it was ultimately to the advantage of America, that the government in England sent profligate and worthless men to be colonial governors.[1]

His character.

Though destitute of any sense of public or of private virtue, Cornbury was not the less zealous on behalf of the Church. It was a zeal, however, not for religion but for the established Church of England as a part of the State. A dissenter was to him intolerable as a political freethinker who was disloyal to the State, and with whom there was no need of keeping terms of either justice or mercy. When driven from New York to Jamaica by the prevalence of yellow fever, he obtained by the courtesy of Mr. Hubbard, the Presbyterian minister, possession of the parsonage, the best house in the town. When no longer needed for his own residence he delivered it to the few Episcopalians of the village, and the glebe attached was leased for the support of their church. He subsequently forbade that any clergyman or school teacher should preach or teach except by special license. By his persecution of two Presbyterian preachers, McKenzie and Hampton, he elevated them into martyrs, and aroused a resentment which appealed to the love of religious freedom throughout the colonies.

Persecution of Dissenters

No royal governor ever made himself more obnoxious to the whole country. The ambitious and unscrupulous Dudley, who was at this time chief magistrate of Massachusetts, was using all the power which his office gave him, and all the influence he possessed in Eng-

[1] Bancroft's *History of the United States.*

land, to destroy the charter governments. He found a willing ally in Cornbury. Both professed to wish for a union of all the northern colonies under a single governor. Cornbury wrote home "that he was satisfied this vast continent which might be made very useful to England, if right measures were taken, would never be so till all the proprietary and charter governments were brought under the crown." The immediate purpose, however, of the two Governors was that Rhode Island should be annexed to Massachusetts and Connecticut to New York; and it was only by the utmost diligence of Sir Henry Ashurst, the agent in London of Connecticut, and of William Penn, who then represented Rhode Island, that the design was defeated.

Dudley and Cornbury unite against Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The Proprietors of East and West Jersey had united, in 1702, in a voluntary surrender to the Queen of their right of civil government. Cornbury was appointed by a separate commission Governor of that province as well as of New York, for the Jersey Proprietors did not intend, in consenting to receive a governor from the crown, to surrender their provincial independence. Each province retained its own Assembly and was governed by its own laws. But Cornbury resided in New York, making only occasional visits to Perth Amboy or Burlington. Even a governor conscientious in the discharge of his official duty, could hardly have failed, in thus neglecting the inferior province, to sacrifice its interests. Cornbury, who was not conscientious, and who looked upon official duty as only a means for the furtherance of personal ends, considered New Jersey merely as an outlying possession to be farmed for his benefit. Ingoldsby was his lieutenant-governor, and he and other favorites ruled New Jersey in their own and their master's interest, without the smallest regard to the rights and welfare of the people.

Surrender of Proprietary Government in the Jerseys.

In New Jersey, as in the other colonies, the popular party, if not the stronger, was the abler party. It was led by wise and bold men, chief among them Samuel Jenings, a Quaker preacher, — who had been Governor of West Jersey, — and Lewis Morris, — afterwards Governor, — a nephew of Richard Morris, of the Manor of Morrisania, near New York. Of Jenings, Cornbury said, he "had impudence enough to face the Devil."[1] He never hesitated to face Cornbury, whether in or out of the Assembly, of which he was for some time Speaker, with calm and fearless dignity.

If Cornbury was able to enforce submission to harsh and arbitrary rule, the steady resistance of such men as these did not permit the rights of the people to be lost sight of. It was easy to dissolve an

[1] Smith's *History of New Jersey.*

obstinate Assembly, and not impossible to create another more compliant to the Governor's will, by interfering with the freedom of elections, and excluding, on one pretext or another, members who could not be relied upon to do his bidding. But the large minority, who were really the popular representatives, could be neither corrupted nor silenced. The long and sharp controversies between Cornbury and the Assemblies are a significant evidence of the spirit of the people, and the insolent contempt with which their just and dignified remonstrances were met by a royal governor.[1]

Cornbury and the New Jersey Assembly.



Cornbury.[2]

In an address of the Assembly of 1707 it is said: "It were to be wished the affairs of New York would admit the Governor oftener to attend those of New Jersey, he had not then been unacquainted with our grievances; and we are inclined to believe they would not have grown to so great a number." These grievances are recounted, — among them the want of a due administration of justice, and the pardon or permitted escape of convicted murderers; the exorbitant fees of courts, and the exaction of illegal fees generally; the want of an office of the Secretary of the Province, and of a Court of Probate, in the Eastern Division, whereby one half the people were compelled to take long journeys on business of constant occurrence; the keeping of the provincial records, which contained all the evidence of titles to estates, by a person who was not even a resident of the colony, and had given no security for the faithful discharge of his trust; the assumption by the Governor of the right of granting land-warrants, which belonged to the Proprietors; the evasion of quit-rents, and the alleged payment of large sums of money to the Governor for a dissolution of the Assem-

The grievances of New Jersey.

[1] See papers relating to these controversies in full in Smith's *History*.

[2] Lord Cornbury was in the habit of appearing on public occasions, and even, it is said, in the streets of New York, dressed as a woman. He declared that it was proper he should be so clothed the more fittingly to represent his sovereign mistress. The picture in the text is from an original portrait in the Kensington Museum, London.

bly to that end; the granting of an exclusive privilege — history has repeated herself in our time in this form of New Jersey grievance — to cart goods across the province between Burlington and Amboy, then the only practicable route between New York and Philadelphia; and, add the remonstrants, "we cannot but be very uneasy when we find by these new methods of government, our liberties and properties so much shaken, that no man can say he is master of either, but holds them as tenant by courtesy and at will, and may be stript of them at pleasure," and therefore it is that they seek some relief from their manifold burdens. "For," they reflect, "Liberty is too valuable a thing to be easily parted with."

Such men might have been conciliated; they could not be frightened. "I don't know of any grievances," replied Cornbury, "this province labours under, except it be the having a certain number of people in it who will never be faithful to, nor live quietly under any government, nor suffer their neighbours to enjoy any peace, quiet, or happiness, if they can help it." This was ill-judged insolence. They were "apt to believe, upon the credit of your Excellency's assertion," replied the Assembly, that there are a number of people of this kind in the Province; but, they add, "such people are pests in all governments, have ever been so in this, and we know of none who can lay a fairer claim to these characters than many of your excellency's favorites."

In the Assembly were many who were members of the Society of Friends besides Jenings, the speaker. In reply to the respectful request that the Secretary of the Province should have more than one office, and that there should be more than one place where wills could be admitted to probate, the Governor said: "Of all the people in the world, the Quakers ought to be the last to complain of the hardships of travelling a few miles upon such an occasion, who never repine at the trouble and charges of travelling several hundred miles to a yearly meeting, where, it is evidently known, that nothing was ever done for the good of the country, but on the contrary continual contrivances are carried on for the undermining of the government both in church and state." "It is the General Assembly of the Province," rejoined that body, "that complains, and not the Quakers, with whose persons (considered as Quakers) or meetings we have nothing to do, nor are we concerned in what your excellency says against them." Perhaps Friends might think themselves called upon to vindicate their meetings from the irrelevant aspersions which his excellency so liberally bestowed upon them. But those of them who were members of the House, now "begged leave in behalf of themselves and their friends, to tell the Governor they must answer him in the words of

Nehemiah to Sanballat, contained in the 8th verse of the 6th chapter of Nehemiah, namely, 'There is no such thing done as thou sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.'"

But rebukes were unheeded, as grievances were unredressed. The Assembly determined, as they told the Governor, to appeal to the Queen for protection. Like complaints went up to the throne from all the colonies, and Cornbury was recalled in 1708. He did not, however, immediately leave New York, for so soon as it was known that he was no longer Governor he was arrested for debt. He remained in jail till, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the Earldom of Clarendon, when he was released by the privilege of rank.

Cornbury recalled and imprisoned in New York.

Lord Lovelace, who succeeded Cornbury as Governor of the same provinces, came attended by that good fortune which belongs to all new dynasties when following bad ones. People were sure that nothing could be so bad as that which they had just seen. He arrived on the 18th of December, 1708, and was received with enthusiasm. The Assembly, in its address to him, said: "Our wishes are that measures may be taken to encourage the few inhabitants left to stay in the provinces, and others to come." Unwilling to quarrel with a new Governor they voted to him £1,600 for that year, reserving the privilege of renewing or refusing the grant. Before Lord Lovelace could protest against the restriction he died, on the very day when the bill passed the house.[1]

Lovelace Governor.



Autograph of Lovelace.

His death.

In the interregnum, before the arrival of his successor, Governor Hunter, the administration was in the hands of that Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, who had held the government while Fletcher was waited for, and was more lately the lieutenant and the tool of Cornbury in the Jerseys. The long war between Queen Anne and King Louis was still in progress, and the colony was greatly excited by a new project for the invasion of Canada. In this juncture the first bills of credit, which New York ever issued, were put out, the treasury being wholly empty. But the failure of the English fleet, which was to attack Canada by the St. Lawrence, broke up the whole expedition, to the great mortification of all who engaged in it.

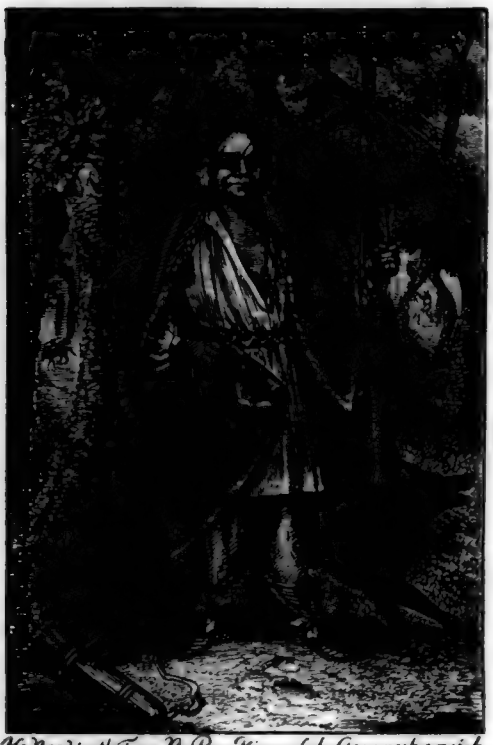
Ingoldsby Governor *ad interim*.

The conquest of the French province, however, was too important to the colonies to be abandoned. The Eastern Indians were easily incited at any moment, to fall upon the exposed frontiers of New

[1] May 5, 1709.

England. At the least rumor of war the little villages and scattered farms, from the Connecticut to the Penobscot, trembled at every unusual sound from the forest lest the war-whoop of the savage should break its silence. The friendship or the subjection of the Five Nations could never be relied upon so long as the French were behind them on the banks of the St. Lawrence. They were the allies of the English now, and the advantage was too great not to be made use of at once. Colonel Schuyler sailed for England, taking with him five distinguished chiefs of the Confederacy. With these living witnesses to the promised faithfulness of their nation he hoped to give irresistible weight to his arguments upon the necessity of the conquest of the French.

Indian chiefs in England.



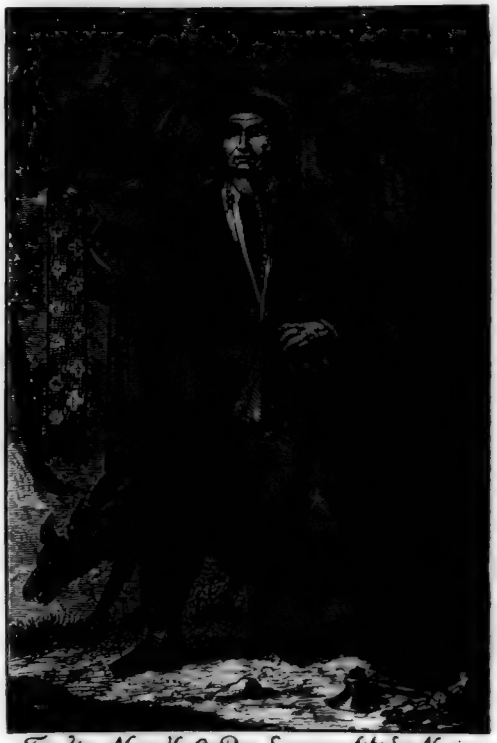
Ho Nee Yeath Tan No Ron King of the Generechgarich

It was a hundred years since Weymouth's two New England savages had stalked about the streets of London; almost a hundred since Pocahontas and her companions were brought over from Virginia. These Iroquois chiefs from New York[1] were regarded with no less curiosity by the crowds that followed them than Weymouth's stolen savages; were received with no less ceremony and distinction at Court than had awaited the Virginian princess. They made a speech, — or a speech was put into their mouths, — wherein they avowed their devotion to the Queen of England, their hostility to their French.

[1] No. 50 of *The Spectator* — Friday, April 27, 1711 — is an essay suggested by the visit of those Indian chiefs to London, and the essay, in its turn, may possibly have suggested to Macaulay his famous New Zealander, who, in the distant future, from a broken arch of London Bridge, is to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's. "When the four Indian Kings," wrote Addison, "were in this country about a twelvemonth ago, I often mixed with the rabble and followed them a whole day together, being wonderfully struck with the sight of everything that is new or uncommon." Pretending then to have found at their lodgings, after their departure, a bundle of papers, he gives some extracts from the "abundance of very odd observations which I find this little fraternity of kings made during their stay in the isle of Great Britain." Colden in his letters on Smith's History of New York (see *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1868), declares these Indians were not chiefs, though passed off as such by Schuyler and Nicholson, and so accepted in England. (See also *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. ii.)

The portraits are taken from copies in the Rooms of the Antiquarian Society, in Worcester, Mass., of large engravings, published in 1710.

Schuyler gained his end, and the results were more important, perhaps, than he had hoped for. It was not difficult to convince the ministry how great an influence further operations in America might have upon the conduct of the war in Europe. Ships and men were provided for another expedition, and, though the brilliant achievement which crowned it — the capture of Port Royal, related in another chapter — was mainly the act of New England men, Nicholson and Schuyler had good reason to be proud of their share in it.



Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Ron Emperour of the Six Nations

Robert Hunter, Governor of New York.

Six months before the taking of Port Royal Ingoldsby had been superseded by Robert Hunter as Governor of New York. He and the Assembly agreed on one point, though disagreeing on almost all others, — that no effort was to be spared to carry on the war against the French in America. Perhaps they were emulous of the success of New England in the conquest of Nova Scotia; at any rate, a fresh expedition against Canada, ordered by the home government, received their hearty coöperation. New York supplied six hundred men, in addition to six hundred Iroquois, — brought into the field by the influence of Colonel Schuyler, — as her proportion of the colonial contingent; and another issue of £10,000 in paper money was resorted to for their support. The other colonies were not less energetic. Connecticut and New Jersey added sixteen hundred men to the army of four thousand which Nicholson mustered at Albany for an expedition against Montreal. Massachusetts had nine hundred men in readiness to embark on board the English fleet of sixteen men of war and forty transports which arrived in Boston in the summer of 1711 for an attack upon Quebec. Of this fleet Sir Hovenden Walker was the admiral, and the land force on board, when it sailed for the St. Lawrence in July, was under the command of General Hill, a brother of Mrs. Masham, the favorite of the Queen. Seven English regiments and the Massachusetts reënforcement numbered altogether nearly seven thousand men.

Preparations to invade Canada.

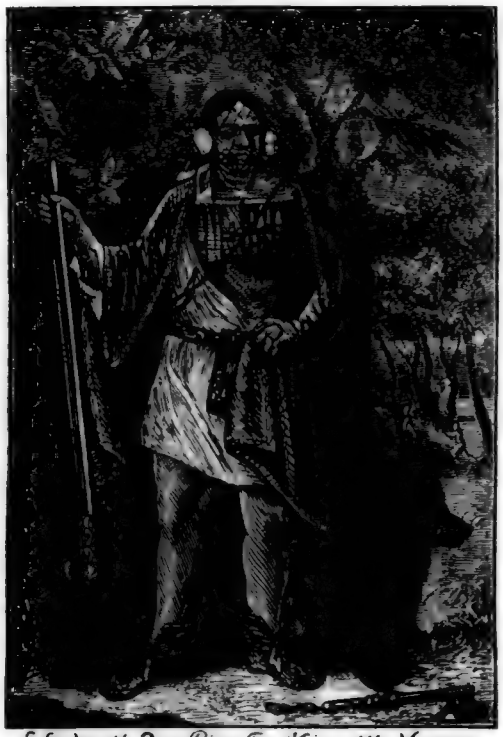
The incompetence of Admiral Walker and the ignorance of the pi

lots brought inevitable disaster. The fleet had sailed only ten leagues up the St. Lawrence when, by some fatal mismanagement, ten or eleven of the ships drifted upon the rocks, where they went to pieces, and a thousand men perished.[1]

Dispersion of Walker's fleet.

Nicholson, meanwhile, had marched from Albany with his army of four thousand men to attack Montreal. Taking the route of the expedition of the year before, and that under Winthrop in 1691, by way of Wood's Creek and Lake Champlain, he had only gone so far as the Lake, when he received the news of the disaster to the fleet. De Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, relieved from all fears of an attack upon Quebec, was now free to meet the invasion by land. Nicholson had no alternative but to fall back to Albany. Then the failure of this new attempt at the conquest of Canada — the most formidable that had yet been undertaken — was complete.

Retreat of Nicholson.



Sa Ja Yeath 2ua Pieer Ton King of the Maquas

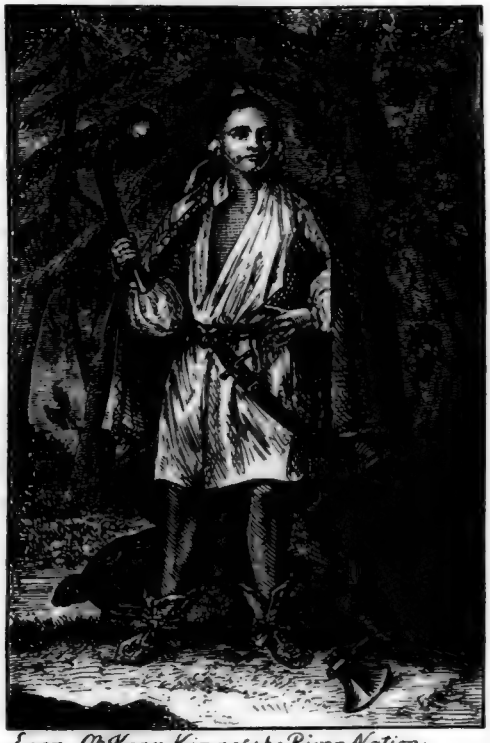
Complete, that is in its direct aim; indirectly, the gain was great to England. De Vaudreuil feared that France would soon cease to hold a rood of soil on the American continent if an army of ten thousand Englishmen should, at the same moment, summon Montreal and Quebec to surrender. Every Frenchman at his command he kept in Canada for a desperate resistance. Castin, the Governor of Nova Scotia, begged in vain for aid to recapture Port Royal. De Vaudreuil understood its importance; the French minister regretted its loss and was anxious for its recovery. But the delay, which the invasion of Canada at first made imperative, was soon past remedy. France was exhausted by the war; the Whig party — the party of peace — had attained to power in England; a few months later Marlborough was deposed and disgraced, and the war was at an end. By the treaty of Utrecht Nova Scotia was ceded to England; — the first substantial success in that long strug-

Cession of Nova Scotia to England.

[1] Charlevoix (*History of New France*) says that the bodies of three thousand men were found upon the beach, but this is unquestionably an error. Dunlap (*History of New York*) repeats it.

gle for supremacy on the American continent, and which was only to cease with the complete expulsion of the French which this acquisition of so large a territory foreshadowed.[1]

When Hunter retired in 1719 the improved condition of the people justified the congratulatory address he made to the Assembly. His relations were more amicable with that body when the necessities of war no longer strained the resources of the colony. But, notwithstanding his avowal of the hope that "as the very name of faction or party seems to be forgotten, may it ever be in oblivion," he left to his successor, Burnet, — the son of Bishop Burnet, — causes enough for dissension.



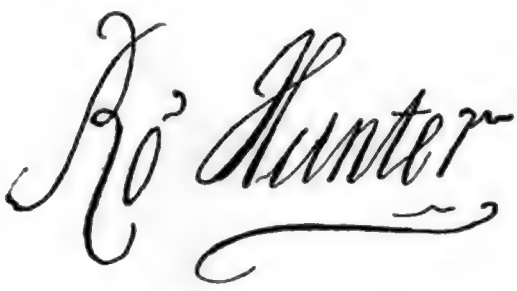
Eson Ohkoan King of the River Nation

As the friend and correspondent of Hunter, Burnet had the benefit of his experience, and had become, when he assumed the government in 1720, familiar with the affairs of the colony. That he failed to make himself acceptable to the people was not from any want of devotion to its interests. He adopted the doctrine of the statesmen of the time that the presence of the French on the northern border was a perpetual and a dangerous menace to all the English colonies. Where war had failed, other measures, he hoped, might be more successful. The French, he reasoned, drew their chief support from trade with the Indians; and as their commerce with Europe was small, from the long and difficult voyage up the St. Lawrence, they were largely dependent upon the English at Albany for supplies for traffic with the native tribes. To starve out a troublesome neighbor, and to secure, at the same time, complete control of the Indians, Burnet conceived to be the wisest

Governor Burnet and his policy.

[1] One of the political scandals of the time was that the attempted invasion of Canada under Hill and Nicholson, which cost the lives of a thousand men and plunged the colonies into debt, was a job of St. John's, — Lord Bolingbroke, — the Secretary of State. In the bitter controversies of parties no story was deemed too monstrous for belief. Recent researches prove that St. John was grossly wronged by this charge, and that he was exceedingly anxious for the conquest of Canada, believing it would greatly strengthen his administration and perpetuate his power. See Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. iv., p. 281, note.

policy. He proposed to prohibit, therefore, all commercial intercourse between his own province and the French of Canada. In this he had the support of the Assembly which he found and, for a time, continued in office.



Signature of Hunter.

But selfish interests were stronger than law. The trade with Canada continued notwithstanding a prohibitory act. A strong party was soon arrayed against the policy of the Governor on this subject, led by men who would no doubt be ready enough to fight the French if occasion offered, but who were not to be deterred by law from a profitable trade with the worst enemies. The party in opposition was strengthened by a growing hostility to the Court of Chancery, established by Hunter without the consent of the Assembly, and declared to be injurious to the rights of the people. Personal unpopularity, with which politics had nothing to do, increased the number of the Governor's opponents. His impulsive temper led him into difficulties which a more prudent ruler would have avoided; he thus lost friends and gained enemies by becoming involved in a bitter controversy among the members of the French Church in New York, which led to its division.

His administration, however, was notable in that it did much to strengthen the English alliance with the Indians and to weaken that of the French. A fort was built and a trading-post established at Oswego; advantage was taken of the exasperation of the Indians at the encroachments of the French at Niagara. The Five Nations were induced to convey their country to the English King; the trade with other native tribes was enlarged and extended, and deputations of the Miamies from the Upper Mississippi, and of the Michilimackinacks from the Great Lakes, were attracted to Albany.

The Five Nations at this time had become the Six Nations by the addition of the Tuscaroras from the south.[1] They understood, quite as

[1] In 1689 the population of the Five Nations was estimated at 2,550 men; ten years afterward — in 1699 — it had fallen to 1,230. At the period of the Revolution it was computed that all the men, women, and children of the Six Nations numbered 9,050. These had decreased in 1845, according to Mr. Schoolcraft's estimate, to 6,942, of whom only about one half remained in New York. The politics of this powerful confederacy became of less and less importance as New York grew to be something more than a trading depot for beaver skins and elk skins. Remnants of this as well as of many other of the earlier Indian tribes still linger in the Atlantic States. On the western slope of the continent they still, in undiminished numbers, though under new names, remain as a factor in na-



OSWEGO.
[From an Old Print.]

well as either the French or the English, how important they were to both, and that their true policy was to play off their powerful neighbors against each other. To this policy they adhered with what may be called a savage cunning, but which was in fact wise statesmanship, till half a century later, when France was no longer a power in America, and all that was left to England was the comparatively little she had acquired from France.

Confederacy of the Six Nations.

The opposition aroused by Burnet's measures was strong enough to effect his removal. The royal assent was withheld to the act prohibiting trade with Canada. A new Assembly was chosen, a majority of which was hostile to the Governor, and he was transferred in 1727 to Massachusetts Bay.[1] He died in Boston two years afterward from fever brought on by falling into the water when thrown from his carriage on a causeway in Cambridge.

Death of Governor Burnet.

Governor Burnet said of himself, that his genius did not bud till late; — that his father, Bishop Burnet, despaired till he was twenty years of age, whether he would make any figure in life. To the reader, in an age which has wholly forgotten him, the bishop's doubt, through his son's boyhood, seems well founded. But, as compared with other royal governors, it can be well understood how many of the people of New York and of Massachusetts looked back on him with a certain respect. To write poor commentaries on the book of Revelation, as he did, is an occupation more worthy of the lieutenant of the King, than, like Fletcher, to sell licenses to pirates, or, like Cornbury, to steal appropriations made for fortifications. These commentaries, however, were not thought unworthy of condemnation — that highest evidence sometimes of worth. If we may believe Smith, the New Jersey historian, an act was proposed in the Assembly of that province with special reference to the Governor's book. Its title was "An Act against denying the divinity of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, the truth of the Holy Scriptures, and spreading Atheistical Books." But no other mark appears of any want of harmony between him and the people of that portion of his government. Under him, as under most of the Governors of the viceroyalty of New York and New Jersey, the smaller province was neglected for the larger, and thrived with neglect.

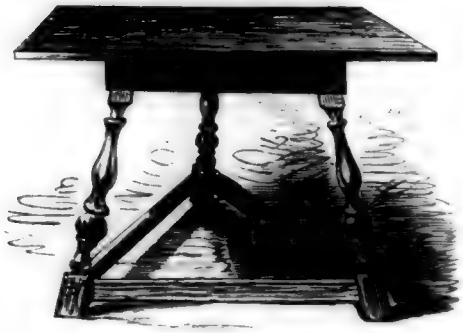
Burnet's administration in New Jersey.

tional politics, still fighting, with their backs to the Pacific, inch by inch for possession of their hunting-grounds.

[1] He was received at the Rhode Island boundary line by a delegation and escorted to Boston with unusual marks of welcome. It is said that he was annoyed by the long graces before meat, and asked when these lengthy ceremonies would come to an end. Colonel Tayler of Boston, one of his escort, replied: "Please your honour, the graces will increase in length until you come to Boston; after that they will shorten till you come to your government of New Hampshire; there you will find no grace at all."

Governor Montgomerie.

John Montgomerie, Burnet's successor, probably owed his appointment to the personal favor of George the Second, to whom he had been groom of the chamber. He is said to have refused to act as chancellor, as his commission bade him, until specially ordered to do so. He arrived on the 15th of April, 1728. His administration was short and uneventful, and he died on the first of July, 1731. After an interregnum of thirteen months in which Mr. Rip Van Dam, as senior member of the Council, acted as governor, Colonel Cosby, who arrived August 1, 1732, succeeded to the office.



Colonial Table.



The Old Capitol at Annapolis.

CHAPTER III.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

VIRGINIA AT THE CLOSE OF BERKELEY'S ADMINISTRATION. — PHILIP LUDWELL AND GOVERNOR JEFFREYS. — ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CULPEPPER. — WRETCHED CONDITION OF THE COLONY. — OVER-PRODUCTION OF TOBACCO. — THE "PLANT-CUTTERS." — INFLATION OF THE CURRENCY BY THE GOVERNOR. — LORD EFFINGHAM SUCCEEDS CULPEPPER. — A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER UNDER GOVERNOR NICHOLSON. — WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE. — NICHOLSON REMOVED TO MARYLAND. — AFFAIRS IN THAT COLONY. — LORD BALTIMORE DEPRIVED OF POLITICAL POWER. — MARYLAND A ROYAL PROVINCE. — CHURCH OF ENGLAND ESTABLISHED BY NICHOLSON. — EDMUND ANDROS, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA. — SUCCEEDED BY NICHOLSON. — HIS SECOND ADMINISTRATION, AND CAUSES OF HIS RECALL. — GOVERNOR SPOTSWOOD. — HIS EXPEDITION OVER THE BLUE RIDGE. — SETTLEMENT OF THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY. — GREATER RELIGIOUS TOLERATION. — PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY OF VIRGINIA. — SUCCESSIVE GOVERNORS, TILL THE ARRIVAL OF DINWIDDIE.

THE suppression of Bacon's Rebellion did not necessarily bring tranquillity to Virginia. The leaders on both sides — Bacon and Berkeley — were dead, and a heavy retribution had fallen upon many who had vainly hoped that in an appeal to arms they would find a redress for all their grievances. There was rather sullen acquiescence than cheerful submission in the restoration of order; for many who were too prudent or too timid to give to

Condition of Virginia after Bacon's Rebellion.

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Bacon their open support, no doubt regretted that nothing was gained by the Rebellion.

As in other colonies, the attitude of the Assembly indicated the popular temper. That attitude was one of watchful determination to maintain, within the law, the rights of the people, and resist, so far as it was prudent or possible, their infringement by royal governors. When Berkeley asked that the Assembly would bestow some mark of distinction upon Accomac County for the loyalty of its citizens at the most trying period of the Rebellion, the Speaker, Colonel Warner, answered, no doubt as truly for his colleagues as he did frankly for himself: "He knew not," he said, "what marks of distinction his honor could have sette on those of Accomack, unlesse to give them earmarks or burnt marks for robbing and ravaging honest people, who stay'd at home, and took care of the estates of those who ran away, when none intended to hurt 'em."[1] The Governor could hardly have failed to understand that beneath the sneer was concealed some sympathy for the rebels as well as a rebuke of himself.

It was this Assembly whose remonstrances against his cruel persecution of the late insurgents drove Berkeley at length to seek refuge in England. It was this Assembly also which refused to comply with the demand of the royal commissioners for its journals, notwithstanding the evident disposition of those officers to deal mercifully with the partisans of Bacon. The members conceived it to be incompatible with their honor and their rights, as the representatives of the people, to submit their proceedings to the representatives of the King, and they boldly protested against the act when the journals were forcibly seized by the commissioners.

Continued dissensions between the parties.

The royalists, not unnaturally, presumed upon the success of their cause, and were everywhere avaricious and overbearing. Accomac County claimed exemption from taxes for twenty years, in return for those services upon which Colonel Warner, the Speaker, put so small a value. Sir Herbert Jeffreys — one of the King's commissioners, and, after Berkeley's departure, Lieutenant-governor — found it no easy task to divide the line of truth and justice between the malcontents on both sides. One of the chief of these was that Philip Ludwell who by his daring and zeal had served the loyal cause so effectually, at a critical moment in Bacon's Rebellion, by the capture of Bland and his fleet in the Chesapeake.

The affair of Philip Ludwell.

In spite of the amnesty granted to the late rebels, he sued one of them — George Walklate — for alleged damages done to his property in some rebel raid. The Governor granted protection to Walklate, and refused the writ which Ludwell demanded. "The

[1] Burk's *History of Virginia*.

Governor was a worse rebel than Bacon" — was Ludwell's loud and angry complaint — "for he had broke the laws of the country, which Bacon never did . . . . that he was perjured . . . . that he was not worth a groat in England . . . . and that, if every pitiful little fellow, with a periwig, that came in Governor to this country, had liberty to make the laws, as this had done, his children, nor no man's else, could be safe in the title or estate left them."

If laws are silent in time of war, no less true is it that morals and manners are loosest when war is over. Ludwell, indeed, was brought before the Council to answer for this invective against the Governor; the offence was pronounced treasonable, and it was ordered that the proceedings be sent to the King and Privy Council, that due punishment might be awarded him. But the General Assembly decided, on his appeal to that body, that the defence as well as the accusations should go to England, which was all he could in justice ask. Perhaps the death of Jeffreys in 1678 may have put an end to the suit; perhaps the Lords in Council thought it wiser to lay it and leave it on their table, for Ludwell seems to have gone unpunished. On the other hand his defiance of a royal governor was welcomed apparently as the espousal of the cause of the people, and he is next heard of, a few years later, as the agent of the colony in England to seek a redress of grievances which had grown meanwhile more and more burdensome — grievances, however, which Jeffreys seems to have been sincerely disposed to remove, while they made an ardent patriot of Ludwell only when he found that by patriotism he could best subserve his private interests.

But the incident is of little moment except that it shows how serious were the differences that divided parties in Virginia, and how little even an appeal to arms had done to reconcile them. The administrations of Jeffreys and Sir Henry Chichely, — who soon succeeded Jeffreys as Lieutenant-governor — did little for the colony, except that they secured peace by a treaty with the Indians, brought about chiefly by the influence of New York with the Five Nations. Something more was hoped for from the coming of Lord Culpepper, who, since 1675, had held a commission as Governor for life over the province which, two years before, had been granted to him and the Earl of Arlington for thirty-one years. Culpepper had preferred to remain in England, but the King insisting, at length, that he should assume the duties of his office, he arrived in Virginia in 1680. He brought a proposal for general amnesty and oblivion for past political offences, but only for this one act of mercy from the Crown had the people reason to welcome his coming. "The Lord Culpepper," says a writer of that period, "had a singular dexterity in

Lord Culpepper and his administration.

making use of all advantages to his own interests;"[1] and being "one of the most cunning and covetous men in England," he induced the King to suggest that the salary of the Governor be doubled — hitherto £1,000, — and its perquisites increased to almost as much. This was no slight additional burden to an already over-taxed and impoverished colony. Still harder to accept was another proposed law, that the duties on tobacco and other merchandise, heretofore levied from year to year and the proceeds disbursed as the Colonial Assembly should judge for the public welfare, should now be made perpetual and under the exclusive control of the King. But these and other laws of less consequence, the drafts of which Culpepper brought from England, the Assembly was constrained to accept in consideration of the act of general pardon which came with them.



Governor Culpepper.

Culpepper returned to England in a few months, leaving behind him these, with the other fruitful causes of discontent of an older growth. The colonists were oppressed with the weight of fresh taxes while at the same time the price of their single staple product — tobacco — was constantly falling. The old remedies were resorted to, with the old results. Fresh attempts were made to regulate the production of tobacco by agreements with Maryland and Carolina to limit the planting, — agreements so easy to make and so sure to be disregarded. It was proposed to encourage the settlement of towns by enforcing the law which forbade that ships should pick up their cargoes by going from plantation to plantation along the banks of the rivers, but should load only at designated points, where, it was hoped, the towns would soon grow. No towns sprung up, for the industrial necessities for their existence were wanting; but many a planter was compelled to add a new item of expenditure to the cost of his tobacco, or, if the distance to the shipping-

Effects of the overproduction of tobacco.

[1] *An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia.* Written, probably, within the last ten years of the seventeenth century, and first published from the original MSS. in vol. v. of *Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.*

point was too great, to leave it to rot at home. Discontent was again growing to desperation. The one fact that everybody could see was, that because there was too much tobacco its price was ruinously low, but that the planter must sell at that price or he and his people starve; the fact nobody would see was, that because the laborers were slaves, the crop most easily raised on great estates was tobacco, and the true remedy was a reform in the tenure of lands and the system of labor.

Another rebellion seemed imminent and would, no doubt, have broken out had another Bacon appeared to lead it. Petitions were sent to the King, praying that the overproduction of tobacco might be prohibited by royal proclamation; Chichely, the acting Governor in Culpepper's absence, was besought to apply, meanwhile, some remedy to the correction of that evil. He would have gladly found one, but he could devise nothing better than to convene the Assembly. The Assembly, fresh from the people, could talk of nothing but the people's wrongs — of misgovernment, of rights withheld, of poverty, of want for which they had no alleviation.

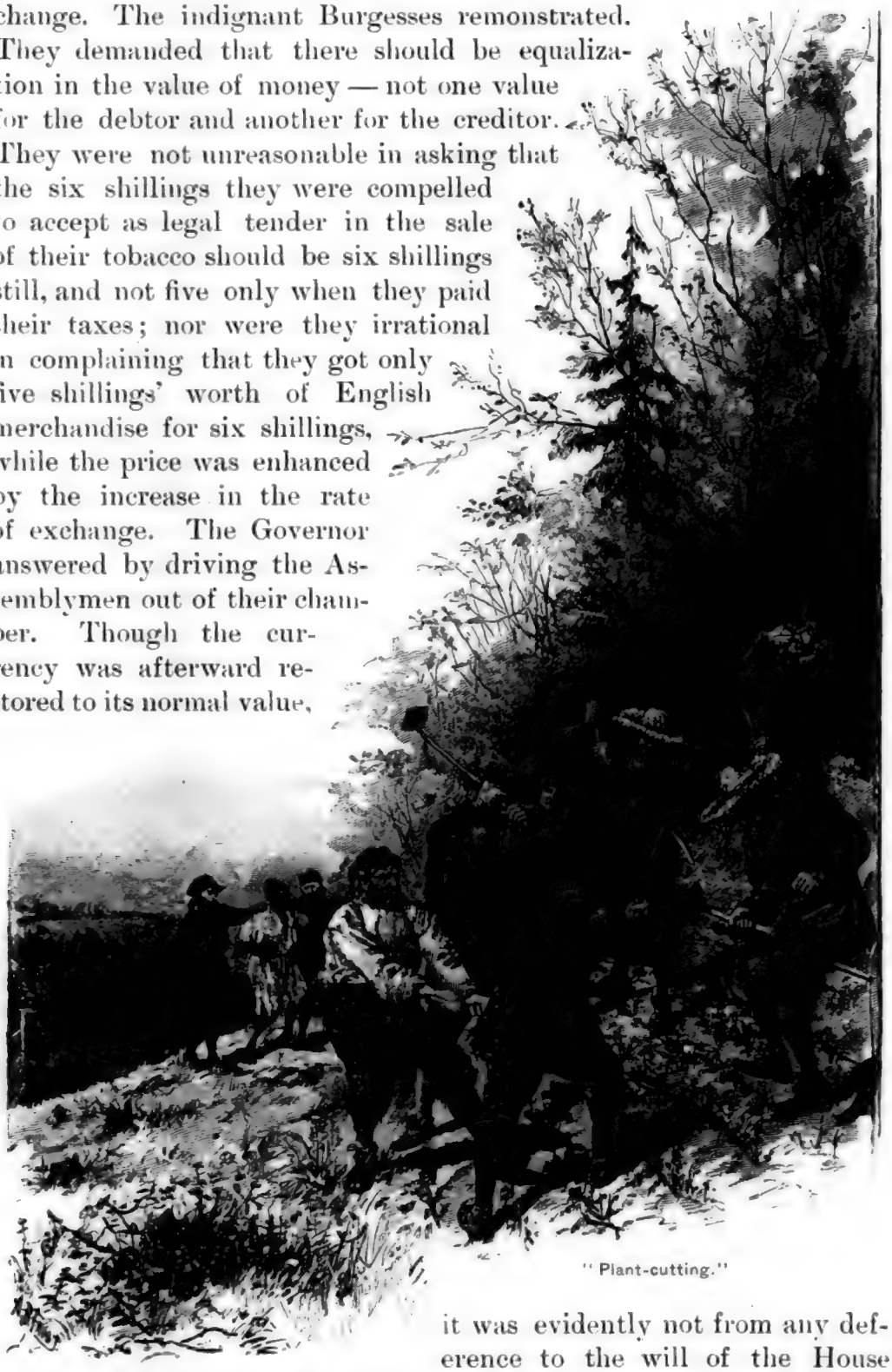
"Plant-cutting."

But, as in all times of popular distress and turbulence, there were men who thought themselves wise enough to discern and apply the remedy. The way, they said, to stop the over-production of tobacco was, to — stop it. Putting themselves at the head of the more violent of the population, they went from plantation to plantation, destroying the young plants when too late for a second growth that season. This earliest American "strike," like most of those of modern times, only brought fresh distress upon those it was meant to aid. The "plant-cutters," as they were called, were too few to damage essentially the staple production of three colonies, but they were enough to bring serious calamity upon themselves and upon all those whose plantations they laid waste.

It was in the midst of these troubles that Culpepper returned from England, and his method of dealing with them was characteristic of the colonial rule of that period. His first measure of conciliation was to hang the leading "plant-cutters," whose grievance was the common one, however little sympathy the planters may have had with the violent conduct of those misguided men; and his first measure of relief was to inflate the currency by permission of the King, declaring silver coins — crowns, rix-dollars, and pieces of eight — of the current value of five shillings, should be legal tender for six shillings, the fractional coins to be rated in like proportion. But the burden of the change was to fall upon the people alone; the five shillings, which were to pass for six in transactions among themselves, were still to be reckoned at five shillings only in the payment

Culpepper changes the value of the currency.

of the Governor's salary, in payment of the heavy tax on tobacco and all other taxes, and in payment of bills of exchange. The indignant Burgesses remonstrated. They demanded that there should be equalization in the value of money — not one value for the debtor and another for the creditor. They were not unreasonable in asking that the six shillings they were compelled to accept as legal tender in the sale of their tobacco should be six shillings still, and not five only when they paid their taxes; nor were they irrational in complaining that they got only five shillings' worth of English merchandise for six shillings, while the price was enhanced by the increase in the rate of exchange. The Governor answered by driving the Assemblymen out of their chamber. Though the currency was afterward restored to its normal value, it was evidently not from any deference to the will of the House of Burgesses or the rights and interests of the people.



"Plant-cutting."

The Governor also brought from England the severest condemnation of the Assembly for its spirited refusal to surrender its journals for examination to the King's commissioners. Beverley, the Clerk, who, like Ludwell, had distinguished himself for his services on the royal side in the late Rebellion, was imprisoned now for the zeal with which he defended the independence of the Assembly. The next, more direct, attack upon the individual citizen, was to take away the privilege of appeal from the decisions of the General Court — that is, the Governor and Council — to the General Assembly, except in cases involving only a small sum of money.

Other arbitrary measures.

Culpepper ceased to be Governor when he ceased to be Proprietary — in 1684 — on the surrender of the patent, which had become vested in him alone, in consideration of a sum in hand and a pension of £600 a year for twenty and a half years.[1] Virginia was so far the gainer, that it became once more a royal province, with a promise that its revenues should be used, in part at least, for its own benefit. The last act of Charles II. relating to the affairs of the colony was the appointment of Lord Howard of Effingham as Culpepper's successor.

But the change of rulers was not a change of policy; it was only to turn loose upon the flock another wolf whose hunger was still to be appeased. Culpepper was mercenary, despotic, cruel, indifferent to the welfare of the colony as he was ignorant of its true interests. Effingham, if not Culpepper's rival in these qualities, was at least his pupil, and bettered his instruction. Those of the ignorant "plant-cutters" whom one had spared, the other hanged. New duties were levied; new fees exacted; new perquisites contrived; new pretences invented for fresh oppression. The struggle between Governor and Assembly was continued, and the measures resorted to by Effingham were more arbitrary than those of any of his predecessors. James had among all his colonial servants no one more swift to catch the spirit of his rule than this Virginia viceroy. Ostensibly by royal authority he repealed laws, or revived those that had been repealed by the Assembly; the members of that body he bought by bribes when that was possible; when that was impossible he coerced them by threats or imprisonment; and when all other measures failed to bend them to his will, he would prorogue or dissolve that branch of the government. Of the Council, always obedient and subservient, he made a Court of Chancery, that he might add to his power as Governor that of a High

Lord Effingham, Governor.

The oppression of the colony continued.

[1] The colony, however, was not altogether rid of Culpepper. In 1671, Charles II. had granted to the Earl of St. Albans, Lord Berkeley, and others, a patent for the Northern Neck, — the region between the Rappahannock and the Potomac, — which Culpepper afterwards purchased, and the right was confirmed to him by letters-patent from James II. in 1685.

Chancellor. More than once, in the course of four years, he was called upon to suppress incipient rebellion; once a slave insurrection threatened the lives of the white masters. The number of the white servants of the colony was increased by the exportation from England to Virginia of many of those prisoners taken with Monmouth at Sedgemoor, but whose lives were spared when Jeffreys made his Bloody Circuit; and these added new strength to the more discontented and turbulent of the population, although the General Assembly prudently neglected to obey the orders of the King to pass a law denying them all power of redemption from servitude for at least ten years.

Ludwell carries the protest of the colonists to England.

Philip Ludwell was sent to England to represent to the King and Council the condition of the province under Effingham's rule. He arrived, fortunately, about the time of the landing of the Prince of Orange, and was enabled to obtain from William and Mary the hearing which James II. would no doubt have refused. Ludwell was so far successful that Effingham — who was also in England — never resumed the duties of his office, though he was permitted to retain both the title and the salary for several years longer.

Nicholson made deputy-governor under Effingham.

The accession of the new sovereigns excited small enthusiasm in Virginia, when it was known that Effingham still held his commission and that he was to rule by deputy. Colonel Francis Nicholson was appointed Lieutenant-governor. He, indeed, would have much preferred to return to New York as its chief magistrate, and all the influence he could command was used to procure him that position. It would, however, have been hardly prudent, hardly even decent, to impose him upon a colony where he had so recently, either from want of moral courage or from feebleness of judgment, made a popular revolution almost inevitable. But the political amenities, then as now held to be of so much more moment than considerations of mere fitness for office, made him Lieutenant-governor of Virginia.

He showed himself, however, anxious to discharge the duties of his post creditably to himself and for the good of the colony. Perhaps he thought he should best commend himself to the new sovereigns by making his administration as wide a contrast as possible to those which had preceded it; perhaps his late experience in New York had really taught him wisdom, and he had learned to respect the rights of his fellow-citizens. It was, at any rate, a new thing to see a governor in Virginia who thought it worth his while to visit every part of his province that he might observe with his own eyes the condition of the people; who invited them to meet him in familiar intercourse; who gave festivals and established athletic sports to improve and

modify their social relations; who proposed a public post-office, and made a great public road through the most populous portion of the province; who encouraged other industries than that of tobacco-planting, especially the growing of flax, the manufacture of leather, and an unrestricted trade with the Indians in furs, in skins, and other commodities; and who coöperated heartily with the Legislature in the enactment of laws for the purity and peace of society, making drunkenness a misdemeanor with a pecuniary penalty or punishment in the stocks, and enjoining in other respects — such as "swearing, cursing, profaning God's holy name, Sabbath profaning, attending meetings outside the parish, or travelling on that day" — a rigid rule of life more in accordance with the Puritanical government of New England than that of the Established Church in Virginia.

Improved condition of affairs.

The two Assemblies which passed these laws were called by Nicholson, notwithstanding Effingham's injunction that he should not permit the popular representatives to come together. So satisfied was that body with his rule, that at its first session it gave him £300, in addition to his salary; and so anxious was the Lieutenant-governor for the public welfare, or so diligent to gain the public approbation, that he gave one half this sum to aid in the establishment of William and Mary College. The real founder of that college — the second in the colonies, Harvard being the first — was the Rev. James Blair, the Commissary of the Bishop of London, and the head, therefore, of the Established Church in Virginia. But his success was undoubtedly due, in large measure, to the influence used by Nicholson in its favor.

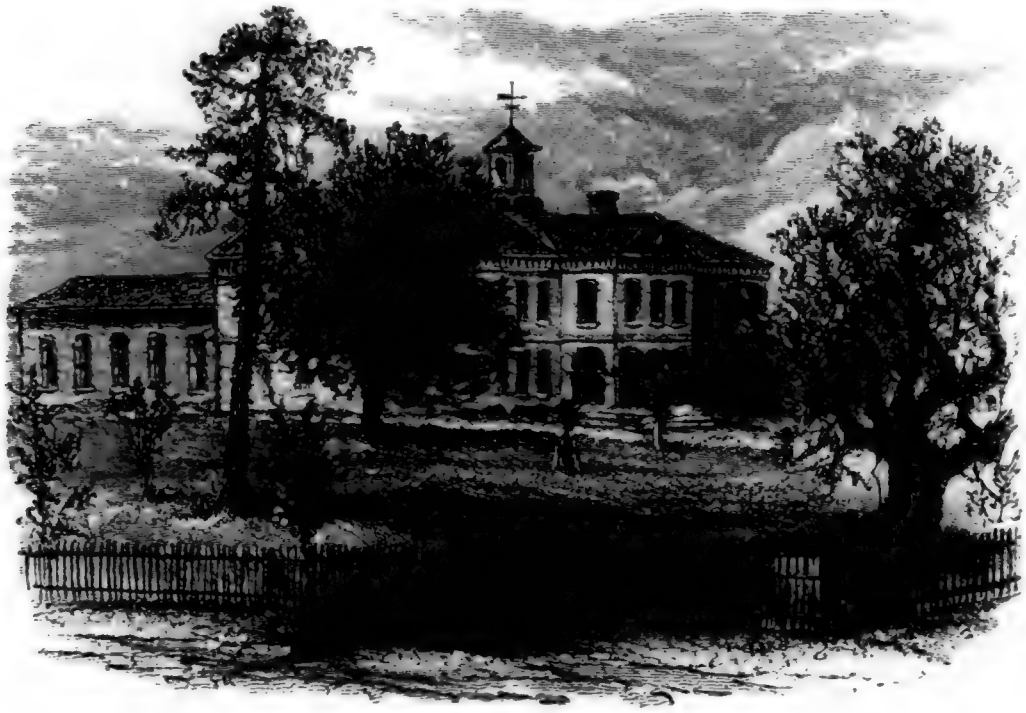
The charter for this seminary — originally intended mainly for the education of young men meaning to be clergymen, and for the instruction of Indian children — was granted in February, 1692, by William and Mary, and by them the college was liberally endowed. Sir Christopher Wren was the architect of the first college building; Blair was the first president, having under him six professors, for the training of a hundred pupils or more; and the college was entitled to one representative in the House of Burgesses. The opposition to the scheme was persistent, often contemptuous and bitter. Seymour, the Attorney-general of England, expressed a common feeling, though with more frankness than courtesy, when ordered to draw up the charter for the college. He declared that it was useless, and protested against the royal endowment as extravagant. Mr. Blair maintained its necessity, especially as it was intended to relieve the religious destitution of the colony in training young men for the ministry. He begged the Attorney-general to re-

Foundation of William and Mary College.

member that the people of Virginia, quite as much as the people of other parts of the world, had souls to be saved. "Souls!" — was the answer — "Damn your souls! Make tobacco!"

Retirement of Nicholson.

Nicholson remained in Virginia only about two years; but why he should have retired from office is not quite clear. Nor is it, indeed, of much importance, except that the reason given by Beverley, and accepted by later historians, rather suggests doubts on other subjects than explains this. It is asserted that the Governor became suddenly unpopular for opposing settlement in towns — "cohabitation," as the term of the time was — which, at



William and Mary College.

first, he had favored. But he could hardly have rendered himself obnoxious for opposing that which nothing could have hindered the people of Virginia from doing if they saw fit, and which they had obstinately refused to do for years. If there really were any difference of opinion between him and them on this subject, there must be some other explanation for the slow and painful growth of the colony than the want of towns, the isolation of planters upon grants of immense tracts of land, and the system of labor and cultivation which grew up with such settlements.

It is more probable that Nicholson returned to England with the hope, perhaps with the promise, of promotion. Before he left Virginia a revolution in Maryland had deposed the government of Lord

Baltimore, and that colony had also become a royal province. Sir Lionel Copley was appointed Governor in 1690. Nicholson may have hoped to supersede him; he was, at any rate, appointed in his place on the death of Copley in 1692.

Affairs in Maryland.

Charles Calvert, the Lord Baltimore who by this revolution was deprived of all political power in his American inheritance, was the son of the second Lord Baltimore, who died in 1675. The fortunes of that family had changed with the changing dynasties of England from the death of Cromwell to the accession of William and Mary. The prosperity of the state is not always — perhaps not often — measured by the struggles of political parties, and Maryland was not an exception to this obvious truth. Sometimes the Catholics, sometimes the Puritans, through these eventful years, gained the ascendency. Fendall, whom Cecil, Lord Baltimore, had made a Governor, turned against his master and put a Puritan Assembly into power; Philip Calvert, Cecil's brother, reëstablished the authority of the Proprietary, and made the way smooth and pleasant for his nephew; and through all these bitter contentions and vicissitudes, however important they might be to individual fortunes and the political ambition of a few men, the progress of the colony was steady and its prosperity undisturbed. In the ten years from 1660 to 1670 the population increased from twelve to twenty thousand. Under the mild rule of the Baltimores, and the spirit of tolerance which, notwithstanding their religious differences, had become the habitual temper of the people of Maryland, the province was a place of refuge for the persecuted of whatever faith. Had the first proprietors of that beautiful, salubrious, and fertile region been so fortunate or so wise as to make it an asylum of political and social, as well as religious liberty, it might have become in time the central seat of the power and the commerce of a great empire.

But the inevitable changes came at last. While on a visit to England, — Thomas Notely acting in his absence as Lieutenant-governor, — Baltimore met and successfully rebutted all complaints brought against him by the opposing party in the colony. But more serious trouble awaited him on his return in 1681; for the restless Fendall, with the aid of one Coode, a disreputable clergyman of the Church of England, was almost successful in arousing the Protestants to armed resistance to the Catholic government. Both the leaders were arrested in 1681, tried, and Fendall, at least, convicted of treason, though neither was punished.

Catholics and Protestants again in conflict.

The remaining years of Baltimore's administration of the affairs of his province were, nevertheless, years of great anxiety and continual contention. In Maryland the Protestant party was diligent and

watchful for an opportunity to seize the government; in England their friends were not less active on their behalf, and all the more that this struggle between religious parties in Maryland could be used to strengthen the anti-Catholic party at home. Even the King, who cared little for the religious faith of any of his subjects, was quite willing to listen to the suggestion that his own revenue from the colony was diminished under Baltimore's rule.

Baltimore's proprietorship in danger.

Threatened on all sides, Baltimore again returned to England, leaving his infant son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, nominally Governor, but committing the province to the care of a Council of Nine, of which William Joseph was president. Charles II. died before the Proprietary reached England, and he probably looked for more favor from the Catholic successor to the throne. But James did not mean to make Maryland an exception in the policy he proposed to adopt for the government of the American colonies. The *quo warranto* which Charles had threatened, moved thereto by Baltimore's enemies, James soon ordered to be issued in accordance with his own general purpose. Whatever his sympathy might be with Baltimore as a Catholic governor in a struggle with Protestant opponents, he had small consideration for him as a colonial proprietary.

Through the few years of James's reign Baltimore was held in that worst of all conditions, a condition of uncertainty; for neither could he get the *quo warranto* against him withdrawn, nor were the proceedings under the writ brought to a conclusion. To him any change was a chance, however desperate, and when William and Mary landed in England he was prompt in offering them his recognition and allegiance. Orders were sent to his deputies in Maryland to proclaim the accession of the new sovereigns; but either these orders were delayed in the passage, or the Council unwisely neglected to obey. Perhaps the result would have been the same in any event; but the delay gave the Protestant party an advantage which they eagerly seized. Rumors were industriously spread, or sprang up naturally and spontaneously, that the Catholics would remain loyal to James and defy the revolution. It may have been only to guard against a popular outbreak, and to be in a position to safely wait events, that Baltimore's adherents made preparations to arm and defend the forts. It was the best thing to do, if they did anything, having committed the first mistake of neglecting to proclaim the accession of the new King and Queen. But it made little difference in the end. The preparations for defence on this side were made the pretext of attack on the other, and had this pretext been wanting, another would have been found. The losing cause in England could not be the winning one in Maryland.

The Protestants, once more under the lead of John Coode, concentrated their strength in an Association to maintain the Protestant religion and the rights of William and Mary as King and Queen over all English dominions. Coode, an Episcopal clergyman, though a man of doubtful character, possessed, nevertheless, the energy which makes revolutions successful. Baltimore's adherents were driven out of the capital; Fort Mattapany, the Government House where they took refuge, was besieged and soon compelled to surrender; and the Proprietary's government was in a few weeks utterly overthrown. In August (1689) a popular Assembly was convened at St. Mary's. A report of late events was prepared and sent to England for the approval of the King, and meanwhile, till a response could be received, the Assembly took upon itself the direction of the affairs of the colony.

A new revolution in Maryland.



Charles, Second Lord Baltimore.

The royal approbation came in due time, to be followed soon after by a royal governor. This was Sir Lionel Copley, who, dying within a year, was succeeded by Nicholson. Lord Baltimore had been compelled at last to answer to the *quo warranto* before the Privy Council, and except that he was permitted to retain the revenue from the lands of Maryland, was deprived of all his proprietary rights.

Baltimore deprived of his proprietorship.

Since his return to England, Sir Edmund Andros, after his discharge from arrest and virtual exculpation for his conduct as Governor of New England, had busied himself in the affairs of Virginia. If it was with the hope of being rewarded with a commission as Governor of that colony, he gained his end. He was appointed in Effingham's place and assumed the duties of his office about the time of Nicholson's return to England. If the King thought him not unworthy of being made again the Governor of an American Colony, the Virginians may have reflected that it was not for them to question his fitness. At any rate, they welcomed him heartily for his recent services, and many of them, no doubt, thought none the worse of him because the Boston Puritans had deposed and imprisoned

Andros Governor of Virginia.

him as the friend of James, and an enemy of the revolution that seated Mary and William upon the throne. His loyalty, however, could not now be questioned. If not a better, he was a wiser man with William's commission in his pocket than when he imprisoned Winslow for promulgating in Boston the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England.

It may have been partly because he served a new master that Andros now remembered that a colonial governorship had its duties as well as its privileges. That he was less arrogant and overbearing may have been the result, in some measure, of his past painful experience; and then a more congenial atmosphere than that of Puritan New England had, no doubt, a softening influence upon his temper. Like Nicholson, he came a new man with new things.

Character of his administration.

He brought with him the charter of William and Mary College, in which he professed the strongest interest. Nicholson had already done something to establish post routes and offices. Andros completed the work in aiding Thomas Neale, who held from the crown a patent for establishing a postal service to connect all the colonies. It is Andros to whom Virginia should be grateful that he caused to be collected and preserved all the records of the colony not already destroyed. Nor was he unmindful of the material needs of the people. He encouraged, not without some success, domestic manufactures; that less tobacco might be raised, he introduced the cultivation of cotton, and it was not his fault, but the fault of the climate, that the attempt was a failure.

For the first year or two Andros was a popular Governor, and deserved to be, though popular applause was clearly not his motive of action, however much he may have come to believe that the welfare of the people was worth consideration. He disregarded much grumbling when he sent out vessels to suppress the contraband trade along the coast, and he codified English statutes and promulgated them as the law of Virginia, without paying the slightest heed to appeals to charters, to precedents, to common justice, or to common sense.

Condition of the colony at this time.

His position, however, was unquestionably one of great difficulties. The best intentions and the most vigorous rule, even if directed by a wiser man than Andros had ever shown himself to be, could not, in four or five years, correct the evils which, with the misgovernment of three quarters of a century, had sunk deeply into the social and political structure. "It is astonishing," says a writer of that period, "to hear what contrary characters are given of the country of Virginia, even by those who have often seen it, and know it very well; some of them representing it as the best, others as the worst country in the world. Perhaps they are both in

the right. For the most general true character of Virginia is this: that as to the natural advantages of a country it is one of the best; but as to the improved ones, one of the worst of all the English plantations in America." "As it came out of the hand of God," the writer holds, no region ever had more prospect of becoming a great state. "But . . . . if we inquire for well-built towns, for convenient forts and markets, for plenty of ships and seamen, for well-improved trades and manufactures, for well-educated children, for an industrious and thriving people, or for an happy government in church and state, ... it is certainly for all these things, one of the poorest, miserablest and worst countries in all America that is inhabited by Christians." [1]

This acute observer was quite able to discern some of the causes of the want of prosperity in the colony, — that, for example, the granting of lands in large tracts was a hindrance to the settlement of the country, and that the cultivation of a single staple was an unwise employment of industry. But it was no more revealed to him than to anybody else of that period, — hardly even yet, indeed, is it understood as an axiom of political economy by the Southerner of average intelligence — that beneath these ostensible causes lay the fatal mistake of a reliance upon slave-labor, an evil that no political devices however wise, and no government however well administered, could ever remedy.[2]

There was, nevertheless, marked improvement in the condition and character of the people. A growing jealousy of arbitrary rule by a royal Governor soon made itself visible. It was only a few years since Berkeley had thanked God that there was neither a free school nor a printing-press in the colony; and Culpepper and Effingham had for-

[1] "An Account of the Present State and Government of Virginia." *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. v.

[2] Slavery was the curse of every colony where it gained a permanent foothold; and this came to be as evident to sagacious men, by the middle of the eighteenth century, as it is held, in the nineteenth, to be a self-evident fact. Said the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, — in 1763, — Rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis and at one time tutor of Mrs. George Washington's son by her first husband: "Were an impartial and comprehensive observer of the state of society in these middle colonies asked, Whence it happens that Virginia and Maryland, which were the first planted, and which are superior to many colonies, and inferior to none in point of every natural advantage, are still so exceedingly behind most of the other British American provinces in all those improvements which bring credit and consequence to a country? He would answer: They are so because they are cultivated by slaves." Five and twenty years later, when the American provinces had ceased to belong to Great Britain, William Pinkney, chief among the distinguished men of Maryland, exclaimed: "Eternal infamy awaits the abandoned miscreants, whose selfish souls could ever prompt them to rob unhappy Afric of her sons, and freight them hither by thousands to poison the fair Eden of liberty with the rank weed of individual bondage!" — Cited in Neill's *Terra Mariæ*.

bidden that any printing should be done except for the publication of laws by express permission, in certain cases. The establishment of a college was the fulfilment of those fears which Berkeley hoped would not be accomplished for another hundred years. It was an evidence of increasing intelligence, as well as a promise of future culture, that a seminary of learning should be so soon asked for, even with a limited purpose. It was inevitable that the more it flourished the more certain it was to come into collision with men like Andros, whose idea of government was at bottom the same as that of Berkeley and his immediate successors. The Governor was certain to claim an authority over the affairs of the college which a president like Blair was sure to resist. One contended for his prerogative; the other for the true interests of the institution over which he presided. Though the question at first was one of ecclesiastical precedence between a royal Governor and a commissary of the Bishop of London, it widened into a controversy which gave new strength to the cause of popular government, and finally cost Andros his office. To punish and overcome the firmness of Blair as president of William and Mary College, the Governor arbitrarily removed him as a member of the Council. The political issue thus created went by appeal to England. Andros was defeated and recalled, and Nicholson transferred from Maryland to take his place.

The Governor and the college. — A conflict of authority.

Andros recalled, and Nicholson again appointed.

Nicholson had earned this promotion by his diligence and zeal during the four years of his administration of the affairs of the smaller colony. The substitution of the Church of England for the Catholic Church appears to have been his chief business, but that may have seemed to be no easy task. It was not a field ready for the reaper, over which fruitful seed had been cast with lavish hands. Only five years before Baltimore was compelled to surrender all his rights as Proprietary — save only his pecuniary rights — a petition to the King set forth that Maryland was "without a Church or any settled ministry."[1] A church of the regular Establishment, of course, is meant, for Presbyterians and Quakers had liberty of conscience and of worship, under Catholic rule, and of forming religious organizations after their kind. That there were no "churches," was because of the fewness or lukewarmness of churchmen. To bring the new royal province within the pale of the Established Church of England; to do away with the assumed evil of toleration; to establish religion by Litany and Prayer-book; — this was the policy of the King, and the first duty of the Governor.

One of the earliest acts of the Assembly, after the arrival of Cop-

[1] *The English Colonization of America.* By Edward D. Neill.

ley, was a law for the establishment of the Protestant religion, and for dividing the ten counties of Maryland into twenty-five parishes. The Friends and the Catholics were, however, sufficiently numerous to disregard the act for a while with impunity. Plainly, the want of churchmen was a serious difficulty in the way of building up the Church. When Nicholson came, however, he brought with him six clergymen; in two years their number was increased to fifteen; public worship was forbidden to the Catholics; five or six church edifices were built in various places; and all that law and intolerance could do was done to force the Established Church of England upon an unwilling or an indifferent people. The more rigid of the Puritans, to whom any recognition of Episcopacy was a necessity very bitter and hard to bear, had, at least, the consolation of seeing their old enemies, the Catholics, suffer, — perhaps aiding in their persecution when it could be done consistently with their own professions of non-conformity.

His government of Maryland reviewed.



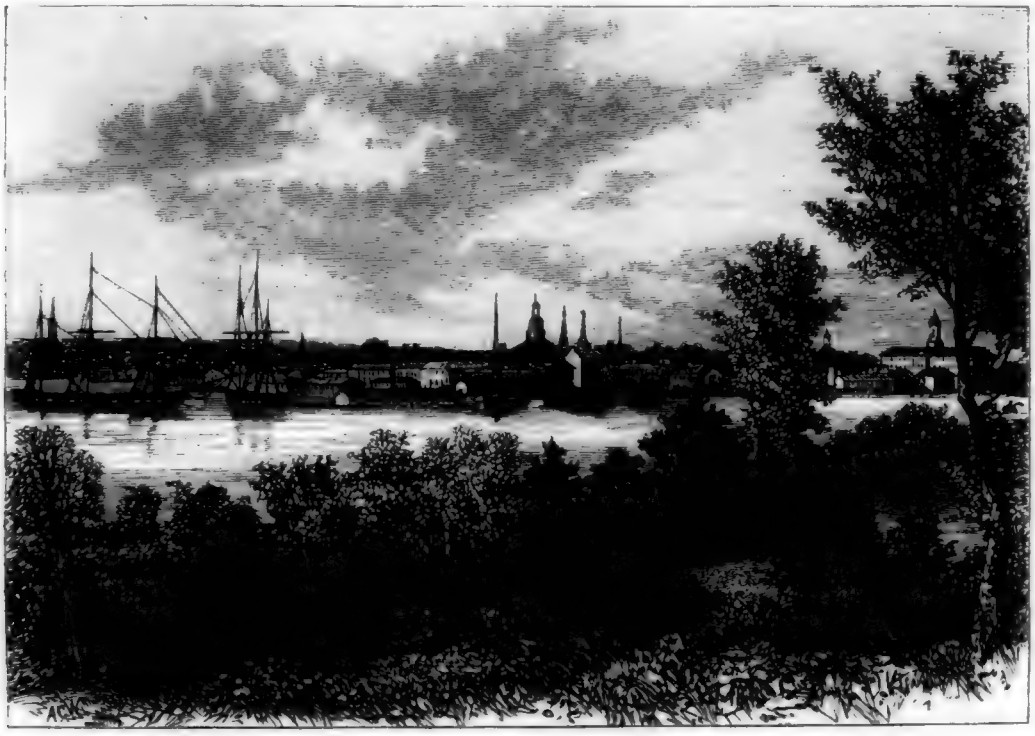
President Blair.

This enforcement of a state religion upon the colony brought with it some advantages. Nicholson caused a law to be passed for the establishment of a school in each county of the province. This, it was declared, was to secure a perpetual provision of clergymen for the churches; but the design, no doubt, was broader, or would almost inevitably become so. King William's School, as that opened at Annapolis — which in 1694 was made the capital — was named, received from Nicholson material aid and countenance, and may have served as a model for others. There, "arithmetic, navigation, and all useful learning" were to be taught, as well as theology. This, at least, was an improvement on the times of the Baltimores, when there was no provision for schools of any kind. Such a measure could not be without marked influence in the progress of society. It was not long before every one of the thirty parishes had a small parochial library,

averaging about fifty volumes each, exclusive of that of Annapolis, which contained about eleven hundred volumes. Twenty-five hundred well-chosen books, accessible to every person in the community, would be an important fact in any American province in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

His second Virginia administration.

But of Nicholson's long career in America, the five or six years of his second term of office in Virginia are the least creditable. Something of the reputation attending that administration must be attributed to the evident prejudice of his contemporary, Beverley, the historian of Virginia, whose assertions have been



General View of Annapolis.

accepted for the most part by later writers. Much, nevertheless, of all alleged against him must be true. He was self-willed, and opposition may have often led him to be overbearing and violent. That his sense of duty as a royal Governor should have sometimes clashed with the true interests of the colony and the determination of its leading men to maintain them, does not, however, necessarily imply that Nicholson was a bad or an unscrupulous man. Virginia had become second in importance of all the colonies; her House of Burgesses represented a population of 40,000; these representatives did not readily yield their own convictions, and there could be a perfectly honest difference of opinion between them and the Governor, which might, nevertheless, lead to bitter contention.

It was the policy of the King, and the interest of all the colonies,

that there should be unity of action for defence against the French and Indians. The Virginians felt that they had little to fear now from the tribes upon their own borders, and declined to contribute anything for the building of forts for the protection of the Northern provinces. Nicholson disagreed with the Burgesses on this point, and visited New York to consult with the Northern Governors, declaring that he would pay the Virginia quota from his own means rather than the colony should be disgraced by refusal. The Burgesses were obstinate, and the Governor made arrangements to fulfil his promise. Beverley intimates that, if the contribution was made at all, it was done at the cost of the King's revenue. Then the breach between the House and the Governor was widened when he openly avowed that the colonies ought to be united in a single confederation, under a single governor, with a standing army. More than one royal governor had warmly urged this policy in earlier years; nowhere could it arouse more indignation than in Virginia, where the House of Burgesses was rapidly growing in power and influence, as the representative of a people growing more and more tenacious of their rights.

Quarrels with the church vestries.

Nicholson's devotion to the Church involved him in a controversy which did much to add to his unpopularity, and finally cost him his place. Though he had not, as in Maryland, to establish the State Church, he proposed to increase its strength. The clergyman in Virginia was entirely dependent upon the vestry of his parish, who controlled his stipend, and bestowed or withheld it by an annual vote. Whether wisely exercised or not, it was then and there a wise limitation of the tenure of the clerical office.

Character of clergymen of the English Church.

The ordinary clergyman of the Established Church, at that period, even in England, was not a very reputable character. Intellectually he was but little, if at all, superior to those over whom he was set to teach; if he were free from the contamination of worldly vices, it was more from want of means than want of inclination; socially he was rather beneath the farmers who tilled the land of the great proprietors, and hardly above the servants who served at their tables; his wages were wages of service and not a return for productive industry, though over the household servant who jostled him as he approached their master he had this one advantage — that his wages, though small, were permanent and not dependent upon the caprice of anybody.

But in Virginia he neither had nor deserved this advantage. Low as the clergy were as a class in England, the clergy of the colony were generally the mere refuse of the order. Bankrupt in purse they could not be, for that would imply that somebody had once trusted

them; but most of them were bankrupt in everything else that could have made them respectable at home, and they sought in Virginia an asylum for freedom to serve the devil with as much zeal as ever moved Puritan to fly to the wilderness for freedom to worship God. It was well that these wolves, to whose care the flocks were intrusted, could always be held in some restraint by the will of the vestry.

When Nicholson proposed that this power should be taken away from the vestries, the disgust was almost universal. The clergymen, on their part, gave a lively and characteristic evidence of their sense of the favor to be bestowed, and their fitness to be trusted uncontrolled with parochial duties. Most of them met together at a public banquet and got uproariously drunk and broke each other's heads in honor of an ecclesiastical reform. There were a very few decent men among them, however, who were unselfish enough to oppose a measure which could only do harm, and at the head of these was the Bishop's Commissary, the President of the College, Mr. Blair, and a Rev. Mr. Fouace.

Complaints were sent to England against the Governor. An error of judgment, grave as his conduct was on this subject, might, perhaps, have been overlooked. But other charges of neglect of official duty, misuse of official power, and of private misconduct, were brought against him. A scandal in relation to a Miss Burwell, whom he wished to marry, was made great use of, and probably not without good reason. This lady and her friends had rejected the suit of the Governor; he nevertheless persisted in it, threatening the lives of her father and brothers, involved himself in a quarrel with the clergyman of the parish — Mr. Fouace — and with Mr. Blair, and pursued with bitter enmity for years all who opposed him. The matter became of sufficient importance in the colony to be the subject of a long memorial to the government at home; and as it was the subject of many bitter private animosities, so it undoubtedly had much to do with intensifying the acrimony on public questions.

A new capital.

Nicholson gave to Virginia, as he had given to Maryland, a new capital. Jamestown had never recovered from its almost complete destruction by Bacon and his adherents after the flight of Berkeley; the malaria of the surrounding lowlands had always made it unwholesome, and to abandon it was a wise measure. The Governor chose Middle Plantation, where the college was built, for the new seat of government. The town was laid out in the form of a W, — an arrangement which convenience, however, soon overruled, — and was named Williamsburg in honor of the King. The second year of its settlement was commemorated by the first Commencement — 1700 — of William and Mary College — an event of so

much interest that planters in their coaches with their wives and daughters, surrounded by negro servants on horseback, came from all parts of the colony; visitors came by sea from other colonies to do honor to the occasion; and here and there, mingled in the crowd, giving color and picturesqueness to the novel spectacle, was many an Indian in the bravery of his brightest paint and most brilliant and graceful feathers. It was a pleasant picture of colonial prosperity and progress in this oldest of the American colonies; but a reflective spectator could hardly have failed to remember that it was nearly sixty years since the first Commencement-day at Harvard College in Massachusetts was celebrated, or fail to remark in that fact the essential difference in the character of the peoples of the two leading colonies.

First Commencement of William and Mary College.

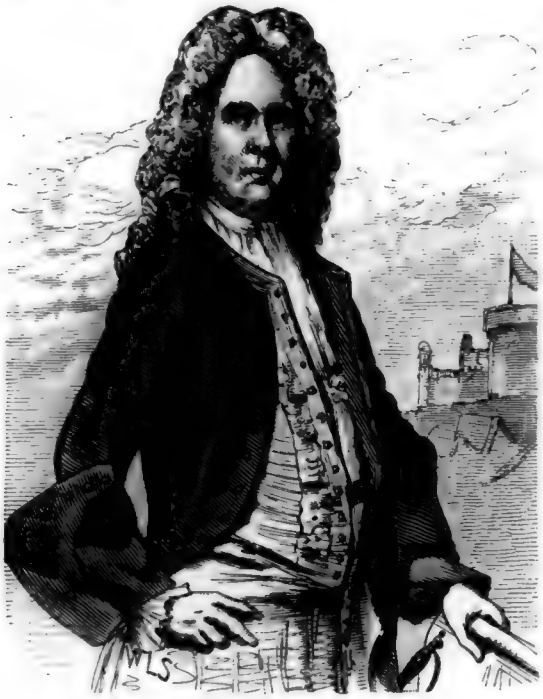


Ruins of President's House, William and Mary College.

Virginia was about to begin a happy — perhaps the happiest — period in her colonial history. On the recall of Nicholson in 1705, the governorship of the colony was given as a sinecure to the Earl of Orkney. The appointment of governors and a portion of the salary were his; but beyond the enjoyment of these perquisites he interfered no further in the affairs of the province, and his deputies were called, and really were, the governors. For five years it so happened that the colony was left to manage its own affairs under the Council, — of which the presiding member was Edward Jenings, — for Edward Nott, Orkney's first nominee, died a few months after his arrival in Virginia, and the second, Robert Hunter, never arrived at all, being taken by a French cruiser on his outward passage. With the exception of a few months, therefore, there were five years of tranquillity and self-government, which prepared the way for a wiser and more prosperous administration than Virginia had ever known under any of her royal governors.

Colonel Spotswood appointed Governor.

The new Governor was Colonel Alexander Spotswood, who arrived in June, 1710. It was accepted as a happy augury of his rule that he was ordered to extend to Virginia the privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus, which had hitherto been withheld. The great satisfaction with which this was received by the people, and possibly the evident necessity of such a protection to their rights, may have turned the attention of the Governor to the condition of the laws. It is, at any rate, remarkable that he, a young man, bred to arms from his boyhood, should have at once introduced much-needed reforms in the constitution of the courts, in the general administration of justice, in the character of the revenue laws, and in the collection of taxes.



Governor Spotswood.

In all these measures he had the hearty coöperation of the Assembly and the commendation of the people. Both were wanting when he overstepped the boundary line between royal prerogative and popular rights. Five years of popular government had greatly strengthened the House of Burgesses, and that body was always ready to withstand, firmly and unhesitatingly, any encroachment of the Governor upon their privileges. In the second year of his administration the House refused to provide the means he asked for, to aid in repelling an apprehended invasion of the French from Canada; compelled him to ask the government in England for assistance in the preparations which he thought necessary and they thought useless, for defence against the Indians; and declined to concur with his proposals for the discharge of the public debt, except by a tariff upon British merchandise and discriminating taxes against British ships and in favor of Virginian vessels. Notwithstanding these and other less important differences between him and the people and their representatives, his popularity for years was undiminished. He proved his sincere interest in the welfare of the colony by his exertions on behalf of the college; by assisting to raise a large fund for its support, and by restoring the building, which was burnt several years before his arrival and left in ruins; by establish-

Differences between the Governor and the Assembly.

ing a school for the education of Indian children; by insisting upon a rigid economy in all the offices under his control, and by giving a hearty support to every measure conducive to the general prosperity.

Spotswood's ardent curiosity about this new country in which he had come to live, led him into long expeditions that he might learn more of its extent and character. One of these was to explore the way to the country beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains of the great Appalachian chain. He started in August, 1716, from Germantown, on the Rappahannock, with a company of gentlemen well-mounted and armed, led by Indian guides, surrounded by a troop of white hunters, rangers, and servants leading horses laden with provisions and all other things necessary for such an expedition. These extraordinary preparations were a safe-guard against any of the perils or hardships of the adventure. But none were encountered. No savages dared, even if they were disposed, to attack a party so well appointed. The spoils of the chase were enough for their support. The march by day was a hunt; for the first time the solemn forest resounded, and the mountain peaks echoed and re-echoed with the clang of trumpets and the sound of guns. There was no want of song and laughter and merry-making around the camp-fires at night as they cooked their suppers of game, and drank of "white and red wine, usquebaugh, brandy-shrub, two kinds of rum, champagne, canary, cherry punch, and cider," which were among the stores they took to beguile the weariness of the way. No enemy, whether man or beast, ventured to approach with hostile intent this hilarious invasion of the wilderness.

Expedition over the Blue Ridge.

The most elevated summit they reached was named Mount George, where they drank health to George the First and the royal family. The next in height was called either Mount Spotswood or Mount Alexander, in honor of the Governor. They crossed the dividing ridge of the mountains where the waters parted, one stream running westward, the other to the east; they descended the western slope, marched seven miles into the valley beyond, and crossed a fordable stream which they named the Euphrates. On its farther bank, with such ceremony as their resources permitted, — the firing of salutes, the blowing of trumpets, the free use of that extraordinary list of liquors with which the expedition was provided, — possession was taken of the country in the name of George the King, and a bottle was buried containing a written attestation to that possession. It was, probably, the number of empty bottles that suggested this certain method of concealing the fact from any future explorers.

The expedition occupied six weeks, and the distance travelled was more than two hundred miles. About the middle of September the

party returned to Williamsburg and rode triumphantly into the town, preceded by its own trumpeters, and welcomed by the towns-folk. To commemorate the event, Spotswood instituted a Tramontane Order, to encourage future expeditions, presenting to each of his companions a small golden horseshoe, to be worn as a badge, choosing that emblem, it is said, because of the number of horseshoes — little used in the soft loam and sand of the lowlands of Eastern Virginia — required for that mountainous journey.

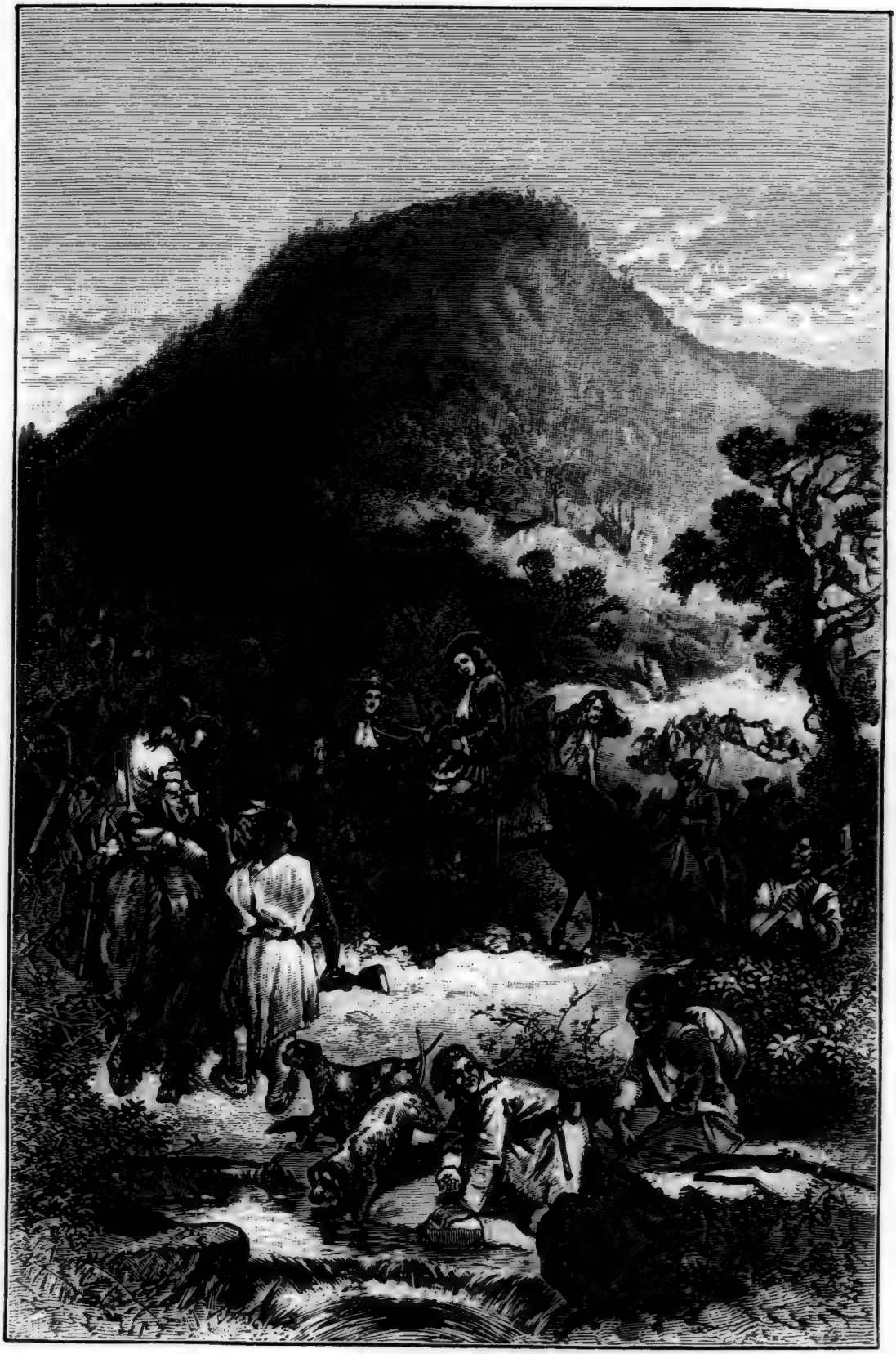
The adventure was altogether picturesque and spirited, but that was all. No migration immediately followed in its trail. The Tramontane Order could not exist long on a single past achievement; and the golden horseshoe, which no one was entitled to wear who had not drunk the King's health on the top of Mount George, soon came to be only a pretty memento, well enough to have won, but not worth the winning anew. Sixteen years more passed before the axe of the settler was heard in the Shenandoah Valley, and then, first, not where Spotswood and his jolly companions had entered it, but near its northern extremity. In 1732, one Joist Hite took up forty thousand acres of land near the present town of Winchester, and entered upon possession with a colony from Pennsylvania. Others soon followed to the same region, some pushing farther west over the mountains till they descended into the valley of the Monongahela. John Lewis, an Irishman with a Scotch wife, and their children, founded Staunton, the oldest town in the Shenandoah Valley; and one Burden, an agent of Lord Halifax, following him, obtained a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land, on condition that he should settle upon them a hundred families. These and more he brought out from the north of Ireland, Scotland, and the border counties of England. In the course of ten years, from 1730 to 1740, Friends, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and Germans from Pennsylvania, as well as emigrants to Virginia direct from Germany and Ireland, scattered themselves through this rich and beautiful valley from its northern to its southern extremity.

Settlement of the Shenandoah Valley.

In 1744 the Six Nations consented, in consideration of the sum of four hundred pounds, to relinquish their title to all that country lying between the western boundary of Virginia and the Ohio River. Twenty-two years before, Spotswood had secured a treaty with those tribes whereby they bound themselves to abandon all the region east of the Blue Ridge and south of the Potomac. Both treaties prepared the way for this steady and irresistible progress of colonization westward, to be pushed a few years later into the valley of the Ohio.

Treaties with the Indians.

In the year of this treaty — 1722 — Spotswood ceased to be Gover-



SPOTSWOOD'S EXPEDITION OVER THE BLUE RIDGE.

nor; but he lived for eighteen years longer as a private citizen of Virginia, and must have seen with gratification the enlargement of the area of the province, which was the object of his expedition across the mountains. It was a continuation of that prosperity to which his long administration had given so strong an impulse. The welfare of Virginia was sincerely his aim, and his efforts were often successful, notwithstanding the serious conflict of purpose and opinion between a royal Governor and a provincial Assembly, so sure to manifest itself in the course of a dozen years. The Burgesses were slow and cautious, often obstinate, sometimes stolid, but always honest. The Governor, conscious of his own integrity, and slow to see that there could be any legitimate conflict between royal prerogative and popular right, was very often imperious and contemptuous. The people had made a mistake, he said to the House of Burgesses on one occasion, in the choice "of a set of representatives whom heaven has not generally endowed with the ordinary qualifications requisite to legislators," and who put at the head of standing committees men who could neither "spell English nor write common sense." The statement of fact no doubt was true; but neither that nor the terms used to convey it were pleasant to hear, or likely to have a conciliatory influence. Patriotism would not be less stern and uncompromising in men treated with such hearty contempt, and they often made the Governor understand that bad English and a poor style were not at all incompatible with a clear comprehension of their rights and a vigorous defence of them. They took the ground — specially with relation to postal laws, but as a general principle — that Parliament could not enforce a tax in the colony without the assent of the Assembly; and the essential thing was, not that they were not able always to carry out this doctrine against the Governor, but that they should assert and maintain it as a fundamental rule of conduct. Taxation without representation was a phrase to remember for near three quarters of a century, though it might be forgotten that when first loudly asserted in Virginia it was provoked, perhaps, by a colonial governor declaring that the House of Burgesses was a house of blockheads.

Of all the conflicts, however, in which Spotswood was involved, none was more earnest and bitter than the old one in regard to church patronage. The Governor, like his predecessors, claimed that the presentation to pastoral livings was a privilege of his office, and that any interference by the vestries was mere usurpation. There was just as little disposition now as in the time of Andros and Nicholson to relinquish the control of the individual churches over their clergymen. As in former years, the Reverend Mr. Blair came forward to lend the weight of his character and ability to the cause

of the vestries; and, as in former years, the victory was with them. With the aid of this controversy the enemies of Spotswood prevailed against him, and he was removed in 1722.

Spotswood removed.

As an influential private citizen he was, perhaps, of more service to the colony than he had ever been as its governor. On his domain of forty thousand acres he found beds of iron ore, established a furnace and foundry, and gave to Virginia a new and important industry.[1] This identity with the interests of the colony, from his long residence in it, brought him at length to juster and more liberal views of the rights of the colonists. In ceasing to be Governor, however, he did not retire altogether from public life. From 1730 to 1739, he was Deputy Postmaster-general of the colonies, and through him Benjamin Franklin was appointed postmaster of the Province of Pennsylvania. When Virginia was called upon to furnish troops in 1740 to aid in the expedition against Carthagena, Spotswood was called upon to take command, and he died — at the age of sixty-four years — while attending to the active duties of the embarkation at Annapolis. Lawrence Washington — a half-brother of George Washington — was a captain in this expedition, and he afterward named his family-seat in Virginia Mount Vernon, in honor of the admiral under whom he served.



Lawrence Washington.

From the beginning of the century to about the end of Spotswood's administration, the population of Virginia doubled. It doubled again within the next five and twenty years, a period through which Hugh Drysdale — first after Spotswood — and William Gooch, from 1728 to 1749, were governors. This increase was inevitable in the addition of a third to the settled area of the province by the occupation of the region beyond the Blue Ridge. Of still more moment was it that the emigrants attracted to that

Progress of the colony.

1 He did not, however, as has been stated, introduce the manufacturing of iron into the colonies. Two brothers, named Leonard, were the first manufacturers in the town of Raynham, in Massachusetts, in 1652. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iii.

lovely valley, differed in many respects from those who first settled upon the bottom lands of lower Virginia, and from their descendants who still lived there. There were fewer among them who came to America with the hope of acquiring fortunes; more who came that they might find permanent and peaceful homes; fewer who sought for large tracts of land for plantations; more who were content with enough to give them prosperous farms; fewer who depended upon the labor of slaves and servants; more who tilled the earth with their own hands, and were willing to eat their bread in the sweat of their own faces; fewer who prided themselves on gentle blood; more who were satisfied to remember that they came of the stock of English yeomen, and that neither they, nor their fathers, nor their mothers, were among those raked out of the prisons of England, and the gutters and stews of London, to be sent to grow tobacco in Virginia; fewer who from habit trusted for spiritual guidance to the rollicking parsons of the Established Church as the respectable religion of the time; more who had broken away from a formal worship which seemed to them to be without sincerity or vitality, and who cherished, instead, profound religious convictions, acquired by long and earnest reflection, and made the rule of life.

The dissent which began at this period to assume a bolder tone in the older part of the province, must have been strengthened by the influence of the Quakerism and Presbyterianism of these later emigrants. But as the prosperity of the colony increased, some portion of the new element was absorbed by Eastern Virginia as its population slowly crept up the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge from the alluvial region between that and the sea. Greater freedom of thought and a larger religious toleration went step by step with the material progress of the colony. Governor Gooch was much more troubled in the later years of his administration with the frequency of itinerant preaching, and the gathering of dissenting churches, than with the old question of the power of vestries in the Established Church. What was the purpose of a pulpit, and what manner of man should occupy it, came to be questions of more moment than how a man should be put into a pulpit which the state had built. Whitefield was as warmly welcomed on his first visit to Virginia as among the Puritans of the northern colonies, not because he was in orders, but because of his power as a field-preacher. The New Lights were a terror to the soul of Governor Gooch; but commissary Blair invited the founder of the Methodist Church in America to preach at Williamsburg.

At Williamsburg, that which Berkeley had so deprecated, and Culpepper and Effingham would not tolerate. had already come to pass. A printing-press was set up in 1736, and William Parks published a

weekly newspaper. The growing wants of a growing people found their own remedy. Towns which legislation had tried so long in vain to create, sprung up where they were needed. Increasing commerce wanted new ports; increasing production new centres of traffic. Norfolk was incorporated near the entrance to Chesapeake Bay; Fredericksburg and Falmouth at the head of tide-water on the Rappahannock; at the Falls of the James, partly upon land that once belonged to Nathaniel Bacon, William Byrd, an eminent and wealthy citizen, laid out a town to be called Richmond, and on the Appomattox another to be called Petersburg. New counties were made, — among them Albemarle, so called from the Earl of Albemarle, who was appointed the titular Governor on the death of Orkney in 1737, — and in these, the convenient neighborhood of two or three log-houses, as at Winchester and Staunton, speedily grew to county-seats and market towns.

New towns and counties.

Gooch relinquished his office in 1749 and returned to England. Three successive presidents of the Council, John Robinson, Thomas Lee, and Lewis Burwell, discharged the duties of Governor till the arrival of Robert Dinwiddie in 1752. Under his administration Virginia, in extending her rule still farther westward, was led into new and momentous relations to the general welfare of the American colonies.

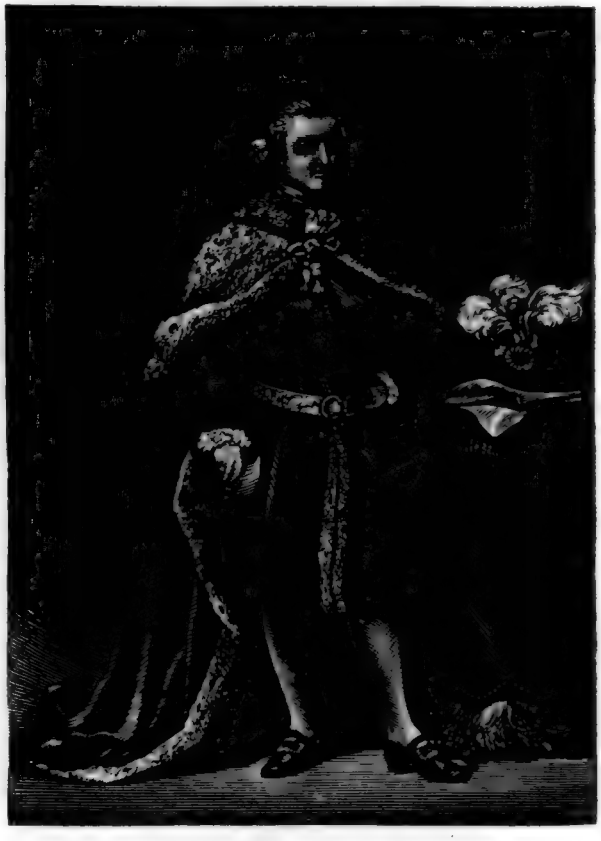
Accession of Governor Dinwiddie.

For the first twenty years of this century there had been little change in the neighboring province of Maryland, except that it was restored once more to the Baltimore family. Charles, Lord Baltimore, died in 1714; his son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, had surrendered his Catholic faith, had accepted a pension from Queen Anne, and had educated his children as Protestants. He died not long after his father, and to his son, Charles, then a child, were restored those political rights as Proprietary which had been taken from his grandfather at the accession of William and Mary. John Hart, the last royal Governor, was continued in office as Baltimore's lieutenant for twelve years. Except for two years, the Proprietary governed his colony by deputies, till, at his death, Frederick, his son, succeeded him in 1751. This, the sixth and last Lord Baltimore, left the province, by will, to his natural son, Henry Harford, in 1771.

The rule of the Protestant Baltimores was as gentle and as just as that of their Catholic predecessors had been, and it is sometimes remarked that the prosperity of the colony seemed suspended under the royal governors. But, in truth, as no marked difference in the character of the government of Catholic and Protestant Baltimores is visible, so no lasting influence can be traced in the administration of proprietary and royal governors. Maryland, like Virginia,

like the other colonies at a certain period, emerged from the time of struggle and dependence to enter upon another of ease and strength; and Maryland, more, perhaps, than any other colony, was left free to grow and achieve prosperity, while the rule of royal governors was too brief to permit of any serious innovation upon that popular independence which the Proprietaries had submitted to, and had, in some measure, permitted and encouraged.

There was, indeed, here as elsewhere, the same contention between Governor and Assembly, but it belonged to both royal and proprietary government. This, however, though it might delay, was not a serious bar to the progress of the colony. If very often the colony would have been happier without any governor, so, no doubt, it could sometimes have well spared an Assembly. That, for example, which in 1733 provided by a single act for the issue of ninety thousand pounds of paper money, inflicted upon the colony an injury not easily recovered from. It was more than a pound to every inhabitant of the province, and it was distributed among them partly by expenditures upon public buildings, and partly by loans. The bills, ere long, sunk to one half their nominal value, and, to provide a fund for their ultimate redemption, the colonists were compelled to submit to a heavy export tax upon their great staple, tobacco. But Maryland was not singular in the committal of this financial blunder. There was not a colony that did not believe, and act upon its belief, that a pound and a paper promise to pay a pound were of equal value; not a colony that did not find the belief a fallacy when the time came to pay the pound.



Frederick, last Lord Baltimore.

But for all this Maryland flourished. By the middle of the century her people numbered about a hundred and thirty thousand; her average annual export of tobacco was thirty thousand hogsheads, and she

sent abroad also largely of wheat, and flour, and Indian corn. A number of furnaces and forges were in successful operation, notwithstanding the effort of the British Government to cripple this industry by offering a bounty on the importation of English iron — a measure met by the Maryland Legislature by granting a hundred acres of land to any one establishing a furnace or a forge. There were manufactories also of woollen and of linen, and tanners, shoemakers, and smiths were encouraged by an export duty on the raw material of their trades. One third of the people, however, were slaves, and their unskilled labor was inevitably forced into the over-production of a single staple. Baltimore was laid out in 1729, on lands belonging to Charles Carroll, and Frederick was founded sixteen years later. Other towns were projected, but were of slow growth where they grew at all; for, as in lower Virginia, large plantations and slavery enforced a rural population and a restricted industry.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAROLINAS.

GOVERNOR MOORE'S MILITARY EXPEDITIONS AND THEIR RESULTS. — TROUBLES UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR NATHANIEL JOHNSON. — REPULSE OF A FRENCH AND SPANISH INVASION. — DISSENSION IN NORTH CAROLINA. — CONTEST BETWEEN CARY, GLOVER, AND HYDE FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP. — INTERFERENCE OF GOVERNOR SPOTSWOOD. — INDIAN OUTBREAK IN NORTH CAROLINA. — THE YEMASSEE WAR IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE. — INDIFFERENCE OF THE PROPRIETORS. — THE BUCCANEERS OF THE CAROLINA COAST. — THEIR SUPPRESSION, AND DEATH OF THE PIRATE-ADMIRAL, BLACK BEARD. — REVOLUTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — DEPOSITION OF GOVERNOR ROBERT JOHNSON. — SIR FRANCIS NICHOLSON PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR. — PURCHASE OF THE CAROLINAS BY THE CROWN. — ROBERT JOHNSON REAPPOINTED AS ROYAL GOVERNOR. — CONDITION OF THE PROVINCE.

THE unfortunate expedition of Governor Moore of South Carolina against St. Augustine, related in another chapter,[1] had consequences of more moment than belonged to it as a merely military disaster. It fastened a public debt of £6,000 upon a colony of only about five thousand people, created by the first issue of paper currency, in that province, in the usual form of bills of credit; and this was followed, in due time, by the inevitable depreciation and consequent distress which, sooner or later, always attended that desperate expedient in every one of the colonies. The creation of this debt was a question of grave difference of opinion among the people, and this divided them into two parties, whose hostility grew more bitter from year to year, as new occasions and new opportunities arose to widen the breach and strengthen either one side or the other.

Effects of Moore's St. Augustine expedition.

An administration that entailed such results as the issue of ambition or imbecility, might well be called an unmitigated evil, had not Moore, after his return from Florida, undertaken that other and more fortunate enterprise, by which a new southern frontier was gained at the expense of the Spaniards, and more territory secured for future colonization. But even this service did little to reconcile the opposition. Moore was accused, and probably with justice, of serving his own private ends on this expedition, by

Campaign against the southern Indians.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 559.

holding his Indian prisoners as slaves on his plantation, and in exporting them for sale to the West Indies. It was not forgotten that he had, not long before, dissolved an Assembly for withstanding his attempt to get the whole trade with the Indians into his own hands, that he might, it was said, the more easily kidnap or buy the savages for that foreign slave-market. Perhaps he was not so bad as he was painted; but so little harmony was there, at any time, between him and the representatives of the people, that Charleston was for several days given over to riot when the question of raising funds to meet the expense of the unsuccessful expedition against St. Augustine came before the Assembly.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson as governor.

This confusion was still worse confounded when Sir Nathaniel Johnson was appointed to office in Moore's place, at the accession of Queen Anne. Of this man Johnson, John Archdale, the former Quaker Governor and a Proprietor, said, that he "by a Chimical Wit, Zeal and Art, transmuted or turn'd this Civil Difference into a Religious Controversy."[1] It was a religious controversy, however, only so far as religious differences could be used to compass a political end.

The official party, the friends and servants of the Lords Proprietors, were of the Established Church; their opponents, who were largely country people, were dissenters. Dissent, however, was with many of them more a matter of tradition than conviction. The generation then native of the soil, and living upon isolated plantations, had grown up in ignorance, destitute of schools and of churches, but inheriting a feeling that no church at all was better than the Church of England. Many, it is said, went farther than this, and had lost all religious faith. Ostensibly to punish these unbelievers, Johnson's first Assembly passed an act depriving of their civil rights all who blasphemed the Trinity, or questioned the Divine authority of the Bible, and condemning them to three years' imprisonment.

Acts of the Assembly against dissenters.

It is hardly credible that there could be many in the province obnoxious to this law. Infidelity is not often an intellectual conviction or assertion with the merely ignorant; they cling rather to a religious belief of some sort, though their faith may be little better than an unreasoning superstition. If, however, the act of the Assembly was meant as a blow at the opposition party, it evidently failed of its purpose, and was therefore speedily followed up by another, which was more effectual. This law required that any citizen chosen as a member of the Assembly should conform to the religion of the Church of England, and should partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in accordance with the rules of that

[1] Archdale's *New Description*, etc. Republished in Carroll's *Hist. Coll. of S. C.*, vol. ii

church. The act was passed by a single vote; the election to the Assembly of many of the majority was disputed as carried by corrupt and arbitrary measures; yet, by this law, every dissenter in the colony was virtually disfranchised, and the popular party — which embraced all the dissenters, and far outnumbered their opponents — was left completely at the mercy of the minority who represented the Lords Proprietors, and who governed the colony, not for the good of the people, but for their own profit.

The disfranchised party sent an agent — John Ashe — to England to represent their grievances to the Proprietors. He escaped with some difficulty, when his errand became known, from Carolina; and he might as well have remained there, so far as any redress awaited him in London. Archdale, in his place at the Board of Proprietors, maintained the rights of the colonists with the same zeal and integrity that he had shown when their governor. But the majority was against him, and Lord Granville, the "Palatine," cut short the debate by exclaiming: "Sir, you are of one opinion, I am of another; our lives may not be long enough to end the controversy. I am for the bills, and this is the party I will head and support."

Action of the Proprietors.

Granville was a bigoted churchman, and cared much more for the religious than the political aspect of the question. A proposal to build a parish church in each county of the province, and to compel the people to worship therein, would with him condone a multitude of political sins, even if, in his estimation, the political purposes concealed beneath the religious pretense were sins at all. The Governor received the assurance that the Lords Proprietors approved of the "unwearied and steady zeal" with which he had prosecuted a "great and pious work" for "the honor and worship of Almighty God." With this success the zeal of Johnson and his party was redoubled. Churches were to be built and pastors provided, and lest this last duty should be neglected, the ecclesiastical government of the colonial church, which rightfully belonged to the Bishop of London, was vested in a commission of twenty laymen to be appointed by the Governor. The quarrel, in this aspect of it, was essentially the same as that which, about the same period, agitated Virginia, and ousted three governors successively from their seats.

The dissenters, who were about two thirds of the population, had been contending chiefly, thus far, for the right of keeping in the Assembly; they were now forced to contend also for the right of keeping out of the parish church, if it so pleased them. A new agent — Joseph Boone — was sent to England, but this time to look for redress in higher quarters than from the Proprietors.

Successful protests of the dissenters.

The appeal was made directly to the House of Lords. That body condemned in terms positive and emphatic the act relating to religious worship, and that which excluded dissenters from the Assembly; and they referred the petition of the complainants to the Queen, with a prayer that their wrongs might be righted, and that those persons



Granville and Archdale.

should be punished who were guilty of so flagrant and oppressive a misuse of power. Anne responded by declaring the objectionable laws to be null and void, and forthwith ordered the law officers of the Crown to take immediate steps for the revocation of the charter.

The issue of a writ of *quo warranto* and the proceedings under it were never, as we have so often seen in the case of other provinces,

measures rapidly disposed of. Lord Granville died a few months after the Queen's decision, and Lord Craven, a man of less arbitrary temper and of better judgment, stepped into his place as Palatine. A few months afterward, toward the close of the year 1708, Colonel Edward Tynte was appointed Governor in Johnson's place. He came with instructions from Craven so conciliatory and considerate that differences were reconciled and animosities subdued for several years. It was only for a few years, however. The seeds of dissension sown in Johnson's administration had taken too deep a root to be easily eradicated. They bore fruit an hundred fold, as we shall see presently, and Carolina ceased to be a proprietary colony.

An interval of quiet.

Before Johnson's removal, however, one opportunity occurred to him of showing that, at least as a soldier, he was worthy of being entrusted with the command of a province. Intelligence reached him that an attack was to be made upon Charleston by the French and Spanish, partly as a war measure against the power of England on the American continent, partly in support of the old Spanish claim to Carolina. His preparations to meet the threatened invasion were prompt and vigorous. Fort Johnson — still standing, and under the same name — was built on James Island in Charleston harbor; redoubts were thrown up on that exposed front of the city since known as the Battery; and a corps of observation was placed on Sullivan's Island to give the earliest possible notice, by signal fires, of the approach of an enemy.

Invasion of South Carolina.

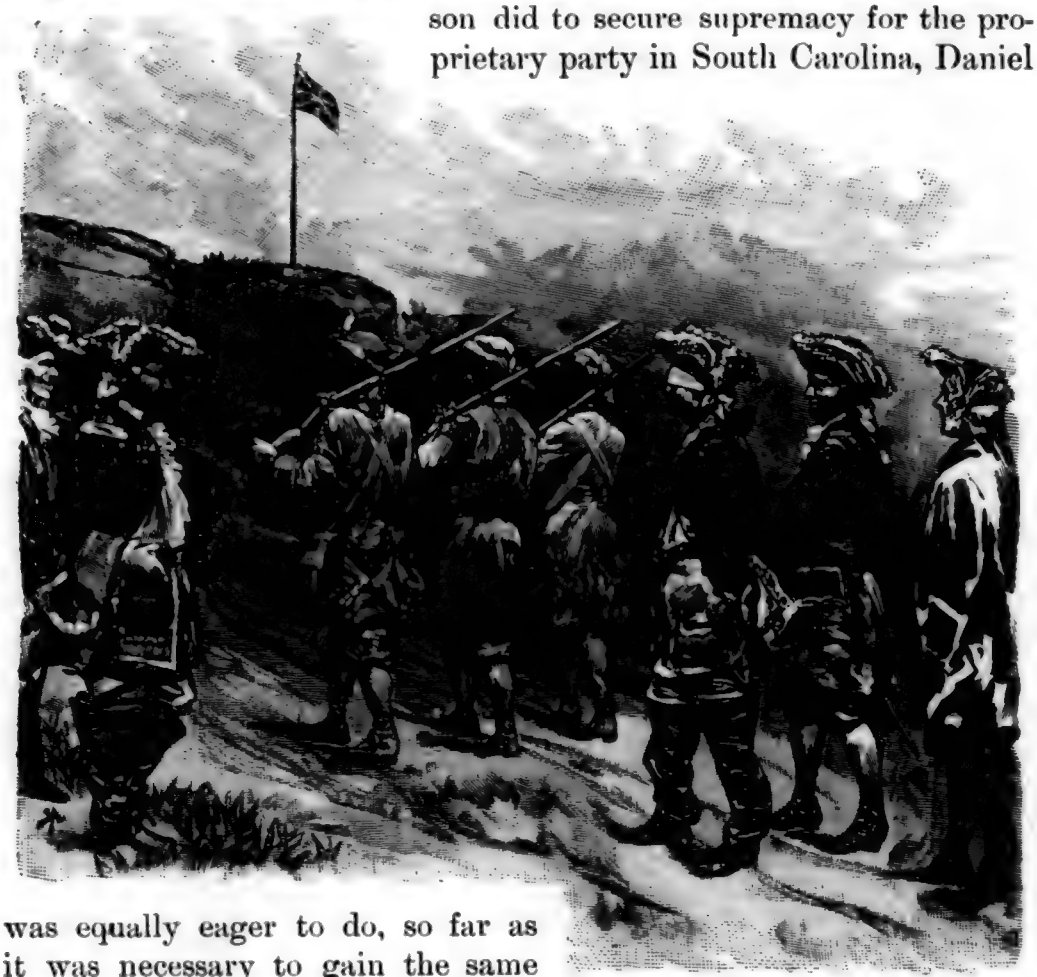
The invading fleet consisted of a frigate and four smaller vessels, under the command of a Captain Le Feboure, a Frenchman. He sailed from Havana in August, 1706, touching at St. Augustine to take on board some Spanish recruits, and in due time appeared in Charleston harbor. The Governor had ordered all the militia of the province under arms, reinforced by all the friendly Indians within reach; guns and ammunition were hurried on board six merchant vessels in the harbor, and these put under the command of William Rhett as admiral. Everything was done that could be done by a prudent and brave commander. When Le Feboure sent a flag to demand a surrender, the summons was received with defiance; the messenger was taken blindfolded from fortification to fortification, to be shown a well-appointed force in each. The men were quietly marched from one point to another, in advance of the unsuspicious Frenchman, who supposed that he was brought face to face with a new company whenever his eyes were uncovered. Every attempt of Le Feboure to make good a landing was repulsed. Rhett's little fleet of merchantmen were handled like men-of-war, and the end was that the

Its repulse.

French retired in a few days, completely baffled and disheartened, and a ship with ninety men on board, sent to reinforce Le Feboure, which arrived soon after he left, remained as a prize in the hands of the Carolinians.

North Carolina affairs.

In 1704, Henderson Walker, who as President of the Council was acting Governor of North Carolina, died, and Johnson was directed by Lord Granville to appoint some one to take that office. He named Colonel Robert Daniel, who, it may be remembered, was engaged with Moore in his unlucky expedition against St. Augustine. Daniel, like Johnson, was a churchman; whatever Johnson did to secure supremacy for the proprietary party in South Carolina, Daniel was equally eager to do, so far as it was necessary to gain the same end, within his jurisdiction. When, therefore, John Ashe passed through North Carolina on his way to Virginia, to find a passage to England, he was received with open arms by the Quakers and other dissenters of the province, who felt that the cause which he represented was theirs also. They accordingly empowered one Edmund Porter, a Friend, to join Ashe in his mission to England, to represent to the Lords Proprietors how grievously they were wronged by this new Governor whom Johnson had appointed to rule over them.



The French Messenger at Charleston.

For some reason, not now apparent, Porter was more successful than his colleague, and the Board of Proprietors directed Johnson to remove Daniel and make a new appointment. He selected Thomas Cary, who soon became as obnoxious as Daniel had been, and especially so to Friends, whom he would not admit to seats in the Assembly, or to any other office, without exacting an oath, to take which was forbidden both by their consciences and the discipline of their society. Porter was once more dispatched to England, to ask redress, and was once more listened to with favor. Archdale's influence with the other Proprietors was sufficient not only for the removal of Cary, but to take from Johnson all the power that had been left in his hands as Governor-general of the two provinces, and to give to the Council of North Carolina — a body nominated by the Lords Proprietors — the right to elect a chief magistrate for that colony.

Thomas Cary, Governor of the northern colony.

The Council — to which several new members had been appointed, some of whom probably, through Archdale's influence, were Friends — assembled when Porter returned, and elected William Glover Governor. But Glover was also a churchman, and no more disposed than his predecessor to admit Friends to office without the legal formality of the oath. The Council thereupon reassembled, deposed Glover, and elected Cary. The natural conclusion is, that a compromise had been made between Cary and the Friends, inasmuch as Cary, when in office before, had insisted upon the oath, while now Friends were permitted to affirm instead of swearing.

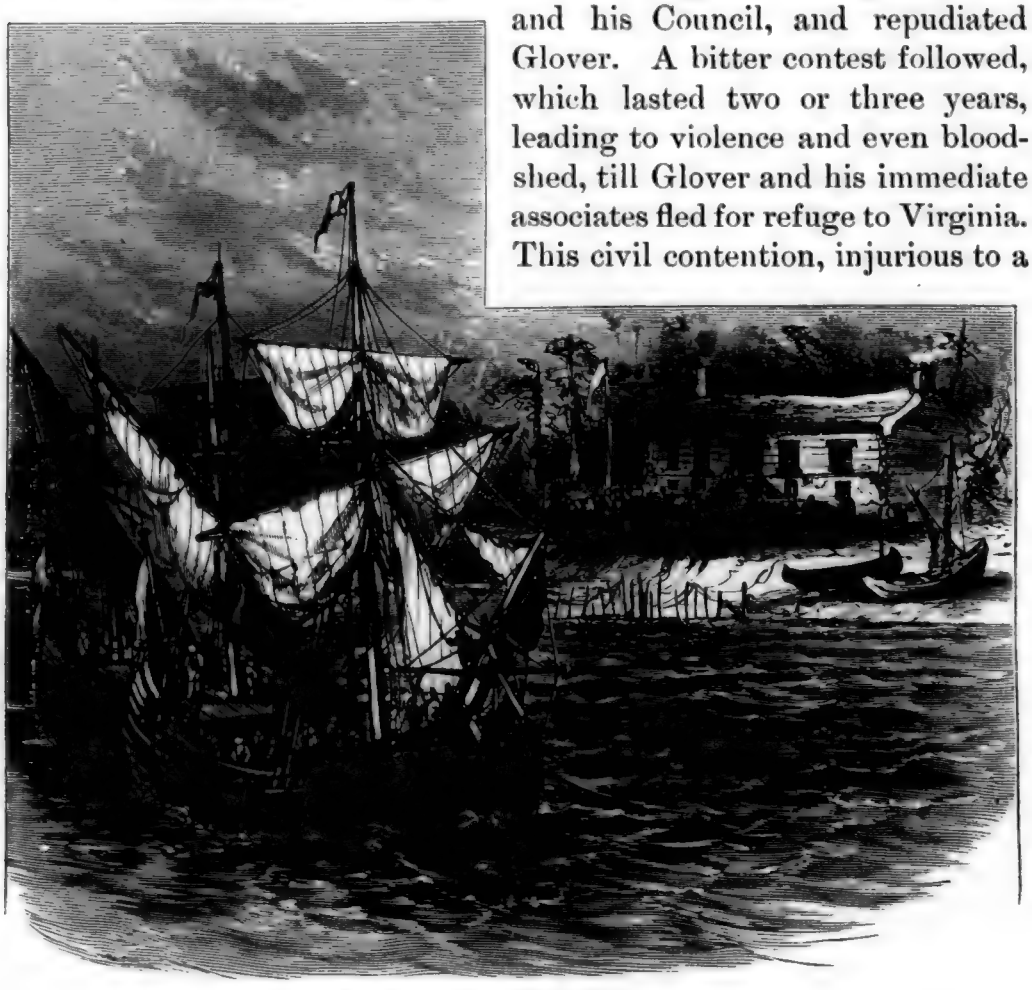
Removal and restoration of Cary by the Council.

But the important question was, who was the rightful Governor? On one side it was asserted that Glover's election had been illegal because the Council had come together before the time appointed for their meeting; on the other, it was declared that Cary had no right to the office, because some of the old delegates, who had been superseded by new appointments, had been admitted to the meeting which elected him and deposed Glover. There is no conclusive evidence now attainable from which a positive judgment can be pronounced on this question; but it is a case where testimony as to previous character has great weight. So far as that may influence the verdict, the Cary party were in the right. Whatever may have been his motives, those of the Friends were pure; for they at least were contending for religious toleration, freedom of conscience, and their civil rights; and there is nothing in the history of that sect, either in North Carolina or anywhere else, to justify the supposition that they would condescend to any dishonest measures to attain an end, however just and desirable. That the end does not justify the means

Disputes caused by these changes.

is a fundamental principle of their faith, and one to which as a society they have been generally true. The result, nevertheless, was disastrous. Both Glover and Cary assumed to be the legitimate Governor; the Council was divided between them, and both assumed, with their adherents, to represent the Proprietors; and both issued writs for the election of representatives to a new Assembly.

Here, however, Cary proved to be the stronger; the people were on his side; the Assembly, when it came together, recognized him and his Council, and repudiated Glover. A bitter contest followed, which lasted two or three years, leading to violence and even bloodshed, till Glover and his immediate associates fled for refuge to Virginia. This civil contention, injurious to a



Cary before Hyde's House.

colony still struggling for existence, was the prelude, perhaps in some degree the cause, of still further disaster.

Hyde's appointment.

It was not till 1710 that the Lords Proprietors in England gave any sign of consciousness of the strife with which this portion of their dominion was torn. Then they appointed Edward Hyde as Governor, and sent orders to Tynte at Charleston, as titular Governor-general, to issue a commission to him. When Hyde arrived Tynte was dead; the only proof, therefore, of his appointment that the new Governor could exhibit was that contained, it was said, in

some private and unofficial letters from individual Proprietors. Cary at first hesitated, and then refused, to accept this as sufficient evidence. How far he was justified in this course it is impossible to judge now, as we know nothing of the character and the number of the alleged letters. That Hyde had no official commission, and Cary, therefore, acted within the law, is acknowledged. He seemed to apprehend violence, and fortified his house against a possible attack; then, growing more confident, as he found that his own party did not fall away from him, he armed two vessels, filled them with soldiers, sailed into Chowan Sound, and attempted to land at a place where Hyde and his Council were assembled, apparently with the purpose of seizing Hyde. Baffled in this, he retired to Pamlico and proposed to make a stand at the house of one Roach. This Roach was a trader recently arrived from England, and the agent of a commercial house in which John Danson was a partner. The fact has its significance, for Danson was a son-in-law of Archdale's, to whom Archdale had two years before conveyed all his right and title as a Proprietor of Carolina.[1] From Roach Cary received material aid in arms and ammunition, as well as a welcome to his house. The trader understood, probably, the wishes and the interests of his employers, and in aiding Cary in Carolina represented truly the Quaker, or non-conformist, element in the Board of Proprietors in England.

Cary opposes him.

In this crisis of affairs Hyde repeatedly appealed to Spotswood of Virginia for help. It was finally granted, for Spotswood was a royal Governor, and to him all who arrayed themselves, for whatever cause, against constituted authority were only a "mutinous rabble." His Council agreed with him in the necessity of suppressing an "insurrection" which might prove of evil influence among the discontented of their own colony; even the House of Burgesses assented to his interference, while they showed that they were not without sympathy for the popular party by refusing to grant all the men and money that he thought the occasion demanded. But for this, perhaps, he would not have condescended to negotiation.

Negotiation, however, was first tried; naturally nothing but delay came of it. Both parties had gone too far to yield to anything but force. The Governor of Virginia then called out the militia of the border counties to march into Carolina, and bring that force to bear upon Cary; but the militia did not respond to this summons. The people of those counties were almost all Friends, and if they could at any time be induced to take up arms, it certainly was not now, when they were to be used against their own brethren. Spotswood asked that a sufficient force from some naval

Spotswood interferes in the dispute.

[1] Hawks's *History of North Carolina*, vol. ii.

vessels, which just then happened to be in Virginia, might be put under his orders; but their commanders refused, on the plea that such a service was beyond the line of their duty. There was one other resource left to the Governor: he ordered out the marines on board the guard-ships of Virginia, and sent them to Carolina. Their number must have been small, but they proved to be sufficient. At their appearance, Cary and the few followers by whom he was surrounded dispersed without a blow. When it came to a question of serious armed resistance or submission, he knew that he had no alternative but to submit.

Why? Not because the party which had sustained him were cowards, but because they were Friends. In numbers they far exceeded their opponents; Cary and his immediate associates, it is plain, were ready enough to lead them to the utmost extremity of armed revolt; the successful issue of such a revolt was by no means hopeless. But Cary knew that he and his half dozen followers could not carry on a civil war alone; he knew that to their ambitious personal aims — if they had any — the great body of the people who had thus far sustained him were utterly indifferent; he knew that that support was given for the cause of religious freedom as the Quakers understood it; but not even for that cause would these people take up arms in violation of their profoundest religious convictions There seems to be no other rational explanation of this sudden collapse of a promising rebellion. It entered upon a new stage with the appearance of troops who represented a government determined to suppress it by force of arms. In that last resort the Friends had no response to make; the weapons with which they fought the good fight were not carnal weapons.

Cary's submission.

What this may have had to do with subsequent events it is impossible, from the meagre records of the time, to tell. Cary and two or three others were arrested and sent to England as prisoners by Spotswood, but they were never brought to trial. A universal pardon was proclaimed for all except the half dozen leaders, but even these seem to have escaped punishment. In 1714 we hear of Cary residing in, or visiting, North Carolina,[1] unmolested. This forbearance may have been due, in some measure, to the indifference of the Proprietors to the affairs of a colony which it was more profitable to let alone than to care for. But it is also probable that the conciliatory spirit of Friends, prompting them rather to suffer than to do evil, was not without influence. All, at any rate, that they could have gained by violent resistance was soon accorded them. In 1713 Charles Eden

[1] "Colonel Cary is gone for the West Indies but intends in again this Fall." Letter from Governor Pollock to Governor Spotswood. Cited by Hawks from Pollock MSS.

was appointed Governor by the Proprietors, and from his time, though the Church of England was established by law, religious freedom was also acknowledged as the right of every man, and the affirmation of a Quaker was accepted in place of an oath.

Success of the Quakers.

Among the accusations made against Cary was one which, if true, should have brought him to condign punishment, but which, as he was not punished at all, was probably known to be an invention of partisan animosity. Hyde was hardly in quiet and undisputed possession of his office when he was called upon to meet a new and more terrible calamity. An Indian war suddenly broke out and swept over the colony. Cary, it was said, had sent emissaries among the Tuscaroras and incited them to hostilities to create a diversion in his favor. It is far more likely that the savages, observing the anarchy resulting from the dissensions among the colonists, hoped that an opportunity had come for their annihilation.

Cary and his adherents had dispersed early in July, 1711; the appointed day of the massacre planned by the Indians was not till September. To suppose that Cary could have had anything to do with it, is to assume that he could resort to measures simply diabolical to satiate his vengeance upon political enemies.

War with the Tuscaroras in North Carolina.

The Tuscaroras had induced all the smaller tribes to unite with them in a general conspiracy against the English; the half-tamed savages who lived in the neighborhood of the whites, and those who were servants in their houses, agreed to join in the work of slaughter at the hour appointed. And they kept their word. From every dwelling where these trusted servants had their homes came the signal war-whoop, at break of day, to the bands who the night before had concealed themselves in the vicinity of every settlement of whites along the Roanoke, the Neuse, and the Pamlico. Hundreds were slain within an hour, and those who escaped fled from their burning houses to seek a shelter in the woods.

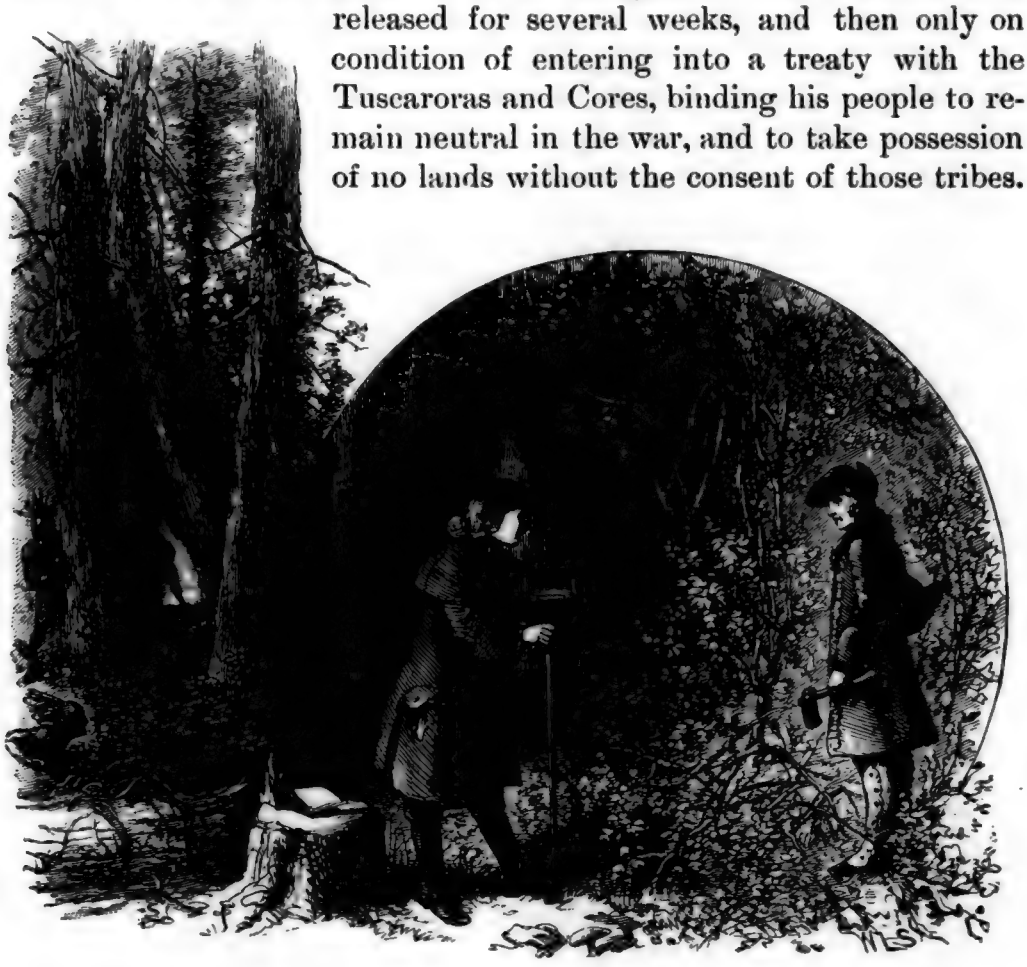
Massacres along the Roanoke.

None of the sudden outbreaks of savage hate which from time to time had burst upon the several colonies was ever more furious or more fatal than this. For three days it swept unchecked over the province from its southern to its northern extremity, and then only ceased for the want of more victims when not a man, woman, or child was to be found outside of the shelter of a house garrisoned for a siege.

Among those who suffered most were a company of Swiss and Germans whom persecution had driven from the Palatinate to England, and thence to find new homes in Carolina. The leader of these people was the Baron De Graffenried, a Swiss gentleman from the Canton

of Berne, and in his honor the town in and near which they settled was called New Berne. A few days before the outbreak, De Graffenried and John Lawson, the Surveyor-general of the colony and its earliest historian, had gone up the Neuse to learn how far it was navigable, and to select and survey lands for new settlements. They were taken prisoners by the Indians, and Lawson was soon put to death with horrible tortures. Had their captivity been known, it would have been a warning to the colonists of the hostile purposes of the savages; but the baron was not released for several weeks, and then only on condition of entering into a treaty with the Tuscaroras and Cores, binding his people to remain neutral in the war, and to take possession of no lands without the consent of those tribes.

The Swiss and German settlement at New Berne. Fate of Lawson and De Graffenried.



Lawson and De Graffenried.

He was faithful to this agreement, and was enabled thereby to save the remnant of the Palatines whom the massacre had spared; he was better able, moreover, to serve the colony at large by the information he gained, while the war continued, from friendly Indians, than if he had taken up arms.

Meanwhile Governor Hyde appealed to Virginia and South Carolina for aid. The generous and impulsive Spotswood was restrained by the cautious Burgesses, and was compelled to content himself with

interceding with the Indians. But more immediate help came from Governor Craven of South Carolina. Colonel Barnwell, at the head of a small body of militia and several hundred of the Yemassees, made a toilsome march through the wilderness from Charleston to the Neuse, and there joined the small force Governor Hyde had gathered to await their coming. The Tuscaroras had built a fort about twenty miles from Newbern, and had retired there in great numbers. Here they gave Barnwell battle in the open field, but lost three hundred killed, and a hundred taken prisoners; the rest were driven back to their fortifications, with many wounded.

Aid from South Carolina.

But this did not happen till within a day or two of the end of January. For more than a third of a year the North Carolinians had been shut up in their garrison houses. Their crops were lost; their farms and villages, through the southern portion of the province, were destroyed; in almost every family there was the sound of lamentation for dead relatives or friends; the living were reduced to poverty, even to absolute suffering for the want of food; it was a long winter of sorrow, of terrible fear, of continual privations, that this victory of Barnwell's broke in upon, and without that relief the colony would have soon ceased to exist.

The siege of the Tuscarora fort was not a long one. Barnwell was wounded; he found it difficult to feed his men; his Indian allies were restless and impatient, as Indians always are of any work requiring steady and quiet persistence. He raised the siege, made a treaty, and returned to South Carolina. The North Carolinians bitterly complained that he had abandoned them; for the Tuscaroras broke the treaty, renewed hostilities, and sought an alliance with the Senecas, of the Five Nations, to carry on the war. The summer was spent by both parties in preparations for a renewal of the struggle.

In the autumn Hyde died, and Colonel Pollock, a man of more energy, was chosen Governor. A general Indian war was dreaded in all the southern colonies; the Virginia House of Burgesses gave a more hearty support to Spotswood's measures of defence, and South Carolina sent a larger force, under the command of Colonel James Moore, to the relief of the northern province. Pollock, meanwhile, sowed division among the Tuscaroras, and seduced Tom Blunt, an influential chief, from his allegiance. Moore overtook the remainder of the tribe, with others who had entered into alliance with them, in a fortified camp near the present village of Snow Hill, on an affluent of the Neuse, in March, 1713. His attack was so vigorous that the war was then and there virtually ended. A large number of the enemy were slain, and eight hundred were taken prisoners, most of whom the southern Indians carried back

Pollock Governor. The Indian war ended in the north.

to South Carolina as slaves. A remnant of the Tuscaroras fled northward, and the Five Nations from that time became the Six Nations by the absorption of the tribe. The submission of all the Indians remaining in North Carolina was absolute. They had staked everything on this final contest. But if affairs with them were desperate, they were hardly less so with the English. An estimate of the resources of the colony, made a few days after the battle, showed that there were but thirty-two barrels of meat and eight hundred bushels of corn in the whole province.



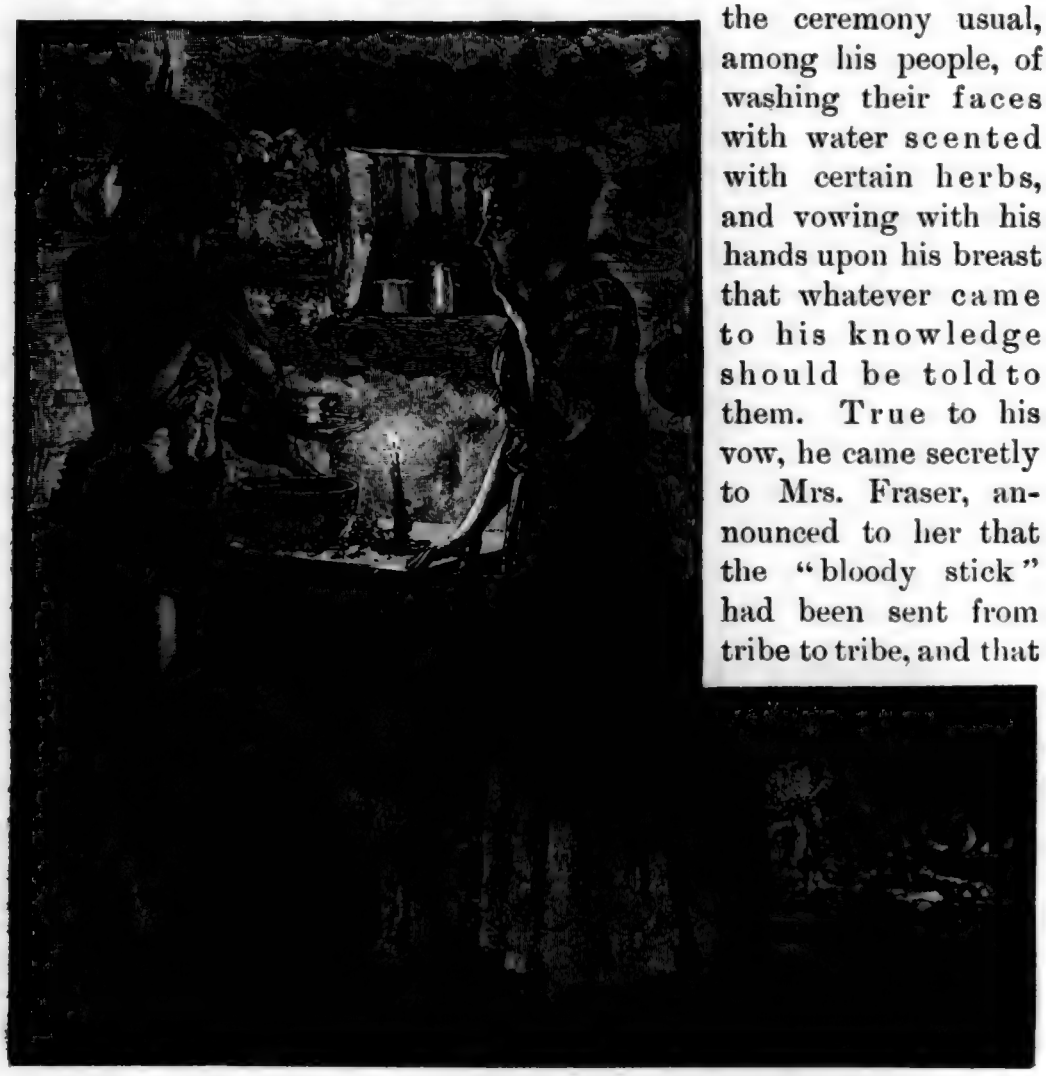
The "Bloody Stick."

The force led to the suppression of this Indian war in North Carolina, first by Barnwell and then by Moore, was composed almost entirely of Yemassees. Could these Indians have looked forward for only two years, and acted on that foresight, it is quite possible that not a white man would have been left south of the Virginia boundary. An alliance between the Tuscaroras and the Yemassees would have been too formidable to be met with any hope of successful resistance. But when the destruction and dispersion of the Tuscaroras made such an alliance impossible, then the Yemassees undertook to do alone that which they had just prevented the northern tribe from doing, — that which by their combined strength could have been so easily accomplished.

For, in the spring of 1715 the southern Indians sent the "bloody stick," as a signal for war, from Cape Fear to the St. John's River,

carrying dismay through South Carolina from the frontier to the coast. In a single instance only was there any warning of the calamity. Sanute, a Yemassee chief, had become warmly attached to a Scotch settler on the frontier, named Fraser, and to his wife, a beautiful woman whom the Indian regarded with great reverence. To both he had sworn eternal fidelity, confirming his oath by the ceremony usual, among his people, of washing their faces with water scented with certain herbs, and vowing with his hands upon his breast that whatever came to his knowledge should be told to them. True to his vow, he came secretly to Mrs. Fraser, announced to her that the "bloody stick" had been sent from tribe to tribe, and that they must flee for their lives. It may have been a part of the agreement that any secret communicated by the Indian to his friends should not be revealed to others; at any rate, though the Frasers accepted the warning for themselves, and fled to the coast, they gave no hint of the coming danger to the scattered settlers, whose houses they passed in their flight.

Insurrection of the Yemassees.



Sanute and Mrs. Fraser.

For a few days even Charleston trembled for its safety, as the few who escaped the sudden outbreak fled to the town from the outlying

plantations. The massacre, however, soon ceased, for the want of defenceless victims. The Indians were now compelled to meet an organized force led by Governor Craven, who defeated them in a general fight near Port Royal. The victory was so complete that the savages were driven through the wilderness across the Florida border, and the province relieved altogether from a people far more to be feared than trusted, notwithstanding their past services. They left behind them the ashes of hundreds of homes, and the bodies of more than four hundred of the victims of their barbarity and hate. The outbreak was supposed to be instigated by the Spaniards; but whether this was true or false, the savages were received with welcome and applause in Florida, and encouraged in future raids. These, however, were sufficiently guarded against by two or three military outposts along the southern frontiers.

Final defeat of the Indians.

Two years only had passed away since the existence of North Carolina seemed merely a question of hours. Both colonies, had their enemies united, might have been destroyed between sunrise and sunset. Now, rather through savage fatuity than the prowess of the whites, these remained in quiet possession of that broad domain, while the powerful tribes who claimed it as theirs were scattered north and south, separated from each other by almost half the length of the continent. The beautiful forests, the lovely islands, the noble mountains, of their old homes, above all the graves of their fathers, were to be to them henceforth only a tradition. In all the colonial history of North America there is no more remarkable instance of how events, not brought about by the English, but of which, nevertheless, they knew how to take advantage, served to dispossess the Indians of their country and give it into the hands of a new people.

In all these years the Proprietors in England had left the colonies, for the most part, to prosper or to perish, as events, which they made little or no effort to control, should determine. Or rather, if an earlier historian [1] is right, the Proprietors did far worse by the colonists than to neglect them; for their affairs were left to the management of a secretary, so far as they were managed at all, and this man was moved in all that he did by Nicholas Trott, of South Carolina. Trott was Chief Justice for years, Judge at the same time of the Vice-admiralty Court, President of the Council, sometimes acting Governor, — always in office, always using the proprietary secretary for his own purposes and those of his party. But so far as the Proprietors acted at all, of their own volition, in the affairs of the colonies, it was to neglect them where their inter-

Course of the Proprietors during this period

[1] Hewit's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Colony of South Carolina.*

ference would have been a help, — to interfere when neglect was of all things to be most desired. They were left to defend themselves as best they could against their savage enemies; to reconcile the strife of factions; to stagger under the load of debt which war created, a burden added to by the attempt to relieve it by the issue of bills of credit. But any scheme for adding to the revenue of the Proprietors by an increase of taxes was certain of their approbation; any oppressive measure contrived by their officers they were sure to sustain. To acts of the Assembly of South Carolina to regulate trade with the Indians, and to secure a free and general election of representatives — both of imperative necessity for the public welfare — the Proprietors refused their assent. When the lands vacated by the Yemassees were taken possession of by the colony, and opened to the use of settlers, they were seized by the Proprietors for their own use, and hundreds of new emigrants ruined by demands, for rent and purchase-money, impossible to meet. Craven's successor, Robert Johnson, a son of the former Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, received instructions that took from the Assembly almost all voice in the government of the colony, the Proprietors declaring that all legislation should be submitted to them, and that they should reject and repeal all laws as they saw fit. A royal order in Council was about the same time received, requiring the repeal of an act levying ten per cent. on all British goods imported, from which came almost the only revenue for the support of the colony, except direct taxation.

The public debt was augmented soon after Johnson's accession, by a necessary public service, and this added burden fell, as usual, upon the colonists. The pirates who had always, more or less, lurked along the Carolina coast, had become so bold that they could be tolerated no longer. The island of Providence, one of the Bahamas, had long been a convenient rendezvous for these buccaneers, but driven thence by an expedition under Captain Woodes Rogers, who took possession of the island in the name of the King, they had found convenient hiding-places in the sounds and inlets of the Carolinas, particularly about Cape Fear. They were the ruin of all legitimate commerce, and the terror of all honest sailors. So well armed and manned were their vessels that they did not hesitate to capture merchantmen within sight of the town of Charleston, and extort a ransom from the government for any prisoners of note that fell into their hands. The admiral of these rovers, one Teach or Thache, — but universally known by the more romantic name of Black Beard, — hoisted his flag upon a ship of forty guns, and the squadron under his command consisted of six vessels. Three of his

Piracy on the Carolina coasts.

captains, Vane, Worley, and Steed Bonnet, were as well known, and almost as much dreaded, as himself.

The harbor of Charleston was kept under constant blockade by one or more of these vessels, in turn, from the convenient station in the mouth of Cape Fear River. Hardly a merchantman bound in or out, could escape them, and so serious was the injury to the commerce of the port that Johnson determined to put an end to it at all hazards. He sent out a ship under command of William Rhett, and Steed Bonnet awaited him outside the bar at the mouth of the harbor, till he saw that the enemy was stronger than he dared encounter. Then he sailed for the station at Cape Fear. Thither Rhett followed, attacked and took the pirate with a crew of thirty men. Returning with these to Charleston, they were speedily tried, and twenty-nine of the thirty as speedily hanged.

Capture and execution of Steed Bonnet

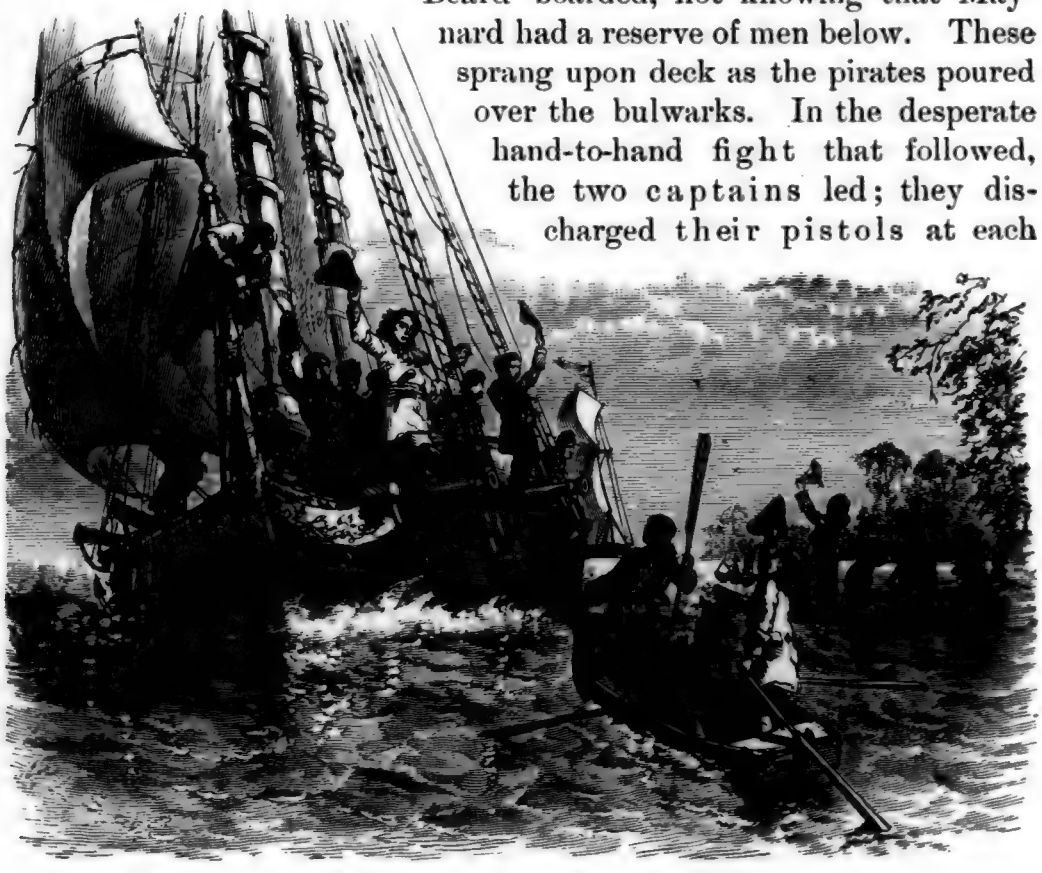
Worley, another of the pirate captains, soon afterward appeared in defiance at the mouth of the harbor, and the Governor, taking command of his ship in person, went out to meet him. Worley's sloop carried six guns and was ready for battle. The engagement was desperate; no quarter was asked or given; every man on board the pirate, save the captain and one of the crew, was killed, and these two refused to surrender, though they could fight no longer. Johnson sailed back to town, in sight of which the battle was fought, and lest his two wounded prisoners should cheat justice by dying of their wounds, they were hanged immediately.

And of Worley.

The loss of two vessels, of two of his bravest captains, and of so many men, so crippled and alarmed Black Beard that he went with twenty of his comrades before Governor Eden, of North Carolina, and took advantage of a royal proclamation made some time before, promising pardon to all pirates who would surrender. He remained for a while on shore, living a riotous life upon his ill-gotten gains, finding among his neighbors on Pamlico River a young woman who consented to be his thirteenth wife. This rural leisure and domestic bliss — though probably his wives were numbered with the ports where he refitted — he soon relinquished, and took to the sea again. For a while he kept within the law, by bringing in vessels, found, he said, deserted at sea, for condemnation in the court of admiralty. There were grave suspicions that in this sort of salvage the Governor, the secretary of the colony, and the admiralty judge had a share of the profits. But even this pretence of an honest employment of his time by Black Beard was soon abandoned, and he returned to his old ways.

Either because Governor Eden wanted the strength or wanted the will, to undertake the suppression and punishment of these bold buc-

caneers, Governor Spotswood was asked to send a naval force to the relief of the North Carolinians. The Virginia Governor offered a large reward for the pirate captain's head, and two armed sloops, under the command of Lieutenant Maynard of the royal navy, were ordered to Pamlico River. It was intended to take the pirate by surprise, but Black Beard was informed of their coming, and was prepared to fight if he could not escape. On board his vessel were twenty-five desperate men. When Maynard overtook them, the pirates opened the battle with a broadside, swearing that they would neither give nor take quarter. Maynard's vessel, unfortunately, ran aground, and, unable to manœuvre, was so exposed to the fire of the enemy that twenty men were shot down at a single broadside. Then Black Beard boarded, not knowing that Maynard had a reserve of men below. These sprang upon deck as the pirates poured over the bulwarks. In the desperate hand-to-hand fight that followed, the two captains led; they discharged their pistols at each



Maynard's Return.

other's heads without harm; then each rushed upon the other with his dirk and fought with skill, courage, and desperation till Teach fell. The boarding-party had numbered seventeen; nine, besides the pirate captain, lay dead upon the bloody deck; the other seven were mortally wounded. Then Maynard, in his turn, boarded the pirate vessel, made prisoners of the rest of the crew, and was just in time to seize a negro who stood with a firebrand at the magazine, with orders from the captain to blow up the ship in case she should be taken.

So the victory was complete, and the law erelong gave the pirates who survived the fight to the gallows. There is hardly a more conspicuous figure of that time in all the colonies than that of the brave young lieutenant, as he sailed through Pamlico Sound and into Chesapeake Bay, with the ghastly head of the dreaded pirate Black Beard dangling at the end of his bowsprit.

South Carolina's share in the extermination of this formidable band of buccaneers cost her ten thousand pounds,— a serious increase of her public debt — a serious addition to the tangle of difficulty and discord to be cut by the sword of revolution. The conduct of Trott, the Chief Justice, had become so intolerable that the Governor and Council united with the bar and the Assembly in demanding his removal, and one of the Council, Francis Yonge, was sent to England to represent the condition of the colony to the Proprietors. The mission was a failure. If no redress could be obtained on the representations of an officer of the government, it was plain that the popular party had nothing to hope from any further remonstrance. In the dispatches which Yonge brought back, the Governor was rebuked for being too lenient to the colonists; he was ordered peremptorily to enforce the prerogatives of the Proprietors; to dissolve the Assembly, to repeal their objectionable laws, to insist upon the payment of taxes, to increase the number of councillors, to forbid any increase of the popular representation in the Assembly, — in short, to enforce with more severity than ever the rule which the colonists believed would prove their speedy ruin.

A new mission to England.

The point was reached at which almost any public exigency would be sure to bring about a collision between the government and the people. It came with the apprehension of a Spanish invasion which the Governor learned was in preparation at Havana. He called the Assembly together, represented to them the exposed condition of the province, and asked for means of defence. The Assembly declared that the tax upon imports was sufficient to meet the emergency. The Governor replied that the Proprietors had repealed the law. The repeal, the Assembly said, would be disregarded, and whoever refused to pay the duties would be compelled to obey the law. Thereupon Chief Justice Trott pronounced judgment in advance, by declaring that in any such suits brought in his courts he should decide in favor of the defendants. The crisis had come in which one party or the other must yield absolutely.

Governor Johnson, however, that there might be some preparation to repel the expected invasion, ordered out the militia regiments of the province for review, and appointed a day for general inspection. The members of the Assembly, on their part, quietly held meetings

in different places in the country, formed an association, and prepared for revolution. At the appointed time the militia regiments mustered; the revolutionary leaders seized the opportunity, produced the articles of association to the soldiers, and they were eagerly signed by almost every man in the colony capable of bearing arms. Happily there was no Spanish invasion, but the Lords Proprietors, nevertheless, then and there lost a province.

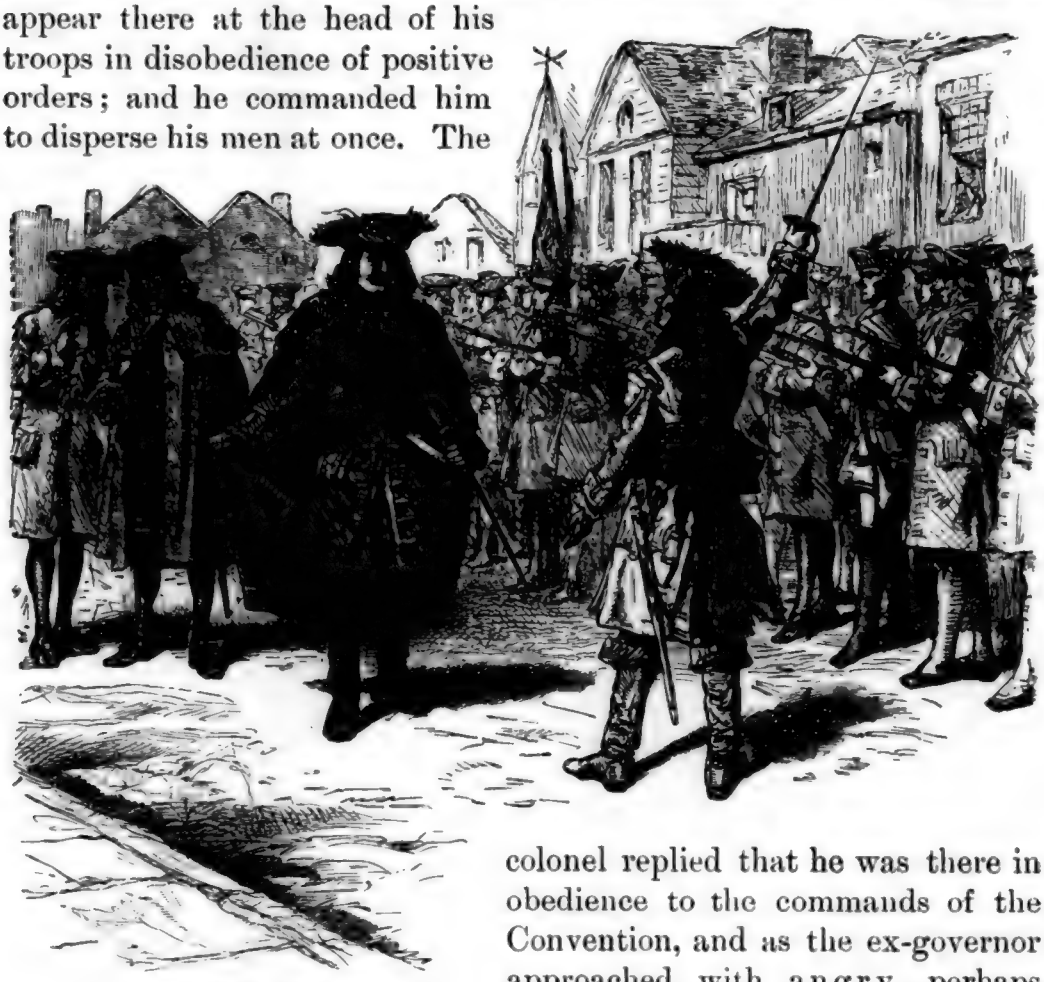
For Johnson himself there was the utmost respect. The revolt was not against him, but against his masters. The members of the Assembly, resolving themselves into a convention of the people, issued a declaration of reasons for what they had done, declined to recognize the proprietary government under the Governor and his illegal Council, but besought Mr. Johnson to remain in office as royal Governor until the will of the King could be known. He refused, addressing to the Convention a long and able message, setting forth the rights of the Proprietors, his own duty under their commission, and the illegality of the proceedings of the Convention. "We beg leave to tell you," replied the Convention, "that the paper your honor read and delivered to us we take no notice of, nor shall we give any further answer to it, but in Great Britain." But they assured him "that it is the greatest satisfaction imaginable to us to find throughout the whole country that universal affection, deference, and respect the inhabitants bear to your honor's person, and with what passionate desire they wish for a continuance of your gentle and good administration," and therefore they again earnestly desired and entreated him to remain as Governor "in his majesty's name, till his pleasure shall be known." True to his sense of duty the Governor was unmoved.

Contest between Governor Johnson and the Convention.

But however great their respect for his private character, the Convention now owed it to the people to be firm in their disregard of the Governor's authority. He issued a proclamation dissolving the House; the representatives would not permit it to be read, and ordered it to be torn from the hands of the marshal. A new Governor, Colonel James Moore, was elected, and the day on which Johnson had previously ordered the militia to assemble in Charleston was selected by the Convention as a fitting time for the inauguration of Moore. Johnson had subsequently directed the commander of the military, Colonel Parris, to countermand his order, but this, Parris, who was on the popular side, had neglected to do. On the appointed day Johnson, coming into Charleston from his plantation, found the town alive with preparations for the celebration of a joyful event. The colors were flying from the flagstaffs of the fort; every bit of bunting at their command decked the vessels in the harbor; the peo-

ple had culled out a holiday, and put on their best attire, and in the great square in the middle of the town were drawn up in imposing array the citizen-soldiers of the whole province.

Astonished, indignant, but not in the least intimidated, the ex-governor faced this unexpected situation. Seeking out the leading men, he expostulated quietly but earnestly with some who, he believed, were honestly pursuing a mistaken course; others he accused of basely abandoning their duty, and forgetting their oaths. These he threatened with punishment. Of Colonel Parris he demanded how he dared appear there at the head of his troops in disobedience of positive orders; and he commanded him to disperse his men at once. The colonel replied that he was there in obedience to the commands of the Convention, and as the ex-governor approached with angry, perhaps with some threatening gesture, the troops were ordered to present their guns, and he was warned that he came nearer at the peril of his life.



The Muster at Charleston.

Charleston at that early and rude period of her history was used to riots as the easiest way to carry an election or suppress a party, and either there must have been at this juncture unusual self-restraint exercised by the people, or the affection they bore their late Governor was his efficient protection. For, he stood alone, looking into the faces of the soldiery; not one of

Moore proclaimed Governor.

the officers of the proprietary government — toward whom, perhaps, there would have been less forbearance — came to his side; in the multitude around him there was not one personal enemy, but among them all he saw not one who was a friend to his cause. Persuaded, at length, that further contention, under such circumstances, was useless, he consented to retire, and was led away courteously and kindly by one of the gentlemen of the opposition. The interest of that gala day — an interest all the greater that it was unexpected — faded away as he turned his back upon the soldiers into the muzzles of whose guns he had looked without flinching. It was the Governor deposed, not the Governor proclaimed, who had become the central figure of that celebration. It so often happens that it is more effective to be dramatic than to be right.

This was in December, 1719. Thenceforward South Carolina was in fact a royal province, though Johnson for a year or more longer endeavored by one device and another to maintain his authority. His last desperate effort was made in the winter of 1721, when two men of war were ordered to Charleston to repulse another apprehended Spanish invasion. Relying on the aid of these ships, whose captains brought their guns to bear upon the town, Johnson took the field at the head of a hundred men. Two shots over their heads dispersed them, and it was plain at last, even to him, that the cause of the Proprietaries was hopeless.

Meanwhile both parties sent representatives to England. A revolution so serious and so complete could not be ignored there. The Proprietors were charged with having forfeited their charter by misgovernment, and the Attorney-general was once more instructed to take the proper steps to test the question. A provisional Governor of the province was appointed, and soon after Johnson's final attempt to reinstate the proprietary government, Sir Francis Nicholson arrived as the representative of the King.

Appointment of Nicholson as provisional Governor.

It was Nicholson's good fortune to be sent to Carolina, as he had previously been sent to Virginia and Maryland, at the moment when the colony was about to emerge from the long and bitter struggle with hardship, poverty, ignorance, and misgovernment, and was in a condition to enter upon a new era of success and prosperity. It was his own good sense and sound judgment that enabled him to see the necessities of the people, and to understand what measures were requisite to take advantage of new conditions. The presence of a royal governor ended all immediate strife between the contending parties, and with the consciousness of royal protection came a period of tranquillity, content, and hope throughout the colony. War had

ceased between England and Spain, and Nicholson's first care was to avail himself of the peace to deliver the colony from the fear of Indian hostilities. He sought and secured peaceful relations with both the Spaniards and the Yemassee tribe in Florida. With the powerful nations of the Cherokees and the Creeks on the western and southwestern borders of the province he concluded treaties of peace and of commerce, guarantying to them the possession of their own hunting-grounds, and receiving a promise in return that the English settlements should be unmolested, — agreements kept like all Indian treaties, so long as the reasons for keeping were stronger than the reasons for breaking them.

Nicholson, if not a devout man in his private life, was too wise a statesman to underrate the value of religious influences. No other American colony was so destitute of churches as South Carolina, and nowhere else was there so marked an absence of any sense of religious feeling and responsibility. When heretofore it had showed itself at all, it took on, as we have seen, a political aspect, and was made to play an important part in the strife between the Proprietary party and its opponents. The robe of the saint was stolen only to serve the devil in. But the new Governor, through the four years of his administration, labored with great zeal to relieve a destitution which — if he deprecated it for no other reason — he felt to be an obstacle to the welfare and growth of the state. He laid down the boundaries of parishes; encouraged and aided the people to build church edifices; and interceded with the Society in England for the Propagation of the Gospel, to provide them with pastors. The church he labored for was, of course, the Established Church; there was hardly religious feeling enough in the province, at that period, to seriously suggest any question of conformity or dissent.

Whether it was that the people were irreligious because they were ignorant, certainly ignorance and irreligion went hand in hand among them. Nicholson was equally earnest in his efforts to overcome both. There was not a single public school in the province at the time of his arrival. He aroused the people to some sense of the importance of education, and aided them to secure it for their children with his private means as well as with the weight of his official influence and authority.

It is strong evidence of the excellence of his administration that, for the four years it lasted, the Proprietors seem to have submitted without a murmur to their loss of authority. But both they and their party in Carolina showed signs of life again when Nicholson returned to England, leaving his office in the hands of Arthur Middleton, the President of the Council. The writ against the charter had

not been issued; in the colony the strife of parties, which had begun to show itself before Nicholson left, had become threatening. The Proprietors assumed the right of appointing a Governor, and named Colonel Samuel Horsey for that office; if other officers were appointed by the Crown, they claimed that the nominations should be submitted to them for their approval. But the contest was too unequal to be long sustained on their part, and they offered to surrender their proprietary interest for a pecuniary consideration. The prayer was granted, and in 1729 both the northern and southern colonies were purchased by the Crown — including territory and arrearages of quit rents — for twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. To this agreement, however, Lord Carteret was not a party. A one-eighth interest in the property was retained by him, which about twenty years later was set apart from the rest by giving him all the territory from 34° 35′ to the boundary line of Virginia, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

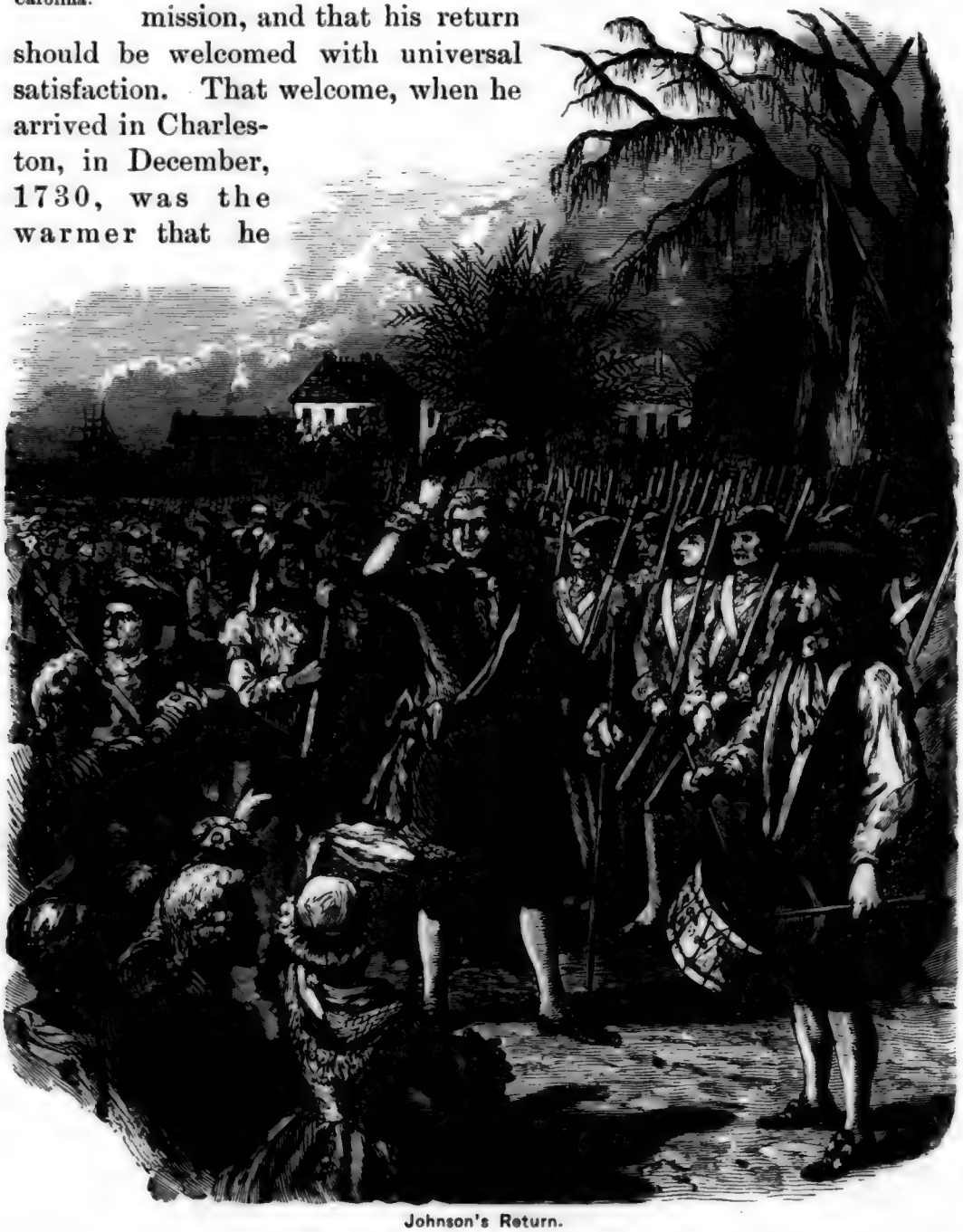
Purchase of the province by the Crown.

From the date of the purchase of the colony by the Crown, North and South Carolina became in law, as they had long been in fact, two separate provinces. Thenceforward there was no pretence of the authority of a governor-generalship to be exercised over the northern colony by the governor of the southern, — an authority which, for many years, had been merely nominal, or only exerted at times by special order of the Proprietors for some special purpose. The last proprietary Governor of North Carolina was Sir Richard Everhard, who had displaced George Burrington. Burrington, in his turn, as the first royal Governor, displaced Everhard. The years of the official tenure of these men were marked by little else than their personal quarrels. Burrington was evidently a ruffian of a low order, and was indicted by the grand jury for an assault upon Everhard while he was Governor. The indictment gives many of the terms of obloquy and defiance which Burrington publicly hurled at his opponent: that "he was no more fit to be governor than a hog"; that he was a "calve's head;" that "I (the said George himself meaning) will scalp your damned thick skull (the said Sir Richard's head meaning)"; and other equally "scandalous, opprobrious, and malicious words," which even then seem to have been considered as hardly compatible with the dignity of an ex-governor. He was nevertheless reappointed when the province passed to the Crown, for his family, it is supposed, was in favor at Court. As royal Governor his conduct was so outrageous that he thought it prudent to leave the province, and he was murdered not long after, in a drunken brawl in London. Gabriel Johnston, who was appointed in 1734 as Governor of North Carolina, remained in office for the next twenty years.

North Carolina governors.

Johnson re-apppointed Governor of South Carolina.

It was a singular testimony to the estimation in which Robert Johnson was held, both in England and in South Carolina, that the Governor whom revolution had deposed should be sent back with a royal commission, and that his return should be welcomed with universal satisfaction. That welcome, when he arrived in Charleston, in December, 1730, was the warmer that he



Johnson's Return.

brought with him six Cherokee chiefs returning from England. So important was the friendship of that powerful nation held to be by the government, that almost its first act after the purchase of the colony was to send an embassy, under Sir Alexander Cumming, to

these Indians. Six of their chiefs he had taken back with him to England, a sight of the Tower of London and the King on his throne being thought then as certain to soothe the savage breast, and induce the warrior to turn his tomahawk into a reaping-hook, as it is now believed these pleasant consequences come from a sight of the Capitol at Washington and of a President in the White House. These fallacious hopes were not, indeed, of long duration. Beyond the Cherokee and Choctaw countries were the French on the Gulf and the Mississippi; and whether in trade or in war, the Indians knew too well how important their position was between the rival powers. There were, however, more immediate dangers requiring the presence of a governor in South Carolina. Johnson's report, a few months after entering upon the duties of his office, was that no taxes had been collected, and not a court of justice had been held in the province for four years, — not, in other words, since Nicholson's departure.[1] To restore harmony and order where discord and anarchy reigned was the work to which he addressed himself, with a large measure of success, for the four remaining years of his life.

But it was no easy task. In no other colony was there so mixed a population, including English, French, Scotch, Irish, and Spanish, unused for years to much restraint from either law or gospel, and too ignorant to be safely left to be a law to themselves. There were from six to seven thousand of these white people, and in addition to them about twenty-two thousand African slaves. This heterogeneous population lived, for the most part, upon isolated plantations of large tracts of land; here the labor of the slaves was chiefly devoted to the production of a single staple, rice, though to this the cultivation of indigo was soon added. The laboring whites were indented servants, and, with labor degraded and cheapened by slavery, their condition was quite hopeless. To their servitude there came in time an end, but the degradation of their class has been perpetuated in the "poor whites," who are even yet a distinctive feature in the society of South Carolina and Georgia. The colony, moreover, was overwhelmed with debt, and the repeated issue of bills of credit had borne its legitimate fruit in the depreciation of the value of currency. That value was necessarily brought to the test of exchange on England, and it required about this period seven hundred and fifty pounds of South Carolina currency to buy a bill on London for one hundred pounds.[2] It had been the policy of the Proprietors to escape the burden of a great public debt by limiting the issue of these bills of credit; the people, on the other hand, both to provide a

Condition of the province.

[1] Papers in State Paper Office, London. *Coll. of Hist. Soc. of S. C.*, vol. i.

[2] The condition of the currrency in the several colonies in 1748, as measured by the rate

revenue for the support of government and to check the increase of slaves, had insisted that a heavy duty should be levied upon their importation. Unhappily, in the struggle of parties both measures were nullified, either of which would have been a blessing to the commonwealth.

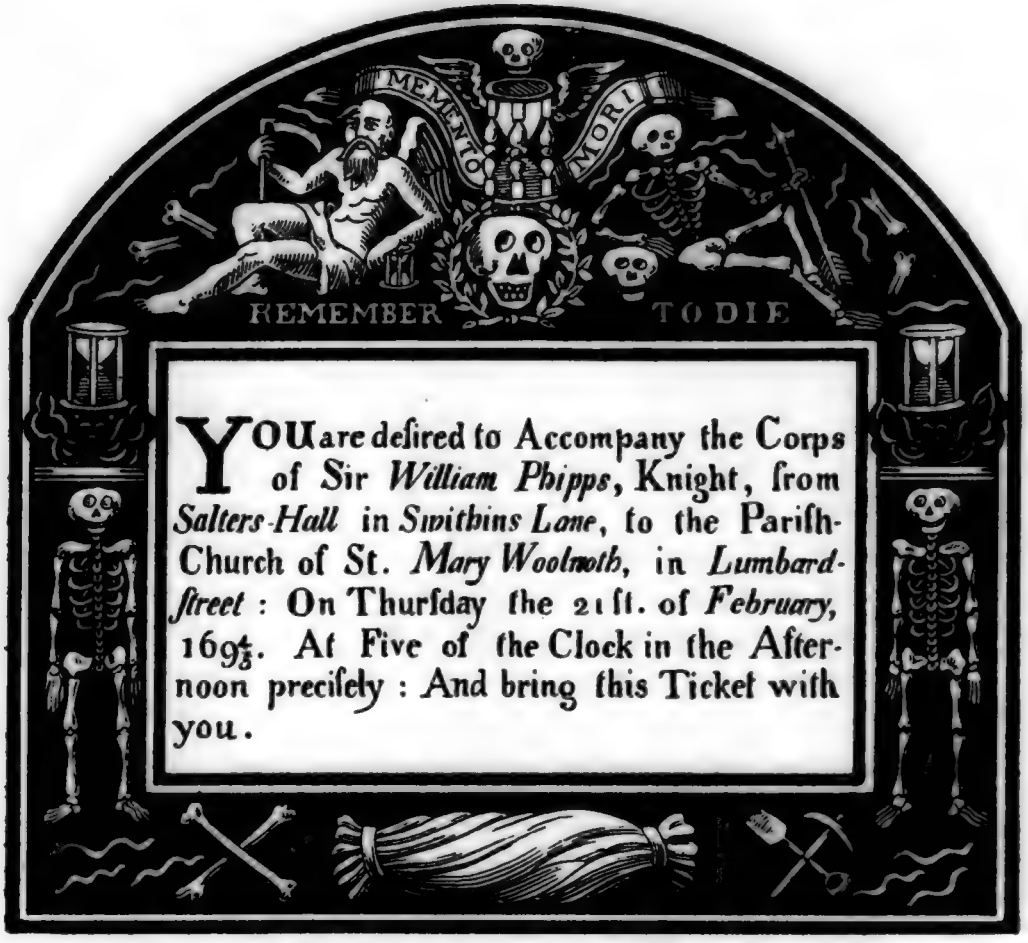
The establishment of the royal government under Johnson, however, gave a new impulse to the energies of the colonists, and fresh interest was aroused in England in the domain south of Carolina, the only region along the Atlantic coast now unoccupied by Europeans. The Governor was ordered to lay out eleven new townships on the banks of several rivers, to be divided into small farms as an inducement to the emigration of poor but industrious persons. The project was defeated, at least in the southern part of the province, by the prëoccupation of the lands in large tracts by planters, who found an abundant supply of labor in the increasing importation of slaves. But this southward movement of the Carolinians was soon checked by a project to plant a new colony on the further side of the Savannah River.

of exchange on London, is tabulated in Douglass's *Summary, Historical and Political, etc., of the British Settlements in North America,* as follows: —

For	£100	New England currency	. . . . .	1100.
"	"	New York	"	190.
"	"	East Jersey	"	190.
"	"	West Jersey	"	180.
"	"	Pennsylvania	"	180.
"	"	Maryland	"	200.
"	"	Virginia	"	120 @ 125.
"	"	North Carolina	"	1000.
"	"	South Carolina	"	750.



Medal Struck in 1736 to commemorate the Separation of North and South Carolina.



Fac-simile of the Invitation to Phips's Funeral.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROYAL GOVERNORS IN NEW ENGLAND.

MASSACHUSETTS A ROYAL PROVINCE. — THE TROUBLES OF RHODE ISLAND. — ARBITRARY INTERFERENCE OF LORD BELLOMONT. — ADMINISTRATION OF DUDLEY. — INDIAN HOSTILITIES. — ATTACKS ON DEERFIELD AND OTHER PLACES. — WAR IN MAINE. — CAPTURE OF PORT ROYAL. — MASSACHUSETTS EARLY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. — INOCULATION FOR SMALL-POX. — GOVERNOR SHUTE IN MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE. — THE ROYAL PREROGATIVE IN FORESTS. — FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE COLONIES. — BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND THE "NEW ENGLAND COURANT." — SETTLEMENTS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE.

THE charter which was brought back by Sir Williams Phips converted Massachusetts into a royal province. The first Parliament which assembled in the reign of William, manifested a willingness to pass a bill restoring to the colony its original charter, but this intention was defeated by the Court. The partial discontent which met Phips in the colony when he returned as

Massachusetts a Royal Province.

Governor under the new charter was considerably increased by the hostility of persons who had been connected with the witchcraft trials. When he died at London, it became necessary to select another royal Governor. The appointment was neglected, however, in the more imperative necessities of the new reign; for three years the unpopular Stoughton acted as Governor, and party feeling became much embittered. A fresh distraction came in the renewed attacks of the Indians upon frontier towns, stimulated by the French, with whom England was at war.

New Indian hostilities. — Hannah Dustin of Haverhill.

New Hampshire and the Province of Maine suffered this time more severely than Massachusetts. An attack upon Haverhill was memorable for the subsequent exploit of Hannah Dustin, who, with an infant only a few days old, a boy named Samuel Leonardson, and another woman, was carried off to an Indian camp on an island in the Merrimack, near Concord, N. H. The



Hannah Dustin's escape.

infant, as usual, was killed against the trunk of a tree. The sight of this prepared the mother's heart for her bloody reprisal. One day when the boy was at work chopping for the Indians, he casually asked one of the savages how and where he struck a man with a hatchet. The Indian, pleased to show that bit of sylvan skill, told him. That night the three captives with hatchets slew the ten sleeping guards, and Hannah, remembering her infant, scalped them. Then they dropped down the river in a canoe to Haverhill.

Joseph Dudley, the Puritan courtier of the King, had been sent with Andros to England, where the King released him. To appease somewhat his hunger for official station, he was appointed Chief Justice of New York. Tiring of this contracted sphere, he returned to England and was made Lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight. In the mean time Lord Bellomont had been appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. There was nothing in the brief period of the Earl's administration of fourteen months to mar the cordiality with which he was welcomed in Boston, in 1699. His High-Church principles were overlooked in the deference he paid to the Congregationalism of New England; but the General Court abated nothing, notwithstanding the esteem in which he was held, of their jealous care for their chartered rights. They refused to vote him a fixed salary, while they made the liberal appropriation of nearly ten thousand dollars in little more than a year for his use.

Lord Bellomont, Governor.

Rhode Island, however, was less fortunate during his administration than those colonies of which he was the actual Governor. He was only the commander-in-chief of her militia; but he evidently did not forget that she also would have been under his rule had the discussion upon making him Governor-general of all the northern colonies, which so long delayed his coming, been decided the other way. The unfortunate condition of Rhode Island gave him the opportunity for the exercise of an authority over that colony which his military commission did not warrant; his zeal for the suppression of privateering and piracy and the enforcement of the Navigation Laws, supplied a motive.

Affairs in Rhode Island.

Circumstances, quite as much as choice, had made Rhode Island a maritime community. Her undisputed possessions were nearly limited to the island within the waters of Narragansett Bay, for on the mainland she was met by rival claimants on all sides. The harbor of Newport was more open to the sea than either that of New York or Boston. And it was never closed. When the tortuous channel and shallow flats of Boston harbor were covered with miles of solid ice, and the bay of New York was a firm roadway from Fort George to Staten Island, the mighty current of the Gulf Stream, sweeping in upon the Narragansett coast, tempered the cold currents from the north with the warm waters of a southern climate. This advantage of situation, when commerce was chiefly carried on in small coast-wise vessels, made Newport always an easy port of refuge, while from its central position it was a convenient point of trade. Lawful privateers in time of war could find nowhere else a place where they could so easily refit, where they could so easily run in

Her maritime advantages.

with their prizes or land their plunder; and when peace turned privateers into pirates, courts of admiralty were not always mindful of nice inquiries as to manifests and bills of lading, even if the legal existence of the court itself was beyond question.

The interests of the people were marine, and that made them sailors. Block Island, now only known as a pleasant resort for summer visitors, was toward the end of the seventeenth century famous as a rendezvous for sea-rovers, who put in there to recruit, or hovered off shore to intercept some ship, worth taking, bound in or out. And more than once, during those years, when a Frenchman was seen in the offing, a well-manned ship hurried out of Newport harbor in pursuit, and, after a gallant fight, sailed back again with a prize in tow.

So for many years, in the uncertainty of her territorial domain, Newport, with the tribute which Newport drew from the sea, was the chief reliance on which Rhode Island depended for prosperity and wealth. Massachusetts had never forgiven her for presuming to exist at all, and the boundary between the two colonies was a source of perpetual conflict till the middle of the eighteenth century. A similar controversy existed with Plymouth, and this lost none of its acrimony when that colony became a part of Massachusetts during the administration of Sir William Phips.

Rhode Island boundary questions.

But the question of the western boundary was still more serious, for it involved all that portion of the present State of Rhode Island which lies between Narragansett Bay and Pawcatuck River, and south of the latitude of Warwick. This came to be known as the King's Province because of that solemn act of submission of the Narragansett chiefs to the King which Gorton and Holden took to England in 1644.[1] The territory was claimed both by Connecticut and Rhode Island as covered by their respective patents. And in fact it had been granted to both, though the grant to Connecticut was a blunder.

It was one of the frequent blunders of that early period arising partly from geographical ignorance, partly from carelessness in the administration of colonial affairs. The patents secured by John Winthrop for Connecticut in 1662, made the Narragansett River the eastern boundary of the colony.[2] John Clarke of Rhode Island was then in England soliciting a charter for his people, and he exposed the wrong that would be done them by this encroachment upon territory which they claimed as theirs under the older patent. So obviously just was his protest that Winthrop was finally convinced of it, and when Clarke, the next year, sent home the Rhode Island charter granted by Charles II. — Winthrop acceding

Conflict of Connecticut and Rhode Island charters.

[1] See vol. ii., p. 91.

[2] Vol. ii., p. 254.

to it as the Connecticut agent — it made the Pawcatuck River the western boundary of Rhode Island, expressly reciting that "the sayd Pawcatuck river shall bee alsoe called alias Narragansett river; and to prevent other disputes, that otherwise might arise thereby, forever hereafter shall be construed, deemed and taken to bee the Narraganset river in our late graunt to Connecticut Colony mentioned as the easterly bounds of that Collony."

Nothing could be plainer; the Pawcatuck had been mistaken for the Narragansett, and the Rhode Island charter corrected and limited



Mouth of the Pawcatuck.

that given the year before to Connecticut. Connecticut, nevertheless, refused to abide by that limitation, and continued, for many years, to maintain her title to the King's Province as part of her territory, and at the later period claimed as far north as Providence. Winthrop, she declared, had ceased to be her agent and had no right to acquiesce in such a compromise. But it was the King who had granted the patent, not Winthrop. Rhode Island accused her neighbor of securing a charter by "underhand" measures; Winthrop exonerated himself by acknowledging that a wrong had been done; if those he represented had not committed a fraud, they proposed, at any rate, to take advantage of a blunder — which supreme authority had attempted to correct.

Nor was this the only territorial complication which embarrassed and impoverished the Rhode Islanders. A company, called the Atherton Company, — from that Humphrey Atherton who was one of

the Massachusetts commissioners sent to break up the Gorton settlement at Shawomet in 1643[1] — had purchased large tracts in the Narragansett country on the Bay about "Smith's trading house," now Wickford, from the Indians. Another company had taken possession of lands, under authority from Massachusetts, — who claimed them by right of conquest of the Pequot country, — on

The Atherton Company.



Wickford, R. I.

both sides of the Pawcatuck River at its mouth. The township laid out by them was called Southertown, now Stonington. Its eastern division on the east side of the Pawcatuck was within the limits of the Rhode Island patent, and some Newport men settled upon it and called it Westerly. Thenceforth raged a feud, always bitter and sometimes bloody, between the two settlements.

Settlement of Southertown and Westerly.

It is an interesting fact, worthy of passing notice, that in that part of this old town of Westerly, now called Charlestown, reside all that are left, in New England, of the tribe of Narragansett Indians, though there is not among them one of pure Narragansett blood. In numbers they are about one hundred and twenty persons. In condition they are reduced to dependence upon the State, which provides for their wants when the fruits of their own toil, as common laborers and as basket-makers, are not sufficient for their subsistence. The land they live upon is reserved for their special occu-

Indian Reservation in Charlestown.

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 79 *et seq.*

pation; and when portions are conveyed to individuals for their sole use, as is sometimes done, the title passes by the ancient ceremony of presenting to the new owner a bit of turf and a twig from the land. The tribal government is still preserved, their local affairs being managed — subject to the Legislature of the State — by a council chosen yearly from among themselves.[1] A republic has displaced the line of kings, the royal dynasty ceasing, probably about a century ago, with King Tom — a rather disreputable monarch and much given to drink — and his Queen, Esther. The burial-place of the royal family is on a hill, within the reservation, where the pensive Indian may recall — if he remembers them — the traditions of his race as he looks out over many miles of lovely landscape, once happy Indian hunting-grounds; over, as far as Montauk point, the blue waters of the Bay, whose surface, not many generations ago, was never disturbed save by the swift canoes of savage fishermen and warriors. On the horizon, seaward, rises the rocky coast of Block Island where Endicott landed, in spite of wind and waves, to punish the natives and to destroy their corn, their wigwams, and their boats; near by, inland, within the reservation of the tribe, rises Fort Neck, where Mason passed the night and held counsel with the famous Narragansett chiefs, Canonicus and Miantonomo, on his way to the destruction of the Pequot Fort and tribe. It is historic ground. Does the half-breed pauper, standing upon the graves of the kings of his race, ponder upon departed glories? Do no old savage instincts stir his blood as he turns from the sight of his home of civilized penury to look upon thriving villages and mills and farms; upon the sea dotted with the glistening sails of commerce; upon the smoky pennants streaming across the sky from passing steamers? No scalps now hang in his wigwam; no squaw pounds his corn; no deer bounds through the forest to fall by his swift arrows; no enemy lurks in its recesses to be followed with stealthy tread and brought to sudden death. The wigwam of fragrant boughs, gay with many-colored deer-skins, is a board shanty: the squaw, once picturesque in scanty garment and untrammeled limbs, a plaything and a slave, is a hard-worked woman weaving wicker baskets; in the woods and swamps the son of the warrior and the hunter cuts cedar posts[2] and fire-wood. There are only the graves on the quiet hill-side to remind him of the past. But that one spot, at least, is sacred; no common dust is permitted to mingle there with the dust of kings, and even tradition fails to preserve the memory of the last burial. The blood of this royal race

The last of the Royal Narragansetts.

[1] MS. notes of Mr. S. H. Cross, Indian agent of the State of Rhode Island.

[2] The best cedar posts in Rhode Island come from this Indian reservation. — Mr. Cross's MS.

flows now only through the veins of one living person — Esther, an old woman in Westerly, living apart from her people, the only representative of the ancient Narragansett chiefs, and though not quite of the pure blood, the purest living of the Narragansett tribe.



Esther, the last of the Royal Narragansetts.

But — to resume the history of the boundary question — "underhanded" certainly were the measures sometimes resorted to, that Rhode Island might be deprived of territory which was justly hers, and her colonial power be limited to the narrowest bounds. The animosities engendered in those earlier times when Massachusetts banished Williams, ravaged Shawomet, and carried Gorton and his companions triumphantly to Boston, imprisoned Clarke and punished Holmes with many stripes, for the manifold heresies intolerable to the Puritans, — those bitter memories had, no doubt, much to do with this later hostility to the struggling little colony. That questionable Narragansett patent of 1643,[1] whereby Massachusetts might have set up a claim to all Rhode Island, was sometimes, though cautiously, appealed to as an argument in defence of the Atherton purchase.

The Atherton Company was composed of some of the most influential men of Massachusetts and Connecticut; but its affairs were chiefly managed by that Edward Hutchinson who was among the earliest settlers of Rhode Island, but afterward returned to Massachusetts and was restored to favor. Perhaps he bore no good will to the early associates whom he abandoned; at any rate, he seems to have been more considerate of the interests of his Company than scrupulous of the rights of the colony, of a portion of whose domain the Company proposed to take possession.

Hutchinson found a facile tool in that Captain John Scott who was soon afterward conspicuous in the affairs of New Netherland just before its surrender to the English Commissioners,[2] and of whom Governor Nicolls said two years later — when the Duke of York conveyed New Jersey to Berkeley and

Captain John Scott as agent for the Company in England

[1] See vol. ii., pp. 100 *et seq.*

[2] See vol. ii., pp. 257 *et seq.*

Carteret — "I must charge it upon Captain Scott, who was born to work mischief as far as he is credited, or his parts serve him."

Captain Scott was in England acting as Hutchinson's agent, when Winthrop and Clarke were soliciting charters for their respective governments. That to Connecticut was granted in April, 1662; that to Rhode Island in July of the following year, after the points of difference between these agents had been discussed and an attempt at settlement made by a board of referees. One of the points pronounced upon by that board was, that the Narragansett people — the company was now called the Narragansett Company, Major Atherton having been killed by a fall from his horse the year before — should choose for themselves to which of the two governments they would be attached.

If the eastern boundary of Connecticut was to remain as provided by its blundering charter, — on Narragansett Bay, — this proposed compromise was unnecessary, for the Narragansett people were, in that case, already under the jurisdiction they preferred. But the transfer of that boundary to Pawcatuck River — "*alias* Narraganset," — would leave these people, where they did not wish to be, within the bounds of Rhode Island. Connecticut accepted their offered submission, while she rejected the new boundary of the Rhode Island charter on the ground that her agent had no longer power to act; accepted, that is, as much of the compromise as suited her; Rhode Island declined to surrender to another government jurisdiction in the very heart of that country which the new charter decided to be hers. The terms of this charter unquestionably were the only legal and proper basis of settlement, and those most interested knew it.

About three weeks after the meeting in London of the referees who thought they had settled this vexed and troublesome question, Captain Scott wrote a letter to Mr. Hutchinson, for the first time published a few years since by Mr. Arnold in his admirable history of Rhode Island.[1] Mr. Winthrop, he writes, was "very averse to my prosecuting your affairs, he having had much trouble with Mr. Clarke, whiles he remained in England." Perhaps he meant that Winthrop, having already brought the affair to a satisfactory conclusion, was impatient of any interference; and certainly, if he was at all aware of Scott's proposed method of interference, he, as an honorable man, might well be "very averse" to any such companionship. For so soon as Scott was assured that Winthrop had fairly left England, he took, he says, "into the Societye a Potent Gentleman," sent in a petition against Clarke and his associates of Rhode Island, and did not doubt "of effecting the premises in convenient tyme."

Captain Scott's management.

[1] Arnold's *History of Rhode Island*, vol. i., chap. ix., appendix.

And his method "in order to accomplish the business" was this: "I have bought" he wrote, "of Mr. Edwards a parcel of curiosityes to the value of £60, to gratifye persons that are powerfull, that there may be a Letter filled with Authorizing Expressions to the Collonyes of the Massachusetts and Connecticut," who should thereby "joyntlye or severallye have full power to doe us Justice to all intents as to our Naraganset concernes." The "potent gentleman" made good use of the sixty pounds' worth of curiosities to be given to powerful persons, and in return came a royal letter addressed to the United Colonies of New England, commending the Narragansett people to their kindness and protection.[1] The letter thus procured, and signed by the King probably in ignorance and indifference alike of the fresh difficulties in which it might involve his subjects in Rhode Island, was granted only seventeen days before the new charter was issued to her. That charter was dated the 8th of July; the agreement in regard to it between Winthrop and Clarke was concluded on the 7th of April; "I cannot deeme," wrote Scott to Hutchinson, "those termes Mr. Winthrop made with Clarke any way to answere your desires, were there a certaintye in what Clarke hath granted." Here was the motive for procuring the mandate of the King to the United Colonies — Rhode

A letter from the King in favor of the Narragansett Company.



Map of Rhode Island, showing the disputed Boundaries.

[1] In the letter of the King, as published in the *Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society*, vol. iii., the name of this "potent gentleman" is given as Thomas Chissick. In the discussion on the Narragansett Patent before the Massachusetts Historical Society (*Proceedings*, June, 1862), Colonel Aspinwall says he was Thomas Chiffinch, "the Court pimp; the willing abettor of every vile Court intrigue; the man who to furnish assurance of the royal sanction, contrived the interviews between Charles II. and Dangerfield, the assassin from Newgate, hired to murder the discarded Premier Shaftesbury; and who afterwards stealthily admitted the Catholic confessor to the dying monarch."

Island, it will be remembered, was excluded from that Union — for the protection of the Narragansett Company; and it was necessary to bribe some persons about the King to secure his signature to a letter in direct collision with the Rhode Island charter, decided upon a few days before, and signed a few days afterward. Thus harassed on all sides — at Southertown, by the Narragansett Company, and along the boundary lines of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut — for years the colony could assert no authority, nor collect a dollar of revenue, without dispute or resistance, anywhere beyond her little island.

Implicit obedience to imperial authority was by no means a colonial habit, and it did not in the least avail Rhode Island that in the course of successive years that authority was exercised on its behalf. Two of the royal commissioners, Carr and Maverick, decided in its favor, and declared the Atherton purchase of the Indians null and void; Andros was equally positive as to the justice of the cause of Rhode Island, although he suspended her charter; in 1694 the Board of Trade in London, by advice of the Attorney General, sustained all the claims which the province insisted upon under that charter which at the fall of Andros had again become its constitution of government; and the same Board decided against the claim of the heirs of the Duke of Hamilton to the Narragansett country, notwithstanding it took precedence of all others, as it was founded upon a purchase made of the old Plymouth Company early in the century.

Decisions of the boundary questions in Rhode Island.

But all this availed nothing; there were conflicting decisions enough, meant to be authoritative, to keep the question an open quarrel; and it was not till 1703 that Connecticut consented to accept the Pawcatuck as her eastern boundary, and not till nearly half a century later that Massachusetts would agree to any compromise whatever.

These protracted disputes were a source of perpetual anxiety to the colony, hindering her growth as well as interfering with her freedom of action. It was an encroachment upon her rights under the charter to give to Phips, and to Stoughton of Massachusetts, and to Fletcher of New York, the command of her militia. The case was still worse when the same power was given to Bellomont, who was Governor of two other colonies, and Captain-general also of the forces of Connecticut and the Jerseys. He was the representative of the party who believed it to be for the interest of the Crown that all the northern colonies should be united as a single province, and his conduct was not likely to be questioned if he went beyond the letter of his commission. Should he see fit to exceed his legitimate powers by interfering with civil affairs in Rhode Island, she had small capacity of resistance.

Bellomont's course towards Rhode Island.

He did interfere, to her great alarm and injury, by upholding the pretensions of her opponents. To carry out his purpose in the suppression of piracy and privateering, and the enforcement of the Navigation Laws, he needed more power over Rhode Island than his military commission gave him. This question of boundaries was a weapon he did not hesitate to use. When she declined or neglected to obey his military requisitions, whether because she could not, or because she would not, he forbade her to levy taxes or exercise any other authority within the disputed territories. Though received at Newport with cordiality and such hospitality as the people could command, his attitude was hostile, and his judgment severe. In a letter to England he declared her government to be "the most irregular and illegal in their administration that ever any English government was." Her worthy chief magistrate, Samuel Cranston, he denounced as "conniving at pirates, and making Rhode Island their sanctuary."

It was not that the little colony was so much worse than her neighbors, but that being driven to the sea for a subsistence, she made the most of it. That one is a good sailor is not, indeed, a good reason for being privateersman or pirate; but surely that favorite argument so often urged on behalf of the Puritan — that he was not the less a most estimable man and exemplary Christian when hanging Quakers, or drowning witches, or whipping Anabaptists, because such was the fashion of his time — may palliate those evil-doings of the Rhode Islanders. Of New York, Bellomont said: "The people have such an appetite for piracy and unlawful trade that they are ready to rebel as often as the government puts the law in execution against them." The Governor may have thought that because of the weakness and friendlessness of Rhode Island she, at least, might be easily brought to obedience and good behavior. His accusations, at any rate, were unsparing, and were met with difficulty by her agent in England; and had the Earl lived long enough to push them to a conclusion, Rhode Island might have been compelled to answer to a *quo warranto*, and have lost her charter.

Administration and death of Stoughton. — Dudley again active.

After the death of Bellomont, Stoughton again became acting Governor, but he too died in four months and left an opportunity for Dudley which he was not slow to seize. Cotton Mather warmly espoused the cause of a man who in England cultivated piety and Puritanism so sedulously as to win the Congregational heart. Dudley's active party was chiefly in England; Massachusetts had not forgotten his subservience to Andros, and his complicity in the composition of the new charter. His intrigue was so skilful and persevering that the King was prevailed upon to appoint him Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

This happened just before William's death. The appointment was confirmed by Queen Anne, and Dudley came to Boston, satisfied at reaching the point of an ambition which was inspired partly by patriotic and partly by personal considerations.

The first token of his unpopularity appeared when, according to instructions from the Court, he demanded that the province should vote permanent salaries to the Governor, his deputy, and the Crown judges. Massachusetts refused, insisting upon its custom of annual grants, and the General Court voted Dudley about one half of the sum which was paid to Bellomont. His governorship.

In May, 1695, a Board of Trade had been organized in London, for the regulation of colonial commerce. Its function lasted until the American Revolution, and being inspired chiefly by private interests, it was a constant source of vexatious interference. The old laws of trade were revived, and Randolph was sent out as Surveyor-general.



Governor Dudley.

Dudley, besides favoring the Board of Trade, undertook to carry into effect the most unpopular article of the new charter, that, namely, which clothed the governor with authority to reject the nominations of the General Court, or Assembly, for members of his council. He also, without a shadow of authority, endeavored to put creatures of his own into the Speaker's seat. He even went so far as to express hostility to all charters. His son wrote to England: "this country will never be worth living in for lawyers and gentlemen till the charter is taken away. My father and I sometimes talk of the Queen's establishing a court of chancery here." A strong party, headed by Cotton Mather, who was not so influential with Dudley as he expected to be, and including the leading clergymen of the province, was formed, and made persistent but unavailing attempts to oust Dudley from office. But he skilfully created a party of his own, and kept it in active cohesion by catering to the interests of its members. Au-

thorities accuse him of conniving at the illicit trade of his party during the war with France, and he was suspected of sharing in its profits; for Dudley was a lover of money for the sake of the power which it could buy.

The Peace of Ryswick, which was transmitted to the colonies in October, 1697, put an end for a time to French and Indian hostilities.

Queen Anne's War.

But when, in 1702, after the death of William, Louis XIV. determined to espouse the cause of James's son, the Pretender, England declared war. Indian atrocities of a frightful kind, directed and stimulated by the French, were wreaked upon Massachusetts and New Hampshire. De Rouville, with three hundred French and Indians, came down from Canada by the Connecticut valley to surprise Deerfield. That village, con-

Massacre at Deerfield.



Williams House, Deerfield, Mass

taining about two hundred inhabitants, suspected an attack and was vigilant. But one morning in February, 1704, the savages, hiding in the woods till the sentries retired at daylight, surprised the half-awakened people. Fifty persons were killed, and a hundred prisoners, including women and children, were taken and carried off to Canada. It was the policy of the Jesuits to get hold of as many children as possible, in order to rear them in the principles of Romanism. Many of

them thus became Catholics, and some of the women, married to Indians, began the race of half-breeds which, together with the unions of Frenchmen and Indian women, filled Canada and the Northwest with able guides and trappers.

Among the Deerfield captives were the minister, Williams, his wife, and five young children. The youngest had been only a few days born; and while the poor mother, finding that she was too weak to travel through the snow, knelt down in prayer, an Indian tomahawked her. Some twenty years after, a woman in an Indian dress walked into Deerfield. The people did not recognize a daughter of Williams, who had married an Indian in Canada and refused to desert her children. The minister ordered a public fasting and prayer that her resolution might be changed; but the new ties were more religiously observed than the old ones, and she returned. Indeed, many children made captives in this manner, who afterwards came back to the settlements, could not submit to the restraints of civilized life, and declared that the Indian way was the best.

In the course of the year Lancaster met a similar fate. The war, with the French element of subtle intelligence to guide, was even more barbarous than Philip's. The colonists, in scattered parties, sought to defend a long frontier against an enemy who knew how to avoid striking till the stroke promised to be fatal. At Lancaster.

The French, claiming the whole coast of Maine as far as the Kennebec, had established, not long before, a trading and missionary post among the Norridgewock Indians on the upper waters of that river. The Indians, ever the warm allies of the French, were ready always to oppose any settlement of the English east of the Kennebec, while the French men-of-war seized every English fisherman who was found in Acadian waters. The province was equally stimulated by hostility to the French and dread of the Indians, and Dudley recognized the importance of protecting the frontier against both. He went to Casco and induced the representatives of various Eastern tribes, including the Norridgewocks, to meet him in council. French advisers had carefully instructed the chiefs to assume a spirit of neutrality. The Governor was presented with the customary belt of wampum and assured that an intention to go to war was as distant from their minds as the sun was above the earth. Then two cairns of stones were piled up, both parties assisting, in token of amity and fraternity. All this time a plot existed among them to seize the Governor and his suite and turn them over to the French; and it was only frustrated by the failure of a French party to arrive in time.

In less than six weeks after this scene of pretended sincerity, attacks were made upon the settlements between the Kennebec and the

Piscataqua, and the whole region was filled with terror. Families took refuge in garrison houses, and no work in the fields could be done without armed protection. Detachments of troops were sent out to intercept the savages, but they were not to be found. Winter expeditions, undertaken upon snow-shoes, were no more successful.

Hostilities in the Northeast.

Colonel Church was sent, in 1704, from Massachusetts with over five hundred men to succor these harassed settlements on the eastern frontier. He destroyed some villages, and met and killed some of the enemy, both French and Indian, on the Penobscot, but with no important result. In the winter an attack was made by New Hampshire men upon Norridgewock, and the wigwams and French chapel were burned. These reprisals only exasperated the savages. They struck back with terrible and cruel blows wherever they found the English off their guard. That year and the next, Haverhill, York, Exeter, Dover, Sudbury, Groton, and other places in Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, were fallen upon and some of them destroyed. The savage enemy was so successful in attacking where there was no chance of defence, or, where defence was made, in eluding pursuit, that it was computed each Indian slain cost the provinces a thousand pounds.[1] Scalps were at a premium. Massachusetts offered fifteen pounds for the hair of any male Indian who was over twelve years of age; eight pounds was offered also for each child or woman captured.[2] The French also attempted to stimulate their Indian allies by offering a scale of bounties for English scalps; but the savages generally preferred to take prisoners and transport them to Canada, partly inclined to this by the Jesuit priests, who desired to make converts of Protestants, and partly by the pleasure which they felt in finding that a good many youthful captives were disposed to adopt their mode of life and to intermarry with their own young women. Thus the years of Queen Anne's War, glorious to England in the great campaigns of Marlborough and Peterborough, the splendid victories of Blenheim, of Barcelona, of Ramillies, of Oudenarde, were to the colonies years of inglorious Indian warfare and savage onslaughts upon the peaceful homes of women and children, — inglorious, but often heroic in brave deeds and braver endurance of torture and bereavement.

Through all, the colonial authorities held steadily to the purpose of the conquest of Canada and the expulsion of the French from their

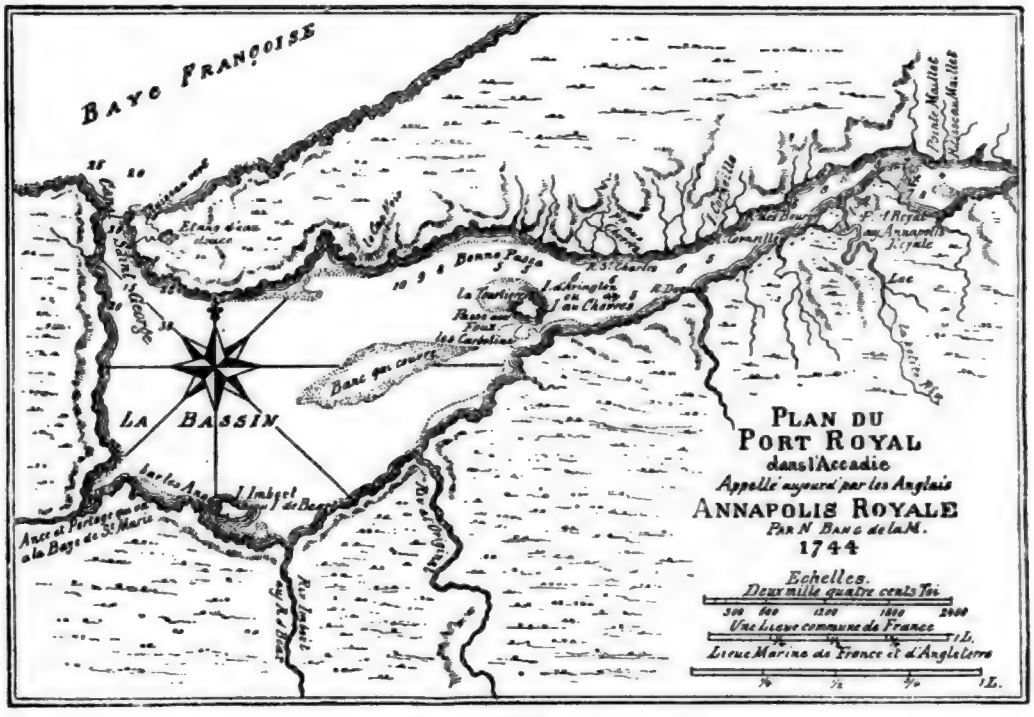
[1] Penhallow's *Indian Wars*.

[2] This scale of bounties for scalps advanced so rapidly that when Lovewell's volunteers took the war-path in 1724, a man's scalp was worth one hundred pounds, and one of a child or woman brought fifty pounds to persons in the public service, and the double of each sum to volunteers.

northern borders. In 1707, Dudley sent a force of a thousand men, under Colonel March, raised in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, to reduce Port Royal. In two campaigns, extending through the winter into the following spring, the thousand men were reduced to less than two hundred, chiefly by hardship and disease, and the fort was not taken. Nicholson's first campaign from New York, though not so disastrous, was quite as unsuccessful; but neither these nor other misfortunes, the uncertainty of the friendship of the Five Nations, the certainty of the hostility of all the Eastern savages, abated the courage or determination of the colonies.

Expeditions against Port Royal.

In 1710, however, the place was taken by the aid which Schuyler and Nicholson had induced the ministry to give to the war in America. In September, a fleet of six ships of war and about thirty



Plan of Port Royal, Nova Scotia.

transports, carrying five regiments of troops, sailed from Boston harbor. Five of the war vessels belonged to the English navy, the sixth, a galley, to Massachusetts. Two of the five regiments were New England men; the fifth was a regiment of English marines. General Nicholson of New York was the commander-in-chief. Sir Charles Hobby and Colonel Tailer of Massachusetts, Colonel Whiting of Connecticut, and Colonel Walton of New Hampshire, led the troops of their respective colonies.

Port Royal — named afterward Annapolis Royal in honor of the

Queen — was still under the command of Subercase, who had so successfully repulsed March and Wainright, two or three years before. With less than three hundred men, he could make little defence against the formidable force which now approached. The people outside the fort opposed the landing of the English troops, and killed a few of them; but Subercase yielded when summoned to surrender. One transport was wrecked on entering the harbor, and twenty-six men were lost; fourteen or fifteen were killed in the advance to the fort; but at this cost of only forty lives Nova Scotia became an English province, for the capture of Port Royal was virtually the conquest of all that portion of New France. The proposed invasion of Canada by land and sea at the same time, under Hill and Nicholson, which failed so signally the next year, prevented — as we have shown in a previous chapter — the sending of any aid to Castin, and the treaty of Utrecht gave to England the province which the New England troops had conquered.

Its surrender.

With the accession of George I., August 1, 1714, to the throne, the doctrine of passive obedience which the Tories maintained against the Whigs was understood to have been defeated. At the same time the friends of Governor Dudley, who were principally Tories, lost their influence, and it was easy for his enemies to procure his removal. For twelve years he had, for the most part, misgoverned Massachusetts, planting in the soil seeds of enmities which grew to have a protracted life. Cotton Mather, who expected to make of him a supple instrument, was foiled by his own weapons in the hands of an adroiter man; he became, therefore, an implacable foe, and carried great numbers of the clergy with him. They sympathized with the accession of Whiggery to power, because it was understood, though mistakenly, to be more favorable to provincial principles. Their friends at court were strong enough to procure the removal of Dudley, when the Massachusetts Assembly declared, soon after the death of the Queen, that the office of governor was vacant.

Dudley removed.

In New Hampshire Dudley was less unpopular than in Massachusetts, for he espoused the cause of the actual settlers upon the land against the Mason claim. This was still the paramount question to the people of that province, and anxious to win over to their side the influence of the Crown, they voted the permanent salaries which Dudley was instructed to exact, but which Massachusetts refused to grant. When, therefore, the Crown allowed Allen, the representative of the Mason claim, to take possession of all common and unenclosed land, and he summoned Dudley to appear at the trial on writs of ejectment to sustain the royal instructions, the Governor managed on various pretexts to delay his journey and not to

New Hampshire Affairs.

reach Portsmouth at all. So it was easy for him on several occasions to persuade that province to send addresses on his behalf to the Queen. One of these was sent to George I., in 1715, earnestly praying for Dudley's continuance in office.

Massachusetts then contained about 94,000 inhabitants, and of these 2,000 were Negro slaves, and 1,200 civilized Indians. The population of Boston was probably about 10,000. As early as 1690, Indians were employed as field-hands at one shilling a day and their board. The Negroes were chiefly house-servants in the larger towns. The price of a slave in provincial currency was equivalent to about $80 of our money. If the slaves ran away, which occurred but seldom, for their servitude was not severe, Indians were employed for their recapture. The labor of white workmen was worth two shillings a day.[1]

Population and condition of Massachusetts in 1715.

The province owned at that period 190 vessels of various kinds and of 8,000 tons in all, sailed by 1,100 men. There were employed in the fisheries 150 smacks, with crews in all of 600 men. A few manufactories of hats and cloths existed, which were a perpetual source of jealousy to England, whose exports in English products to all American ports were valued at £1,000,000 sterling. Exports from all American plantations were valued at £800,000. During a period of great commercial activity, from 1714 to 1717, Boston cleared for the West Indies alone 518 vessels, and for all the ports of her trade 1,247 vessels; and 232 vessels were cleared at Salem.[2] The colonial policy of self-protection was in continual struggle with the English policy of restriction which affected everything, iron-work, hats, woolens, and linen.

The scourge of this colony was small-pox. Four times it had been epidemic in Boston at different periods, and it appeared again in the spring of 1721. Nearly six thousand persons, more than one half the population, were attacked, of whom nearly nine hundred died. Inoculation was introduced at this time in America by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, and its efficacy was proved in the next serious visitation from this pestilence, thirty years later, when out of the 5,544 who took the disease the natural way, 514 died, while

Small-pox and inoculation.

[1] In England at that time the rates of wages were as follows: cook-maids and dairy-maids £2 10 a year; mowers of corn and grass 1 *s.* 2 *d.* a day without meat and drink, and only 6 *d.* with food; male haymakers 10 *d.* a day without food, 5 *d.* with; female haymakers 6 *d.*; rough masons, carpenters, ploughmen, bricklayers, plasterers, and tilers 1 *s.* 6 *d.* from Lady Day to Michaelmas, and 1 *s.* from Michaelmas to Lady Day. If they were fed they had only 8 *d.* a day all the year round. Gardeners and thatchers were paid at the same rate. Tailors earned 6 *d.* a day with food, 10 *d.* without; spinners earned only 4 *d.* daily without food. This schedule of wages lasted into the reign of George I.

[2] Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, Part ii., p. 107.

of the 2,113 who were inoculated only 31 died. The remedy was first used in England by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who had observed its effect at Adrianople, and had the courage to try it upon a child of her own. The medical faculty were bitterly opposed to it. The clergy preached against it from their pulpits and advised the people to hoot at her as an unnatural mother who had put the life of her child in peril. The four physicians who were appointed by the government to watch the experiment upon her daughter were so rancorously hostile, so maliciously incredulous, that she never left them alone with the child. As in old England, so in New; the hatred of innovation was stronger than the fear of the most loathsome of diseases and the strong probability of death.

Cotton Mather — who was somewhat of a lay practitioner of medicine — was warmly interested in this bold attempt to mitigate human suffering, and became, in consequence, so obnoxious that his house was assaulted and an attempt made upon his life. Increase Mather, his father, then a very old man, published a tract in favor of the remedy, in which he quoted the Negro slaves as averring that it had always been practised with success in Africa, whence, perhaps, the Turks had obtained their knowledge of it. About two hundred and fifty persons were safely inoculated by Dr. Boylston, — seven only dying — who began with his own children and servants. The brave man stood almost alone in his own profession; but among the clergy, though the opposition was general and bitter, the Mathers were supported by some of the more eminent of the brethren, — as the Rev. Drs. Colman of Boston, Walter of Roxbury, a son-in-law of Increase Mather, and Wise of Ipswich.[1]

Dudley's successor was nominally one Colonel Burgess, chiefly known and esteemed as a soldier. He valued his appointment, however, so little that he was easily persuaded to surrender his commission for £1,000, raised by subscription among friends of the provinces who doubted his fitness for the office of governor. It was given then to Samuel Shute, also a soldier; but till his arrival the duties of the office were discharged by Colonel Tailer, who had been made Lieutenant-governor in reward for his services in the capture of Port Royal.

Governorship of Samuel Shute.

Governor Shute was fated to discover that party spirit could rage as violently as an epidemic. Before he became involved in a controversy which arose from the depreciation of the currency, he got into trouble from a zeal like that of Dudley's to promote the prerogative of the Crown. In fact, much to the surprise and disappointment of the province, he was disposed to favor Dudley's old party. This first dispute turned upon the en-

[1] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, passim.

forcement of the acts of Parliament on the right to the forests, and the exportation of naval stores from the colonies.

When the Earl of Bellomont came out as Governor, nearly twenty years before, his instructions upon this subject were very positive. It was believed that the colonies could be made to contribute largely to the support of the royal navy and relieve England from its dependence upon Norway for ship timber and other stores. But the supply was to be enforced by arbitrary and inconsiderate acts of Parliament, not as the result of a legitimate commerce. The Earl had faithfully devoted himself to the fulfillment of his instructions. He died before his plans were so matured as to influence his own popularity; but they were so definitely fixed, and were so confirmed by subsequent laws that his successors had only to enforce an established policy.

Disputes as to the export of timber.

The vast primeval forests along the Atlantic coast had become to the colonists a source of commerce with Spain and Portugal. This profitable trade was interdicted, that England might pick and choose the choicest timber for the wooden walls of the royal navy — "to be the mast of some great ammiral" — and in so doing little regard was paid to the rights of private owners. The assertion of a royal privilege first bred discontent, then violent resistance. It was not easy to prevent the shipping of timber to foreign countries — a trade which the hardy lumberers of Maine and New Hampshire maintained as a right wrested from nature herself by toil and privation. Quite as difficult was it to prevent the farmers from felling trees on lands to which they had a legal title by grant or purchase — their own trees which the King's surveyors marked with a broad arrow that they might be reserved for the King's use. The curious explorer in those eastern forests may even now find occasionally upon pine trees which the centuries have spared, these arrow-marks cut more than a hundred years ago — the King, his mark, upon a domain to which the Revolution secured a quit-claim deed.

John Bridger was, as he had long been, Surveyor-general when Shute assumed his office. Wherever the surveyor and his men saw fit, they carved the emblem of royal ownership. The settlers resisted this assertion of a right over lands held by titles which should be good even against the King, and for which they had risked their scalps, and endured the extremity of hardship, that this savage wilderness might be turned to the uses of civilization. The loss of their tallest and most shapely trees moved them to righteous anger; hardly less did they resent the act of Parliament which denied a trial by jury on any question of ownership that it was thought worth while to listen to, but left it to the decision of a judge of admiralty appointed

by the Crown. The products of the soil they owned were theirs, they maintained, to do with as they would, to use or to sell — to sell even to the King, if he wanted their tar and timber. Still the surveyors went on carving the broad arrow-heads with indifference or contempt. Every stroke of the axe in the clearings was a blow in the long conflict between provinces and Crown.

Remonstrance and indignant complaint against Bridger found their way to Portsmouth and Boston, and the Governor sided with the surveyor. Elisha Cooke, a member of the Massachusetts Council, showed the justice of the settlers' claims, and the irascible old soldier deprived him of his office. Thereupon the General Court sent a remonstrance to the Governor which he forbade them to print. They printed it nevertheless, establishing thereby a parliamentary privilege, never again questioned, of printing what they pleased.

The General Court offended the Governor still further by electing Cooke as Speaker. Shute stood upon his prerogative, refused to confirm their choice, and dissolved the Court. When compelled to call a second, that body declined to grant certain appropriations he asked for. He indignantly prorogued them also. A third voted him an insignificant sum, but, at the same time, they patiently and firmly thwarted his obnoxious measures. The old quarrel was fastened upon him when he attempted, like Dudley, to have a fixed salary attached to his office. To manifest its rooted policy upon this point, the Assembly quietly reduced year by year the annual grant which it allowed him, and voted a sum so small to Lieutenant-governor William Dummer that he disdained to accept it.

All this time another cause of bitter variance flowed out of the deplorable financial condition of the province, which was suffering all the evils of gambling speculation that belong to periods of paper money and depreciated currency. The infection of speculation had something of the virulence of John Law's Mississippi scheme and the subsequent English South Sea Bubble, though these manias did not directly implicate the provinces. Queen Anne's War was responsible for a resort to a financial policy which so readily buys immediate supplies, and so fatally contracts a public debt for another generation to repudiate or pay at heavy cost. The provinces were drained of gold and silver; and as a desperate remedy recourse was had to a fresh supply of paper money. It was called currency, but nothing could make it current. Land and merchandise increased nominally in value, but actually depreciated.

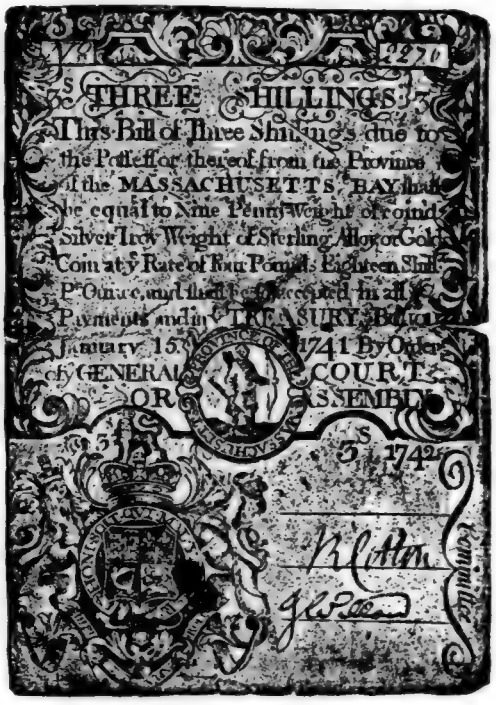
Paper money.

The province was divided into three heated parties, — one that proposed a speedy return to gold and silver; another, much larger, that sought to defeat resumption by the establishment of a private bank

for the issuing of unlimited paper; and a third that perceived the necessity for a public bank that should steadily labor to pay the public debt, and issue paper but restrain the abuse of it. There was great agitation in every town and village. The acrimony of theological difference was never more bitter than this discussion over a question of finance which was little understood. It divided parishes and families like a civil war. At length the project of a public bank was successful. It was a great misfortune, the result of unreasonable neglect and parsimony on the part of England, that the provinces, which had lavished their life and treasure upon various wars, were left, thus impoverished, to pay the bills. Under this ingratitude of the mother country, for whose continental policy the provinces bled as well as for their own welfare, they may be pardoned for finding no resource save in the frequent issue of bills of credit.

Financial projects.

The Council generally, from 1710 downward, favored a public bank; but the Assembly was pretty evenly divided. Boston, being a lively centre for speculative operations, was eager for a private bank. When the project for a public bank finally prevailed in 1721, a loan of £50,000 in bills of credit was placed with a board of trustees for five years at five per cent., and one fifth of the principal was to be paid in yearly. Colonel Burgess, who sold out his appointment as Governor, was among those who asked for the establishment of a private bank; its supporters were highly incensed when they discovered that Governor Shute favored the public bank. But no financial plan could resist the demoralizing effect of frequent issues of bills of credit. When the five years had expired in which the principal was to have been paid, the issue of these bills had increased to £100,000. In that year, 1727, £60,000 more were voted by the Assembly, and when Dummer, who was acting Governor till Burnet arrived, vetoed the measure, the Assembly simply refused his grant of money until he signed the bill.



Three-Shilling Massachusetts Bill of 1741.

In 1722 bits of paper representing five pounds were struck off for

small change. The penny was round, the two-pence square, and the three-pence angular. In 1728, £340 in this fractional currency was issued; in 1730, £380, the specie value of which was only £100. In 1733, by a vote of the General Court, bills to the amount of £75,500 were issued to pay the public debts; and in 1737, £20,000 of the new tenor "to exchange for old bills at the rate of one new for three old."



Two-pence, 1722.

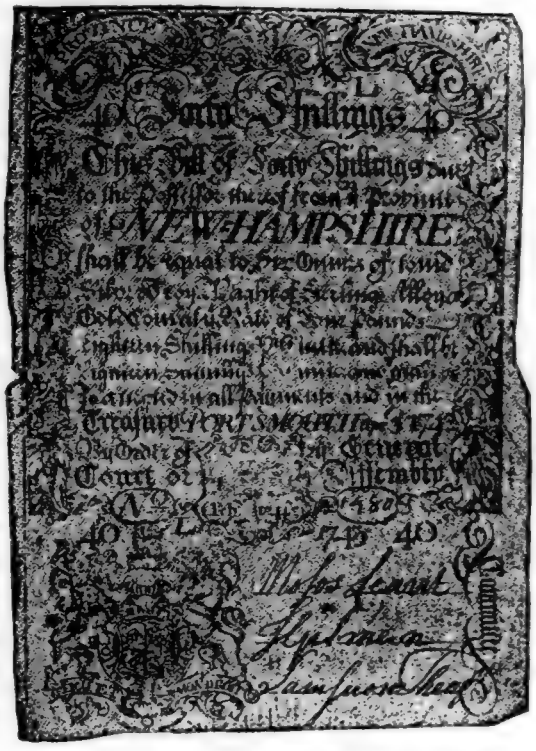
Governor Belcher, who was opposed to all the schemes which steadily depreciated the currency, stated, in 1740, that the issue of bills up to that time amounted to £260,000, of which £70,000 were yet unredeemed.[1] In the previous year a number of private individuals undertook to establish a land bank with a capital of £150,000. Notwithstanding the popularity of this step, it failed to procure the sanction of Parliament, and the company dissolved. The different parliaments of the eighteenth century which eagerly voted enormous sums to sustain England's continental wars, could seldom be influenced to reimburse the colonies for their heavy expenses incurred in expeditions against France and the West Indies. When in 1741 England was organizing an expedition against the island of Cuba, the American provinces were called upon to furnish 3,600 men, with the bounties, provisions, and transports. The quota of Massachusetts was five hundred men; their outfit and transportation cost £7,000, not a shilling of which was ever reimbursed. Five years after the fall of Louisburg in 1745, the expenditure of the colonies in that expedition was remitted to Boston by the home government in specie, and this was the beginning of a return to specie payments. But in 1748 the existing currency could only purchase one eighth the value which the same nominal sum would buy in 1700, and exchange on London stood at £1,100 currency for £100 sterling. A measure toward resumption which steadily grew popular in spite of all interested opposition, was in two years confirmed by an act of Parliament commanding the colonies to call in all their bills of credit and to issue no more that were not to be discharged within a year. And no further issue of paper money was to be made save in extraordinary emergencies.

The colonies burdened with war expenditures.

Specie was at one time so scarce in New Hampshire that paper currency was issued for half a crown, and an ordinance was passed to allow the payment of taxes in tar that was rated at twenty shil-

[1] Felt's *History of Ipswich*, p. 105.

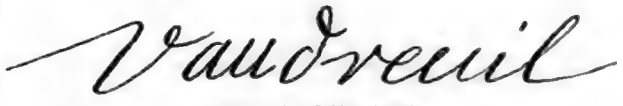
lings to the barrel.[1] The soldiers who were engaged in the various campaigns against the French and Canada after 1755 were paid in paper bills that were issued on the plea of emergency. A bill bearing the face of fifteen shillings was worth a dollar. Of this money the soldiers received £13 10*s*. a month, and as the paper steadily depreciated their pay stood in the course of the same year at £15, in 1756 at £18, in 1757 at £25. But sterling money soon recovered its status as the standard, and the paper value followed the price of silver in all contracts and exchange. This digression will serve to group the financial interests of the province for a considerable period. In other colonies similar measures of a resort to the issue of paper money to meet public exigencies had like results.



New Hampshire Bill of Forty Shillings, 1742.

The Indian difficulties during the administration of Governor Shute became another source of serious embarrassment. With the connivance of Count Vaudreuil, then Governor of Canada, the French secretly stirred up the half-slumbering ill-will of the Indians, in spite of the treaty, on the pretext that France possessed the coast of Maine as far as the Kennebec. It was not difficult to inflame the temper of the savages when they observed the inevitable encroachments of the English upon domains which had been purchased from them. They did not at first foresee the practical effect upon themselves, — upon their hunt-

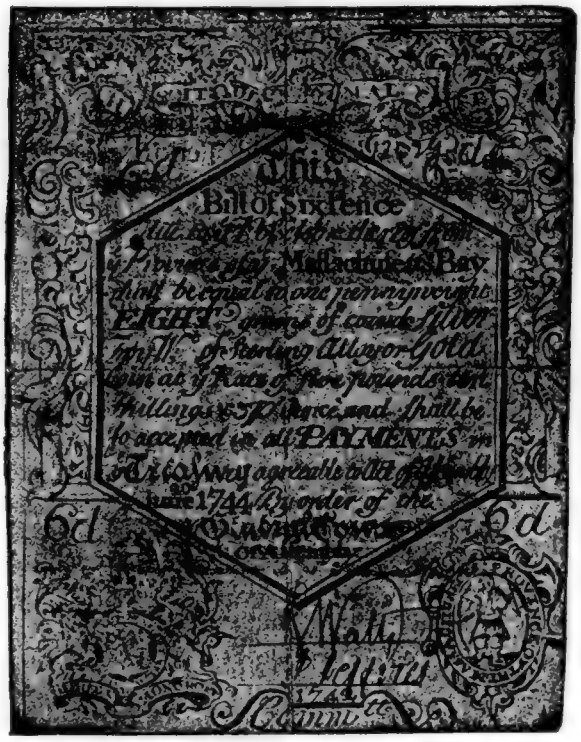
Indian difficulties during Shute's Governorship.



Autograph of Vaudreuil.

[1] The *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire* contain frequent records of legislation against the counterfeiting which can be so easily practised in an era of paper currency. One day in January, 1756, £95 of counterfeit bills were brought into the Assembly, and there ordered to be burnt in the presence of the members. This was done with sufficient solemnity. At one time the counterfeiters got possession of unfilled blanks of currency, left over from the printing, and proceeded to imitate them at their leisure. Then each officer of the government and each member of the Assembly was furnished with such blanks, that they might be compared with the bills in circulation. In 1730 the punishment for counterfeiting in Pennsylvania was death; but that proved to have little deterring power, and a conviction was seldom obtained.

ing, fishing, and planting, — of the more elaborate and persistent methods of the white man, who was not very scrupulous in observing the bounds of the tracts which had been ceded to him for an insignificant remuneration. Naturally all this civilizing movement began to be clear to them, and the French made it clearer. Claims and counter claims, disputes, ill-blood, quarrels, were inevitable. The Governor had an excellent plan of building trading-houses in the eastern territory to supplant the French by direct traffic with the Indians for their furs. These trading-posts were to have been under the direct control of the provincial government. The constant turmoil of provincial politics prevented their establishment; so that the private traders as usual, then and at present, fleeced the Indians and made their business operations easier by the demoralizing effect of liquor. The Governor anticipated that trouble would result from the complication, and endeavored to arrive at some friendly understanding with the chiefs. He made, however, the mistake of pressing upon them a Puritan minister to reside among them, hoping thus to observe and counteract the Jesuit intrigues. The Indians favored the religion of France as well as its politics, and no minister was allowed to settle where a Jesuit ruled.



Six-pence, 1744.

When the war impended, the General Court gave additional umbrage to Shute by encroaching upon his power as commander-in-chief of the provincial forces. The officers who were attached to the first expedition were instructed to communicate, not with the Governor, but with the General Court as the representative of the people who were taxed to support the war. This was clearly an illegal measure, which provoked bitter wrangling, and the Governor found himself involved in a fresh dispute.

Conflicts between the Governor and the General Court.

The provincial temper exhibited such an increase of animosity toward the royal government that Shute sailed for England in disgust.

He spent the time there in explanation of his course and in urging a decisive policy against the province. As the result of his activity, a remonstrance was sent to the General Court in 1723; it enumerated the complaints brought by the Governor of interference with his prerogative, and demanded explanations. At first the General Court treated the charge with an aggravating nonchalance, contenting itself with a vote that an agent should be appointed to manage the vindication of its conduct. When the Provincial Council stoutly non-concurred with this, the General Court undertook the more prudent course of returning specific answers to the complaints. The provincial agents found the Court obstinately bent upon enforcing the provisions of the royal charter, especially on the points of cutting timber, the Governor's power to negative the selection of Speaker, and interference with military operations.

The result. — A supplementary charter.

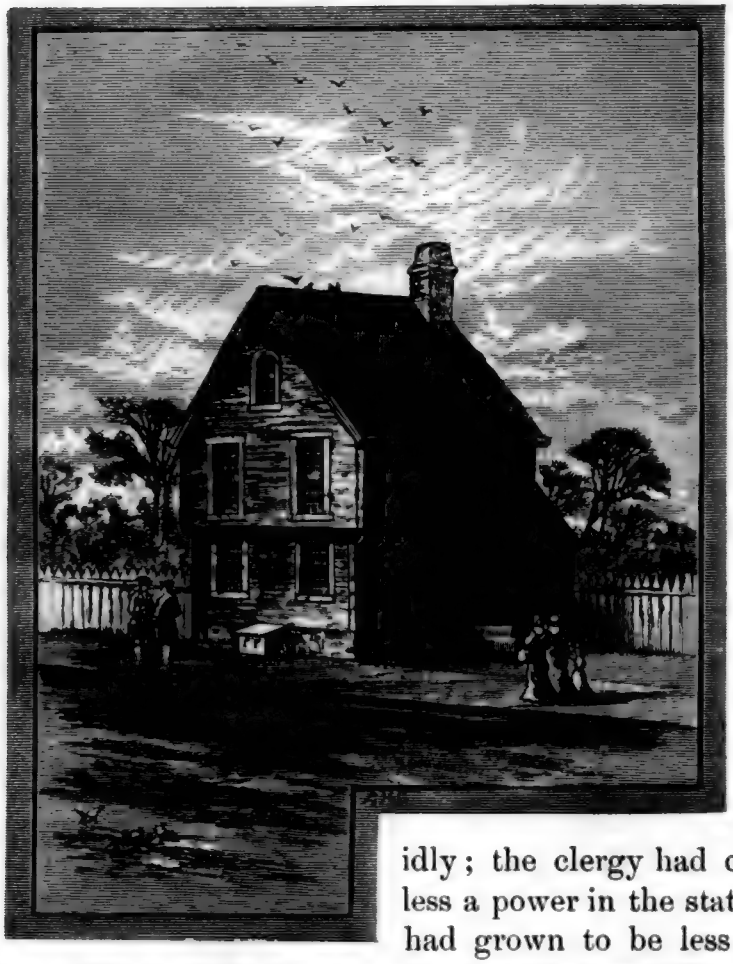
The judgment of the Board of Trade and the law-officers of the Crown was clearly against the province. A supplementary charter intended to enforce the most important points at issue was sent to Boston in August, 1725, and laid before the General Court. After some preliminary discussion and voting, during which a great deal of popular opposition was developed, this explanatory charter was finally accepted by a majority upon a joint vote of the House and Council.

Governor Shute was now confirmed in his power to negative the selection of Speaker of the House, and he proceeded to work for another concession, — that of a permanent salary for the Governor and Lieutenant-governor. Put off and disappointed, he was on the point of returning in 1727, greatly to the discontent of the province, whose affairs had been judiciously administered by the Lieutenant-governor, William Dummer. Just at that crisis George I. died; new intrigues sprang up under a new reign; new men came into prominence; new favorites clamored for office and had to be provided for. In consequence of this, Shute was pensioned, and the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire was conferred upon William Burnet.

Theological matters in Massachusetts.

It is worth noting that the disposition of the clergy of Massachusetts had been slowly softening in matters of theology. Even the intolerant Cotton Mather preached a tolerant discourse on the occasion of the establishment of a Baptist Church in Boston during Shute's administration. It was within the memory of living men that the whipping-post or the stocks was thought to be the proper place for those who doubted the efficacy of infant baptism; in a controversy of half a century before upon the rightfulness of admitting to baptism the children of those who were not mem-

bers of the Church, the father and the grandfather of Cotton Mather had taken different sides. The times had greatly changed. They had changed still more since Roger Williams said that Cotton was the high priest of Boston, when the priest was the head of the State as well as of the Church. In country towns the clergyman was still indeed chief among men; looked up to as fittest of all to guide in worldly as in spiritual affairs; as absolute in the town-meeting as in the pulpit; always revered and often beloved by those of mature age, and always feared by the young, who would fly from before his face and hide from that austere and reverend presence. But in larger places the influence of the growth of political freedom asserted itself more rapidly; the clergy had come to be less and less a power in the state; liberty of thought had grown to be less and less a civil offence; religious differences were more tolerated, and free discussion of all subjects was beginning to be possible. Journalism, with something of the meaning which later times attach to that term, made its appearance.

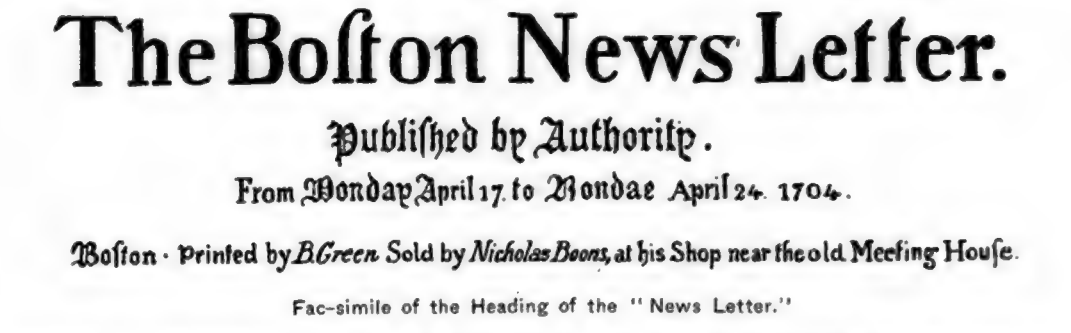


Birthplace of Franklin.

Newspapers established in Boston.

The first newspaper was printed in Boston, in the autumn of 1690, and was meant to be a monthly, with occasionally more frequent issues, should the demand warrant it. A single number, however, only appeared. In 1704, the "Boston News Letter" was established, — a weekly paper which long held its own, but which never, till a rival appeared, was anything but a mere digest of news. In 1719, the "Boston Gazette" was started, of which James Franklin was the printer. Two years later — August, 1721 — Franklin established the "New England Courant," partly, it was thought, because the

printing of the "Gazette" had been taken from him.[1] The publisher of the "Gazette," Philip Musgrave, was also postmaster, and in the first number of the "Courant" Franklin attacked him for official incapacity. Of the "News Letter" the "Courant" said it was only "a dull vehicle of intelligence." The new journal was evidently to be a thing as yet unheard of — a paper in which politics and religion, morals and manners, were to be freely discussed. Its editor indeed soon wrote himself into prison, and in about six years it


N. G. Numb. 1.

The Boſton News Letter.

Publiſhed by Authority.

From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704.

Boſton: Printed by B. Green. Sold by Nicholas Boone, at his Shop near the old Meeting Houſe.

Fac-simile of the Heading of the "News Letter."

was discontinued; but its appearance and its character mark an era in intellectual progress and in the freedom of thought and speech in Massachusetts. A club of gentlemen contributed essays on various subjects, and these writers were called by conservative people, sometimes "Free Thinkers," sometimes the "Hell Fire Club." Benjamin Franklin was the younger brother of James, and wrote paragraphs as well as set type for the paper. He was about sixteen years of age, having been born opposite the Old South Church on January 6, 1706. He was the carrier of the paper, and wrote the carrier's addresses. Curiously enough, the paper opposed inoculation, and perhaps its popularity in this respect, especially with the physicians, who had the free use of its columns, procured toleration for its more offensive matter.

Benjamin Franklin.

The paper was only a year old when the publisher was bound over to be of good behavior, in the sum of £100, in consequence of "many passages . . . . published, boldly reflecting on His Majesty's Government, the Ministry, Churches, and College." It was at the same time ordered that no number of the paper should be printed till it had been submitted to the Secretary of the Council, and permission granted. When afterward the elder Franklin was imprisoned for continued contumacy, the management of the paper fell into young Benjamin's hands. When James was ordered to cease the publication he obeyed,

[1] Benjamin Franklin probably shared his brother's resentment against the proprietor of the *Gazette*. In his autobiography he ignores its existence, and asserts that the *Courant* was the second newspaper established in America, the *News Letter* being the first.

so far as his own name was concerned; but the paper came out, nevertheless, with Benjamin as publisher. There was no abatement of the freedom of comment upon public affairs, while the journal commended itself for family reading by a selection of the best hymns of one Dr. Watts. James seems to have been jealous of his younger brother's success, and they quarrelled. Then Benjamin ran away; and the loss to Boston was a gain to Philadelphia, till the whole country claimed the services of one of the wisest and best of her sons.

New Hampshire under Shute's administration.

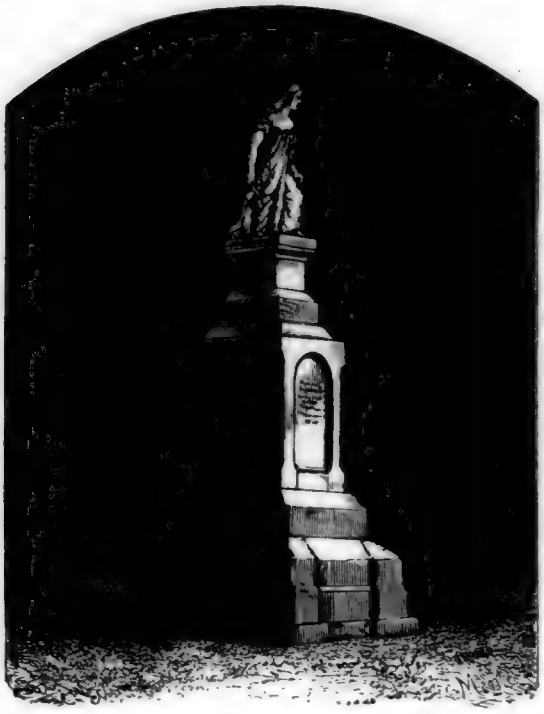
Shute was no happier in his administration of the affairs of New Hampshire than of those of Massachusetts. The Assembly would never vote him a permanent salary, and this standing grievance of the royal governors in all the colonies precluded the possibility of any cordiality of feeling between him and the popular representatives. He removed several members of the Council and appointed others, who represented the local interests of Portsmouth, to the prejudice, the country people thought, of their own. He called the Assembly to a conference with the Council, regarding the issue of bills of credit, but without condescending to inform its members of his reason for convening them. When the two Houses resented this treatment, he dissolved them. On one point, however, they agreed; the Assembly supporting him in the suspension of Vaughan, the Lieutenant-governor, who assumed the exercise of supreme authority during Shute's absence in Boston. The removal of Vaughan was justified also by the Crown, and John Wentworth was appointed in his place.

Scotch Presbyterians settle at Londonderry, N. H.

The emigration of some Scotch Presbyterians to New Hampshire, in 1718, while Shute was Governor, was much more important in her history than these political quarrels. These people, who undertook to better their condition in America, were descendants of the colonists who had been transferred by James I. to the North of Ireland, where their condition, from penal laws against Protestants and from local taxation, had become intolerable. Arriving first in Boston, they dispersed in various directions; but sixteen of the families, holding together, settled upon lands a few miles northwest of Haverhill. The boundary between New Hampshire and Massachusetts had not, at this time, been determined, though the two provinces had more than once appointed commissioners to draw it, who could not agree. Massachusetts informed these new settlers, when they applied for a grant, that they were out of her jurisdiction. In New Hampshire the disputed title to the land gave them some trouble, but under the protection of Wentworth they remained upon the spot of their choice, and, being joined from

time to time by other families, they called their place Londonderry, in 1722.

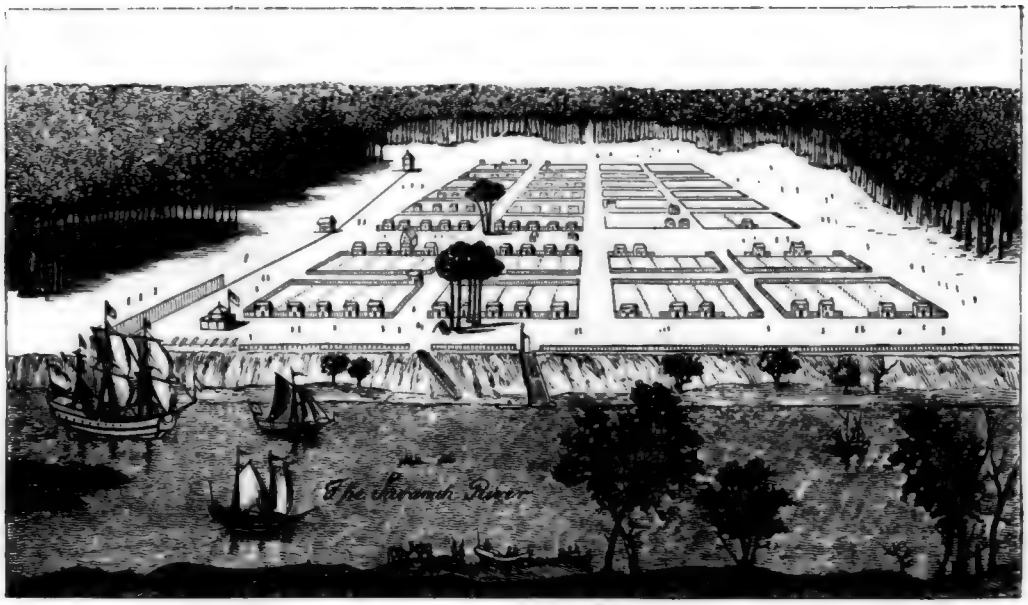
Their minister, MacGregor, informed Governor Shute how offensive it was to them to be confounded with the Irish against whom they had fought always for the defence of Protestantism. But the New Hampshire people were jealous of these new-comers, who entered into quiet possession of the soil at a time when their own lands were threatened with litigation. These Presbyterians did the province the good service of introducing the manufacture of linen by the spinning-wheel, and the cultivation of the potato. That vegetable was first planted at Andover, whose inhabitants began with boiling the balls instead of the bulbs, wondering, when the result was served up at their simple tables, that a potato was considered to be an esculent.



Mrs. Dustin's Monument, Concord, N. H.

The prosperity attending these new colonists led other people to petition for grants of land for townships. They took possession before their charters were made out, and began to fell the trees, incurring the usual dispute with the King's surveyor. In 1722 charters for four townships, Chester, Nottingham, Barrington, and Rochester, were drawn up, including a reservation during the pendency of Allen's suit, and signed by Governor Shute, which was his last official act in the province. From 1713 to 1720 some attempts were also made to settle tracts of land in Maine. On Shute's departure for England in 1723, Wentworth became acting Governor of New Hampshire.

Other settlements.



Savannah, from a Print of 1741

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGIA.

PROPOSED SETTLEMENT SOUTH OF THE SAVANNAH. — THE MARGRAVATE OF AZILIA. — THE SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA. — SKETCH OF JAMES OGLETHORPE. — ARRIVAL OF THE COLONISTS. — BUILDING OF SAVANNAH. — SPEECH OF TOMO CHICHI. — THE HIGHLANDERS AND SALZBURGERS. — THE PILGRIMAGE OF THE SALZBURGERS. — THE "GRAND EMBARKATION." — THE BROTHERS WESLEY. — GEORGE WHITEFIELD AND HIS ORPHAN HOUSE. — SLAVERY AND THE IMPORTATION OF RUM PROHIBITED IN GEORGIA. — LAND TENURE. — OGLETHORPE'S JOURNEY TO THE INTERIOR. — SLAVE INSURRECTION IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — GEORGIA INVADED BY THE SPANIARDS. — GALLANT ACTION OF OGLETHORPE. — THE ROAD TO FREDERICA. — SLAUGHTER OF THE SPANIARDS IN A DEFILE. — OGLETHORPE'S STRATAGEM. — RETREAT OF THE SPANISH FLEET. — OGLETHORPE'S RETURN TO ENGLAND. — THE LATTER YEARS OF HIS LIFE. — SURRENDER OF THE CHARTER. — THE HALF-BREED QUEEN MARY. — SUPPRESSION OF THE BOSOMWORTH INSURRECTION. — GEORGIA A ROYAL PROVINCE. — ITS SLOW PROGRESS.

Proposed settlement at the south by Sir Robert Montgomery.

It was proposed as early as 1717 by Sir Robert Montgomery, a Scotchman, to plant a colony on the Savannah River, and it is quite possible that the failure of his plan was partly due to the revolution in South Carolina. Adventurers may have been deterred from trying their fortunes in the vicinity of a colony torn at that time with internal dissensions, and the more

exposed, therefore, to attacks from their Spanish and Indian enemies on the southern border. Perhaps it was better, however, for the future settlement of the beautiful region between South Carolina and Florida that it should be left a while longer to its virgin solitude, rather than be made the scene of the fanciful schemes of this visionary Scotchman.

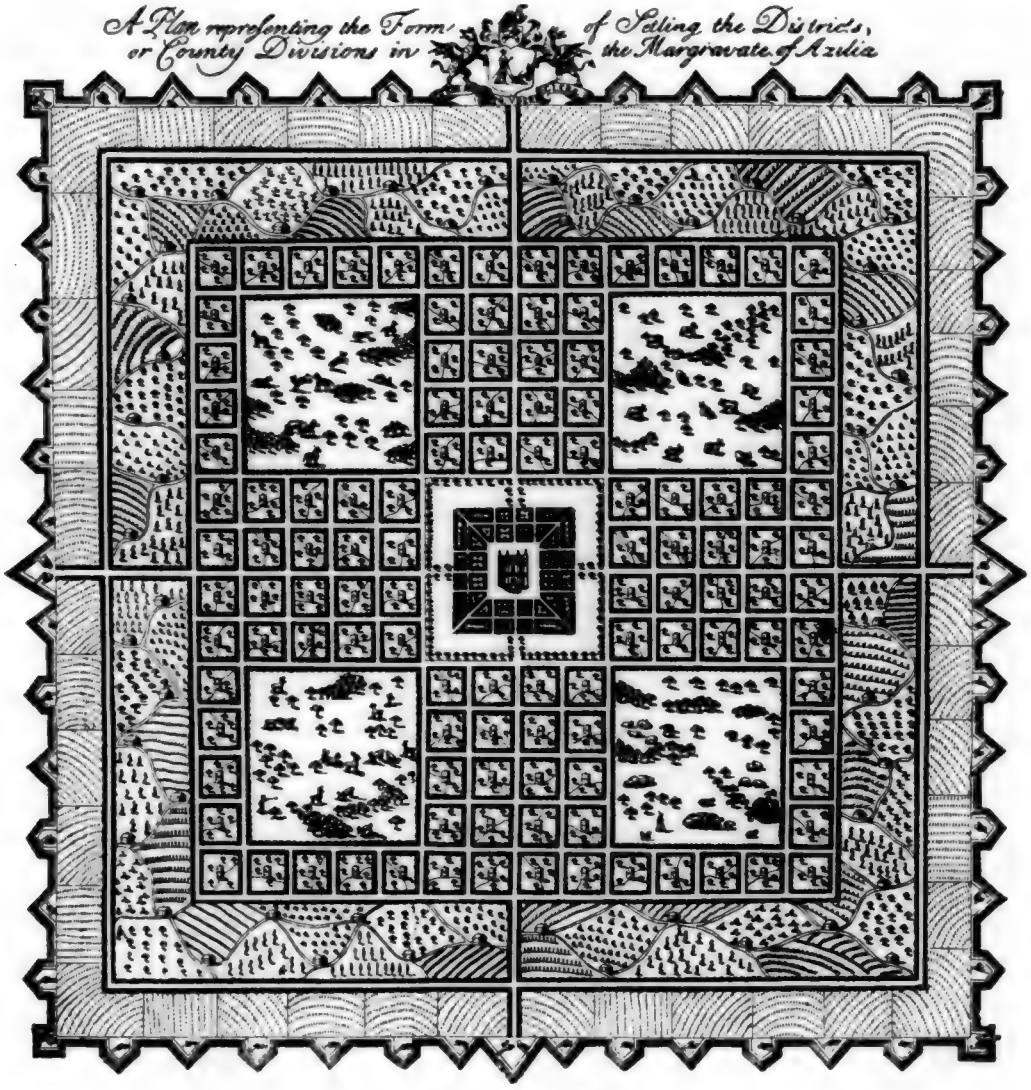
Montgomery purchased the territory of the Proprietors on condition that he should occupy it within three years. "My Design," he said, in a "Discourse" commending it to public attention, "arises not from any sudden Motive, but a strong Bent of Genius I inherit from my Ancestors," one of whom, a century earlier, had been interested in some plans of colonization in Nova Scotia. "The Humour, however," he continues, "Descended and ran down with the Blood: For my Father was so far of this Opinion, that together with Lord Cardross, the late Earl of Buchan, and some other Gentlemen, he entered into Measures for Establishing a Settlement on Port Royal River in South Carolina, and Lord Cardross went thither in Person."[1]

The projector of the new colony proposed to call it by the grandisonous title of the "Margravate of Azilia." It was generally agreed, he said in his "Discourse," that "Carolina, especially in its Southern Bounds, is the most amiable Country of the Universe; That Nature has not bless'd the World with any Tract which can be preferable to it; that *Paradise* with all her Virgin Beauties, may be modestly suppos'd at most but equal to its Native Excellencies." His fanciful plan of colonization was not dependent upon any proposed community of labor or of property; and it paid no heed to the practical difficulties in the way of contiguous blocks of farms laid out for cultivation, regardless of soil or situation, as city blocks are planned for residence and trade. The country was to be divided into districts, as population increased, each district to be twenty miles in length and width, surrounded by a square of fortifications. These were to be defended by garrisons who should maintain themselves and the Margrave by the cultivation of a strip of land one mile in width running around the square within the walls. Inside of this another strip, two

The Margravate of Azilia

[1] See vol. ii., p. 360. The "humour descended and ran down with the blood" also in the Erskine family. The great-grandson of the Lord Cardross here alluded to — the eccentric sixth Earl of Buchan, whose faith in metempsychosis was so profound that he believed all his ancestors lived in his own person, and who might have said, "when I was at Port Royal," as he would say, "when I was at the battle of Agincourt," — this descendant of Lord Cardross was deeply interested in America, and his sympathies warmly enlisted on behalf of the colonists in the American Revolution. He entered into correspondence with some of the leading men, and sent them his engraved portrait. One of these, presented by the Earl to James Otis, is in the possession of the author, and bears the autograph inscription, "As a mark of my attachment to the cause of Liberty and its friends."

miles in width, was to be reserved to furnish these defenders with farms of their own, rent free for life, after their term of service should be over. Of the remaining land, the most was laid out in one hundred and sixteen smaller squares of one mile each, "bating only for the highways which divide them; and in the centre of each square should



The Margravate of Azilia.

stand its owner's dwelling: "these are the estates belonging to the Gentry of the District." Finally, in the middle of the whole there was a large square for a city, and at the corners there were others for great parks — each four miles square — in which were to be kept the stocks of cattle and of game. Like a holy of holies, at the city's central point was to be built the Margrave's house — his constant residence.

But this ingenious scheme of a great rural city, portrayed by picture



JAMES OGLETHORPE.

(After a contemporary engraving.)

as well as described in words, failed to excite the admiration and enthusiasm its designer hoped for. Not an emigrant offered to avail himself of the beauties and advantages of the promised "Paradise." The provisional three years expired, and the Proprietaries resumed their ownership of the country. For fifteen years longer it remained a sort of debatable land between the English and the Spaniards of Florida, a hunting-ground and refuge for a few hundred Indians, till, purchased by the Crown of the Proprietors, it was once more selected as the site of a colony.

Failure of the scheme.

A humane movement about this time for the reformation of English jails — where, it was notorious, the most shocking abuses existed — enlisted the sympathies and the energies of James Oglethorpe, a member of Parliament. His experience as a member of a parliamentary committee, appointed with reference to this subject, led him and others to wider observation and reflection upon the condition of the poor generally, and his committee suggested, in a report to the House, that "there were great numbers of indigent persons burthensome to the public, who would be willing to seek a livelihood in any of his Majesty's plantations in America, if they were provided with a passage and means of settling there." They asked that lands might be given them, as Trustees, in the southern part of South Carolina, for the planting of such a colony. The subject was deliberately and carefully discussed for two years after the report was made, and on the 9th of June, 1732, a charter was granted to twenty Trustees, for the benefit of the poor of the kingdom, and for the protection of the southern frontier of the American colonies, of all that region between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers.[1] The new colony was to be called Georgia, in honor of the King, George II.

A new movement.

Oglethorpe was at this time little more than forty years of age, and his life had been full of action and adventure. His family had been well known in courts and camps for generations. His great-grandfather and his grandfather had held positions in the royal household; and his father — that Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe referred to in a paragraph of "Guy Mannering" as one who "held orgies with the wicked Laird of Ellangowan" — had been a well-known general under James, but at the time of the Georgia founder's birth, in 1688, had retired to live as a quiet country gentleman in Surrey. Oglethorpe was sent to Oxford at sixteen; and at twenty-one entered the army as an ensign. He subsequently took service under the great Prince Eugene, was

[1] The Trustees were Lord Percival, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Tower, Robert Moor, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Behtha, John Burton, Richard Bundy, Arthur Beuford, Samuel Smith, Adam Anderson, and Thomas Coram.

made an officer of his staff, and for several years shared in the most famous fighting of the time, serving at Peterwardein and at Belgrade, and not returning finally to England until peace was made with the beaten Turks in 1718. This military experience was not the least among the qualifications that fitted him for the post of governor of a frontier colony.

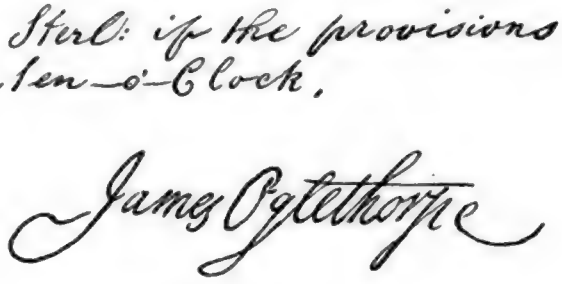
Oglethorpe's military career in Europe.

The project of the Georgia Trustees was received with a good deal of enthusiasm. Subscriptions on its behalf were numerous. Parliament made generous grants, and the Bank of England and other public institutions led long lists of contributors. All the Trustees themselves gave money, besides gratuitous service. They adhered rigidly to their original design; selecting their first body of colonists carefully from the destitute inhabitants of large cities; from deserving insolvent debtors, whose creditors were generally willing to forego their worthless claims on the payment by the company of a small sum; and from well-disposed laborers out of employment. Their aim was to exclude from the company all idlers and vicious persons, and all married men who were disposed to leave their families behind.

Settlement of Georgia.

On the 17th of November, 1732, Oglethorpe sailed from Gravesend in the ship *Anne*, with the first company of emigrants, — thirty-five families, containing in all one hundred and fourteen persons. On the 13th of January she arrived in the lower bay of Charleston, where she remained only a day, while Oglethorpe went up to the town to confer with Governor Johnson. Then the *Anne* sailed for Beaufort, and the people were landed to recruit after their long voyage; but Oglethorpe, accompanied by Mr. Bull of Charleston, — subsequently the Governor of South Carolina, — went up the Savannah River to select the place for their future home. The city of Savannah now stands on the spot he thought best adapted to his purpose.

Arrival of emigrants.



Fac-simile from a Note of Oglethorpe, ordering Provisions.

He rejoined his people at Beaufort, and the next Sunday was observed as a day of thanksgiving. "There was," says a contemporary narrative, "a great resort of the Gentlemen of that neighborhood and

their families; and a plentiful Dinner provided for the Colony, and all that came, by Mr. Oglethorpe; being 4 fat hogs, 8 turkies, besides fowls, English Beef, and other provisions, a hogshead of punch, a hogshead of beer, and a large quantity of wine; and all was so disposed in so regular a manner, that no person was drunk, nor any disorder happened."[1] In the course of the week the company, charmed with their first experience of the new country, and full of cheerfulness and hope, were taken to the place their leader had selected. Oglethorpe's first care was to obtain the consent of the nearest Indian chief, one Tomo Chichi, to his occupation of the land. In this he was aided by Mary Musgrove, the half-breed wife of an Indian trader whose post was in the neighborhood. This woman, who acted as interpreter, persuaded the Yamacraw chief that the settlement of an English colony at that spot would be an advantage to his people, and he agreed to use his influence with the Creeks, to whom the territory belonged.

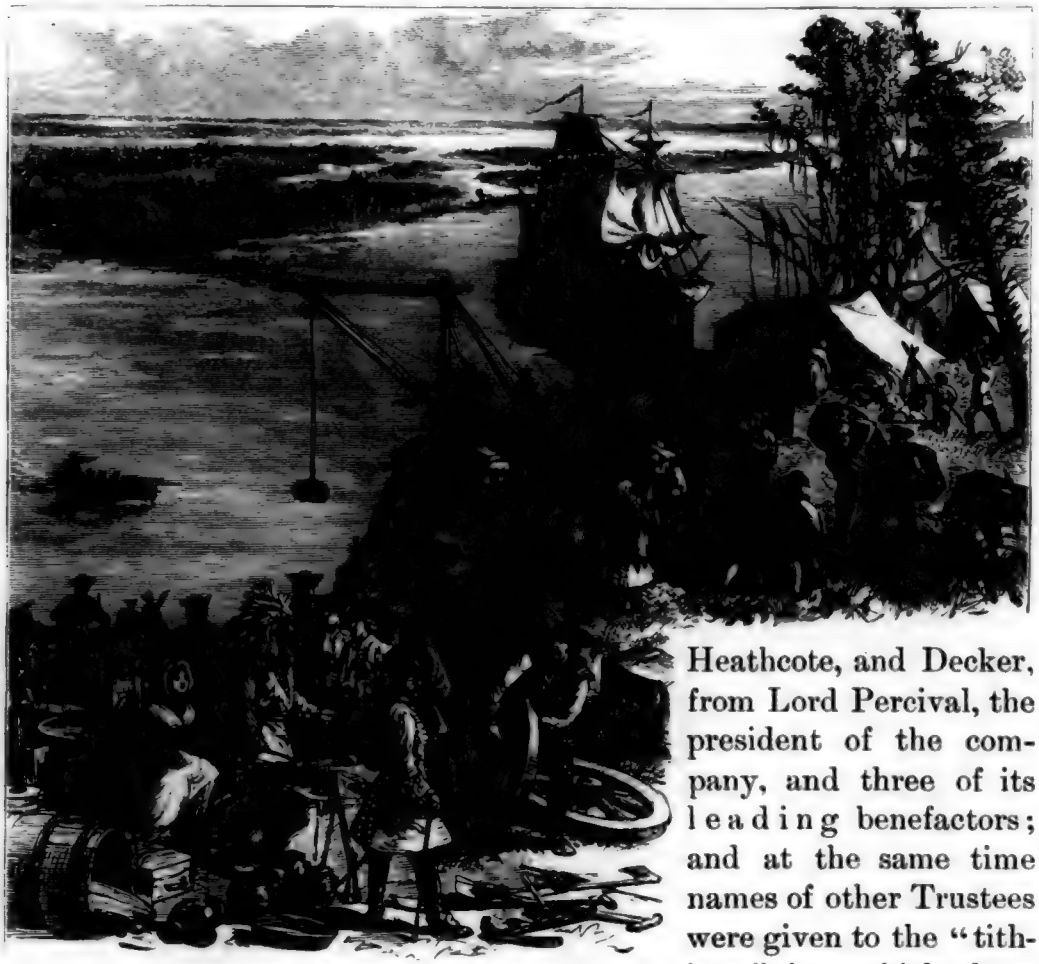
For the first week the people were employed in landing their goods. When this was done they were divided into three parties: one to prepare land for cultivation; another to fell the trees on the proposed site of the town, — Oglethorpe, however, wisely sparing some of the finest of them; a third to build palisades. Their poor shelter, and exposure to the malaria from the low banks of the river, caused some sickness, but their progress was rapid. All worked with a will; "there are no idlers here," wrote a visitor from Charleston; "even the boys and girls do their part." "Our people still lie in tents," Oglethorpe wrote to the Trustees on the 10th of March, "there being only two clapboard houses built, and three sawed houses framed. Our crane, our battery, cannon, and magazine are finished. This is all that we have been able to do, by reason of the smallness of our number, of which many have been sick, and others unused to labor; though, I thank God, they are now pretty well, and we have not lost one since our arrival here."

With the aid of Captain Bull, of Charleston, who had returned thither and brought back hired laborers and settlers, Oglethorpe laid out the place on that symmetrical and excellent plan which makes the present city of Savannah so beautiful. The broad avenues, with little parks at the alternate crossings, still bear witness to Oglethorpe's good taste and judgment, and many of the streets retain the names — Bull, Drayton, Whitaker, Abercorn — which he then gave them from his associates, or from American or English patrons of the enterprise. Several months later, when the

Laying out Savannah.

[1] *A Brief Account of the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia*, etc., a contemporary narrative first published in *Force's Tracts*, vol. i.

number of the colonists was increased by fresh arrivals from England, the four wards of the town received the names of Percival, Derby, Heathcote, and Decker, from Lord Percival, the president of the company, and three of its leading benefactors; and at the same time names of other Trustees were given to the "tithings" into which these wards were subdivided. The divisions and their names were officially announced on July 7,— a day specially set apart for the establishment of the local government, and kept by all the people as a holiday.



The Landing at Savannah.

Treaty with the Indians.

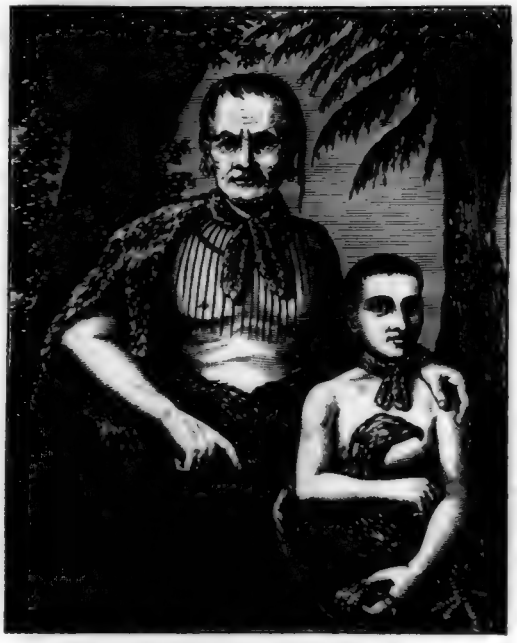
In May a council of the chiefs of all the nearer Indian tribes was held at Savannah, and the treaty first made with Tomo Chichi was confirmed. Oglethorpe assured them that he did not mean to dispossess, or to injure their people in any way, and that whatever land they would grant for the convenience of the English should be fairly paid for. "We are persuaded," said a sachem of the Lower Creeks, "that the Great Spirit who dwells above and around all has sent the English hither for our good; and therefore they are welcome to all the land we do not need." "When these white men came," said Tomo Chichi, "I feared that they would drive us away, for we were weak; but they promised not to molest us." Then in acknowledgment of corn and other supplies which the Englishmen had given

them, he offered presents in return, and besought the strangers for continued kindness. "Here," — he went on with that figurative eloquence in which the North American Indian has always so loved to clothe his speech — "Here is a buffalo skin adorned with the head and feathers of an eagle. The eagle signifies speed, and the buffalo strength. The English are swift as the eagle, and strong as the buffalo. Like the eagle, they flew hither over great waters, and like the buffalo, nothing can withstand them. But the feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify kindness; and the skin of the buffalo is covering, and signifies protection. Let these, then, remind them to be kind and protect us." [1]

Speech of Tomo Chichi.

Between the new colony and its nearest English neighbor there was the utmost harmony. South Carolina came to Oglethorpe's help with large public and private subscriptions, and on a visit to Charleston he cordially and feelingly acknowledged these in an address to its Assembly. At Savannah the first rude shelter of boughs of trees, and the clapboard houses, were soon displaced by substantial dwellings. A public garden was planted as a nursery, with many kinds of fruit trees, and especially with mulberry trees; for it was proposed to make the manufacture of silk a principal industry of the colony, and for this purpose some skilled workmen from Italy were sent out among the earliest emigrants. On Tybee Island, near the mouth of the Savannah, a light-house to be ninety feet in height was begun; on the river bank below the town, a battery was built for its protection. On the Ogeechee River, Captain M'Pherson with a company of Highlanders built a fort and called it Fort Argyle, as a defence against the Spaniards. When Oglethorpe returned to England after fifteen months' stay, he left his colony in a prosperous and promising condition. He had brought to it a little more than one hundred persons; in the first year and a half it increased to very nearly five hundred.

Progress of the colony.



Tomo Chichi. (A Portrait painted in London.)

Every ship that had come from England had brought small parties of emigrants, most of them of that class for whose benefit especially

[1] The English found the buffalo in immense numbers in Georgia.

the colony was projected. Not all, however; Highlanders came from Scotland under their petty chiefs, who, at different times, settled at Fort Argyle and at Darien on the Altamaha, — men well-trained, by their lives at home, for the new life of the wilderness, whose love of arms and the hunt, whose picturesque garb and the wild music of their bagpipes commended them to the enthusiastic admiration and warm friendship of the natives. And in absolute contrast to these was still another class who, like the Fathers of Plymouth the century before, were truly Pilgrims, fleeing from religious persecution, and who prized above all earthly things freedom of belief and of worship; a devout, humble, long-suffering, and industrious people, certain to remain as a distinct community apart from the general population with whom they had so little in common.

The Highland emigrants.

These were the Salzburgers, descendants of those Piedmontese Waldenses who, as early as the twelfth century, were, as Pope Innocent III. lamented, "carried along by an immoderate desire of knowing the Scriptures," and who came, therefore, under the ban of the church. Through the centuries, down to the time of the Reformation, persecution followed them, and then, as they became distinguished for their adherence to the tenets of Luther, the church determined that they should be exterminated from the face of the earth. They were hunted like wild beasts; some were scourged till they died; some were burnt to death in the flames of their own houses; some were blown up with gunpowder. Ingenuity was exhausted in devising methods of pain and terror; their ministers were tortured till death released them; the head of one of their most beloved teachers, Anthony Brassus, was nailed in mockery to the pulpit from which he had preached. But they were not quite destroyed; a remnant escaped and fled to the valley of Salzburg, then a province of Bavaria.

The Waldenses and their descendants.

Here, in obscurity, they found safety. They had preserved their organization and, though without ministers, kept alive their religious zeal, holding their meetings in the depths of the forests and in the dark recesses of mines. For three quarters of a century they were unnoticed and unmolested, handing down from generation to generation an inheritance of the memory of centuries of wrong and suffering, and of the steadfast faith which had sustained their fathers, and would sustain them.

As their numbers increased, the eyes of the church searched them out, and again the church stretched out its hands against them. Their belief was denounced and derided, and their worship forbidden. They were summoned before ecclesiastical courts for trial; many were left to languish in prisons, their limbs

Persecution of the Salzburgers.

loaded with chains, while their souls were vexed with priests who labored to confound their belief and frighten them into apostasy; others were driven from their homes, their possessions seized or destroyed, husbands and wives separated, the children taken from both to be nurtured in the bosom of the church. It was only by the protests of Protestant Germany, and especially of Frederic William, the Elector of Brandenburg, that there came, toward the end of the



The Salzburgers at Frankfort.

seventeenth century, some mitigation of their many trials and sorrows, and the wretched Lutherans were left for a season in peace.

But it was only for a season. In 1728, Leopold, the Archbishop of Salzburg, alarmed at the spread of heresy within his diocese, determined that it should be suppressed. He renewed the persecution of the unhappy people with a resolute will and a relentless spirit, and suc-

ceeded in three or four years in driving thirty thousand of them into exile. Twenty thousand found a refuge in Prussia; the other third fled to Holland, to England, anywhere where their faith and their sufferings entitled them to sympathy and welcome.

Nowhere was there a warmer interest aroused on behalf of this people, who had endured so long and so much for conscience' sake, than in Protestant England. In Oglethorpe's scheme for planting a colony in America, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge saw the opportunity for providing an asylum for some of those who were still exposed to persecution. Arrangements were made to provide the necessary aid to a limited number, and a proposition to emigrate to Georgia was accepted by about fifty families of the village of Berchtesgaden, a few miles south of Salzburg.

Their pilgrimage in Europe.

The way was toilsome and long through Germany to the northern coast. But in the autumn of 1733 the villagers started, most of them on foot, carrying only the young and infirm with their household goods in rude carts. At Augsburg they remained awhile to rest, though the Catholic authorities at first refused them entrance even to the town. As they dragged on through their weary journey, they were scoffed at and sometimes maltreated, when in Catholic districts; but among Protestants they found everywhere hospitality and kindness, the peasants taking the tired women and children in their arms to carry them from one village to the next. At Frankfort-on-the-Main the citizens came forth to meet them and led them into the city in a sort of triumphal procession, to the music of Lutheran hymns. Here their long march ended, as they took boat upon the Main. Here, also, they were met by two clergymen, Bolzius and Gronau, who were to lead them as their pastors to the promised land.

Arrival in Georgia.

It was not till March of the next spring that these way-worn pilgrims by land and by sea reached Charleston, their voyage alone having taken more than a hundred days. Oglethorpe was on the eve of departure for England, but he gladly turned back with them to Savannah. They came without wealth; their only arms were their Bibles and prayer-books, for the non-resistance to violence, which discretion had so long taught a hopeless minority, had grown to an abhorrence of all violence; but Oglethorpe well knew that these virtuous, harmless, and industrious people, long acquainted with privation, self-denial, and submission, must needs be a valuable acquisition to a new colony. Lands were given them on the Savannah, selected by themselves because the hills and valley bore some remote resemblance to the home they would never see again. The place they called Ebenezer, for, they said, "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us;" and the name was retained when two or three years afterward they

removed a little farther inland, — retained by their descendants ever since.

In the winter of 1735–6 Oglethorpe returned from England, where the report of the first success of the colony, and the presence of Tomo Chichi and several other Indian chiefs whom he had taken with him, had renewed the public enthusiasm. He brought an addition of about three hundred persons, a few of whom were of a better class than the beneficiaries of the Trustees; some were Salzburgers, others were Moravians, with the Baron von Rick and Captain Hermsdorf, from Germany, at their head. Charles Wesley came as the Governor's secretary; the elder brother, John, was sent by the Trustees as a missionary to the Indians. This second voyage is known as the Grand Embarkation, from its importance to the colony, and the distinction is not misapplied. Hermsdorf, as a brave soldier, was of signal service in the contests with the Spaniards which soon threatened the existence of the colony; the Wesleys, though then young and unknown men, whose stay in Georgia was short, made in this visit the first step that led to important results in the religious history of the country.

The Grand Embarkation.

Charles Wesley quarrelled with Oglethorpe, promulgating a scandalous story which it was base to repeat if he did not believe it; and if he did believe it, the cordial friendship of subsequent years is not creditable to Wesley. His stay in Frederica was short, and judicious people had quite as much reason to rejoice at his departure as he had in going. The career of his brother John at Savannah was longer and his course even more reprehensible. He permitted his disappointment in a love affair to influence his conduct as a clergyman; he showed more zeal than charity or good judgment in censorious criticism (from the pulpit) of public affairs and public men; "he drenched them," says Southey, "with the physic of an intolerant discipline."[1] Perhaps it was not altogether his own fault that he failed to commend Christianity to the Indians, though he might have succeeded better had he sought them outside of the English settlements; for, when he strove with Tomo Chichi to lead him to a new faith, the clear-sighted savage, who measured precept by practice, said — "Why, these are Christians at Savannah! Those are Christians at Frederica! Christians get drunk! Christians beat men! Christians tell lies! Me no Christian!"

The Wesleys in Georgia.

But the Wesleys were young men then, and the zeal and ardor of youth ran before knowledge. This episode in their lives would have been forgotten had there not come in after years the abounding grace, the eloquence that moved multitudes to bow before it as the forest

[1] Southey's *Life of Wesley*, vol. i.

bends before the storm, the wisdom that could lay deep and strong the foundations of a great ecclesiastical organization to rule millions, which made them among the most marked and most influential men of their century. It may be that the painful experience of failure in positions whose duties were then beyond their strength fitted them for other and higher duties which, had they remained in a young and feeble colony, they would never have found. But their departure prepared the way for the coming of another whose immediate influence upon his time was equal to if it did not exceed theirs, both in England and America.

George Whitefield.

This was George Whitefield, who was sent to take John Wesley's place at Savannah. Wesley had left there in secrecy, shaking off, as he said, the dust of his feet against it; for, there was an indictment for libel hanging over his head on complaint of the husband of the woman whom he, at one time, had hoped to marry. To him Savannah had become not a pleasant place to live in, and it is to be presumed that he was truthful enough and humble enough to know that this was, in part at least, his own fault. How else could he urge Whitefield to take the place he had run away from, and in such terms as these? "Do you ask me what you shall have? Food to eat, and raiment to put on, a house to lay your head in such as your Master had not, and a crown of glory that fadeth not away." He surely could not have meant to deceive his friend. For it was no common tie that bound them together; even the bitterness and acrimony of theological difference — and nothing will make men hate each other so cordially — failed in later years to separate them permanently. They had been fellow-students



John Wesley.

at Oxford; had suffered together, with a few others, ridicule and persecution for a religious enthusiasm incomprehensible to those about them. The more they were divided from the world in those days, the more closely they were bound together, and in behavior and belief alike they had set themselves apart. It was to this Oxford time that Whitefield alluded once when he said — "I myself thought that Christianity required me to go nasty." And it was also of that time, or soon after, that the father of the Wesleys, himself a clergyman, said of his son John — "I sat myself down to try if I could unravel his sophisms, and hardly one of his assertions appeared to me to be universally true." These "sophisms" were beginning to be a puzzle to many by the time Whitefield came to Georgia in 1738. On his arrival at Charleston, the Rev. Alexander Gordon, the Episcopal clergyman, warned his people against this disturber of the peace of the church, preaching from the text — "Those who have turned the world upside down are come hither also." Whitefield answered him, and his text was — "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works."

At this second coming to Georgia, Oglethorpe brought with him two acts of Parliament of a novel and radical character. It would be a subject of curious speculation what the future history of the country would have been, could these acts have been permanently enforced. But as both were from the outset evaded; and as it was difficult, probably impossible, under the circumstances of time and situation, to build up a commonwealth from such foundations; they remain only as a remarkable instance of failure to establish a purely moral government. One of these acts prohibited the introduction of spirituous liquors into the colony; the other forbade the holding of slaves. In the one case the Trustees hoped to encourage and aid dependence upon free white labor, which they believed, and believed truly, could never flourish in competition with the labor of slaves; in the other case they knew that a free traffic in rum led to drunkenness, and that this was an unmitigated evil to rough emigrants necessarily freed, in large measure, from the ordinary restraints of law in older communities, and an exterminating curse to the savage tribes by which they were surrounded. But appetite and avarice were far stronger than acts of parliament or local laws. The most profitable trade in Carolina was the trade in rum; such wealth and prosperity as Carolina had, she derived from the use of slave labor. The law was powerless to keep rum out of Georgia, where on one side of an imaginary line were a people determined to buy, and on the other side a people determined to sell. Equally futile was it to attempt to keep out slavery. For a brief period the prohibition

Prohibition of slavery and the importation of rum.

of the ownership of slaves was evaded by hiring them in gangs from South Carolina. But even this soon ceased to be necessary.

The tenure of lands.

For a time, also, there was another grievance which was a real and serious injury. This was the descent of lands to sons only. Widows and daughters were debarred by law from any share in the real estate of husband and father, who had no right of devise of lands to any person whatever. The tenure was strictly and inalienably in tail male. The Trustees, however, were wise enough to see at an early period, that such a system in a new colony was impracticable and ruinous. But the progress of the colony was seriously interfered with from these various causes. It had besides to contend with the hostility of the Charleston tradesmen, who were disgusted with Oglethorpe's determination to control the traffic with the Indians within the boundaries of Georgia. The Governor was quite willing to grant licenses, but it was on condition that no rum should be sold to the natives. The trader looked upon this as a double wrong; not only was he deprived of his best customer for rum, but he also lost the advantage, when he in his turn became a customer for peltries, of having a drunken Indian to deal with. The merchants of Charleston were at a loss for words to express their indignation and contempt for such an interference with free trade. In Georgia the malcontents and the friends of the Trustees gave and took hard blows in a skirmish of pamphlets. In one of these, in a dedication to Oglethorpe, it was said with what was meant to be fine irony: "The valuable Virtue of Humility is secured to us by your Care to prevent our procuring, or so much as seeing, any *Negroes* (the only human Creatures proper to improve our Soil) lest our Simplicity might mistake the poor *Africans* for greater slaves than ourselves: And that we might fully receive the Spiritual Benefit of those wholesome Austerities, you have wisely denied us the Use of such Spirituous Liquors as might in the least divert our Minds from the Contemplation of our Happy Circumstances." [1]

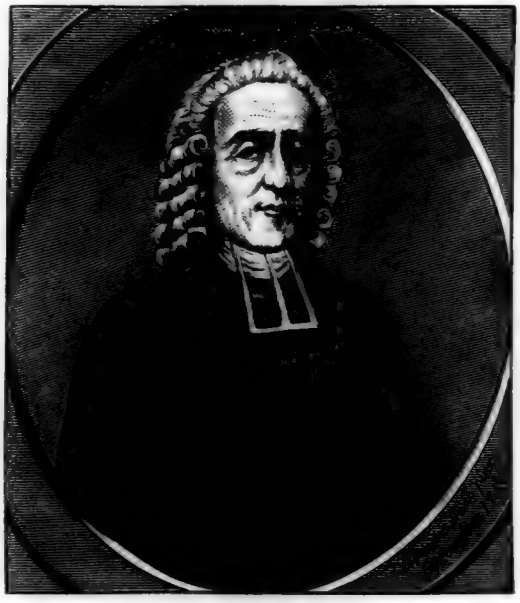
Whitefield, on one of his early visits to the colonies, says, in a letter to the people of Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina: "I was sensibly touched with a fellow feeling for the poor Negroes." He wonders "they have not more frequently risen up in arms against their owners." "And though I heartily pray God," he adds, "they may never be permitted to get the upper hand, yet should such a thing be permitted by Providence, all good men must acknowledge the judgment would be just." But this "fellow feeling," unhappily, did not last long. The clamor for the introduction of slavery into the colony carried him along with it.

[1] *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, etc. Republished in *Force's Tracts*.

In accordance with a plan of Oglethorpe's and Charles Wesley's,[1] he had established near Savannah an orphan house, and in all his wanderings and preachings through America and Great Britain he never forgot to beg of the charitable for means to support his Georgia orphans. But he cut off from one end of his mantle of charity to piece out the other. He discovered what clear gain it was to rob the poor of their wages; how safe and expedient a thing to do if the law would sanction it; how much easier to support those poor orphans, the constant theme of his eloquence, if there was nothing to pay for the labor on which they depended. The law forbade it in Georgia; but there was nothing to prevent his holding slaves in Carolina. He bought a plantation there for that purpose, and, while thanking God that the investment was profitable, he complained in pathetic terms to the Trustees of the inconvenience of that law which compelled him to have his slaves and his orphans in separate provinces. It is a pitiable record of inconsistency and weakness. Before he was himself tempted to become a slaveholder, he had, in his expostulation with the colonists, reminded them of "God's taking cognizance, and avenging the quarrel of the poor slaves;" that "God is the same to-day as He was yesterday, and will continue the same forever. He does not reject the prayer of the poor and destitute, nor disregard the cry of the meanest negroes. Their blood which has been spilt for these many years in your respective provinces, will ascend up to Heaven against you. I wish I could say it would speak better things than the blood of Abel." Now his eyes were blinded, and he could not see that the blood was on his own hands. So far as the influence of his character and example went, no man did more than he to fasten slavery upon Georgia.

Whitefield's orphan house.

Whitefield on slavery.



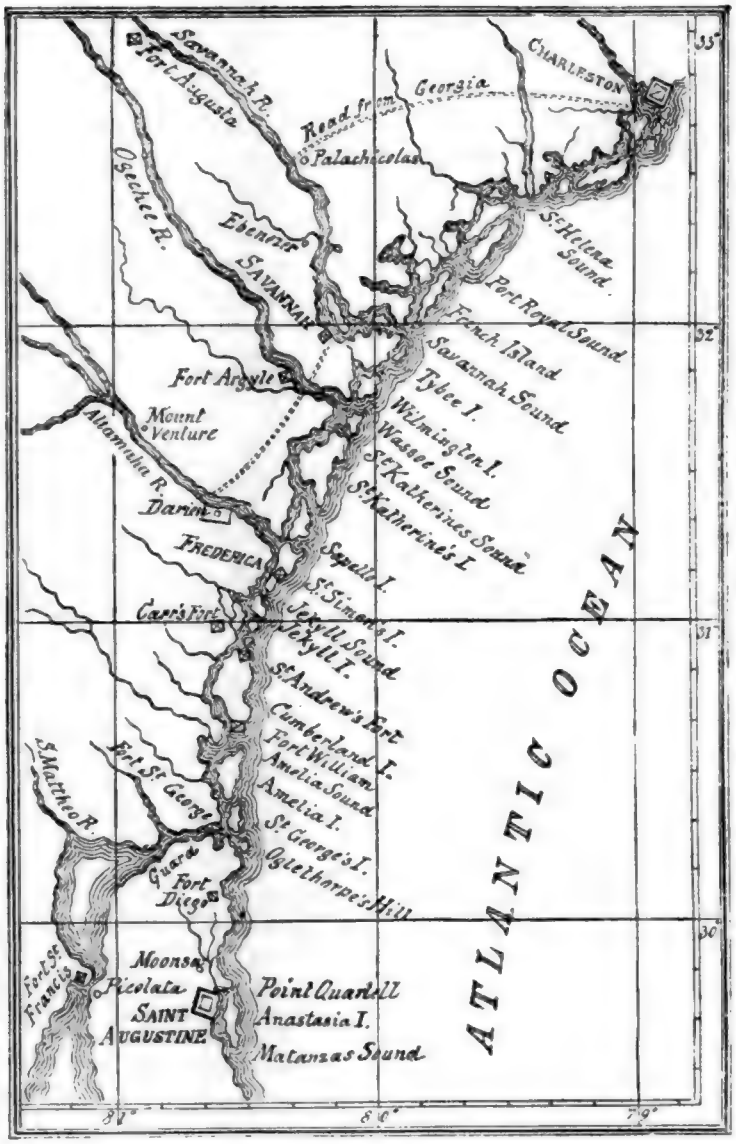
Bolzius.

The destination of the larger portion of the Grand Embarkation under Oglethorpe, was to build a new town upon the Island of St. Simon's, at the mouth of the Altamaha. Darien, farther up that river, the new Ebenezer of the Salzburgs, and

New towns built.

[1] *Life and Travels of George Whitefield.* By J. P. Gledstone, London, 1871.

Augusta — both on the Savannah — were begun at about the same time, but it was to Frederica, on St. Simon's Island, that the Governor gave his chief attention. The town itself and the approach to it were defended with military prevision by forts and batteries at different points on St. Simon's and Cumberland Island, for, as Georgia was to be the protection of Carolina against the Spaniards of Florida, Frederica was to be so formidable that no Spanish force would venture to leave it in their rear, should an invasion of the settlements north of it be undertaken. The Governor made it his base in the unfortunate expedition against St. Augustine, — already related in the chapter on Spanish colonization.[1] But this was not till after he had made a second visit to England, and returned, for the third time, with a military commission which included South Carolina as well as Georgia.[2]



Map of the Georgia Coast.

That he was enabled to hold, after his repulse from Florida, all the places he had built and fortified on the southern frontier, was due largely, if not alto-

[1] See vol. ii., p. 560, *et seq.*

[2] His commission was that of colonel, and not major-general, as we inadvertently said in the account referred to, though he was called by courtesy General. He went through the various gradations of military rank on his final return to England, till he was for years the senior general of the British army. His last military service was in the suppression of the Rebellion of 1745 under Charles Edward, the Pretender.

gether, to the friendly relations he had established with the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. He learned, in the summer of 1739, that the Spaniards were making overtures to these tribes, and attempting to alienate them from the English; and that their success was not impossible, as many of the chiefs were exasperated by the disorder created among their people by the introduction of rum by traders from Carolina, who had gone among them without licenses. A grand council was to be held in August at the Indian town of Coweta, three hundred miles northwest of Savannah, and Tomo Chichi and other chiefs begged Oglethorpe to attend it.

With only three or four attendants he made this arduous journey through the unbroken wilderness, into which, except for the first few miles, not a settler had penetrated, making his way through forests and swamps, crossing rivers, when wading or swimming was impossible, upon rafts built for the emergency, exposed by day to the heat of a southern summer, by night to dangerous malaria, sleeping upon the ground without shelter, or upon heaps of branches where the ground was wet. It was a journey of nearly a month each way; and so completely did the party pass out of the sight and out of the reach of their countrymen, that either they would bring back the tidings of their own safety, or never again, in all probability, be heard of. The courage to encounter, the energy to overcome the difficulties of such an enterprise, and the complete reliance upon the good faith of the Indians evinced in undertaking it, were virtues certain to command the enthusiasm and admiration of the savages. Chiefs of various tribes, who together could bring into the field 7,000 warriors, met Oglethorpe at Coweta. The personal influence he gained over them was of the utmost importance to him so long as he remained in Georgia, and to the colony long after he had surrendered its care into other hands.

Oglethorpe's journey into the interior.

It was not Indians only, however, whom the vigilant and determined enemy of the English, the Spaniards, endeavored to stir up against them. The slaves of Carolina were encouraged to escape to Florida, where they were organized into military companies, and to their officers were given the same rank, the same uniform, and the same consideration that distinguished the officers of Spanish regiments. It was fortunate for the five or six thousand whites of Carolina that their forty thousand slaves had no allies in Georgia at this critical period, when Spain was determined upon the conquest of these English provinces. Oglethorpe had scarcely recovered from the fatigue and serious illness which followed his long journey to the West, when tidings of a formidable servile insurrection in South Carolina reached him. The number of the in-

Servile insurrection in South Carolina.

surgents constantly increased as they took up their march toward Florida, devastating plantations and killing the whites as they made their way southward. But they were without discipline or organization. Giving themselves up, at last, to a carouse upon the liquor which they had brought away from some of the houses they had plundered, they were surrounded by a body of militia, attacked, some killed, some taken prisoners, and the rest dispersed. Oglethorpe issued a proclamation for the arrest of any fugitives who should be found in Georgia, and for any Spanish emissaries discovered in the province, and sent out a body of troops to enforce his orders. The wide frontier of free territory between the Savannah and the Altamaha, thus vigilantly guarded, was an efficient protection to slave-holding Carolina against the designs of the Spaniards.



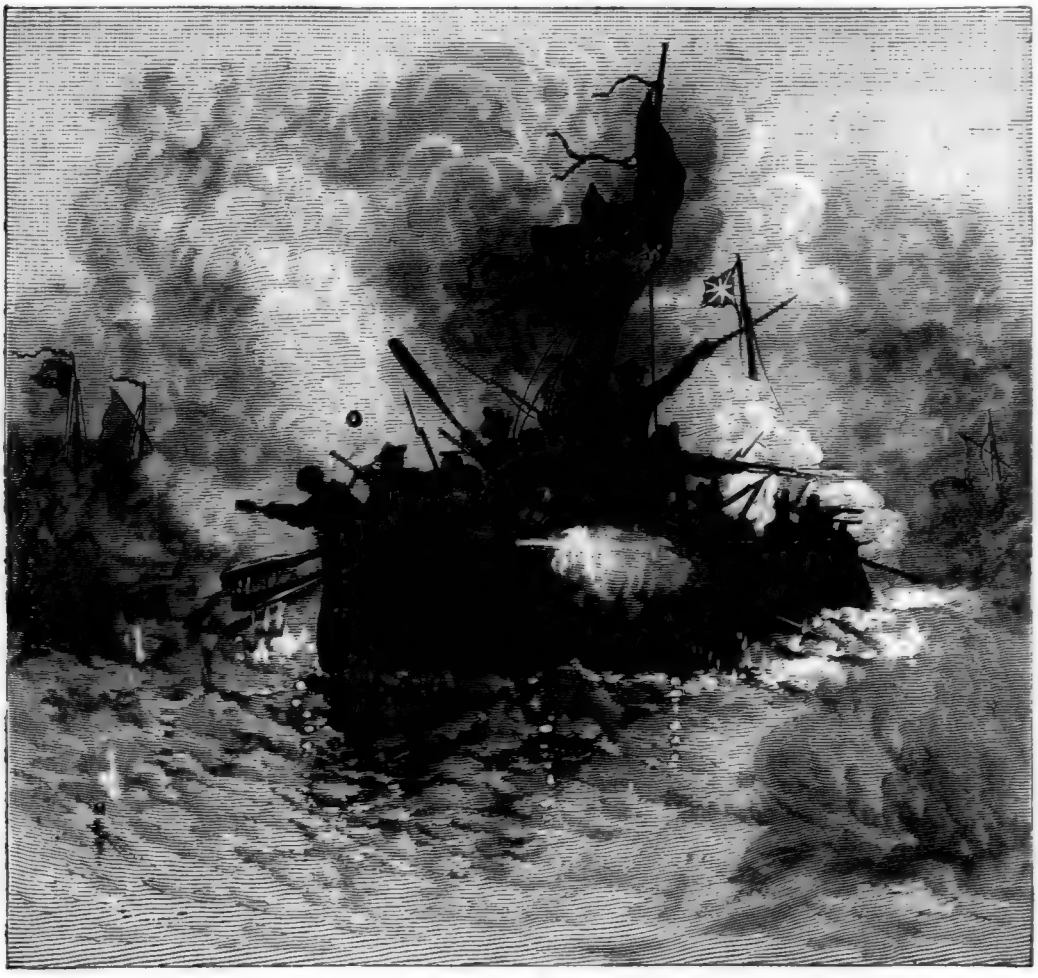
Admiral Vernon.

How efficient was to be made evident when in the summer of 1742, two years after Oglethorpe's failure to take St. Augustine, the Spaniards in their turn, as we have briefly related in a former chapter, determined to invade the English provinces. Don Manuel de Montiano, who was still Captain-general of Florida, having been reënforced from Havana, appeared off St. Simon's Island with a fleet of more than thirty vessels and a force of five thousand men.[1] Reports of this proposed invasion had reached Oglethorpe some weeks before, and he had sent dispatches, asking for aid,

Invasion of the Spaniards.

[1] *A Memoir of General Oglethorpe.* By R. Wright. *A Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe.* By Thomas Spalding. Hewit, in his *Historical Account of South Carolina and Georgia,* estimates the force at three thousand.

to the Governor of South Carolina, and to Admiral Vernon in command of the English fleet in the West Indies. But no assistance came in time from either. He called in his Highland troops from Darien; summoned those of his Indian allies who were within reach; released indented servants, and so mustered a force of about eight hundred men. There appeared first eleven galleys, probably in what is now



Fight of the Galleys.

called St. Andrew's Sound, between Jekyl and Cumberland islands. It was necessary to reënforce Fort William on the southern extremity of Cumberland Island, and to do this Oglethorpe started with three boats carrying two companies of men. As they crossed the Sound the Spaniards bore down upon them, and one of the three boats, under Lieutenant Folson, was driven back. But Oglethorpe, with the other two boats, pushed on through the fleet of galleys, delivering his shot right and left as he passed, with such effect that four of them afterward foundered, and the rest were seriously disabled. Pulling to leeward of the smoke of the battle, he escaped without the loss of

a man, while those who had watched the engagement from St. Simon's Island supposed — as Folson had also reported — that he and his men were utterly destroyed. He landed at Fort William, however, the troops requisite for its defence, removed thither the men and guns from St. Andrew's Fort, at the upper end of Cumberland Island, and then returned in safety to his fleet in St. Simon's Sound. This gallant action, and the immediate arrest of Folson for cowardice, aroused an enthusiasm and determination in his little army without which their situation would have been desperate and hopeless.

Fort William reënforced.

The enemy's fleet of thirty-two vessels, a few days later, ran into St. Simon's harbor with a brisk breeze, and were received with a heavy fire from the batteries on shore. To meet them on the water, Oglethorpe had only a merchant-vessel of twenty guns, on board which he put one hundred and ten men, and two schooners of fourteen guns and eighty men each, all with springs on their cables. On eight "York sloops" in the harbor he put one man each, with orders to sink or run them ashore in case they were likely to be taken. The object of the Spaniards was to get up the river, rather than destroy these vessels. Twice, however, they attempted to board the larger ship, the *Success*, and one of the schooners, but were repulsed with a loss of twenty men after four hours' fighting. Oglethorpe was everywhere at the right moment; sometimes on the vessels encouraging his men, sometimes on shore directing the batteries. When this hot work was over, and the Spanish fleet had fought their way through the fire of the batteries and the resistance of the three English vessels, then Oglethorpe ordered his troops ashore, thanked the sailors for their brave conduct, and ordered them to escape to Charleston. That nothing might be left behind to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, he dismantled his shore-batteries, spiked their guns, destroyed all the provisions, and fell back upon Frederica in good order.

Approach of the Spanish fleet.

The military skill with which the defences of Frederica had been laid out now became apparent. The town, well fortified, was at the head of a bay of difficult navigation; at one point, called the Devil's Elbow, no ship could pass without "going about," and batteries were so planted that as she made that manœuvre, she could be raked at once from three directions for three quarters of a mile. The Spaniards lacked the courage to expose themselves to so formidable a fire, and the fleet came to anchor at a point, about four miles below the town, called Gascoin's Bluff. Here the whole force of about 5,000 men was set ashore, that the attack might be made by land and in the rear.

But neither here had Oglethorpe's prevision been wanting. The road running southward from the town reached, at a distance of two or three miles, a marsh, along the edge of which it continued, with an impassable morass on one side and a dense and tangled wood on the other. A mile or two farther on, this road took a crescent shape with a width of only about sixty feet, making a defile dangerous to be caught in, with an enemy concealed at the inlet and outlet, and in the wood on one side, while over the morass, on the other, escape was impossible.

The road to Frederica.

This crescent terminated in a wood, where Oglethorpe, when he fell back the day before to Frederica, had left a small detachment of troops with some Indian allies. At dawn of day the Spaniards attacked this handful of men, and drove them through the woods to the entrance of the crescent. Speedy information was sent to the General, who, with such force as he could rally on the instant, galloped to the front, met the Spaniards and attacked them with such impetuosity that he drove them through the wood into the open ground beyond. Then placing a reënforcement to resist any farther advance of the enemy, he hurried back to Frederica, apprehensive that this movement in his rear might be a feint to distract his attention and draw off his men from an attack on the town by the fleet.

The Spaniards repulsed.

There was no movement, however, from the ships, and he moved down the road again with a larger force to meet the Spaniards in case of another advance in that direction. Before reaching the crescent he met the troops which he had left in the woods beyond, in disorderly retreat. The Spaniards — veteran troops selected from the army and brought from Cuba for this important service — outnumbered the English, probably six or seven to one. Oglethorpe's men, knowing how perilous their position would be should the enemy be able to get possession of the pass and cut off their retreat, swept through it in too great a panic to remember that they might make a successful stand there against their pursuers. They had already left it a mile or two behind when Oglethorpe met, rallied, and turned them back. They, as well as he, knew that should the enemy once pass through the crescent and up the road to the open prairie in the rear of Frederica, the chance of a successful resistance of 800 men against 5,000 was hopeless.

The Spaniards had pursued the panic-stricken Englishmen into the pass and marked by the retreating footsteps that they had fled precipitately through the farther entrance. The victory seemed complete, and the road beyond open to an advance at the pursuers' leisure. Their present position could be easily held against any attack in front, and

from the rear there was, they thought, no possibility of danger. On one side they observed the perfect protection of the impassable morass; on the other, what seemed to be an impenetrable wood. Confident in security, and exultant in success, the tired and hungry soldiers stacked their arms, threw themselves upon the grass for rest, and prepared to break their fast, for they had not as yet that day taken food. There were within the curve of the road probably from two to three hundred men.

The defile held by the English.

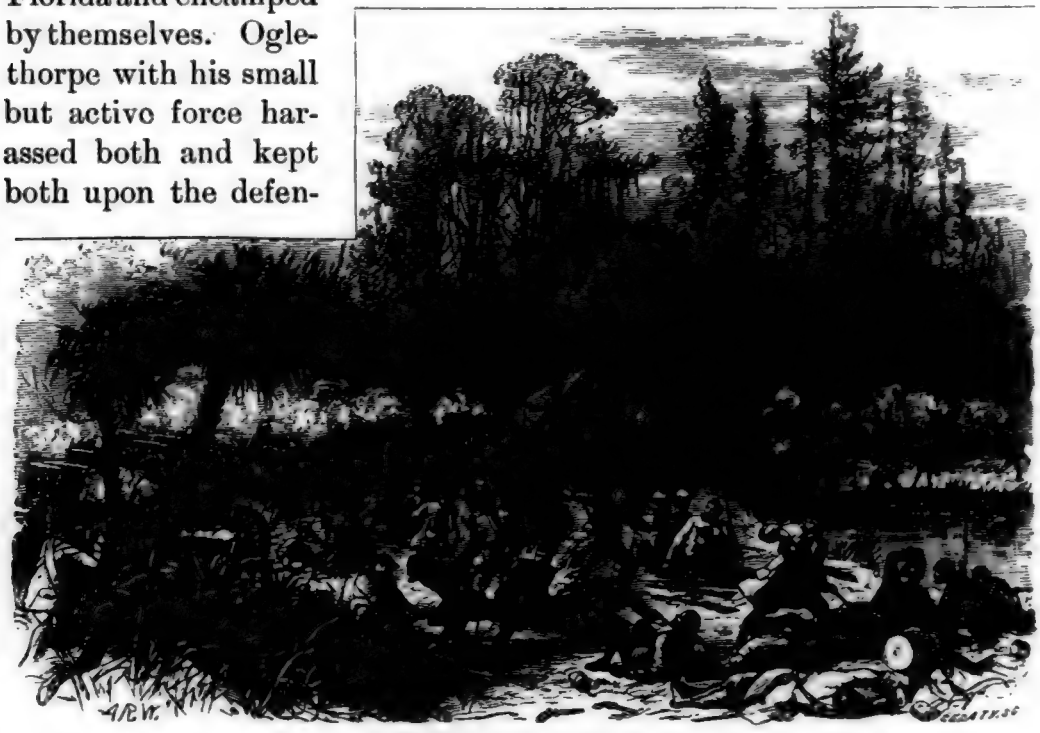
When the English had fled in utter confusion before the Spaniards into the defile, the rear guard was a company of Highlanders under the command of Lieutenants McKay and Southerland. They followed without being in the least touched by the panic which had seized their fellow-soldiers in advance, and when in the bend of the road they swept out of sight of the pursuit, the Highland lieutenants halted their men. A brief and hurried consultation resulted in a rapid movement. Before the Spaniards had again come in sight, every Highlander, and a few Indians with them, had sprung silently into the dense woods bordering one side of the road, and disappeared. Not the flutter of a single plaid, not the rustle of a single footstep upon the dried leaves of the forest, revealed to the Spaniards that they were leaving behind them a detachment of the troops whom they had seen only a few moments before in rapid retreat.

Slaughter of the Spaniards.

Stealthily and silently the Highlanders and Indians crept through the underbrush. McKay and Southerland placed their men so as to command both ends of the pass, and the whole of the sweep of the crescent. Without impatience, motionless as the trunks of the trees which hid them, they watched the movements of the enemy. When the arms were stacked and the Spaniards were dispersed in groups taking the needed food and rest, hilarious at success achieved, buoyant with the hope of success to come, there appeared suddenly, among the green foliage, the concerted signal of two Highland caps, raised in the air at different points. Instantly a volley of bullets was poured in among the Spaniards; then another and another. The wildest panic seized all who were not killed by these first discharges. Some plunged into the woods, only to be cut down by the broadswords of the Highlanders; some fled to the entrances, to be met there by death from an unseen foe. On one side were a few men, cool, collected, out of sight; on the other, there were many more, but in the open roadway, crazed with fear, unarmed, hopeless of escape, falling with every shot. The disparity of numbers counted for nothing. Oglethorpe was near enough to hear the din of battle, but not near enough to take part in it. The firing had ceased

before he reached the defile; as he rode rapidly into it at the head of his men, he was received with the shouts of the victorious and triumphant Highlanders and the yells of the Indians, who stood wiping swords and tomahawks, surrounded by the dead and dying Spaniards, of whom hardly a man had escaped.

No further attempt to approach the town by land was made by the Spaniards, and an advance two or three days afterwards, by water, in boats, was easily repulsed by the batteries, and by a judicious disposition of men along the shores of the bay. Disaster produced dissension among the invaders; the Havana troops separated from those of Florida and encamped by themselves. Oglethorpe with his small but active force harassed both and kept both upon the defen-



The Spaniards surprised.

sive. A proposed assault upon one of them with six hundred men at the dawn of day, was defeated by a Frenchman, who gave the alarm by a premature discharge of his gun and made his escape into the Spanish camp. The misfortune was the greater that the man knew exactly the condition and resources of the English, and it was of the last importance that of these the Spaniards should be kept in ignorance. By the boldness and energy of Oglethorpe they were persuaded that he was much stronger than he really was; he might be overwhelmed by mere force of numbers, should the Spanish commanders know that their fleet of thirty-two vessels and force of 5,000 men were opposed by only 800 men. To meet this new emergency he resorted to a desperate bit of strategy, suggested by the treachery of this Frenchman.

He immediately wrote a letter of instructions to the French deserter which assumed him to be a spy sent into the Spanish camp. He ordered him to do all in his power to persuade the Spanish commander that the English could muster only a few hundred men, and that Frederica was really almost defenceless; and he was to offer to pilot the fleet up the river that it might thereby be detained, if only for three days longer. For, the spy was to let drop no hint of the immediate approach of reënforcements of 2,000 men from Charleston, according to dispatches which, it was declared, had been received since his departure; nor that an English fleet was off the coast bound to Frederica, and that Admiral Vernon was on the way to attack St. Augustine. Should the Frenchman strictly and skillfully obey these directions, he was assured that the reward already paid him should be doubled. This dispatch was put into the hands of a Spanish prisoner, who was liberated and heavily bribed on condition that he would faithfully deliver it to the Frenchman on his arrival in the camp of the enemy. This man, as Oglethorpe had presumed he would be, was taken before the Spanish commander when he reached the Spanish lines, was questioned as to his escape, and, on giving some confused account of himself, was searched and the letter taken from him.

Oglethorpe's stratagem.

Desperate as the expedient was, it happened to be well-timed and successful. A stratagem was suspected, but so much credence was given to the intercepted letter that the Frenchman was put in irons, and the Spaniards delayed all movements, awaiting further tidings. Meanwhile, in the course of two or three days, some passing vessels were seen off the coast, which the Spaniards at once believed to be the advance guard of that English fleet which, as the letter hinted, was approaching. The Spanish general permitted himself to doubt no longer; his whole army was hurried on board his vessels; all sail was crowded for St. Augustine; Oglethorpe, audacious to the last, chasing them out of the sound with his few boats — too few and too small to venture upon an attack.

Retreat of the Spaniards.

So the formidable invasion came to this sorry and almost ludicrous conclusion. But the brave and skilful defence of Frederica, nevertheless, had saved two provinces to the British Crown, and while it covered the Spanish commander with disgrace and ridicule, it gave great military renown to the English general. It was the last serious attempt of Spain to establish her assumed right to territory north of the Altamaha River, though for the twenty years longer that Florida remained a Spanish province, hostilities occasionally broke out — as when in 1743 Oglethorpe again carried the war to the very walls of St. Augustine.

A year after that expedition he returned to England — recalled by his own request. Calumnies had gone before him from enemies in Charleston; one Cook, whom he had made a lieutenant-colonel at Frederica, but who had deserted his command on the plea of illness just before the late invasion, had followed with accusations which jealousy and malice had at length formulated. The General's pecuniary affairs also demanded his personal presence in London, as they, not through any fault of his own, but through the official stupidity at the war-office, had become entangled.

Oglethorpe's final return to England.

That there was nothing in all these complications that he could not and did not satisfactorily answer, is plain enough from the fact that Cook was dismissed from the service when his accusations were brought before a board of generals, and that Oglethorpe in the course of two years was raised to the rank of major-general and two years later to that of lieutenant-general. He did not again return to Georgia, but his warm interest in the colony, to the end of his long life of ninety-six years, never wavered. And to the very end of his days he preserved the vigor of character which always distinguished him, though he gradually retired from public life. Not long before his death Horace Walpole wrote of him: "His eyes, ears, articulation, limbs, and memory would suit a boy, if a boy could recollect a century backwards;" and added — "two years and a half ago he challenged a neighboring gentleman for trespassing on his manor." This vigorous old man was often a



Oglethorpe in 1785. From a Sketch from Life.[1]

[1] The inscription on the old print from which this is copied, states that the sketch was made at the sale of Dr. Johnson's library, Feb. 18, 1785, "where the General was reading a book he had purchased, without spectacles."

conspicuous figure in the literary society of London in the last quarter of the eighteenth century; and it is an interesting fact that the venerable Samuel Rogers, the poet, whom many living persons knew, remembered that when a young man he met General Oglethorpe, the founder of the last English colony on the Atlantic coast of America, at the sale of Dr. Johnson's library.

After Oglethorpe's return to England the Trustees appointed a president, — William Stephens, who had been the colonial secretary, — with a council of four for the government of Georgia. The population at this time numbered only about fifteen hundred persons, and these were, for the most part, poor and not prospering. If their energy and industry had not been misdirected in the attempt to make silk and wine the staple products of the country, they were at least disappointed and depressed at the failure of the experiment. No great degree of prosperity, moreover, was possible so long as the settlers were harassed with a constant dread of their Spanish and Indian neighbors, and were so frequently engaged in active warfare. The tenure of land, though the laws of the Trustees were modified from time to time, continued unwise and burdensome; and the discontent was almost universal at the prohibition of the use of slave labor, which was so obviously a source of wealth in the neighboring province. There was little agriculture, almost no commerce, an impoverished people, and a feeble government. The brilliant promises of the early days, if they were still promulgated, were no longer believed in, and few new emigrants sought homes in a colony where, though prosperity was possible, it was certain that a struggle with many difficulties awaited them.

Condition of the colony.

In 1752, the Trustees, convinced at length, by an experience of twenty years, of their inability to govern profitably for themselves or wisely for the colonists, voluntarily surrendered the charter to the Crown. An incident had occurred, however, five years before, at Savannah, which came near making this surrender a barren concession. A new claimant appeared to a portion, if not the whole, of the territory of Georgia, and had the title been established the province would, probably, have passed out of the control of the Trustees.

Surrender of the charter.

That Mary Musgrove, the half-breed Indian whom Oglethorpe had made his interpreter on his first arrival, had, after losing successively two English husbands, — John Musgrove, Jr., and Jacob Mathews, — married the Rev. Thomas Bosomworth, a clergyman of the Church of England, at one time a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and a chaplain to Oglethorpe. He relinquished these clerical duties for the more

An Indian insurrection.

profitable calling of the propagation of cattle, and ran in debt for large herds in South Carolina. The islands of Ossabaw, St. Catherine's, and Sapelo, and some portion of the mainland, had been reserved to the Creeks by treaty. Bosomworth induced the Indians to cede these lands to him for the accommodation of his herds. But the enterprise was a failure, and it is conjectured that he then resorted to a desperate measure to relieve himself from debt. It is quite as likely, however, that the acquisition of so much influence over the Indians as to induce them to part, for a trifling consideration in merchandise, with three islands, extending nearly half the length of the coast of Georgia, suggested the more ambitious scheme to be accomplished by their help.

Mary Musgrove, Mary Mathews, Mary Bosomworth, — as she was known by the surnames of her successive husbands, — was a woman of mark, as an interpreter and a trader, and had acquired, in both callings, great power over the Indians. She had as well, it seems, the respect and confidence of Oglethorpe, who, on leaving Georgia, presented her with a diamond ring. Apparently she was quite content for years to act as the common friend of both races, being allied to both by blood, — serving one by selling it peltries, the other by selling it rum.

But as the wife of Bosomworth, and probably at Bosomworth's instigation, she aspired at length to higher things. She was, or pretended to be, descended from a royal race of Creeks, and, calling the chiefs of that nation together, she persuaded them to acknowledge her as their queen. She asserted her sovereign right to all the territory of the Upper and Lower Creeks; she disavowed all allegiance to the King of England, whose equal she assumed to be; and she sent a messenger to Savannah demanding from President Stephens a recognition of her claims, and threatening, in case of refusal, the extirpation of the colony. Queen Mary.

If all this had, at first, a ludicrous aspect, it became serious enough when Mary approached the town at the head of a large body of Indians. The whole militia of the province — which numbered, however, only a hundred and seventy men — had been hastily called together. A company of horse was sent out to meet the invaders, who were so far overawed by the determination of the English that they agreed to lay down their arms before entering Savannah. But the approach of this Indian host, though unarmed, was quite enough to excite the utmost apprehension among the people. At the head of this formidable procession marched Bosomworth, in his canonical robes, and Mary the queen. These royal persons were followed by the principal chiefs of the Creek nation; and behind them came the tumultuous, hideous, howling, raging mob of naked savages.

The courage and sagacity of President Stephens and his council were sufficient for the emergency. No signs of fear were seen in Captain Jones and the provincial militia as, drawn up in the public square, they received the warriors, who so many times outnumbered them, with an artillery salute of fifteen guns. It is questionable, however, whether a general massacre could have been long averted had not the savages been induced to lay down their arms at the outset. In the course of the negotiations, which continued for several days, there were moments of exasperation and fury, when Bosomworth, enraged at imprisonment, and Mary, wild with drink, could easily have led their followers, had they been armed, to carry out the threat of extermination. But the leaders were separated, as much as possible, at first by persuasion and then by force, from the chiefs, and these at length were brought to a calmer and more rational state of mind. A judicious use of presents is never without influence upon the contemplative Indian, and Stephens brought it to bear with great skill upon the Creek chieftains. Then he reminded them — of what they must have known even better than he — that there was no strain of royal blood in the veins of Mary, but that this daughter of some common squaw by some obscure white man was, when "in a poor, ragged condition, neglected and despised by the Creeks," raised into consideration by Oglethorpe, as an interpreter. Bosomworth stormed and threatened when he saw his followers fall away from him; Mary, in a drunken rage, stamped upon the ground which, she swore by her Maker, was all hers; she cursed Oglethorpe and his treaties, and devoted to speedy death all these white intruders. More than once there was imminent danger that the Indians, inflamed by these appeals, would put the threats in execution; but the chiefs, at last convinced that the claims of this half-breed impostor to be their queen were preposterous, and that her husband was a liar and a cheat, consented to disperse.

The insurrection suppressed.

The province remained in the hands of the English without further molestation from the Bosomworths, who, however, seem to have been, in later years, persons of some consideration, notwithstanding their attempt to set up a throne for themselves within the dominions of the King. It is quite possible that they still retained so much influence over the Creeks as to be too formidable for punishment, while the colony remained too feeble to risk a struggle.

The growth of the colony was slow even for ten years after it became a royal province. When, in 1754, a convention of delegates from the several colonies assembled at Albany and resolved to form a union, Georgia was not represented; and in the apportionment of representation in the proposed Congress under that plan, no members

were assigned to that province. It was only, probably, because the colony was too insignificant for recognition. It was not till at the Peace of Paris, in 1762, when Florida was ceded to England, and Georgia relieved from the presence of a dangerous neighbor, that it gave much promise of prosperity.



Seal of the Georgia Trustees.

CHAPTER VII.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PENN'S RETURN TO AMERICA. — ASPECT OF PHILADELPHIA AT THAT TIME. — BIRTH OF HIS SON JOHN. — PENN'S SEAT AT PENNSBURY MANOR. — RELATIONS TO THE INDIANS AND HIS NEIGHBORS. — RETURN TO ENGLAND. — FRIENDS AND SLAVERY. — THE EARLIEST ABOLITIONISTS. — NEW CHARTER GRANTED. — JOHN EVANS APPOINTED DEPUTY-GOVERNOR. — PENN'S TROUBLES WITH THE FORDS, AND HIS ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR SALE OF THE PROVINCE TO THE CROWN. — TROUBLES IN PENNSYLVANIA. — OPPOSITION PARTY UNDER DAVID LLOYD. — RESISTANCE TO TAXATION. — COMPLAINTS AGAINST JAMES LOGAN. — CONDUCT OF WILLIAM PENN, JR. — DEATH OF THE PROPRIETOR. — GOVERNOR GOOKIN ON MILITARY REQUISITIONS AND OATHS. — SIR WILLIAM KEITH'S ADMINISTRATION. — VISITS OF THE YOUNGER PENNS. — BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Penn's return to America.

WHEN William Penn returned to his colony in December, 1699, it was after an absence of fifteen years. The Meetings of Friends in England parted from him with the warmest assurances of their respect and affection, and on his arrival in the colony he was received with enthusiasm. It was not thought too trifling an incident by a Friend[1] to record in his journal that some young men — belonging, no doubt, to the world's people — determined to salute the arrival of the Governor at Chester by the firing of cannon. So unseemly a demonstration was forbidden by the magistrates; the salute, nevertheless, was made with two small field-pieces, but done so clumsily that the premature discharge of one of the guns so mutilated the young man who was loading it that he afterward died. It is an evidence of the paternal relations which Penn maintained with his people, that in the Proprietary Cash Book of that period are several entries of sums paid "for B. Bevan, of Chester, who lost his arm," closing with one of "April 20th, for his funeral charges."

The colony was not yet nineteen years old. Penn was thinking of it as he last saw it, when, before embarking in England, he said he was about to return to "the American Desart." But he found a province of more than twenty thousand inhabitants, "a noble and beau-

[1] Thomas Story's *Journal*.

tiful city" of "above two thousand houses, and Most of them stately and of Brick, generally three stories high, after the Mode in London." There were "curious wharfs," as "Chestnut Street Wharf, High Street Wharf, Mulberry Street Wharf, Vine Street Wharf," and from one of these the goods were carted into the city "under an Arch over which part of the street is built." There were many lanes and alleys leading from Front Street to Second Street; and some of the principal streets were named Walnut, Vine, Mulberry, Chestnut, Sassafras, "taking their names from the abundance of those Trees that formerly grew there."[1] Those familiar with Philadelphia will observe how accurately names and localities have been preserved for nearly two centuries. Penn took for his town residence the "Slate Roof House," as it was called, in Second Street, at the southeast corner of Norris's Alley. In this house was born John, the oldest son of his second wife, Hannah Callowhill, — the only one of his children born in this country, and called therefore, by way of distinction, "The American." But his principal residence, to which he removed in the spring, was his country-seat, Pennsbury Manor, four miles above Bristol, on the Delaware River.

Aspect of Philadelphia.



The "Slate Roof House,"
as it appeared just before its demolition in 1868.

Birth of John Penn.

Eighteen years before, during his first visit, a mansion had been built at this place, spacious and well appointed, and worthy of its surrounding domain of about six thousand acres. Here he lived in a style to which, as an English country gentleman, he was accustomed, and here he exercised the large hospitality and influence becoming a provincial proprietor and governor. From the gen-

Pennsbury Manor.

[1] *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania, etc.* By Gabriel Thomas.

tle eminence on which the house stood, an avenue of poplars led from the broad porch down a terraced bank to the river; the grounds were laid out in lawns and gardens; here and there were planted trees from other parts of the country, not indigenous to Pennsylvania; there were nurseries of carefully selected fruit and forest trees, and shrubs imported from England to enrich the native flora; and the most beautiful of the native flowers were gathered together in beds. Only a few acres of the surrounding land were cultivated, and the old woods were preserved, except where it was necessary to cut a road, or where some added charm could be given to the landscape by opening a vista to a stretch of the river, or to a distant view. In the river, at the foot of the poplar avenue, swung with the current the barge of the Governor. Near the house were buildings for all the convenient offices of such a residence, — a detached kitchen and larder; a wash-house; a brewery, that there should be no want of the national English beverage, of more universal use at that period, at all meals, than tea and coffee are now; stables for imported blooded horses, and English carriages. In the spacious rooms of the mansion, where Hannah Penn — described as "a delicate, pretty woman, sitting beside the cradle of her infant" [1] — bore gentle sway, were signs of luxurious living not then quite common in the colonies, in satin-covered and plush-covered cushions, in damask and camblet curtains, in silk blankets, in plate and Tunbridge ware, and blue and white china, and in damask table-cloths and napkins, in high-backed chairs and spider-legged tables of solid oak.[2] Everywhere, without and within, were the evidences of cultivated tastes, and, combined with them, the purpose was apparent of so using wealth that it should conduce to the enjoyment and the good of others. For, there was no ostentation and no assumption of superiority. In the great hall of the house were always standing long tables, at which a hearty welcome awaited all comers, whites or Indians, whether of high or low degree. There is a tradition of one entertainment given to the Indians, when they were so numerous that it was necessary to lay the tables out-of-doors, in the great poplar avenue, and one hundred roasted turkeys were provided as a part only of the ample bill of fare.[3] When among the Indians, in their own villages, Penn ate of their simple food with as much heartiness as he entertained them at his own more elaborate feasts. Nor did he disdain, on such occasions, to join in their sports, to try a fall with their athletes in a wrestling match, or to put his agility against theirs in a contest in running or jumping. No English-

His hospitality.

[1] Logan MSS. cited in Janney's *Life of Penn.*

[2] *Private Life of William Penn.* By J. F. Fisher. *Memoirs Hist. Soc. of Pa.*

[3] Fisher's *Private Life.*

man ever so gained their good-will, affection, and respect, and there was no more affectation or condescension in the familiarity with which he associated with them, than there was want of sincerity in the uniform policy of absolute justice which he made the rule of all his dealings with the natives. A perfectly sincere simplicity in all his social intercourse was a marked trait of Penn's character. He was, apparently, incapable of comprehending that mere worldly position made any difference between him and his fellow-men. So well was this understood among those who saw his

His relations with the Indians.



Penn and Rebecca Wood.

daily life, that only a stranger would remark upon it, as a thing worthy of notice, that Penn rode up to the Darby Meeting with a young girl, — Rebecca Wood, — whom he had picked up on the way, sitting behind him on the bare back of the horse, her naked legs and feet dangling down by the well-clothed limbs of the Governor. Yet he was by no means indifferent to personal appearance and presence; the ladies at Pennsbury Manor wore silk gowns and jewelry; its master was careful of the texture of his garments,

Personal habits.

and, if his coat was plain, it probably fitted nicely to his shapely figure; he did not think it essential to the purity of the inner man that the outer man should be clothed in the leather breeches of George Fox; in one year, while in America, he bought four wigs, at a cost of twenty pounds.

Return to England.

Pennsbury Manor he, no doubt, sincerely hoped would be his permanent home for the rest of his days, and that there he could devote himself to the government of his province, and the development of its resources. Within two years, however, he was



Pennsbury Manor.

recalled to England, where his presence was absolutely necessary to defend his proprietary rights against a proposition introduced by bill in the House of Lords, to bring all the provinces under the direct government of the Crown. "My heart is among you," he said, in a speech to the Assembly, "as well as my body, whatever some people may please to think: and no unkindness or disappointment shall (with submission to God's providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return and settle my family and posterity in it." But now, he thought, he could best serve the colony and himself on the other side of the ocean. It was, however, a final leave-taking. He never again saw his beloved Pennsylvania; anxiety, perplexity, and pecuniary embarrassments vexed the remainder of his days, and of the last twenty years of his life he doubtless looked back to the two years passed at Pennsbury Manor, as the only happy ones.

Nor did he ever cease, so long as disease left him the power of volition, to long for a return to that tranquil residence on the banks of the Delaware, and to hope that he might escape to it from the cares and vexations which beset his declining years.

He left the colony late in October, 1701, and, though his visit had not been long, he had reason to reflect with satisfaction, upon the good that had resulted from it. Many laws were passed at his suggestion, which were directly conducive to the welfare of the people, and where his influence was less direct, it was not less permanent. A minute of the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1700, says: "Our dear friend and Governor laid before the meeting a concern that hath laid upon his mind for some time, concerning the negroes and Indians." He had, in the spring of that year, attempted to procure the passage of a law, — which the Assembly rejected, — for regulating the marriage of negroes; for his theory seems to have been, that a care for the moral well-being of the slave was the imperative duty of the master — a theory which was the high-road to doubting whether the relation of master and slave was not itself immoral. That it was absolutely unchristian, inhuman, and impossible of existence in a high state of civilization, had no more occurred to Penn, as a self-evident proposition, than to anybody else a hundred and eighty years ago. He was himself an owner of slaves; the very possibility of such a relation, however, seems to have impelled him, instinctively and irresistibly, to be rid of it. In a will, written just before he sailed for England, he gives freedom to his blacks, but from the phraseology in which the bequest is conveyed, it is apparent that it was meant, not to confer a new benefit, but to guard one already bestowed. The benefit of the doubt, in his mind, — if he had only come to the point of doubt, — as to the morality of slave-holding, he gave to his slaves.[1]

Penn a slaveholder.

Twelve years before this date, the German Friends about Germantown had sent to the Monthly Meeting a strong though quaint remonstrance against "the traffic of men-body." "We hear," they said, "that the most part of such negroes, are brought hither against their will and consent, and that many of them are stolen. Now, though they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as [than] it is to have other white ones. . . . . But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. . . . . Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse toward us, than if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating husbands from their wives and children. Being now this is not done in the manner we

Friends and Slavery.

[1] See Janney's *Life of Penn.*

would be done at, therefore, we contradict, and are against this traffic of men-body." The memorial was referred to the Quarterly Meeting, and by that to the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia. This body declined to give a positive judgment upon the question of the "unlawfulness and lawfulness of buying and keeping negroes."

Discussion, however, was not silenced. Eight years afterward — 1696 — in response to the remonstrances of subordinate meetings, the Yearly Meeting advised, "that Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more negroes; and that such as have negroes be careful of them, bring them to meeting, and have meetings with them in families, and restrain them from loose and lewd living, as much as in them lies, and from rambling abroad on first days [Sundays]." So also about the same time the schismatics who followed George Keith, charged Friends that "they should set their negroes at liberty, after some reasonable time of service."[1]

Growth of opposition to slavery.

The minds and the consciences of Friends had been thus prepared for a further consideration of the condition of the Africans, when the subject was again brought before the Yearly Meeting and the Assembly by Penn. It may have been partly because there was no precedent for such legislation as he proposed, that the Assembly declined to accede to his wishes. The good seed, nevertheless, did not perish, though it was of slow growth. It was observed by Clarkson, that when, in later years, the preponderating influence in the Assembly was on the side of the Proprietary and the Friends, legislation leaned to mercy.[2] But so long as Pennsylvania remained an English colony, every attempt to interdict the importation of African slaves was promptly suppressed by the English government.

The convictions of Friends, however, and their action in Yearly Meetings, were beyond the reach even of the Crown. For the next half century these bodies "bore their testimony;" first, upon the responsibility of those Friends who were slaveholders, for the moral condition of their slaves; then, against any increase of their number by importation or purchase; and finally, in 1755, a rule of discipline was adopted for the disownment of all members of the Society who persisted in the practice of buying negroes. Three years afterward, Friends were advised to manumit their slaves; in 1776 this advice was enforced by discipline, and Friends were no longer permitted to retain their membership if they continued slaveholders.

To this final and conclusive step, the Society was gradually led by

[1] *The Friend*, vol. xvii. Bettle's *Notices of Negro Slavery*. *Mem. Hist. Soc. of Pa.*, vol. v. Janney's *Life of Penn*. Moore's *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* — the fullest and most thorough history of the progress of the anti-slavery sentiment in this country in the eighteenth century, that has ever been written.

[2] *History of the Slave Trade*.

the persistent and earnest preaching and writing, through many years, of Burling, Sandiford, Lay, Woolman, Benezet, and other earnest persons, though the forerunner of them all was William Southeby, a Roman Catholic, of Maryland, who wrote against slavery before 1700, and in a petition to the Assembly, in 1712, prayed for the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. It may be that others preceded or followed Friends in that humane work, but, as a religious society, they were the earliest Abolitionists. It was impossible, moreover, that the agitation among them, which continued for three quarters of a century, till a Quaker could no longer be a slaveholder, should not influence the character of the people at large, and the legislation of the province. As the feeling against slavery grew stronger year by year in the Yearly Meeting, so from time to time hostility to the slave trade showed itself in the Assembly; and at length in 1780, Pennsylvania, first of all the States, passed an act for the gradual emancipation of all the slaves within its jurisdiction.

Early Abolitionists.

Abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania.

But if generations of the unfortunate Africans were to perish before the benevolent purposes of Penn bore perfect fruit, his policy in regard to the Indians was firmly established before he left for England. A new treaty was made in April, 1701, with the assembled chiefs of all the leading Indian tribes within his territory, securing to them and all their subjects the protection and the privileges of the colonial laws, without restriction. "That the said Indians," it promised, "shall have the full and free privileges and immunities of all the said laws, as any other inhabitant; they duly owning and acknowledging the authority of the Crown of England and government of this province." And "that if any of the said Indians, by means of evil-minded persons and sowers of sedition, should hear any unkind or disadvantageous reports of the English, ... such Indians shall send notice thereof to the said William Penn, his heirs or successors, or their lieutenants, and shall not give credence to the said reports till by that means they shall be fully satisfied concerning the truth thereof; and that the said William Penn, his heirs and successors, or their lieutenants . . . . do the like by them." The immediate cause of this treaty was a question as to the title of lands on the Susquehanna which Penn had purchased of the Five Nations, through Governor Dongan, of New York. The Susquehanna and the Conestoga Indians denied the right of the Five Nations to sell these lands; but by this treaty Penn's title was confirmed, and a bond of friendship established between these tribes and the Pennsylvanians, which remained unbroken for more than half a century.

Renewed treaty with the Indians.

A new charter.

Before his departure, the Governor gave to the colony a new charter, under which it continued to be governed till it ceased to be a proprietary province. It gave to an annual Assembly, consisting of four persons out of each county, power to propose bills, a privilege hitherto belonging to the Governor, to judge of the qualifications and elections of their own members, and to "sit upon their own adjournments," with "all other powers and privileges of an Assembly, according to the rights of the free-born subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the King's plantations in America." With great reluctance, Penn affixed to this new constitution his consent that the province and the territories — the lower counties, now the State of Delaware — should have separate legislatures, in case they should not afterward "agree to join together;" but he made one last effort, just before his going, to reconcile the two, and sent to the representatives of both an appeal which was as strong as it was brief.

The Delaware counties.



Andrew Hamilton.

"Friends," he wrote, "your union is what I desire; but your peace and accommodating one another is what I must expect from you: The reputation of it is something; the reality, much more. And I desire you to remember and observe what I say: Yield in *circumstantials* to preserve *essentials;* and being safe in one another, you will always be so in esteem with me. Make me not sad, now I am going to leave you; since it is for you, as well as for your Friend and Proprietary and Governor, William Penn."

Special charter to Philadelphia.

One more act remained before his leaving — the grant of a special municipal charter to the town of Philadelphia. This done, and Andrew Hamilton appointed deputy, with Penn's warm friend, James Logan, who had come with him from England, as secretary, the founder of Pennsylvania sailed down the Delaware as the first year of the new century drew to a close, and looked his last upon the field of his "Holy Experiment."

It was December when he reached home. In February the King died, and with the reign of Anne, the daughter of the man who had

never been false to Penn, whatever treachery he showed to others, the Quaker came again into court favor. The proceedings against his charter were soon put aside; and had political opposition at home been all he had to fight against, he would have gone back to America completely victorious and prosperous.

But he had still worse things to face. New tidings reached him continually of the dissensions which had been renewed in Pennsylvania as soon as he had left it. The old dispute between the legislatures broke out still more violently; and, besides this, he was overwhelmed with complaints from the people of petty grievances. The new municipal government of Philadelphia did not work well; there was great opposition to the payment of the quit-rents now falling due; Deputy-governor Hamilton died at the end of 1702, and was succeeded the next year by John Evans, whose earlier administration proved eminently unsatisfactory; in brief, for several years Penn heard little else than bad news from the province, or from Philadelphia, or from personal friends; while his private affairs prevented his returning to restore the prosperity his presence might have brought about.

Complaints from Pennsylvania.

John Evans, Governor.

For, from a long accumulation of causes, his private property was found to be embarrassed almost beyond remedy. The steward, Philip Ford, to whom he had intrusted his affairs in England, had died just after Penn's arrival at home, and out of the confusion in which the property was left, it soon became clear that Penn had been defrauded of large sums. But the worst feature of the matter only appeared when Ford's widow — apparently a woman with as few scruples as her husband — brought forward a lien on the American province, which Penn had given her husband as security for money advanced at the time of the second voyage to America. This indebtedness Penn had paid off by installments, but these Ford had carefully refrained from crediting in the accounts, while the apparent indebtedness had been increased to £12,000, by computations of compound interest every six months, at six and eight per cent. The accounts, which Penn had carelessly received without examination, would not — wrote Thomas Callowhill, a merchant of Bristol, and Penn's father-in-law — "had they been corrected in time, have amounted to a tenth part of what they now are." But evidence of Penn's payments was wanting, and when the widow and the son of Ford brought an action against the proprietor, judgment was given in their favor. Penn was arrested, and lodged in the Fleet Prison, where he remained for nine months. The object of the Fords was to get possession of the province, but despairing of that after several hearings before the Lord Chancellor, they consented

Penn's troubles with the Fords.

Penn in Fleet Prison.

to a compromise. To meet the payment of the sum agreed upon — which was nearly eight thousand pounds — Penn mortgaged the province to several of his friends, and entered into negotiations for its sale to the Crown. These dragged on for several years, and were about to be concluded, when an attack of paralysis, from which he never recovered, though he lived several years longer, rendered him incapable of business, and the negotiations came to an end.

Proposes to sell his province.

The disappointments and anxieties of this period, which covered the last vigorous years of Penn's life, were aggravated by the unsatisfactory condition of affairs in the colony. Evans's administration was unwise and oppressive. He refused to pass a reasonable judiciary bill, presented by the Assembly; he undertook to enroll a militia force, and foolishly aroused the people of Philadelphia by a false alarm of the approach of a French fleet, keeping the town under arms for two nights, and pretending that the consternation of the inhabitants was the best proof of the necessity for military preparations; he imposed burdens upon commerce, by compelling all vessels to report at New Castle, and those inward bound to pay an impost duty; he granted a commission for privateering; and finally he brought reproach upon the colony by the scandals of his private life. A vigorous opposition party was aroused against him, of which David Lloyd, a Quaker lawyer, was the able, but not always scrupulous leader. He united all who were not Friends, and many who were, against the proprietary party under Evans. And it was a Quaker who resisted and effectually put an end to the Lieutenant-governor's attempt to raise a revenue by subjecting vessels coming up the Delaware to a tonnage duty.

Administration of Governor Evans.

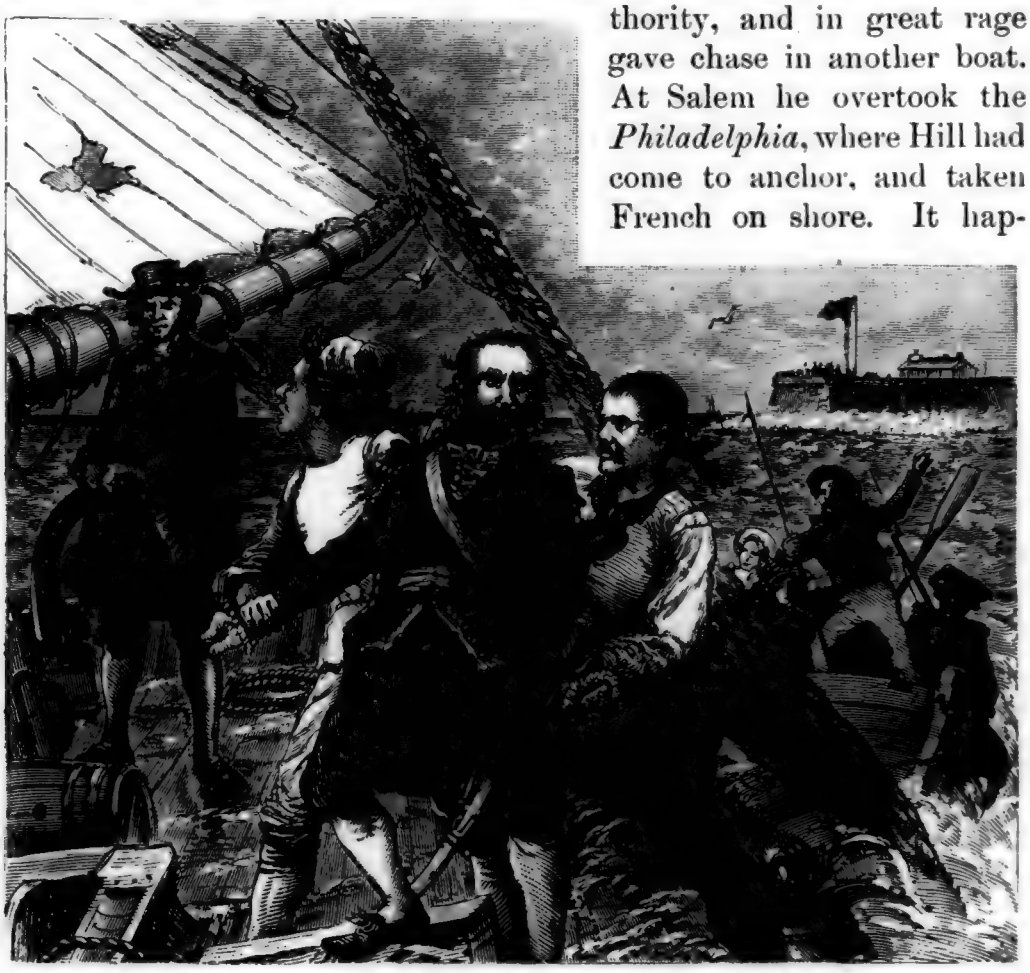
An Opposition party.

Richard Hill, who was one of the Council, determined to test the question, and went down the river in a vessel of his own, bound to Barbadoes. As he approached the fort at New Castle, two of his friends, Isaac Morris and Samuel Preston, who had embarked with him to carry out his purpose — both also Quakers, and merchants of great respectability — went on shore and informed the commander, John French, that Hill's vessel was standing out to sea, and would refuse either to report to him or to submit to the fine for not reporting. French attempted to bring the vessel to by opening fire from his guns, and a shot tore through her mainsail. But Hill himself had taken the helm, and the *Philadelphia* stood steadily on her way. French threw himself into an armed boat and pursued her, and as he came alongside, Hill ordered a rope to be thrown him. As the commander stepped on deck he was secured and taken to the cabin as a prisoner, and his boat was cut adrift.

Contest on the Delaware.

French begged to be released, and appealed to Hill's pity by declaring he was ill. "If that be the case," answered the Quaker, "why didst thou come here?"

From the fort, Evans himself had witnessed this defiance of his authority, and in great rage gave chase in another boat. At Salem he overtook the *Philadelphia*, where Hill had come to anchor, and taken French on shore. It hap-



Passing New Castle.

pened that Lord Cornbury of New York was at that place, who, as Governor of New Jersey, claimed to have jurisdiction over the waters of the lower Delaware. The parties appeared before him, and his decision, that the free navigation of the river should not be interrupted, was submitted to, because it could not at the moment be resisted. Logan, the secretary of the province, afterward waited upon him, and he wrote to Penn, "I entered fully into the matter, and protested, in thy name and behalf, against these proceedings, as being not only against thy inclinations, but evasive of thy rights. I found he had resented the matter to our Governor, and will resent it home to the Lords of Trade." But Hill's summary method of resentment had already settled the question. Others followed his example. He, with a large number of the merchants of Philadelphia, waited upon the

Assembly, and that body unanimously adopted an address to the Governor, in which they declared that the "arbitrary actions and oppressions complained of," were an abuse of the Queen's authority, an open defiance of the royal grant, that they "obstruct our lawful commerce, and invade our liberties, rights, and properties, and under the pretence of fortifying the river for the service of the Queen, commit hostilities and depredations upon her liege people." The Delaware was henceforth free of any exactions from Governor Evans.

Complaints against James Logan.

"These are very cloudy times indeed, and to us a day of severe trial," Logan wrote to Penn. The secretary was a man of great integrity, and too wise to approve in all things of the course and character of Evans. But his official relations to the Lieutenant-governor, and his efforts to maintain the rights of the Proprietor, made his position one of great difficulty. He was accused of having aided Evans in his senseless scheme of spreading the alarm of the approach of a French fleet, when the inhabitants of Philadelphia were thrown into so great a panic that many abandoned their houses to escape into the country, injuring and destroying their household goods in attempting to conceal them. For this and other wrong-doings of Evans, Logan was made the scape-goat. An indictment was found against him, and though nothing came of it in the end, it was a cause of great vexation both to him and his warm friend, the Proprietor. But though the "cloudy times" pervaded all this period of Penn's life, there were intervals of sunshine. The conduct of the opposition sometimes produced reaction, and the proprietary party would attain again a majority in the Assembly. Thus, David Lloyd overshot the mark when he sent to England — to Penn and other Friends there — a memorial setting forth the real grievances of the colonists with great exaggeration and more bitterness; and this he signed as Speaker of the Assembly, though it had never been submitted to that body. It had been proposed to send an official remonstrance to the Proprietor, and to ask for the redress of certain wrongs; but when it became known that Lloyd had taken advantage of this purpose to address



James Logan.

Lloyd's letter to Penn.

Penn in a tone that the facts did not justify, and with an assumption of authority that did not belong to him, the revulsion of feeling was very great, both in England and in Pennsylvania.[1]

Conduct of William Penn, Jr.

But through all this period, Penn's heaviest trial was, doubtless, a private grief, — a private grief, however, that carried with it much public scandal. This was the conduct of his eldest son, William, whom, two or three years after his return to England, he had sent to America. This youth had given great promise of future worthlessness at home, but his father hoped that new associations and surroundings, and a removal from old temptations, might work a change in him. He changed his skies, but not his morals. The sober influence of Logan and other friends of his father in the colony weighed nothing with young Penn, while, for his name's sake, he received for a while more tender consideration than should have been accorded him in his many offences against society. In the Lieutenant-governor, Evans, he found a boon companion after his own heart, and a useful friend in bringing him safely through many an awkward dilemma. Strange and disgraceful stories were told of his conduct — women in men's dress in the streets; midnight orgies; his increasing following and evil influence among the young men of the town — until at last he was engaged in a tavern brawl, and arrested for beating a constable. Evans was his companion on this occasion, and getting the worst in the fight, sought safety by declaring his rank. His assailant had already recognized him, but pretending that he did not believe the assertion, beat him all the more for scandalizing the Governor by suggesting the possibility of his being engaged in such disgraceful proceedings. Evans, however, managed to escape, and attempted afterward to rescue Penn by proposing to exercise his official authority over the court. But the court disregarded this, and brought an indictment against Penn. The young man, in a rage, declared he would have nothing more to do with Quakers or with Pennsylvania; he renounced the Quaker doctrines; he denied the right of the provincial magistrates to try him; and shortly afterward was allowed — probably very willingly by those who loved his father — to sail for home, leaving creditors everywhere behind him, and selling, before his departure, all the property his father had given him in the colony.

[1] Great use is made in the *Historical Review of Pennsylvania* — attributed to Franklin — of this assumed memorial or letter of the Assembly. No intimation is given that Lloyd had put his name as Speaker to a document of his own writing, which the Assembly had never seen, which had, indeed, no existence till after the House was dissolved. Yet it seems hardly possible that the author of the *Review* should not have known that the document, so far as it pretended to have any other authority than that of Lloyd alone, was little better than a forgery.

Penn lived till 1718, but the last six years of his life were passed in a childlike tranquillity, on his estate at Ruscombe, his mind seriously impaired and his physical vigor almost destroyed by the slow progress of disease. By his will he left all his property in England and Ireland to his son, William, in spite of his misconduct; but the proprietorship in the American colony he left to three trustees, "to dispose thereof to the Queen, or any other person, to the best advantage they can;" and to pay over the proceeds to still other trustees, for the benefit — after the payment of all debts and the conveyance of some land to each of William's children — of his children by his second wife. To her he left his personal property, and made her sole executrix. As might have been expected, William entered on a contest of the will; and the whole matter, going into chancery, resulted ultimately in the confirmation to the younger branch not only of the part the will had left to them directly, but of the right of government as well, which had been left to be disposed of to the Crown. The proposal to surrender the province was never seriously revived again; and John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, the heirs, and their mother, the executrix, became proprietors in the political as in the ordinary sense, till the American Revolution dispossessed the survivors.

Penn's death and will.



Ruscombe.

The colony, meanwhile, had grown in prosperity and numbers, — a growth never seriously checked by the political dissensions between Governor and Assembly, which continued, not only so long as Penn lived, but till his sons were old men and Pennsylvania became a State. These dissensions had their root in differences hard to reconcile, — the vital principles of Friends in regard to oaths and the lawfulness of war, and the conflicting interests of Proprietaries and people. The conflict was more or less determined, more or less successful on one side or the other, as the Quaker element was sometimes stronger or weaker in the Assembly, or as the Governor might possess strong powers of persuasion, or command re-

Political dissensions of Pennsylvania.

spect and obedience by weight of intellect or will. Evans possessed none of these qualities, and it was a relief to the colonists when Charles Gookin succeeded him in 1709. His administration was, at least, without scandal, but the differences to which we allude marked it from its beginning to its close.

The Governor was uncompromising in character, uncompliant in temper. In obedience to the Queen, he made, soon after his arrival, a requisition upon the Assembly for the quota of the province in men, to be used against the French, or their equivalent in money. The Assembly, with every assurance of their devotion and loyalty to the Crown, were constrained, in obedience to the religious scruples of the larger portion of the people of the province, to decline contributing directly for the support of war; but they were willing, on their part, to make a present to the Queen. By this, or some similar device, the colony continued to do its part in support of war measures, for many years; but any Governor with a weakness for casuistry could find in the subject, as Gookin did, an opportunity for controversy which could be made to last, if he chose, a man's natural life. "We did not see it," said Isaac Norris, "inconsistent with our principles to give the Queen money, notwithstanding any use she might put it to, *that* not being our part, but hers." There was little of this conciliatory spirit and common-sense view of the subject on the Governor's part; he demanded more than the Assembly thought the province could afford to give, and his demands were always an unpleasant reminder to Friends that he was asking them to violate their principles, and not merely to contribute to the support of government.

Governor Gookin's military requisitions.



Grave of Penn.

He raised subsequently a more serious question, by refusing to accept an affirmation instead of an oath from Quakers. Nowhere in the whole range of history could a moot-court find a question with so many points for the exercise of ingenuity, with so many unanswerable arguments on both sides, and one so abso-

The question of oaths.

lutely impossible of settlement by any process of reasoning on either one side or the other. The charter granted by Charles II.; acts of Parliament in the seventh and eighth of William III.; orders of the Queen in council under Anne; act of Parliament in the first of George I.; acts of the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania; decisions by the Governor and the Chief Justice of New Jersey, — from all these sources were drawn arguments, precedents, confirmations, inconsistencies, and incompatibilities, by a judicious and skilful use of which it could be shown that one side was perfectly impregnable till the other side was shown to be equally so, and that neither, according to the laws, had a leg to stand upon. As a question of controversy, moreover, it had this great charm: practically it was of the smallest consequence, if let alone, but, if meddled with, its capability of mischief could only be measured by the possibility of its interminable discussion. Gookin fortunately retired in 1717, silenced, though not convinced, by the last message on the subject from the Assembly. Sir William Keith, the next Governor, had the good sense not to reopen it; Friends went on quietly as before, affirming instead of swearing, when an oath was required as a qualification for any civil position; and in 1725 the question was once more taken up, but only to be settled forever by a positive act of the Assembly, confirmed by an act of Parliament, permitting affirmation, and releasing Friends from oaths.

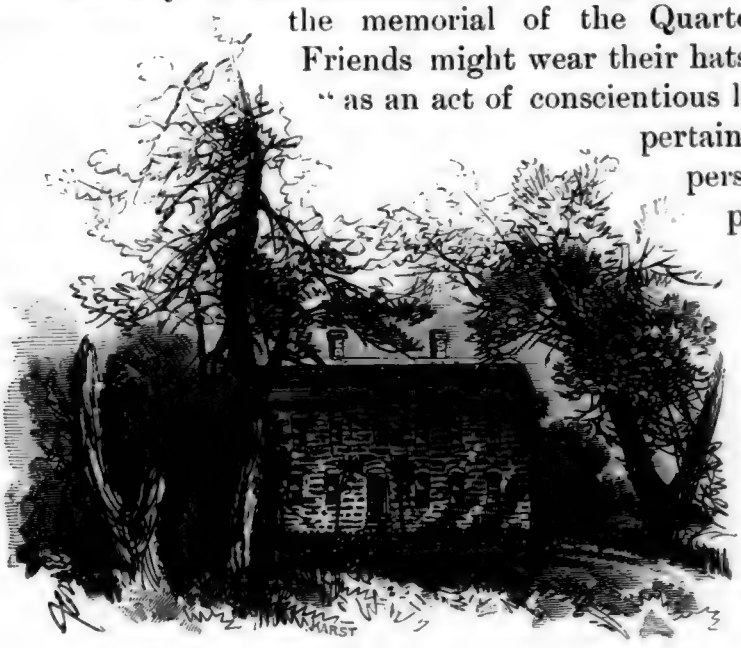


Sir William Keith.

Keith, either because his sympathies were really with the Friends, or because he thought it politic to govern his conduct in accordance with the known wishes of a majority of the people, yielded gracefully, rather than contended, on these vexed questions. For, that Friends would yield nothing on a question of conscience, they gave him to understand at the outset of his administration. The Assembly joined with him, at his accession, in an address to the King, which was written in the style used by subjects when speaking to a sovereign. But they were also careful to note upon their minutes, that, though they agreed "as to the matter and substance of the said address," they excepted to "the plural term you;" they would have preferred to say, "thy most dutiful subjects," rather than "your Majesty's;" — "may

it please thee to know," rather than "may it please your Majesty." The Governor clearly had not forgotten this significant evidence of the sturdy persistence of Friends, when, some years afterward, the Quarterly Meeting sent him a remonstrance upon an incident in the Court of Chancery. He had ordered the hat to be lifted from the head of John Kinsey — an eminent Quaker lawyer, and afterward Chief Justice — before he was permitted to address the court. Keith had the good sense to see that ceremony had better yield to conscience, and thereupon ordered, in response to the memorial of the Quarterly Meeting, that Friends might wear their hats where they would, "as an act of conscientious liberty, of right, appertaining to the religious persuasion of said people." The determined and independent spirit shown in these affairs of comparatively small moment, marked the character of the people in the long and almost monotonous struggle of later years between successive Governors and Assemblies. The time came when the province had little other history than the constant demand of chief magistrates for means to aid in the general defence of the colonies in the French and Indian wars, and the firm purpose of the Assemblies to contribute to that end in their own way, and to compel the Proprietaries to bear their share of the burden.

Adherence of Friends to their own principles.



Keith's Mansion House. Græme Park, near Philadelphia.

That struggle began during Keith's administration, in a proposition from him to raise money by the issue of a paper currency, in 1723. The project was discussed with great thoroughness, and its possible consequences wisely foreseen. It was difficult in the then condition of the colonies to avoid a resort to this measure, and still more difficult, when the first step was taken, to avoid the inevitable evil consequences. The Assembly of Pennsylvania was cautious. "It was provided," says a report made to the Crown fifteen years later, and after several other issues had been made on the same plan, "that a real estate, in fee simple, of double the

Paper money.

value of the sum lent out, should be secured in an office created for that purpose; and that the sums so let out should be annually repaid into the office, in such equal sums or quotas as would effectually sink the whole capital sum of forty-five thousand pounds within the time limited by the aforesaid acts." In 1739, when this report was made, the amount of these bills that had been issued was altogether about £87,000, of which some £80,000 were outstanding in the province; yet so favorably did they stand in comparison with some other colonial paper money, that the £80,000 of provincial currency had a value of £50,196 in sterling money. This comparative value, however, steadily decreased in later years with the additional issues of paper currency.

Keith's removal.

Keith was removed from the office of Governor in 1725, but he remained a citizen of the province, and was chosen a representative to the Assembly. If he had lost the confidence of the Proprietors, the people seem to have believed that his administration of the affairs of the colony was for its good.

Prosperity of Pennsylvania.

It was a period of great prosperity, so great that it does not seem to have been retarded by an act passed in the fifth year of Patrick Gordon's administration, which succeeded Keith's. By this act it was attempted to impose restrictions upon immigration,[1] by taxing every immigrant five shillings on his settlement in the province. It was ostensibly designed "to prevent poor and impotent persons from being imported," but is said to have been dictated by alarm at the large numbers that arrived from Ireland and from Germany, and seriously threatened the supremacy of the Friends in the colony which they regarded as especially their own. That the prosperity of Pennsylvania was great enough to bear without injury this check to population, appears from a statistical account published this year (1731). "That Pennsylvania," the writer says,[2] "which has not any peculiar staple (like Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland), and was begun to be planted so late as 1680, should at present have more white inhabitants in it than all Virginia, Maryland, and both the Carolinas, is extremely remarkable. And although the youngest colony on the continent, they have by far the finest capital city of all British America; and the second in magnitude;" and adds, after a long enumeration of the colony's products and profitable industries: "The Pennsylvanians build about 2,000 tons of shipping a year for sale, over and above what they employ in their own trade, which may be about 6,000 tons more. They send great quantities of corn to Portugal and Spain, frequently selling their ships as well as cargo; and the produce of both is sent thence to England, where it is always

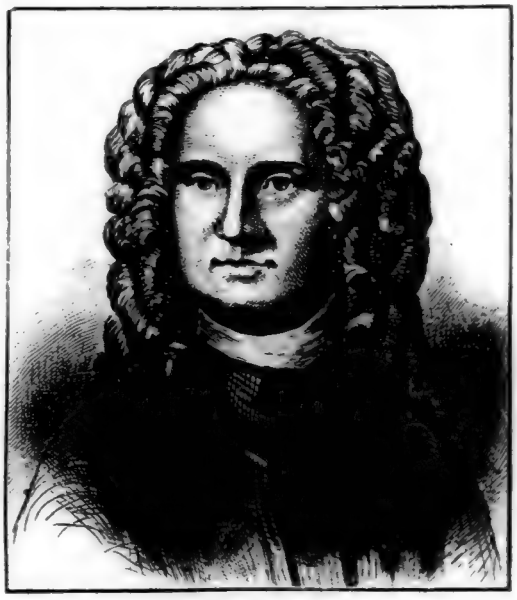
[1] Grahame, vol. iii., pp. 134 and 135.

[2] Cited by Proud, vol. ii., p. 203.

laid out in goods and sent home to Pennsylvania. . . . . They receive no less than 4,000 to 6,000 pistoles from the Dutch isle of Curaçoa alone, ... and they trade to Surinam, ... and to the French part of Hispaniola as also to the other French sugar islands. . . . . From Jamaica they sometimes return with all money and no goods. . . . . And all the money they can get . . . . is brought to England, ... which has not for many years past been less than £150,000 per annum." The Pennsylvania trade with the other colonies this writer estimates at £60,000 a year.

Visits of the younger Penns.

In 1732, Thomas Penn, the founder's second son by his second marriage, arrived in Philadelphia; but, though the people received him cordially, and he lived for years among them, he was never popular, and had but little personal influence. The case was very different with his elder brother John — the senior Proprietor — who came in 1734. His personal magnetism, cordial interest in the province, and exceptional ability, recalled his father; but a renewed attempt by the Baltimores to revive the old claim to Delaware, called him again to England, as William Penn had once been called, after a year's residence, and he did not return. In the year after his departure (1736), Governor Gordon died; and after an interval, during which the venerable Logan acted as chief magistrate, George Thomas followed in the governorship in 1738, — beginning a nine years' administration, which, while it showed his own ability to be inferior to Gordon's, was not more eventful or less quietly prosperous.



Patrick Gordon.

If the general annals of the province yield but little which it is of interest to trace, much happened in the Quaker city — "the finest capital of British America" — during these quiet years, that was as important as though it had come under the head of political events. One of the foremost characters in American history was coming into public notice, and beginning his career in ways as various as his abilities. Benjamin Franklin, — whose first visit to the town had been made when his quarrel with his elder brother at Boston had sent him out, a printer's-boy of seventeen, to seek his fortune, — had returned to Philadelphia in 1726, and made it his

Benjamin Franklin in Pennsylvania.

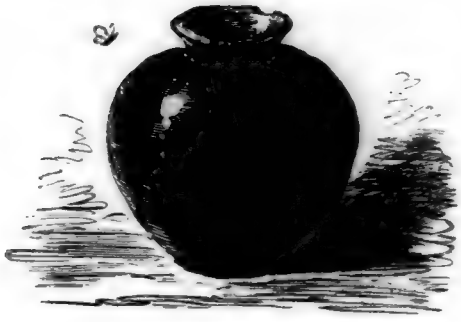
home. The story of his first short stay there is familiar; his arrival on a Sunday morning in 1723, and his traditional walk through the streets eating his breakfast of a roll of bread; his unprosperous engagement with the printer Keimer; his encouragement by Governor Keith, and his voyage to London, only to find there that he had been deceived by the Governor's promises. His second arrival in the Pennsylvania capital was very different. He came with employment assured him; and from this time all that he did prospered. In 1728 he was a partner in establishing the "Pennsylvania Gazette," a newspaper which had a life of a hundred and twenty years. He sprang almost immediately into prominence. His activity was ceaseless; he improved the printing press, and printed paper-money for his own and other provinces; he founded a cheap library; and wrote usefully on all manner of subjects. He published the first edition of the famous "Poor Richard's Almanac" in 1732. The Assembly appointed him its clerk in 1735; and under Thomas's administration he was the provincial postmaster. What Philadelphia owed to his sound sense and public spirit, can hardly be over-estimated. Every part of the city administration profited by his suggestions. He founded the American Philosophical Society in 1744; and two years afterward began the series of experiments in electricity which led him to such great achievement. From his election to the Assembly four years later, his political life belongs to other chapters of the history of the time; and to those greater strug-



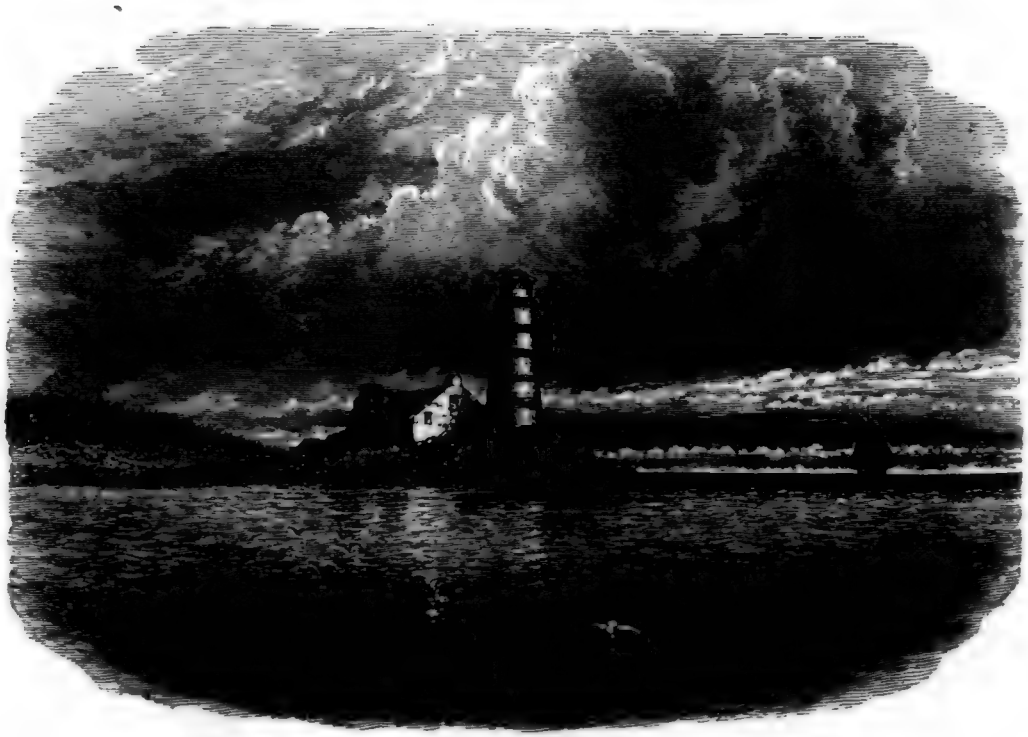
Franklin entering Philadelphia.

gles on which his adopted colony was now, like the rest, about to enter.

The history of Pennsylvania begins to merge into the history of that colonial union which the events of the next ten years so thoroughly cemented. James Hamilton, a native of the colony, and the son of Andrew Hamilton, Penn's former deputy, succeeded Thomas in the fall of 1748; and by the close of his administration, the shadow of a coming war had forced the Quaker province, like its neighbors, into active preparations for defence.



Penn's Brewing-jar.



Cape Canso

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH.

THE THIRD INDIAN WAR IN NEW ENGLAND. — NEW HAMPSHIRE A SEPARATE PROVINCE. — GOVERNOR BENNING WENTWORTH. — ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BELCHER OF MASSACHUSETTS. — FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE COLONY. — APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR SHIRLEY. — GEORGE WHITEFIELD'S FIRST VISIT TO NEW ENGLAND. — THE REVIVAL PERIOD. — WAR AGAIN DECLARED BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. — THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG. — COLONEL WILLIAM PEPPERELL. — LOUISBURG RESTORED TO FRANCE. — AN ENGLISH PRESS-GANG IN BOSTON. — THE TOWN-HOUSE ASSAULTED. — INSURRECTION SKILFULLY AVERTED.

The third Indian war in New England.

IN the third Indian war, which broke out in 1722, in the Northern provinces, the strife was most deadly and the destruction most complete along the Eastern border, in the disputed territory claimed both by the English and the French and their Indian allies. But it was not confined to that region. Bands of savage warriors crept along the frontiers of Maine and New Hampshire, watching with unwearied vigilance for a chance to fall suddenly upon some sleeping village or defenceless farm-house, disappearing again like the shadows of the night, before the next day's sun arose upon heaps of mangled bodies and the smouldering ashes of desolated

homes. In 1723, Dover, New Hampshire, and its vicinity, suffered from the over-confidence of the inhabitants, who were careless in retiring at night-fall to their garrison-houses. Many narratives of heroic conduct belong to this period. For instance, Aaron Rawlins, at Newmarket, had a daughter twelve years old; her mother saw her own father killed by the Indians in 1704, and the recollection mingled with the blood of this daughter. Late in August, 1723, the house of Rawlins was attacked by a band of eighteen Indians. His wife and two children, going out by chance, were seized, the father and the youngest daughter being left within. He barred the door, and both made such a defence by rapid firing that the people in the garrison-house were afraid to send assistance, concluding by the frequent reports that the Indians were in great force. At length the father was killed, and his daughter's head cut off. The captive son was adopted by the Indians, and never cared to resume the English life; and the captive daughter married a Frenchman.

Fate of the Rawlins family.

In 1724 a few persons were killed, but the vigorous movements of scouting parties prevented great disasters. In Dover, there were several Quakers, who would neither use arms for the defence of their families, nor avail themselves of the shelter of the garrison-houses. The Indians could neither understand nor respect their scruples; a few were killed, and the families taken to Canada. These outrages led to the expeditions of the two provinces of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, against Father Rasle and his Eastern Indians. If it be true, as Belknap says, that a half-breed son of the priest was killed at Oyster River in the summer of 1724, his bitter plotting against the English involved a personal feeling.

Father Sebastian Rasle had lived among the Indians for thirty-seven years, accommodating himself with the usual French facility to their habits of life, building his own wigwam, planting corn, and preparing his meals in their method, adopting their language, and devoting himself to their temporal and spiritual improvement. He was a polished scholar, who had surrendered all the preferments of the Church to occupy this outpost in the wilderness. Age and privation had not blunted a single faculty of his intelligence, and he devoted it, together with a rare diplomatic talent, to the service of Rome and of France. A truly remarkable pioneer, a perfectly unselfish man, as the Jesuits generally were, — a man whose delight was in the commanding influence which he had fairly earned, — his record has been not altogether appreciated by the men whose hate he naturally incurred. In him the Governor of Canada found an agent more potent than his troops.

Father Rasle.

The first act of violence was committed by the Indians upon some

traders at Canso, in August, 1720; their goods were plundered, and several persons were killed. Then the Eastern Indians, who began to muster with fresh threats against the frontier towns of New England, were again met by Governor Shute's agents, and with difficulty dissuaded from their purpose of attempting to recover, as they said, the territory which by natural right belonged to them. Their abandonment of the attempt was a sore disappointment to Father Rasle and Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, who had hoped to reanimate the hostility of the Indians. This intrigue was suspected, and a demand was made upon the Indians at Norridgewock to deliver up their favorite priest. Their consent ought not to have been expected; but, on their refusal, Colonel Westbrook was sent with a party of men to arrest the priest, who had notice in time to escape, but his flight was so precipitate that he left behind the compromising correspondence with Vaudreuil. This was in 1722. The plunder of their village and attempt upon the Father so enraged the Norridgewock Indians that they led the other Eastern tribes in fresh attacks upon the frontier, and plunged the provinces into a serious and costly defence.

The first hostilities.

The Indian settlement at Norridgewock had greatly flourished under the supervision of Father Rasle. Every political and theological motive inspired the provinces with jealousy and dread of this success at civilizing their worst enemies, and of the establishment of a frontier post which would be a constant menace. Two attempts had been made to break up this settlement by the capture of its master-spirit. On the 12th of August, 1724, a third attempt succeeded.

The settlement at Norridgewock.

The place was surprised by an expedition of two hundred men, at a time when few Indian fighters were at home. The survivors of the attack fled into the forest with their wives, and Father Rasle was slain in advancing toward the English in order to divert their attention from his flock. The victors pillaged the chapel, and tore down the crucifixes and other symbols of worship which the Indians had learned to reverence. When they returned to their devastated village, the beloved priest was found all hacked with wounds, scalped, and with mud crammed into the persuasive mouth. It is said that strict orders had been issued to capture but not injure the father; but that when a soldier summoned him to surrender, he refused, and was slain. The body of the priest was buried underneath the altar at which he had ministered to his converts, with savage vows of vengeance for a funeral service.

Its capture and pillage.

In the same year, Captain John Lovewell, with a company of volunteers numbering eighty-seven, made a successful expedition against

a party of Indians who were coming from Canada, well equipped with snow-shoes and moccasins for the captives whom they expected to carry back. Stimulated by this success, by the large bounty offered for scalps, and by the liberal pay, it was easy for the Captain to organize another expedition. Each man received two shillings and sixpence a day during his term of volunteering. Starting in April, 1725, Lovewell determined to strike the Pequawkett (Pigwacket) Indians, whose village was near a pond in the present township of Fryeburg, Maine, a small

Lovewell's expedition.



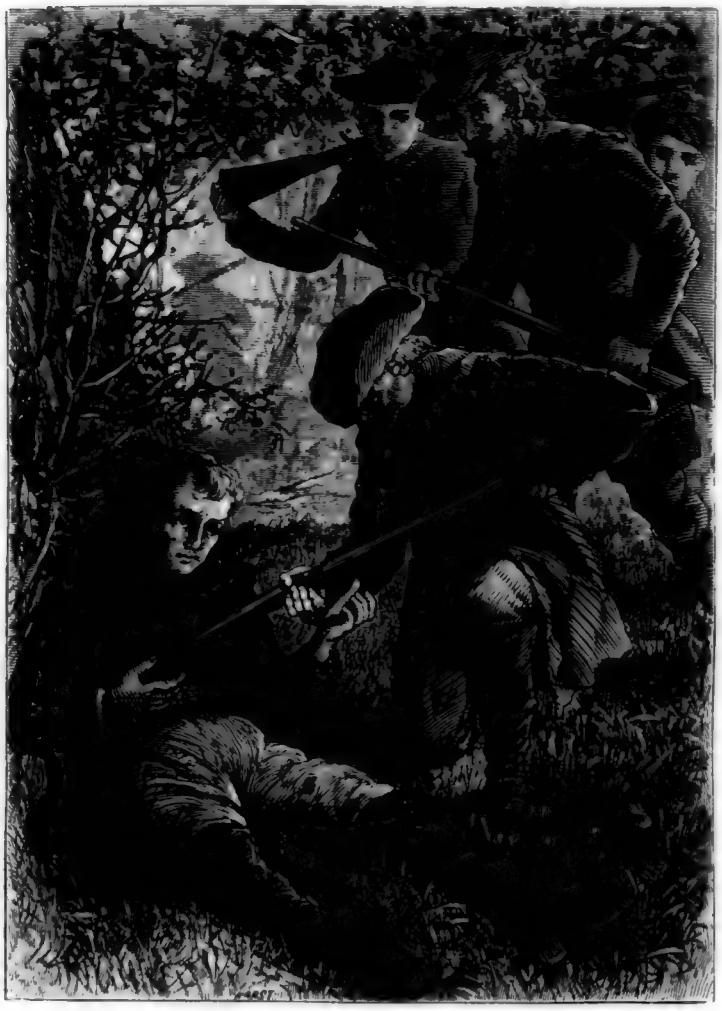
Death of Father Rasle.

sheet of water two and a half miles long and a mile wide. When they reached Ossipee Pond, a stockade was erected, to afford a place of shelter in case of a reverse. Here eight men were left; the rest pushed forward about twenty miles, and came to the pond, where they encamped.

The next morning, May 8, an Indian who was hunting ducks disturbed them by the report of his gun. They left their packs on the ground and pursued him, expecting to come upon a body of the enemy; he was killed, and the men, finding no trace of other savages, returned to their camping-ground. In the mean time a party of Indians, under a noted sachem, Paugus, came upon Lovewell's track,

and, counting the packs, discovered that his own force was superior in numbers. He placed an ambush, and when the men returned for their packs they received a fire which instantly killed Lovewell and eight more, and wounded three. The rest, only twenty-three in number, retreated to a pine grove upon a point which ran into the pond. Here they maintained themselves all day without food, and delivered so deadly a fire that the savages, toward nightfall, retreated, carrying away many of their dead and wounded.

Only nine of the men remained unhurt. They, and the wounded who could walk, began their retreat toward the stockade, leaving on the well-fought field the mortally wounded, one of whom — Lieutenant Robbins — asked that a musket be left with him, hoping to have one more shot before he died. They had struggled to the stockade with incredible suffering, only to find it deserted; for a man who had run away at the first volley had so alarmed the little garrison with his report that they fled. In the march homeward, three wounded men died. The survivors were amply honored and rewarded, for this fight of theirs was the most determined and audacious recorded in the earlier Indian warfare. Paugus was killed, and the tribe had suffered so severely that the remnant deserted the spot, and went to settle on the head-waters of the Connecticut.[1]



Robbins's Last Shot.

[1] There was a legend connected with this fight, long believed but now somewhat discredited, that John Chamberlain and Paugus went down to the water to clean out their guns,

It was high time that the provinces should attempt to restrain this deadly warfare in a time of peace, by proceeding to the headquarters in Canada of the French instigation. Vaudreuil was at Montreal, where he received the provincial commissioners with a deal of blandness and courtesy, and professed to be surprised at their charge of his intrigue through Father Rasle. Whereupon the commissioners quietly produced his correspondence, at the sight of which he was struck with mortification and a sense of guilt at having disturbed the relations established by treaty between France and England. But he was still so much swayed by the influence of the Jesuit priests who were around him, that the commissioners found difficulty in bringing him to any terms. They noticed that, whenever a priest was present at their conferences, the Governor was stubborn; but when they addressed him alone, he was disposed to consider the justice of their complaint. At length he did interfere so far as to procure the release of several captives at a moderate ransom, and to promise to counsel the Indians to cease hostilities. After a while, the Eastern tribes did solicit peace, when they discovered that the provinces were preparing to pursue them still more vigorously. A treaty was made with them at the close of 1725. The English set up trading-posts on the St. George, Kennebec, and Saco, toward which they succeeded in attracting the Indians by underselling the French. The policy was not financially profitable, and the posts had to be sustained by special appropriations, but the period of tranquillity that was thus secured lasted, with few interruptions, till the war between England and France which began in 1755.[1]

English commissioners at Montreal.

A treaty of peace.

which had become fouled by firing. In this process, each gesture which they made was simultaneous, as they taunted each other and threatened death; but the musket of the Englishman had a habit of self-priming, and while Paugus was filling his pan, Chamberlain shot him. True or false, the story is a happy hint of the benefit of that shortening of method attained in the modern revolver. If the story be true, Chamberlain's gun, probably, only had the trick of priming itself — not uncommon, as sportsmen know, with the old-fashioned musket — from an enlargement of the vent in the pan. But it is a curious coincidence that something like the modern revolver had already been invented in Boston. Penhallow [*Indian Wars*], speaking of the reception given there to some chiefs of the Six Nations, a few months before Lovewell's fight, says: "They were entertained with the curious sight of a gun that was made by the ingenious Mr. Pim, of Boston; which, although loaded but once, yet was discharged eleven times following with bullets, in the space of two minutes, each of which went through a double door at fifty yards distance."

[1] The coast of Maine and its rivers were very sparsely settled by the English, notwithstanding this accommodation with the Indians, for their treachery was held in lively remembrance, and a well-defended trading-post offered the only security. From George's River to the St. Croix, there was not one white habitation till the first permanent settlement was made by Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, on Penobscot Bay, in 1759. At that time, hardly six hundred of the once dreaded Penobscot Indians remained. Belfast was first settled by Scotch Presbyterians from Londonderry and Antrim, in Ireland, in 1769.

Lieutenant-governor Wentworth.

The counsel of Wentworth, the Lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, through these years of border warfare, was as sagacious as were his measures for defence. The province prized his executive ability, and gladly voted him grants of money. During his administration, New Hampshire first acquired the royal assent to an act establishing a limited local self-government. He favored the popular movement for triennial Assemblies, for fixing the qualification of an elector at real estate worth £50, and of a representative at a freehold estate worth £300, though he was not bound to be a resident in the town which voted for him. The selectmen and the moderator of the town meeting were to decide if a candidate were properly qualified, but their decision was subject to an appeal to the House of Representatives.

Questions of New Hampshire government.

The controversy between Shute and Vaughan, on the question of absentee governors, had widened till it divided the province into two parties: one proposing that New Hampshire should be absorbed by Massachusetts; the other, that it should have a governor and administration of its own. But the province was still poor. Its export trade was chiefly confined to fish and lumber, and though that in lumber was profitable, it was small and precarious, and trammelled ever by royal regulations. An independent administration could not yet be maintained, but the provincial politics tended decidedly in that direction. It was partly from this motive that New Hampshire steadily pushed its claim to townships over which its neighbor had pretensions. A great deal of acrimony attended this controversy over the boundary-line. New Hampshire sent its agents to England, who well knew how to inflame the jealousy which continually existed between the Crown and Massachusetts. Belcher, who succeeded Burnet in 1730, was especially anxious to preserve harmony between his two provinces, each of which was a desperate claimant for territory. It might have



Governor Benning Wentworth.

Territorial claims.

been foreseen that the Privy Council would favor New Hampshire. In 1740, its final decision took from Massachusetts a tract of territory fourteen miles in width and fifty in length, which was more than New Hampshire had ever asked for. The persistent effort of one province to have this decision modified, and of the other to have it maintained, bore such fruits of ill-feeling, and of embarrassment to the Crown, that it yielded to the party which desired a separate administration, at the same time reaffirming the decision of the Council.

Thus New Hampshire at length took the administration of affairs into her own hands, and attained to the dignity of a Governor of her own. Benning Wentworth, a son of the Lieutenant-governor, was the first incumbent of the office, and in his hands it lost none of the importance attached to a thing so long

Governor Benning Wentworth.



Wentworth's House.

and so earnestly desired. The Governor was fond of display. His splendid coach, surrounded by a troop of guards, became a feature of Portsmouth; and in the panelled rooms of his ample house he affected an almost vice-regal state. There were not wanting, however, those who charged corruption upon his administration, and accused him of appointing his own relatives and friends to office, with little regard to their qualifications.[1]

[1] In his domestic service was a pretty girl, the daughter of one Shortredge, whom he desired to marry after the death of his first wife. When her father objected to the match, the Governor had him press-ganged and sent to sea. When Shortredge returned, he told

When Shute retired in disgust from the perplexities and dissensions which had beset his term of office — leaving Boston for England almost in secrecy — the administration of affairs devolved upon William Dummer, the Lieutenant-governor. Of a more conciliatory temper than some of his predecessors, he had less trouble with the General Court, and the more leisure, therefore, to devote to that Indian warfare upon the Eastern border, the main incidents of which we have just related. Burnet, who relieved him in 1728, was less fortunate. If he indulged in illusions fed by his flattering reception, they were dissipated when he came into collision with the House upon the old variance respecting a permanent salary. The House steadily adhered to its policy of voting an annual grant, of a sum strictly calculated upon the Governor's popularity. Burnet refused to accept the first grant which was voted by the House; whereupon that body expressed its regrets and quietly dispersed at the end of the session. Then a formidable meeting of the citizens took place, and Boston approved the act of the Assembly. This so nettled Burnet, that when the next House assembled, whose members manifested an increased aversion to fixed salaries, he did not dissolve it, but resorted to a measure which he thought would bring it less dangerously to terms; he adjourned it to Salem, and then refused to sign a warrant for the payment of its expenses there. This did not improve its temper. The expenses were paid by private subscriptions, and Burnet wrote to England he could do nothing with the representatives. They retorted that Burnet's measures were arbitrary and unconstitutional, and that he was eager to extort money. He was, indeed, deeply in debt when he first left England, and was always scheming how to repair his broken fortunes. When the next House assembled, he recurred to his last unfortunate expedient and adjourned it to Cambridge.

Lieutenant-governor Dummer.

Governor Burnet. His controversy with the General Court.

But the disposition of the General Court was not affected by this change of place. The House at length sent two agents to explain its attitude to the King. Frederick Wilkes, a merchant, and Jonathan Belcher, hardware merchant and member of the Council, were selected. But when the House voted a grant to defray the expenses of its agents in London, the Council refused to concur, so that resort was had again to a private subscription. When the agents arrived in London they found, of course, that the Board of Trade supported the Gov-

the odious story of his disappearance, and it was remembered against Wentworth in the dawning of the Revolution. The girl persisted in saying No for the three years of her father's absence, having left the Governor's service. Finally she married him. Mr. Longfellow's charming poem celebrates the circumstances of the wedding. Shortredge was captain of the first company raised at Portsmouth for the Continental army. — Hayes's *MS. Traditions.*

ernor's measures, particularly in that matter of the salary. The House was not discouraged, but stood out obstinately for the policy of annual grants. So this opposition to the Governor went on till he died, September 7, 1729.

Dummer became again the acting Governor till the appointment of Jonathan Belcher, who was a Boston man and personally popular. He arrived in August, 1730, with the old instructions to insist upon the salary, which he did most faithfully. The House, with equal pertinacity, proposed its annual grant. Belcher refused to accept it, and dissolved the House. The next one which assembled proved so refractory that Belcher resorted to bribing the more accessible members, and succeeded by various influences in getting a measure of compromise introduced, to the effect that a bill for an annual grant of £1,000 sterling, or some fixed sum, should pass, with the understanding that it should continue annually, provided that no future House should be bound to the bill as a precedent. The friends of the Governor were not powerful enough to secure the passage of this bill. The King had instructed Belcher to leave the province and return to London in case of the failure of the House to vote the required salary; but he preferred to remain and exercise what influence he could command, till he succumbed at the failure of his last measure, when he addressed the King with a frank statement of the difficulties of his situation, explained the temper of the people, and said the resolution of its representatives would never, in his opinion, be overcome. He asked for a modification of his instructions. The House backed his solicitation with an address, drawn up at his own request, praying the King to permit the Governor to accept such grants of money as might be voted. This the Court prudently yielded. It was an important victory for Massachusetts, involving graver interests than that of payment of money, because it threw the administration of the royal governors more directly upon the appreciation or dislike of the people, and secured a measure of deference. On the other hand, it confirmed a spirit of liberty; distance and the difficulties of intercourse alone postponed the epoch of the Revolution.

Governor Belcher.

Settlement of the salary question.

The conciliating action of Governor Belcher in the contest upon the salary procured for him a considerable degree of popularity, until he began to oppose the financial scheming which broke out in 1739. He had received strict instructions to permit no further issue of bills of credit for any term beyond 1741, which was the limit in time for those already in circulation. The Land Bank, which was started in 1739, was a scheme of speculators to evade this prohibition of the Crown. The Governor's hostility to their proj-

Financial schemes in Massachusetts.

ect threw many of them into the arms of his old enemies, who were secretly plotting for his removal. Conscious of the general excellence of his administration, which he had conducted without one sordid motive, and in a spirit of as much impartiality as any man at the time could exercise between an obstinate Crown and an unconciliating province, he took no measures of defence, but relied upon his record. Certain intrigues among the dissenters in England who had been led to believe in his hostility to Congregationalism, in connection with other grievances, procured his recall in 1741. He went to England, and completely reinstated his character, but it was too late to receive the thorough vindication of a return to his government, for another person had been appointed, the Court not being willing to face his provincial unpopularity. But he was made Governor of New Jersey in 1747, where his administration was prosperous.

Belcher recalled Governor Shirley.

He was succeeded in Massachusetts by William Shirley, an English lawyer who had lived eight years in Boston. One of his earliest measures, which at least showed a prudent and adaptive policy, was to neglect the royal instructions forbidding any issue of fresh bills of credit after 1741. This he was constrained to do by the evident reluctance of the General Court to tax the province in order to take up the old bills of credit. Perhaps he was flattered by the action of that body in voting that his annual grant should never fall below a thousand pounds sterling. He was the first of the royal governors who established a fair understanding between himself and the province, helped in this by a spirit of moderation and a just estimate of the old difficulties which might recur.



Governor Shirley.

George Whitefield in New England.

The great religious awakening which began in 1740 with the labors of George Whitefield in New England, continued into Shirley's administration. The most brilliant events of the reign of George II., whether of war or of peace, yield in importance, some wise men think, to that religious revolution in England, begun by the preaching of

the Wesleys and of Whitefield.[1] But except that the preaching of Whitefield laid the foundations of a sectarian Church, to become, in the course of a century, the largest in the United States, this revival was less remarkable and of less moment in this country than in England. It was not compelled to encounter that frank skepticism which, Priestley says, was so prevalent in France that every philosophical person he was introduced to in Paris was an unbeliever in Christianity, or even an atheist, some of whom told him that he "was the only person they had ever met with of whose understanding they had any opinion, who professed to believe in Christianity." This want of religious faith prevailed hardly less in England, at that period, but it was the result of indifferentism rather than of philosophy. John Wesley and his followers appealed to men dissatisfied with negations, weary with the coldness of unbelief, eager to welcome any reaction, even one which would dispel doubt by mere force of bold and fervid assertion. They preached also to hearts numb and almost desperate and dead with suffering, arousing a sense of a divine love and care, and holding out a promise of compensation for the utter wretchedness of this life. But in America there was little absolute infidelity, and there was not then, any more than now, that brutish lower order so wretched from poverty, so degraded by the want of any social consideration, so cut off from all opportunity of intellectual culture, as to be hardly responsible for its ignorance of moral law, and its insensibility to any obligation of religion. In New England Whitefield had only to breathe upon the slumbering fires of Puritanism to fan them into a flame; and in the middle colonies, and, to a certain degree, farther south, he was sure of ready and sympathizing listeners among those whose religious life was a protest against the formalism, the worldliness, and the want of spiritual emotion in the Established Church. Successful as that remarkable religious movement was in England, it was accomplished through enormous exertion, much tribulation, and many perils, which it was not compelled to encounter in America. No wonder that Whitefield loved to return again and again to that comparatively peaceful field of evangelical labor, as he did more than a dozen times, where at length his brief and eventful life ended.

A religious revolution.

There had been, nevertheless, a great falling off in New England from the rigid religious discipline of the earlier times, which punished in this world, as well as threatened punishment in the next, for any departure, mental or material, from an established rule of faith and conduct. Generations had come and gone since the ministers of the

[1] See the admirable chapter on "The Religious Revival" in the second volume of Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*. Also Gledstone's *Life and Travels of George Whitefield*.

churches had ceased to be the chief power in the State, and since only church-members in good standing were thought worthy of political enfranchisement. Diverse sects had crept in with every wave of emigration, and had established the right to freedom of opinion. Of later years many new comers from England had brought with them the laxity of thought and observance upon religious subjects which were there so general. Godliness had been displaced by indifference, or at least by a worldliness which was more concerned with present prosperity than so to live and believe as to prepare for and deserve a life of eternal happiness in the world to come. This unregenerate condition was observed and lamented as almost hopeless. When, "on the night after the Lord's day, October 29th, 1727," says Trumbull, "the Almighty arose, and so terribly shook the earth through this great continent," though many men sought the ministers and the meeting-house, it was more "from fear than conviction, or through change of heart." Six and seven years later, when an epidemic, called the throat distemper, prevailed throughout the colonies, — though most severely in New England, — even the frightful ravages of that disease, carrying off, sometimes, whole families of children in a few days, produced, it was remarked, no religious change in the people.[1] Professors continued lukewarm, young people were so "loose and vicious" as to seek amusement in social intercourse on Sunday evenings and the evenings of lecture-days; the Thursday lectures were thinly attended; there was great want of strictness in the keeping of the Sabbath, neighbors greeting each other and indulging in conversation upon worldly matters in the intermissions of divine service; many of the clergy were known to be content with inculcating from the pulpit the duty of leading pure and virtuous and unselfish lives, while they neglected to enforce the inherent depravity of all born of women, and salvation by the grace of God.[2] The good time had passed away when all things were subordinated to religious belief; when life hereafter was surely eternal damnation, and life here was hardly worth having, and hardly permitted, to him convicted of heterodox notions upon sanctification, justification, and a covenant of works.

Irreligion in New England.

It was believed that the Lord had permitted the sowing of such seed

[1] The throat-distemper, as it was called, prevailed as an alarming epidemic in many places, at intervals of about thirty years, throughout the last century. The modern diphtheria is unquestionably the same disease, as the characteristics, course, severity, and age most liable to attack, are precisely the same in both. So far as the few bills of mortality of those periods show, the disease is quite as fatal now as it was then. Medical science, however, has discovered that it is the result of bad drainage, and not a special evidence of divine wrath. (See Belknap's *History of New Hampshire.*)

[2] Edwards's *Narrative*, and Prince's *Christian History*, as cited in Trumbull's *History of Connecticut.*

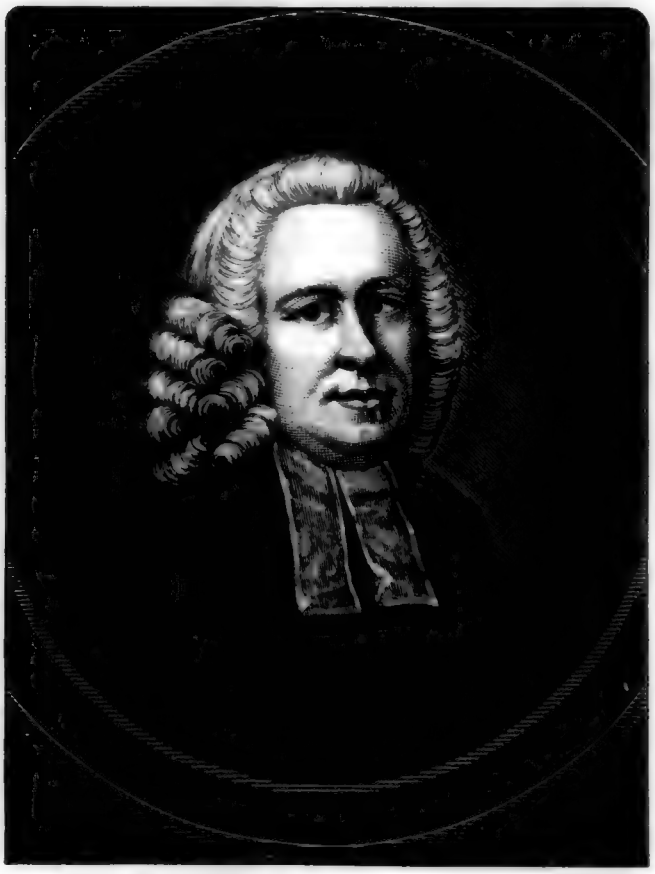
that there should be a harvest of revivifying grace. For such a harvest the laborers were ready. For the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Northampton in Massachusetts had been, under the ministry of the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, a central point of occasional revivalism. Moved by the influence of that example, the flame of religious excitement broke out at times in various places in New England, like signal-fires, to warn the church of its lukewarmness, and to arouse its zeal. Not long before the death of Mr. Stoddard, his grandson, Jonathan Edwards, became his colleague. The mantle of the older prophet fell upon the younger and stronger shoulders, and in 1733, and the two following years, a revival, more remarkable than any that had preceded it, came — in the language of that time — as in "a rain of righteousness," and as "the dews of heaven" upon Northampton and the neighboring towns. A "Narrative of Surprising Conversions," written by Mr. Edwards, and published both in Boston and London, was widely read, arousing everywhere a deep religious fervor, and preparing the way for a fresh revival in 1740. Even sober Rhode Island did not escape the universal excitement. As, for example, it is related that in Westerly, where "there was not one praying family," where they treated "even with scorn and ridicule" the doctrines of the total depravity of the human heart, of regeneration, and of justification by faith, there was soon gathered a church of thirty or forty members. So in other places the tranquillity of all alike, whether devout or indifferent, was broken up, sometimes to good purpose, sometimes to not so good. The churches were stirred as they had never been before, and have never been since; new ones were gathered; old ones were increased, and the pious rejoiced that though New England was the centre of this movement, its influence extended even to the remotest southern colonies.

Religious revivals.

But this rejoicing had its limit. There were some who indeed from the beginning had questioned the healthfulness of this emotional outbreak; had doubted whether, in the long run, the cause of religion did not receive more harm than good from sudden conversions brought about by sympathetic and uncontrollable excitement rather than by calm appeals to reason and conscience. These, however, were a small minority, and they were silenced, if they were not convinced, by being denounced as enemies of the true faith, and as Arminians, — a term then so obnoxious as to be almost a sentence of banishment from the society of pious people. But events justified the judgment of these doubters in some degree, even with many of the most zealous of the revivalists. The movement at length got beyond the control of the more rational of the clergy in many places, and its progress was marked with extravagances and excesses, over which

Reaction follows.

the judicious grieved and the scoffers triumphed. Not only were the phenomena of uncontrollable emotion, of bodily contortions, of epileptic prostrations, of hysteric weeping and wailing, common in this as in all epidemics of religious revivalism; but there came divisions in the churches. Lay preachers, men and women, took the work of grace out of the hands of ordained ministers. Fanaticism and extravagance sometimes crept out of the pews, and up the pulpit stairs, and clergymen led their parishioners into the devious ways of the "New Lights." To the churches of Connecticut, where the movement spread the widest, and struck its roots the deepest, it was a time of peculiar trouble. Ecclesiastical trials divided ministers and peoples, and social relations were disturbed past all patience and forbearance. It came at length to be questioned more and more by many good people whether this work was the work of God or of the devil.



George Whitefield

The influences which had such consequences were already at work when Whitefield arrived, in the autumn of 1740, at Boston. There were at that time, in the town, nine Congregational churches, three Episcopal, one Baptist, one French, and one Scotch Presbyterian. The stated lectures were thinly attended, and the ministers generally complained of the lukewarmness of their congregations. Whitefield, whose fame as a preacher had preceded him, was warmly welcomed. His power of oratory has probably never been surpassed in the world; not so much for what he said, as for the way in which he said it. He had strong emotional force, and marked dramatic ability, which some training as a strolling actor in early life had, no doubt, helped to perfect. Over his voice, which was rich and musical, he had perfect command; his gestures were frequent, but always graceful, and every

Whitefield's preaching.

motion of the head, every sway of the body, was a gesture. His imagination, probably, was rather redundant than rich, for his imagery seems commonplace, and his thoughts do not appear to have been either profound or original. His mastery was a mastery over words and the way of using them. Garrick used to say that he could plunge an audience into tears by merely varying his pronunciation of Mesopotamia. Chesterfield, decorous, self-possessed, cynical, skeptical, — as he heard Whitefield describe a sinner as an old man, blind, trembling, staggering upon the brink of a precipice, over which in a moment he would be dashed into pieces, — was so lifted out of himself and out of reality, that he sprang forward with the cry, "Good God! he is gone!" When he preached on Boston Common, it was to audiences of fifteen to twenty thousand people. Franklin was once cool enough, as he listened to him in Philadelphia, to walk backward till he was out of the reach of distinct hearing, and then, by calculation of distances and the number of persons who could stand in the given area, he came to the conclusion that that rich and powerful voice could be made to penetrate through the open air to thirty thousand persons. Nor was the philosopher himself proof against its persuasive tones. His judgment did not approve of that Orphan House in Georgia which was so dear to Whitefield, and he went to a meeting where its claims were to be urged upon the audience, determined to give nothing. His pocket was full of money — copper, silver, and gold. His determination soon yielded so far as to gain his own consent to give the copper; then, as the preacher went on, he was willing that the silver should follow the copper; before the sermon was over, copper, silver, and gold were all emptied into the contribution-box. But Franklin thought it was a mistake to publish Whitefield's sermons. They were nothing if not heard.

Wherever Whitefield preached, he aroused the deepest feeling. As he went through New England, he did not hesitate to proclaim that many of the ministers were unconverted men, and ought to be deserted; yet they flocked to hear him nevertheless, and he found no such admiration from clergymen in any part of the country as in Boston. But at the annual convention of the clergy of Massachusetts in 1743, the tide turned, and a "Testimony against the Disorders in the Land" was framed and printed. The revivalists rallied at a meeting of their own in Cambridge, and issued a counter-testimony, which declared that the converts were "epistles of Jesus Christ, written not with ink, but by the Spirit." In 1744, Harvard College appeared with a testimony against the errors of Whitefield, signed by every member of the Faculty. When, in 1745, the ministers who still supported the revival called another meeting, only twenty-eight were

present. The result of so decided a reaction in the public mind was to strengthen the uncalvinistic tendencies, against which the clergy hoped to make Whitefield their instrument.

War between France and England.

The Peace of Utrecht, which had been continually disturbed in the colonies by French Canadian intrigue, was definitely broken by a declaration of war in the spring of 1744, resulting from the hostile continental politics of France and England. The news of this reached Duquesnel, the Governor of Cape Breton, before it was known in the colonies, and he took advantage of it to strike an unexpected blow. The French viewed with jealousy the settlement of fishermen on the island of Canso, whose small garrison might be captured by a surprise, and perhaps the fishing interest of the English in those waters might be broken up by attacks on other places. The undertaking was intrusted to Duvivier, who was sent from the fortress of Louisburg with nine hundred men. He was successful at Canso, captured all the inhabitants, and sent them to Louisburg, but he failed at Placentia; and at Annapolis, after a desperate fight, he was forced to retreat, for Shirley had reënforced the garrison just in time. Although the French were not yet in condition to follow up the first attacks, their privateers took many prizes, especially of fishing vessels, all of which were brought into Louisburg, and the fishing business was completely paralyzed.

These operations of the French roused the indignation and alarm of New England, and a corresponding zeal for war animated the inhabitants. Governor Shirley was found to be adequate to the emergency. First taking vigorous measures to protect the frontier, he sought to organize and direct the earnest popular conviction that Louisburg, a formidable neighbor and perpetual threat to the interests of New England, must be captured. From fishermen who had been released, and from other sources, he drew sufficient information about the fortress to perfect a plan for taking it; but as the success of it depended upon secrecy, he desired the House then in session, January, 1745, to receive a private message from him, under an oath not to divulge it. Fully confiding in Shirley's patriotism, the House consented.

Shirley's proposal.

The plan was of such magnitude, involving so many difficulties and such expense, that the members at first brought little but amazement to its discussion. It was considered to be an undertaking beyond the means at their command, even if all the provinces should unite. The information which Shirley communicated, regarding its feasibility, did not seem to the House so conclusive as it did to the ardent Governor. It was discussed for a few days, then referred to a committee, who reported adversely, and the report was accepted. One of the mem-

bers who favored the enterprise was a bold deacon who made it a subject of family prayers. His startled and curious listeners gave him no peace till he explained the design for which he invoked the divine blessing, — waiving his oath as a legislator to his peace as a family man. The Governor's purpose was soon made known to everybody, and received the popular approbation. Petitions, signed by prominent merchants and ship-owners, were sent in to the House from various places. The public opinion thus bearing on the members, they became more evenly divided, and a resolution in favor of the enterprise passed by the casting vote of Speaker Hutchinson.

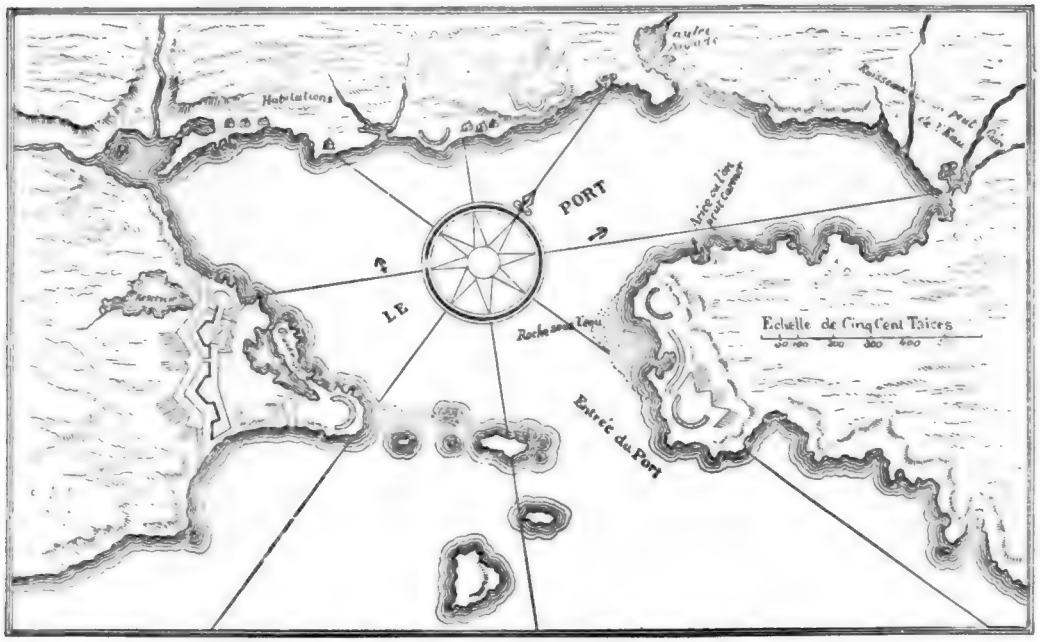
The expedition against Louisburg decided on.

In some respects, the time was favorable. Duquesnel, an officer of great ability, had died, and his successor was old and a man of mediocrity. The officer who captured Canso had returned to Europe to solicit help for the garrison in troops and supplies. It had been reported to Shirley that the men were ill-fed and in no temper to make a protracted defence. The winter was unusually mild; the harvest had been abundant, and provisions were plenty; the unemployed fishermen were eager to enlist. In the autumn, a French ship, that was hastily fitting out to relieve the starving and discontented garrison, was broken in launching. Shirley also counted upon the coöperation of the English fleet in the West Indies. He had petitioned the ministry, without broaching to them his scheme, to send Commodore Warren to Boston to protect the fisheries and the general interests of England. He had, in the mean time, solicited the Commodore for aid, who declined for want of orders; but the day after this refusal, instructions from the ministry to repair to Boston reached him. On his way a vessel gave him the news that the provincial ships had sailed for Canso, whither he shaped his course, and arrived just in time.

The defences of Louisburg.

But Louisburg, under every temporary disadvantage, was a formidable place, and was styled the Gibraltar and the Dunkirk of America. A much stronger power than a dependent colony might well hesitate to attack it. Shirley's secret, though well kept from France, was scented by the Indians, who communicated it to the French in Canada, where it was received with ridicule and general incredulity, so confident were the people that the fortress was impregnable. The place had been twenty-five years in building, and had cost France thirty millions of livres. In 1713 a walled town was begun at the southeastern extremity of Cape Breton, two miles and a half in circumference, with a stone rampart over thirty feet high behind a ditch that was eighty feet wide wherever the place was liable to an attack. The entrance of the harbor was defended by a battery of thirty twenty-eight-pounders upon a small

island. Just opposite, on the harbor's inner edge, was a formidable battery of twenty-eight forty-two-pounders, and two eighteen-pounders. The entrance to the town was over a drawbridge which a circular battery of thirteen twenty-four-pounders commanded. The batteries and six bastions could mount one hundred and forty-eight cannon: sixty-five of this number were mounted, and sixteen mortars. The town was laid out in squares, and contained valuable magazines of naval stores. Many of the houses were substantially built of stone. This was the rugged nut that Shirley meant to crack.



Defences at Louisburg, from a contemporary French Plan.

He addressed circulars to every American province, asking for its aid. Every one out of New England shrunk from the formidable enterprise. But New England possessed fourteen armed vessels mounting two hundred and four guns, and nearly a hundred sail of transports. The quota of troops was 3,200 for Massachusetts, including 150 New Hampshire men; 300 for Rhode Island; 350 for New Hampshire, and 500 for Connecticut. The New Hampshire regiment, under Colonel Samuel Moore, sailed in transports belonging to that province, directly for the rendezvous at Canso. They were under convoy of an armed sloop carrying thirty men, commanded by Captain John Fernald, and this vessel afterward did good service as a cruiser. The Rhode Island troops did not reach Boston till after the fleet had sailed, but they arrived in Louisburg in July, just in time to relieve those who by that time had captured the place.

The New England forces.

Colonel William Pepperell, a merchant of Kittery, New Hampshire, was appointed to command the expedition, but he naturally hesitated.

He sought counsel of Whitefield, who was then lodging at his house, and who told him that the scheme did not look promising; if it should not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain would reproach him, and if it should succeed, he would become an object of envious hostility. He must therefore undertake it with a motive so pure and strong as to deserve success. When Pepperell yielded to the solicitations of Shirley's messengers, Whitefield gave him as a motto for his flag, NIL DESPERANDUM, CHRISTO DUCE. The great revivalist was urged to countenance the enterprise, that his followers might be encouraged to enlist; accordingly a great enthusiasm arose among them at this dedication of a standard, and the expedition put on something of the aspect of a crusade. One clergyman armed himself with a hatchet wherewith to smite the Romish images. Old Parson Moody, the famous preacher of York, — whom Pepperell made chaplain, — when there was a call made in that place for volunteers, stepped to the drum-head and put down his name. None held back after that example. From Berwick and Kittery the male inhabitants, almost to a man, followed Pepperell. Besides his services he gave to the expedition £5,000.[1] His second in command of the expedition was Roger Wolcott, the Lieutenant-governor of Connecticut.



Sir William Pepperell.

It is remarkable that the French should not have suspected the purpose of all these preparations. But every province refrained from sending vessels in the direction of Louisburg. Not a copy of Shirley's order to the captains of train-bands was allowed to be taken. In eight weeks four thousand three hundred men were enlisted, and all

[1] Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire was ambitious and did not relish Governor Shirley's preference of Pepperell for the command of the troops destined for Louisburg. After Pepperell had accepted, Shirley sought the coöperation of Wentworth by writing to him a politic letter to the effect that it would have been a great satisfaction to all, and a great advantage to the expedition, had not the gubernatorial gout prevented him from taking the command. Whereupon Wentworth denied the gout and offered his services. Shirley was then compelled to acknowledge that he had given the command to Pepperell.

the preparations were complete, New York loaning a few cannon, and New Jersey and Pennsylvania contributing some provisions and clothing.

The rendezvous at Canso.

The fleet collected at Nantasket Roads; a day of fasting and prayer was ordered through the province, and one evening each week for special prayer. Then the Massachusetts vessels sailed, March 24, for Canso. The New Hampshire troops were already there; those from Connecticut arrived about April 10. The ice around the shores detained the fleet till April 29, when it weighed anchor for Cabarus Bay at Cape Breton. Not a French vessel of observation was encountered; the appearance of a numerous fleet, the following morning, was actually the first advertisement of Pepperell's destination which reached the garrison. This element of surprise was very effective. A feint of landing at one place favored the putting ashore of a detachment at another, where a tardy attack was easily repulsed. The French retreated within their lines; half the troops were landed, and the rest upon the two following days. Some large warehouses filled with inflammable stores and spirits were set on fire, the smoke of which as it drifted inland so alarmed the French that they spiked the guns of the powerful battery at the bottom of the harbor, threw the powder into a well, and retreated in boats to the town.

The next morning Colonel Vaughan, a soldier of admirable conduct, reconnoitering with thirteen men, discovered that the battery was deserted, took possession, and sent to Pepperell for reënforcements and a flag. Meantime a soldier went up the flagstaff with a red coat in his teeth, and nailed up the symbol of possession. The French soon attacked Vaughan with a hundred men under cover of a fire from the city, but his thirteen held out till reënforcements arrived, and the French gave up the attempt. Ample war material was found in the battery; the guns were unspiked and did good service against the town during the siege.

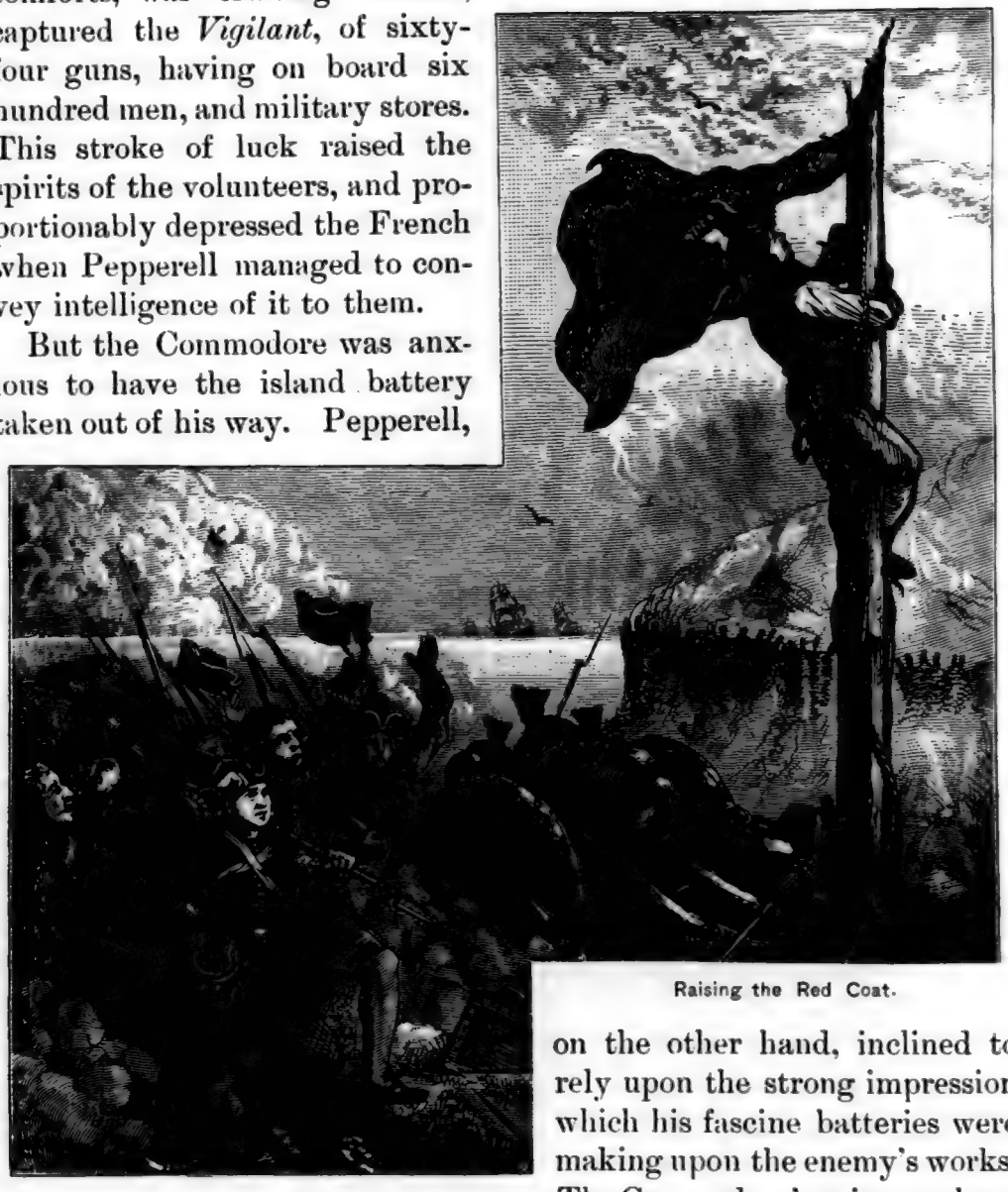
The siege.

By May 5, Pepperell had thrown up three batteries by night, the third being only seven hundred yards from the city.[1] The labor of bringing up guns and munitions was great; everything had to be dragged by hand through morasses, consuming fourteen days. A fourth fascine battery was thrown up within two hun-

[1] It is worth noting that the man to whom Pepperell entrusted the planning of his batteries was the Colonel Gridley who marked out the lines of the redoubt on Bunker Hill in which Warren fell. Many of the bravest officers of the Revolution served under Pepperell at Louisburg, where New England men began to have a salutary contempt for their enemies' lines. "When Gage was erecting breastworks across Boston Neck, the provincial troops sneeringly remarked that his mud walls were nothing compared with the stone walls of old Louisburg." — Parsons's *Life of Pepperell.*

dred and fifty yards of the drawbridge. It was evident that to capture the island battery the fleet must come into the harbor. This dangerous movement was not popular among the volunteers; and so much dissatisfaction reigned that a council of war thought best to postpone it. On May 20, Commodore Warren, who, under great discomforts, was cruising outside, captured the *Vigilant*, of sixty-four guns, having on board six hundred men, and military stores. This stroke of luck raised the spirits of the volunteers, and proportionably depressed the French when Pepperell managed to convey intelligence of it to them.

But the Commodore was anxious to have the island battery taken out of his way. Pepperell,



Raising the Red Coat.

on the other hand, inclined to rely upon the strong impression which his fascine batteries were making upon the enemy's works. The Commodore's prisoners happened to let out the fact that a number of war vessels were nearly due; his crews were falling sick, and no fresh provisions could be procured. So Pepperell consented to a night attack, which was made by four hundred men with scaling-ladders; but the boats were observed and fired upon, the muskets of the men were wetted in landing, and the attack was repulsed with the loss of sixty killed, and one

hundred and twelve, with the wounded, taken prisoners. Amid considerable depression the regular business of the siege was resumed, under volleys of cheering from the French which were more galling than their fire.

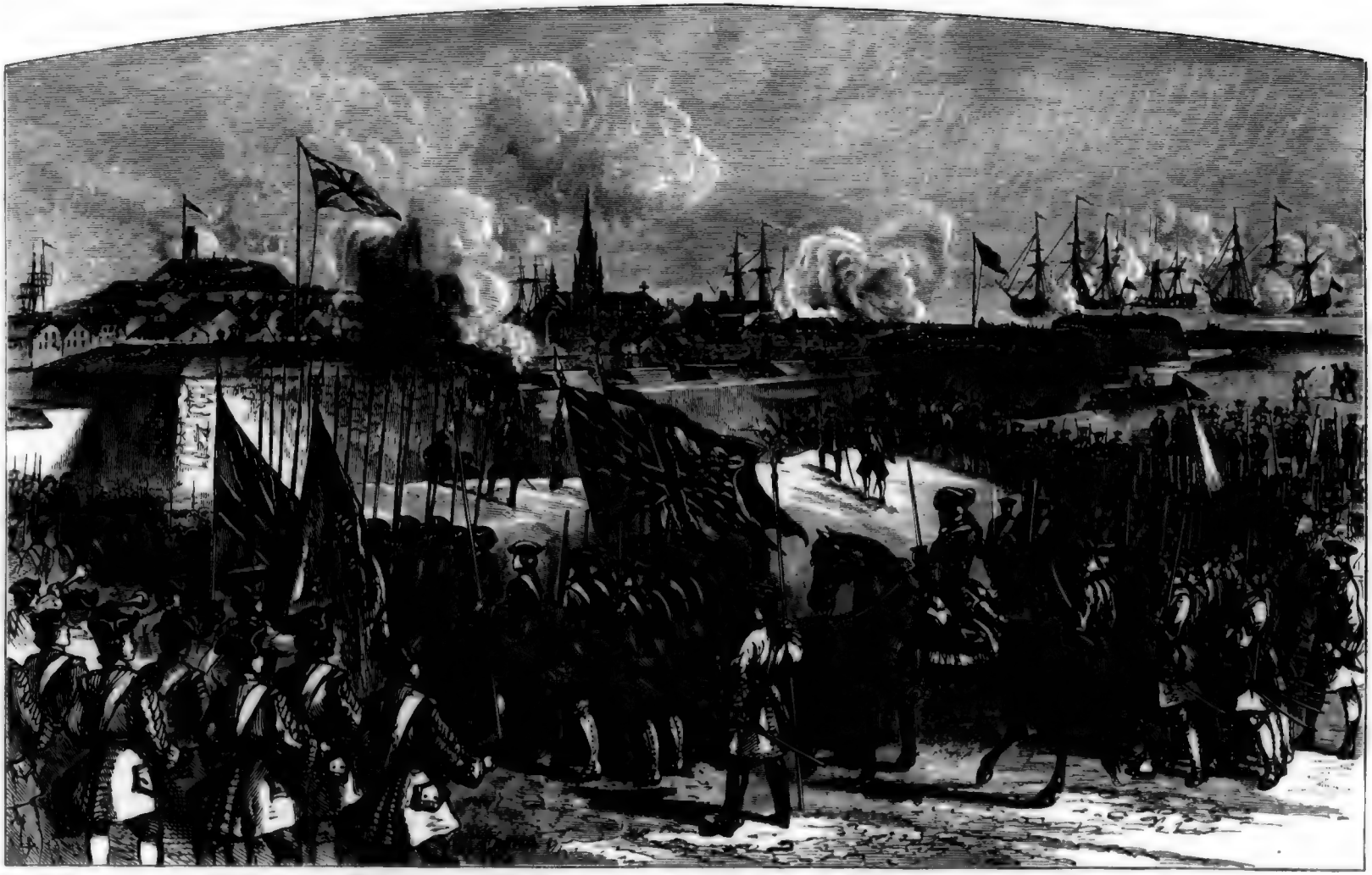
Pepperell maintained a constant communication with Governor Shirley, from which we learn that he was frequently short of ammunition, and there were not trained gunners enough to man his batteries. He borrowed powder of the Commodore, hoping to turn against the enemy several French cannon, found under water; but these, for want of balls corresponding to their calibre, were useless. His largest mortar and one or two cannon burst. He could do little, for want of ammunition. By the first week in June fifteen hundred men were on the sick list, and a call for reënforcements followed that for powder.

Meantime, while French war ships were expected, the garrison kept vigorously pounding away at the works of the besieging forces. The fog also settled down upon the batteries and disturbed the effective use of their guns and communication with the fleet outside.

Yet even in June the French in Quebec were utterly incredulous as to any expedition against Louisburg; so uncertain was the water intercourse of those days, and so watchful were the English cruisers. But the Commodore's fleet, though strengthened by the arrival of several ships, could not venture past the island battery to make with the land forces a joint attack upon the town. During the siege the provincials were shelterless, and many died of fever, while the French were snugly ensconced beneath their roofs. The French, however, who were trained soldiers and began by underrating this little army of tradesmen, fishermen, backwoodsmen, and mechanics, had omitted from their reckoning one element of the temper of a New Englander, —that when he is the worst baffled he is the most obstinate and dangerous. So Pepperell grimly held on to all his positions, and threw up another battery, which got the range of the dreaded island battery and seriously annoyed it. He had also succeeded in silencing all the guns except three in the drawbridge battery, and that was nearly a heap of ruins.

Under these circumstances a combined attack seemed to the Commodore more practicable. Every arrangement to that effect had been made, his fleet was drawn up in line, eleven ships of forty guns each; the land forces were in position to attack, and Pepperell and the Commodore, and no doubt Parson Moody also, were stirring them up with appeals to their courage and sense of duty. It was the fifteenth of June, 1745. Governor Duchambou rapidly surveyed his prospects. No French vessel could enter the harbor; his

The surrender.



THE SURRENDER OF LOUISBURG.

island battery was dominated; several breaches had been made in his bastions; his soldiers, worn out by the incessant strain by night and day for seven weeks, could only feebly stand to their guns. Pepperell's forces outnumbered by five times his own.

In the afternoon he concluded to ask for terms of capitulation. During a suspension of hostilities the island battery was delivered up to the Commodore, and his fleet entered the harbor. Honorable terms were offered and accepted by the Governor, and although the articles of capitulation were not signed till the 19th, Pepperell disregarded the formality, as if to anticipate a memorable date. On the seventeenth of June he entered the fortress at the head of his volunteers. Shirley's nut was cracked, and the troops who did it were astonished to discover the strength of the shell. Shirley soon arrived, and received the keys from Pepperell. Six hundred and fifty regular troops, thirteen hundred militia-men, six hundred sailors, and two thousand inhabitants were sent to France. Cannon, stores, provisions, and property to an enormous amount were taken, for which the English paid by the death of only 130 men. The French lost 300. All the bells in the provinces rang their joy-peals when the event was known; all England broke into illuminations and bonfires; and Europe, not excepting France, was astonished. General Pepperell became the first American baronet; he and Shirley were commissioned as Colonels in the British army; Warren was promoted to be an Admiral. Still further honors awaited Pepperell; within the next three years the city of London presented him a silver table and a service of plate, and the King made him, at Pitt's suggestion, a Lieutenant-general.[1]

Surprise in Europe.

While Louisburg was garrisoned for a year by New England troops, the other provinces, which had declined to share in the expedition, manifested a noble spirit of gratitude and admiration towards those who had taken the place, and sent abundant store of necessaries to the troops. The news of its fall was carried to France by Duvivier, who was on his way in July, with a squadron of seven ships, for the recovery of Nova Scotia. When in mid-ocean he learned from a captured vessel — on board which was ex-Lieutenant-governor Clarke of New York — that Louisburg was in the hands of the English. He

[1] After the surrender, Mr. Moody preached a sermon in a Jesuit chapel. At a dinner given by Pepperell, Moody was the senior chaplain, and therefore entitled to say grace. The officers dreaded to annoy the guests with one of his long-winded addresses, but no one dared to counsel the rather irritable parson. He seemed on this occasion to be anxious for his dinner, and the grace was simply, "O Lord, we have so many things to thank thee for, that time will be infinitely too short to do it; we must therefore leave it for the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ our Lord. Amen."

returned to bear the evil tidings to France, abandoning his design against Nova Scotia, which now seemed hopeless.

Vigorous measures of the French.

France was aroused to fresh and more extensive preparations to recover all it had lost, and to add to its dominion in America. It contemplated the possibility even of conquering the whole country from Maine to Georgia, and the utmost alarm spread through the colonial seaports as rumors reached them, from time to time, of the designs of the French. The next summer a fleet of eleven ships of the line, with thirty smaller vessels of from ten to thirty guns each, and transports carrying over 3,000 troops, sailed from Rochelle. To these were to be added four ships from the West Indies; and an army of nearly two thousand Canadians and Indians was already in arms to join the land force on its arrival.

Their failure.

The colonists trusted to the fleet at Louisburg and to reënforcements from England — which did not come — to meet the French on the coast. On land, preparations were made, under the energetic leadership of Shirley, to counteract the French invasion by a fresh attempt upon Canada, and troops were collected from the several provinces to that end. But the naval expedition of the French was from the beginning attended with disaster. The ships were separated at sea by storm; some were disabled and abandoned, or returned to France. The Admiral, the Duke d'Anville, soon after his arrival in the bay of Chebucto, in Nova Scotia, suddenly died. The Vice-Admiral, D'Estournelle, worn with anxiety at the non-arrival of many of the fleet, and by a fatal sickness which broke out among the men, himself fell ill of fever, and in a fit of delirium ran his sword through his body. Jonquiere, the Governor of Canada, who had joined the expedition, succeeded to the command, and set sail for an attack upon Annapolis, though half the men were already dead. But a storm overtook and dispersed his fleet; the enterprise was abandoned, and the ships made their way back to France.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. — Cape Breton restored to France.

More than a year had passed, and with the signs of approaching peace, there was relaxation of effort on both sides. The one brilliant result of the war in America was the capture of Louisburg; but it was after all a barren victory to the provinces, save that it taught them a well-remembered lesson, — that the rough colonial life was no bad school for the training of soldiers who would be a match for the best of regular troops. No share of the prize money of £600,000 from captured French ships, which the expedition threw into the hands of the English fleet, fell to the army on shore. Notwithstanding Pepperell's just claim, Warren and his sailors took the whole of it. When peace was made between England and France, in April, 1748, Cape Breton was restored

to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The people of New England had expended costly lives and much treasure in the capture of Louisburg, and they saw with disgust this cession, for which no equivalent was received that benefited either England or the colonies. Pepperell had hoped that Cape Breton and its dependencies would be annexed to the Crown, and converted into an American colony.

When the New England regiments which garrisoned Louisburg were disbanded in consequence of this peace, Sir William was obliged to send money to the troops for the payment of debts and to transport them to their homes. He forwarded 1,420 silver dollars, and silver was so scarce that he could only procure it by paying from fifty to fifty-two shillings in currency for each dollar. But the Provinces, who saw the dearly bought Cape Breton taken from them, could now demand more earnestly, and with the more reason, the reimbursement of their expenses. In the summer of 1749, Parliament voted the sum of £183,649 sterling to liquidate this demand. In consequence of the urgent representations of prominent merchants who were opposed to the existing paper currency and desired to retire it, that sum was transmitted in metal. Six hundred and fifty-three thousand ounces of silver and ten tons of copper were landed at Long Wharf, in Boston, — more coin than was ever seen there before. It was divided between the four New England Colonies. Massachusetts received the greatest share, and that of New Hampshire amounted only to $16,000. Before this arrival the paper currency of Massachusetts stood at the rate of eight to one in silver; it was now redeemed at one fifth less than the current value. The colony had learned from hard experience that a promise to pay was not paying; that the increment of promises was only an increment of debt. It profited by that lesson, and now proposed to make real money, not a fluctuating paper substitute for money, the measure of values. To this end it prohibited the circulation, within its own jurisdiction, of the paper currency of neighboring provinces, while it redeemed its own. The wholesome result of this wise policy was the sound financial condition and consequent prosperity of Massachusetts till in the struggle for independence she again resorted to a paper currency and accepted bankruptcy as a part of the price to be paid for civil liberty.

New England finances after the war.

The colonies were compelled, at this period, almost to exhaust their resources and energies to defend themselves and to secure to England her American possessions. They were left, for the most part, to fight their own battles, to work out their own safety, with little or no aid from the parent government. American affairs were, not altogether without reason, of secondary importance

Relations of England and the colonies.

to England. Deeply involved in a war in which all Europe was engaged, and harassed by the machinations of the Pretender, Charles Edward, — whose claim to the throne was a perpetual menace to the peace of the kingdom, till his disastrous campaign in Scotland, in 1745, — the difficulties and the dangers of the distant colonies were of comparatively small moment. The sense of neglect and the feeling of resentment — though often from opposite causes — were not new moods in the colonial temper; but they were strengthened quite as much by indifference to the welfare and safety of the colonies as they had ever been by any seeming or real attack upon them. With this discontent, however nurtured, grew the spirit of independence, ready to show itself on any provocation.

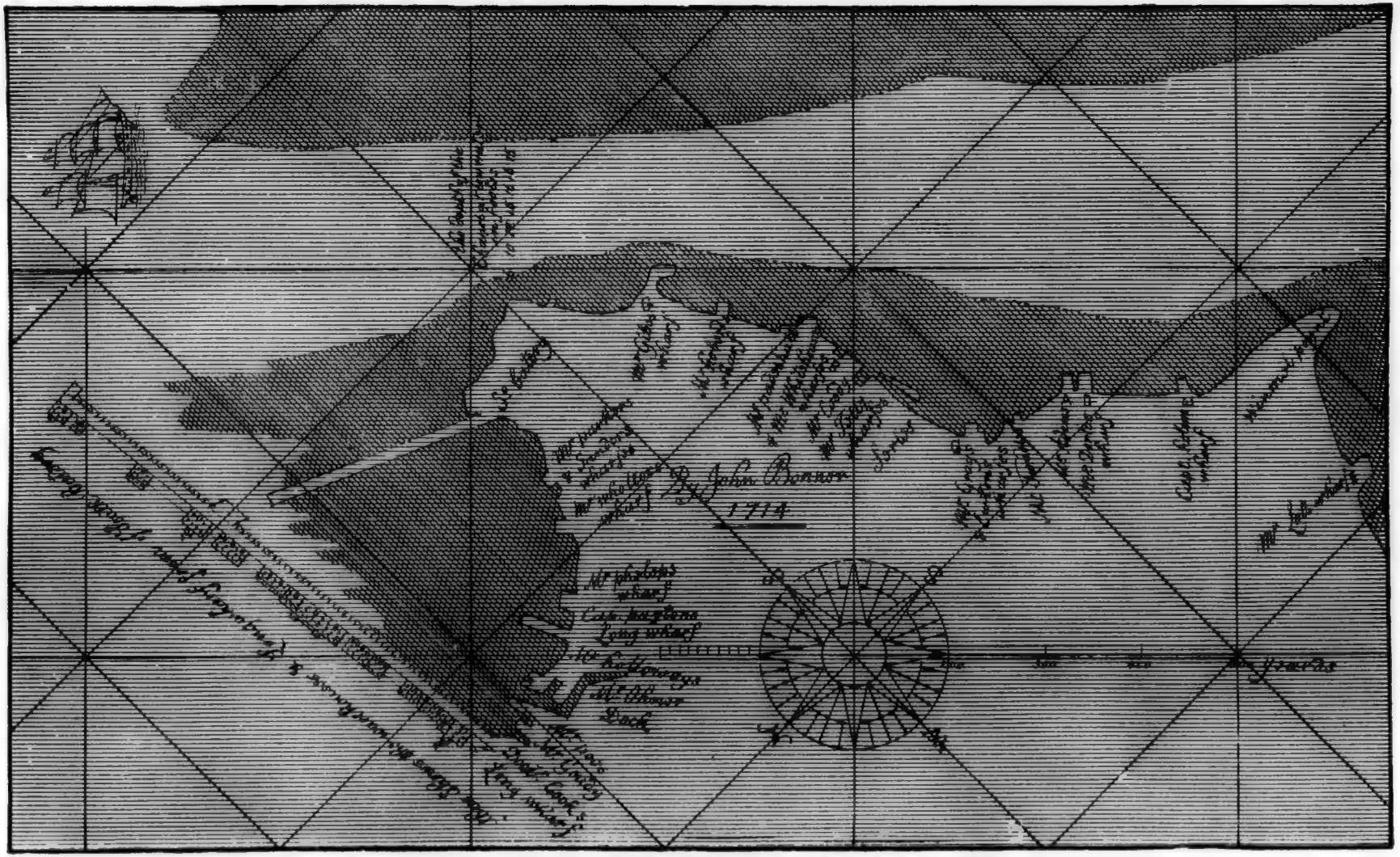
A provocation came in Boston in 1747. A number of sailors had deserted from some English men-of-war, then in that harbor, under the command of one Commodore Knowles. To supply their places the Commodore ordered, as he would have done in England, that a press-gang should take from merchant vessels and on the wharves of Boston, as many men as were needed. He did not know, perhaps, or, if he did know, did not care that a law of the realm, passed in the reign of Anne, forbade impressment in the colonies, except of deserters from naval vessels. But certainly he could not have understood that no man in Boston, however humble, could be made against his will to serve even the King.

An English press-gang in Boston.

When it was known, one day in November, that Knowles's boats had come up early in the morning from the fleet in Nantasket Roads, had visited all the vessels in the harbor, had taken the crews even of those just ready for sea, had swept the warehouses and the wharves of laboring men and mechanics, — then the town broke out into a blaze of excitement and fury. A mob armed with clubs and stones, and whatever other weapons they could suddenly lay their hands upon, filled the streets. The Governor's house, where some of the officers of the English ships happened to be, was soon surrounded by an angry crowd. An assault was threatened, and the officers armed themselves to defend their lives. Influential citizens mingled with the mob, exhorting them to refrain from violent measures. A deputy sheriff, more courageous than prudent, ordered them, in the name of the law, to disperse. Him they seized, bore off in triumph, and set in the stocks. The ludicrous spectacle of his discomfiture turned angry oaths and cries, for a while, into jibes and laughter, and served to lure the crowd from the Governor's house.

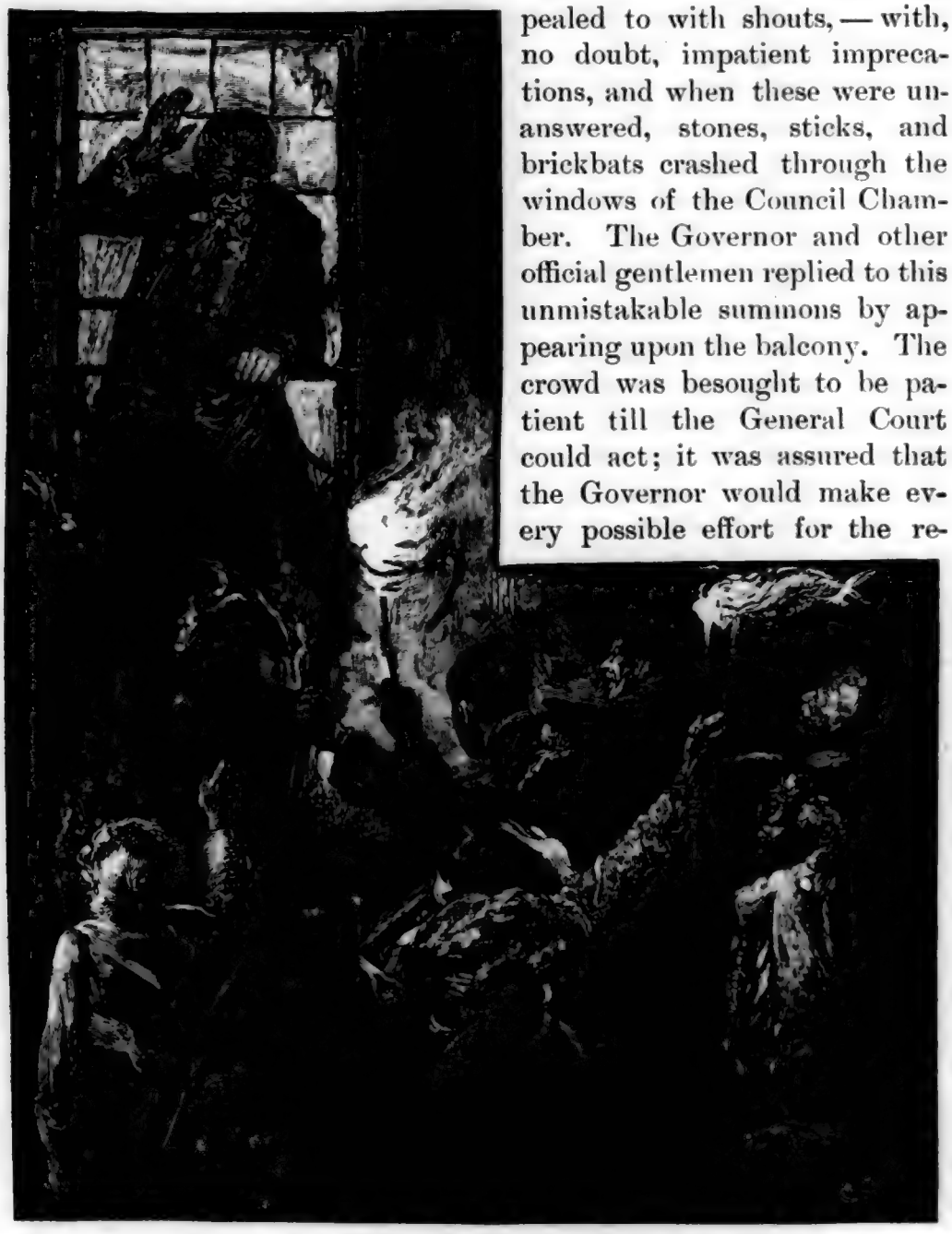
Tumult in the city.

But it was only a diversion. When evening came, the people swarmed into King (now State) Street from all parts of the town, defiant, irresistible, determined that the wrong should



BOSTON WATER-FRONT.
[From an Old Print.]

be righted. The Town-House at the head of the street, where the General Court was in session, was surrounded, and that body appealed to with shouts, — with, no doubt, impatient imprecations, and when these were unanswered, stones, sticks, and brickbats crashed through the windows of the Council Chamber. The Governor and other official gentlemen replied to this unmistakable summons by appearing upon the balcony. The crowd was besought to be patient till the General Court could act; it was assured that the Governor would make every possible effort for the release of the men, whose kidnapping he disapproved of, while, at the same time, he deprecated these violent outbreaks. But even so popular a man as Shirley talked in vain; deeds, not words merely, were wanted; "it was thought adviseable," says Hutchinson, "for the Governor to withdraw to his house.'



Attack on the Town-house.

The citizens demanded that every officer in town, belonging to the

fleet, should be seized and held till the kidnapped men were released. In the course of the evening a rumor that a barge had come up the harbor from the fleet spread through the crowd. A rush was made to the waterside, a boat was seized, — only it happened to be the wrong one, — dragged to the front of the Governor's house, then to some more open place, and burnt. The blood of the town was up, and it was fearfully in earnest.

Serious aspect of affairs.

The next day the Governor ordered out the militia by beat of drum; but the drummers were silenced by orders more potent than the Governor's, and the militia-men refused to appear. This was giving to affairs so serious an aspect, that Shirley retired to the Castle in the harbor, not, probably, in fear, but as the most serious and dignified protest he could make against the riotous subversion of civil authority.

From the Castle he appealed to Commodore Knowles, protesting against the outrage which had been perpetrated by his orders and had thrown the town into a state of insurrection. The Commodore would accept no terms and offer none, except this: that unless his officers, who had been arrested and detained in Boston, were set at liberty, he would bombard the town. Whether he would really have proceeded to that extremity, or thought the threat would be enough, he was supposed to be in earnest, and several of his ships weighed anchor and sailed up the bay.

Things had come to that pass that a settlement of some sort was inevitable. Though the General Court continued in session, for three days the naval officers had been held in custody, or on parole, by no other authority than that of rioters. Though these rioters were laboring men and mechanics, it was thought that they were instigated and upheld by many influential people. It was seriously discussed whether the Governor's retreat to the Castle was not an abdication; whether Massachusetts Bay had any longer a government.

Thereupon the General Court passed a series of Resolutions. These tumultuous and riotous proceedings, they declared, tended to the destruction of all government and order; it was incumbent on the civil and military officers to suppress them "whensoever they may happen;" and that the house would "stand by and support with their lives and estates his excellency the Governor and the executive part of the government;" but they were also careful to add that "this house will exert themselves by all ways and means possible in redressing such grievances as his Majesty's subjects are and have been under," which were the cause of those recent disturbances. A town meeting was also held, where it was resolved that the General Court should be sustained.

All this, of course, was eminently proper; and care had been taken that it should also be eminently safe. The militia were now again called out, and the summons was obeyed with great alacrity. Governor Shirley, under the assurance that government was to be supported, returned from the Castle in great state and dignity, and was received with military honors. The British naval officers were released, and permitted to return to the fleet unmolested. Had there been then, after all, only a riot of depraved and misguided persons, demanding an unreasonable thing in an outrageous manner, who were only to be put down? Negotiations of state are not always recorded, and history is left to guess from events by what solemn agreements they may have been brought about. The peace and order which had fled before riot, were restored with much ostentation; but at the same time the sailors, the ship-carpenters, the sail-makers, and the laborers, who had been seized and carried on board the British vessels, quietly returned to their homes with none to hinder. All Boston hurried down to the wharves to huzza lustily as Commodore Knowles's fleet got under way and sailed out of Nantasket Roads for England, for there was not one Boston boy on board. The General Court ordered the windows of the Council Chamber to be mended, and asked no further questions. Commodore Knowles, no doubt, made due report at the Admiralty Office in London of the indignity put upon the King's colors and uniform; but evidently it was thought best not to reopen a dispute with a people who had not been moved in the least by a threat to knock their town about their ears, had abated nothing of their assertion of the sacredness of personal liberty, had gained all they asked for, and in return had given nothing.

Order restored.

Significance of the incident.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW YORK.

Governor Cosby's Administration. — Controversy with Van Dam. — The Zenger Libel Suit. — Struggles of Political Parties. — George Clarke, Lieutenant-governor. — The Negro Plot of 1741. — Growth of the Colony in a Half Century. — Early Settlements on the Mohawk and Susquehanna. — The City of New York at several Periods. — King's College established. — Position of the Colony by the Middle of the Eighteenth Century. — Appointment of Governor Clinton. — The Perplexities of his Administration. — Preparations for a Double Expedition against Canada. — The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. — Sir Danvers Osborn's Inauguration and Death. — Chief Justice De Lancey succeeds as Lieutenant-governor.

Arrival of Governor Cosby.

Colonel Cosby, who arrived in New York in August, 1732, came, like others who had preceded him, to make a fortune from official service. He entered at once into a controversy with Van Dam, the acting Governor, demanding an equal partition of the salary and perquisites received by that gentleman in the interval between Cosby's appointment and arrival. The result was a suit in equity, in which not only all the lawyers of the colony, but most of the people, were deeply interested. The popular party sympathized with Van Dam; the aristocratic party, with the Governor. Out of this suit grew that trial of John Peter Zenger for libel, which is so distinctive a mark in the history of American jurisprudence.

The Zenger libel suit.

Zenger was the publisher of a newspaper, — "The New York Weekly Journal," — and he made it the mouth-piece of the opposition to the Governor and his supporters. It was ordered by the Council that four obnoxious numbers of the paper, together with two printed ballads which were considered libellous, be publicly burned by the common hangman, or the whipper at the pillory; and the magistrates of the city were required to preside at that ceremony. The magistrates refused, but the order to burn the papers was, nevertheless, obeyed. Zenger was afterwards arrested and brought to trial.

His counsel, at a preliminary hearing, filed objections to the legal-

ity of the warrant, and to the trial of the case before Judges De Lancey and Philipse, inasmuch as they held their places by appointment from the Crown. "You have brought it to that point," said Chief Justice De Lancey, "that either we must go from the bench or you from the bar." And the lawyers were dismissed from the bar, the court assigning in the case before them counsel of their own choosing.



Rip Van Dam.

The defendant, however, engaged Mr. Andrew Hamilton, an eminent lawyer of Philadelphia, to appear on his behalf. The case came before a jury. Hamilton boldly took the ground that the defence might prove the truth of the libel in justification, and that the jury were to determine both the law and the fact. The publication was acknowledged; but "you will have," said Hamilton, "something more to do, before you make my client a libeller; for the words themselves must be libellous, that is, false, scandalous, and seditious." "Our constitution," he said, "gives us an opportunity to prevent wrong by appealing to the people." The jury followed this reasoning, and responded to the appeal. The prisoner was acquitted; the people approved the verdict; the corporation presented Hamilton with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and when he left the town, to return home, a salute was fired in his honor. The trial gave the last blow, in public estimation, to the Exchequer Court, and objections were again raised, such as had been made against Montgomerie, to the Governor's sitting as Chancellor.

Death of Governor Cosby.

Cosby died in March, 1736, soon after his defeat in this memorable trial. Van Dam, who had given him so much trouble, claimed by right to be his temporary successor as the oldest member of the Council. He had, however, absented himself for some time from the meetings of that body, a majority of which were the partisans of the Governor. It was declared, moreover, that Cosby, not long before his death, had removed Van Dam from the Council, and the Board thereupon recognized George Clarke as the old-

est member, and appointed him Lieutenant-governor. The popular feeling was warmly in Van Dam's favor, and nothing was expected from his opponent but a continuation of the arbitrary and selfish policy which had made Cosby's administration so obnoxious to the people.

George Clarke appointed Governor.

The contest was warm and bitter; both men assumed the functions of the office, and Clarke, who held the Fort, took measures for its defence. The struggle, which seems to have risen nearly to the dignity of a rebellion, was only ended when Clarke's claim was confirmed by a commission from England.

Character of his administration.

The political tranquillity of his seven years' government shows that, if there was not much to blame him for, so there was little reason for praise. Perhaps he had less disposition than some other colonial rulers to encroach upon the rights of the people; perhaps he was only wise enough to understand that the people would not tolerate encroachment. "We beg leave to be plain with your honor, and hope you will not take it amiss," said the first Assembly he met, "that you are not to expect that we will either raise sums not fit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a Governor to misapply, if we can prevent it." They assured him further that they would only make up such deficiencies as seemed to them just; that such revenue as they thought fit to raise would be provided from year to year, and that they did not "think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony."

Each successive Assembly showed a similar spirit, which was not to be shaken by the remonstrances of the Governor, even when he warned one of them of "the jealousy prevailing in Great Britain that the colony wished to be emancipated from the Crown." Perhaps it was because he knew what serious ground there was for that "jealousy," that he was so careful not to try the impatience of the people by any other provocation than reproaches, and sometimes by an adjournment of the Legislature.

The Negro Plot of 1741.

During his administration, however, occurred an event which marks an era in the history of New York, as sombre with tragic interest as that given to the annals of Massachusetts by the Quaker and witchcraft persecutions of the previous century. But New York went mad in a senseless panic, and burned negroes at the stake eighty years after the last Quaker was hanged on Boston Common, and half a century after it was believed in Massachusetts that an old woman, accused of witchcraft, would drown when thrown into a pond, if she was innocent, but would float like a cork, if she was guilty, to be saved only to suffer death at the hands of the public executioner.

The origin of this tragedy was almost contemptible. In February, 1740–41, one Mrs. Hogg, who kept a small shop in Broad Street, was robbed of some goods and money. A few days before, she had heedlessly opened a drawer containing some silver coin, in the presence of a young sailor of the name of Wilson. This Wilson was in the habit of frequenting a low ale-house on the North River, kept by one John Hughson, a place of resort, probably, of dissolute persons of all sorts, but especially of idle servants among the negro slaves. To three of these, Cæsar, Prince, and Cuffee — they had no other names, but were known as Vaarck's Cæsar, Auboyneau's Prince, and Philipse's Cuffee — to these three Wilson told how he had seen the money in Mrs. Hogg's drawer, how easily the shop could

Its origin.



View in Broad Street, about 1740.

be entered in a way he knew of, and the prize secured. On this hint, the burglary was committed; but, whether Wilson repented of his share in it, or whether he hoped to secure impunity for himself by betraying his comrades, he, a few days afterward, assured Mrs. Hogg that he had seen a square piece-of-eight, described as among the stolen coin, in the hands of Cæsar, at John Hughson's dram-shop.

This evidence was confirmed by Mary Burton — an indented servant of John Hughson's, a girl of fifteen years — who confessed to a neighbor that she knew who committed the robbery, and showed a piece of the stolen money, which she said the negro Cæsar had given her. On further examination, she implicated one "Margaret Sorubiero, *alias* Salingburgh, *alias* Kerry, commonly called Peggy, or the Newfoundland Irish beauty," a disreputable young woman of one or two and twenty, who lodged at

Mary Burton's evidence.

Hughson's house, and was reputed to be the kept mistress of Vaarck's Cæsar. Then some of the goods were found under the kitchen floor of Vaarck, the baker — Cæsar's master — to which access could be had from a low drinking-place, next door, kept by John Romme. Romme fled on this discovery, and the assumption was, that he was an accomplice in the burglary. The other persons accused, including Hughson and his wife, were arrested, Hughson acknowledging that he had received and concealed some of the stolen goods. It was a commonplace crime, and there was no lack of evidence to convict the criminals. The incident would have been soon forgotten, had not unexpected events presently given historical interest to the dram-shops of Hughson and Romme, to the negroes Cæsar, Prince, and Cuffee, and to the young white women of questionable character, Mary Burton and the Irish beauty, Peggy.

Arrest of Hughson and his family.

A fortnight after the accused persons were committed to prison, a fire broke out in the roof of the Governor's house, within the Fort, about one o'clock in the afternoon. The house, the adjoining chapel, the barracks opposite, and the secretary's office over the gate of the fort, were all burned to the ground. The furniture of the government house and the colonial records, kept in the office of the secretary, were saved; and it was thought most fortunate that the fire occurred in the daytime, as therefore, probably, it did not spread beyond the walls of the fort. There was naturally for a few days a good deal of excitement in the town, rather, however, from the character of the buildings burned, than from the extent of the fire or any doubt about its origin. A plumber had been engaged upon the roof of the Governor's house during the morning, in soldering the leaden gutter between it and the chapel, carrying with him from place to place a furnace of hot coals. The wind was very high; the roofs of the two buildings were covered with wooden shingles; with such a concatenation of circumstances, the result was almost inevitable. At first there was no thought of any other than this obvious explanation; and again, but for subsequent events, an incident of no great moment would have soon ceased to be of the slightest interest to anybody.

Fire in the fort.

About a week afterward, also in the middle of the day, a fire broke out in the roof of Captain Warren's house near the bridge in the southwestern part of the town. Sparks from a foul chimney had caught upon old and dry shingles. It was put out with little difficulty, and there was no doubt about the cause of it while men's minds were cool.

Other fires in the town.

On the East River side of the town, was an old wooden storehouse, belonging to Mr. Van Zandt. It was filled with boards and hay, and

was burnt down about a week after the fire at Warren's. This also happened in the daytime. The proximity to the river made it easy to prevent the flames from spreading; and everybody believed that the carelessness of a smoker, known to be within the building, who dropped sparks from his pipe among the hay, was the origin of the fire. These two fires, following within a week of each other, kept up the excitement which that at the Fort had caused. The town, which contained about twelve thousand people, was compactly built, still covering only that end of the peninsula below Wall Street. Three fires, two of which were serious, within so short a period, were, no doubt, unusual, and prepared the way for the panic that presently followed.



Ferry House on East River, 1746. — From an Old Print.

The day after the burning of Van Zandt's warehouse, some hay was found to be on fire in a cow-stable, belonging to one Quick, on the east side of the town. This was easily suppressed; but it was scarcely done, when another alarm was sounded from the west side, where smoke was seen coming from the kitchen-loft of Ben. Thomas's house near the city market and "next door to Captain Sarby." It was traced to two beds between which fire had been put, and which was the sleeping-place of a negro.

Early the next morning — on Sunday — some coals were found under a hay-stack near John Murray's stables in Broadway. But they had gone out without doing any damage. The next forenoon an alarm came from Serjeant Burns's house, opposite Fort Garden; but if there was any cause for it, it was only the burning of a foul chimney. An hour or two later it was discovered that the roof of Mrs. Hilton's house — which adjoined Sarby's on the east side, as Thomas's

did on the west — was on fire. Here was pregnant matter for suspicion, and it grew into fury when some flax was found near by, which, it was thought, was used to kindle the flames. Then a cry arose in the streets — "The Spanish negroes! the Spanish negroes! Take up the Spanish negroes!"

Spanish negroes apprehended.

There was, as it happened, a Spanish negro in Captain Sarby's house, whom he had recently purchased, and who was one of nineteen belonging to a Spanish vessel taken at sea and brought not long before into New York as a prize. A Court of Admiralty had condemned them as slaves, in spite of their protest that they were freemen in their own country. It is evident that these unfortunate blacks had not quietly submitted to their fate; had probably complained angrily, and perhaps threatened; for, this first public outbreak of panic pointed to them as men who had a motive for some signal act of vengeance. Sarby's servant was at once seized, and orders were given for the arrest of all who came in the same ship.

In hot haste the magistrates came together at the City Hall. Sarby's negro was still under examination when again the alarming cry of fire was heard. Looking from their windows, Mayor Cruger and the rest saw a streak of flame running up the roof of Colonel Philipse's storehouse — the work, this time, possibly of an incendiary, for there was no chimney in the building. It was hardly extinguished — which was done speedily — when the crowd was turned in a new direction by a fresh alarm, which seems, however, to have been groundless. But soon after some chips were found burning in a baker's cellar; and trifling as this common incident was, it served to feed the popular excitement.

Fears of insurrection.

A negro was seen to jump from a window of Philipse's warehouse. He may have been there for no unlawful purpose — certainly not to kindle a fire that was already extinguished. But frightened men do not stop to reason. A shout arose — "The negro! the negro! the negroes are rising!" — then, "Cuff Philipse! Cuff Philipse!" A frantic rush was made for Philipse's house, where Cuff was found quietly sitting in the kitchen. He was seized upon, nevertheless, and hurried to jail; an order was issued that all negroes in the streets should be arrested. There were many about who had been diligently assisting in passing buckets of water in the line with the whites; but this circumstantial evidence of the absence of any evil purpose among them seems not to have been thought of. To be black was *prima facie* evidence of being a conspirator.

The air was heavy with rumors. Only the day before Mrs. Earle had seen, from the window of her house in Broadway, three negroes on their way to Trinity Church. As they passed, one of them ex-

claimed: "Fire, Fire! Scorch, Scorch a little! damn it! By and by!" then he "threw up his hands and laughed." At these terrible words and alarming gestures, "the woman conceived great jealousy," and repeated them to her next-door neighbor, Mrs. George. They watched for the return of the negroes from church, and Mrs. George recognized the man whom Mrs. Earle pointed out, as Mr. Walter's Quaco. The two women went to an alderman, and the alderman went to the other magistrates, and Quaco was soon under lock and key.



Mrs. Earle and the Negroes.

Quaco said on examination — and brought the other negroes to prove it — that they were talking of Admiral Vernon's capture of Porto Bello — the news of which had just been received — and what he would do by and by to the Spaniards. The man's explanation, confirmed by his companions, was accepted then, and he was released, — though he was hanged not long afterward. But the story, nevertheless, flew like wild-fire about the town. The magistrates as yet had not taken leave of their senses, but everybody else believed that it was New York Quaco was talking about; that it was only "scorched" a little now, but "damn it by and by" it was to be laid in ashes; with other dreadful things, as it appeared later.

The jail — a part of the City Hall — was soon full of terrified negroes, and among them were Hughson with his wife and daughter, Mary Burton his servant, Peggy the prostitute, who had lived in his house, and one Arthur Price, a thief, under arrest for stealing at the fire in the Fort, who was to play an important part in the coming tragedy. The Governor issued his proclamation offering rewards for

any disclosure that should lead to the detection of incendiaries — to whites, money; to free negroes, money and pardon; to slaves, money, pardon, and freedom. On a day appointed, the troops were called out to patrol the city, while the aldermen and councilmen, attended by constables, ransacked every house of their respective wards for stolen goods and concealed strangers. Neither were found in a single instance. Yet, it was confidently said, that the panic-stricken people, as they moved from place to place to escape the neighborhood of threatened fires, had been plundered without mercy of their household goods. The goods, it was plain, were not in the possession of the negroes, but there was no pause to consider of how much weight that fact was worth, nor whether the stolen property could be anywhere else than in the houses of the blacks. Mercy had already fled; men had lost their reason.

The Supreme Court was convened;[1] a grand jury was summoned; every member of the bar, without a single exception, volunteered his services on behalf of the government, leaving the accused, — who, from their ignorance and friendlessness, were peculiarly in need of counsel, — without the possibility of making a defence.[2] As we have said, the first outbreak of frenzy was directed against the Spanish negroes, — the few poor fellows whom the Admiralty Court had reduced to slavery. Next came the vague, thoughtless, but terrible fear of a negro insurrection, — terrible in the dread of vengeance for the innumerable and unutterable wrongs suffered by a slave, but of which the slave himself is so often less conscious than he who inflicts them. Not only did the negroes in prison deny all knowledge of any plot, — that they would have done in any case, — but there seems to have been a destitution of any evidence against them, in their conduct at home or abroad, — an absence of all signs of any unusual consciousness of discontent, — a want of any appearance of exaltation as at some coming, longed-for period of freedom and happiness. They huddled together in the jail, appalled, despairing, helpless; outside of it,



Signature of Horsmanden.

[1] It is to a Justice of this court, — Daniel Horsmanden, — that we are indebted for a complete and curious record of these events. He sat on the bench at most, if not all of the trials, — a position for which he was eminently unfit, from his ludicrous narrow-mindedness, timidity, and want of sound judgment. His book is entitled *The New York Conspiracy, or History of the Negro Plot.* It is a scarce work, of nearly four hundred pages; minute, entirely one-sided, and reflects faithfully the credulity and abject fear which, for months, overcame the common sense and manliness of the people.

[2] New Yorkers will be interested to know the names of the lawyers of the city a hundred and thirty-eight years ago. They were Messrs. Bradley, — who was Attorney-general, — Murray, Alexander, Smith, Chambers, Nichols, Lodge, and Jameson.

they were in continual dread of accusation which might fall anywhere, and against which innocence was no defence.

The robbery of Mrs. Hogg's shop had occurred on the last day of February; but it was not till toward the end of April that the case came on for trial, at the moment when the town had gone wild with affright at the repeated fires and rumors of insurrection. There was an interval of weeks between the robbery, concerning which Mary Burton was the principal witness, indeed the only witness, — for Wilson seems to have disappeared, — and

Commencement of the trials.



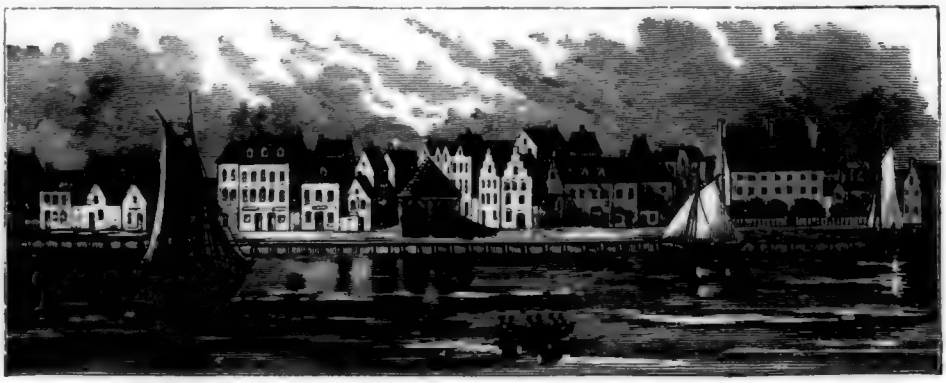
Mary Burton before the Grand Jury.

the first fire. In all this time Mary had given no hint of any knowledge of a plot. But now, whether instigated by others, or impelled by the hope of a reward of £100, and release from her term of servitude, she insinuated that she could tell as much about the fires as about the burglary. Of course she was urged to tell the truth; but the truth assumed was, that the negroes had entered into a horrible conspiracy to burn the city, to rob and to murder the inhabitants, and to commit any other atrocities that the most heated imagination could conceive of. "The grand jury," says Judge Horsmanden's narrative, "was very importunate and used many arguments with her,

in public and private, to persuade her to speak the truth, and tell all she knew about it." When she hesitated, apparently from fear of evil consequences to herself, she was promised protection; she was reminded of "the heinousness of the crime she would be guilty of if she was privy to, and could discover so wicked a design," and would not; that "she would have to answer for it at the day of judgment," and that "a most damnable sin would be at her door."

Mary Burton as a witness.

No wonder that an ignorant child of fifteen years yielded, at last, to such importunities and arguments, in the official and solemn presence of seventeen of the most respectable gentlemen of the town. On the one hand, her gain would be great; on the other, she had little to fear now from her late master and mistress, John Hughson and his wife, or from her late companion, Peggy, whose certain punishment, even she could see, was a foregone conclusion.[1]



The Meal Market. — From an Old Print.

The wonder is, rather, that seventeen sensible and sober men could heed her story. Even on the robbery, her testimony conflicted with that she had at first given, and if either statement were true the other was false. But the stealing of Mrs. Hogg's spotted linen and pieces-of-eight was of trifling moment compared with the revelations of a conspiracy that the witness now made.

She said that Cæsar, Prince, and Cuffee were not merely thieves but arch-conspirators, and their common talk was of burning the Fort, and of going to the Vly and burning the whole town. They were to do this in the night, and as the white people came to put out the fires, the three negroes were to put them all to death. To this plot John Hughson and his wife assented and

The evidence of the plot.

[1] The Grand Jury was composed of seventeen gentlemen, all designated as merchants. Among them are names well known at this day in New York, and held in the highest esteem. They were: Robert Watts, Jeremiah Latouche, Joseph Read, Anthony Rutgers, John McEvers, John Cruger, Jr., John Merritt, Adoniah Schuyler, Isaac De Peyster, Abraham Keteltass, David Provoost, Rene Hett, Henry Beekman, Jr., David Van Horne, George Spencer, Thomas Duncan, and Winan Van Zandt.

promised to give their aid. It was "in their common conversation" that when all this was done, Cæsar was to be Governor, and Hughson was to be King. Sometimes, she declared, there were large meetings of twenty or thirty negroes at her master's house, who would not dare, the three leaders declared, to disobey their orders. But there were no white people — she said then — except the Hughsons and Peggy at any of those consultations; and the preparations made for the insurrection were eight guns and some swords, — three pistols and four swords, she added afterward.

All this, meagre, inconclusive, and absurd as it was, we are told by Judge Horsmanden, "was most astonishing to the grand jury," and "could scarce be credited." It was not that so incredible a tale should be invented, and men in their sober senses be asked to accept it as true, that astonished them; but that "white people could confederate with slaves in such an execrable and detestable purpose." The gross absurdity of the story, — that three black men and one white, with a doubtful following of about twenty more, without even arms enough for the leaders alone, had conspired to destroy a city of twelve thousand inhabitants, only a sixth of whom, bond and free, were negroes, that one of the conspirators might be made a Governor and another a King, — the absurdity of such a story told by a child of fifteen years, whom seventeen grave gentlemen had alternately tempted by rewards, and frightened by threats of terrible punishments in this world and the next, seems to have occurred to nobody.

Causes of the panic.

But the fear of insurrection is an ever-present terror wherever slavery exists. This dread had been touched to the quick by the rapid succession of alarms of fire; rumors, none too absurd for belief, fed the popular excitement. There was war with Spain, and in the town were a score of Spanish negroes held as slaves, but who claimed to be freemen; the jail was full of blacks, arrested, not because they were, but because they might be, dangerous; fear was lashed into frenzy, and demanded victims; here at hand was a band of thieves; what more likely than that they should be a band of conspirators also, contriving riot and arson, murder, rape, and all conceivable atrocities, proposing the conquest of a province and to make of their leaders kings, and governors, and captains? The Grand Jury believed in all this wickedness and folly, from the tale of a foolish or a cunning child, and went with it to the grave judges of the Supreme Court. They also listened and believed. The whole bar of the city was summoned in consultation in so serious an emergency; it was determined that the trials should be conducted in the highest court, and the Governor was asked for a special order to prolong the session, about to close, for that purpose.

There came forth presently another swift and artful witness — Price — under indictment for stealing goods saved from the Governor's house at the fire in the Fort. He was right if he believed that his own crime would soon be forgotten, could he help fix the far more monstrous crime of premeditated insurrection upon any of his fellow-prisoners. It was easy for the inmates of the ill-contrived and over-crowded jail to hold intercourse with one another, and Price was soon ready to repeat real or invented conversations.

The witness Price.

The first of these was with Peggy, Hughson's lodger; the second, a few days later, with Sarah, Hughson's daughter. These people were absolute strangers to Price, yet Peggy — if he was to be believed — had twice come voluntarily to the wicket in his door, and, in the most extraordinary way, reposed in him entire confidence. Except that the language, which he said the woman used, was to the last degree profane and vile, and might, therefore, well have been hers, the internal evidence in his statement shows its falsehood. But it was ingenious; as in Mary Burton's testimony, there was the innuendo indirect about the fires, substituted for the proof direct about the robbery; and while it was assumed that this was true, it was suggestive of the wildest suspicions of the truth of the other. He made no pretensions of having obtained any information from Sarah Hughson by voluntary confession; on the contrary, she denied, he said, all knowledge of any plot; but in the expression of her fears of what might befall her parents and herself, and in her comments on the fires, when induced to talk of them, she betrayed — or was represented as betraying — how intimate her knowledge of a plot was.

If Mary Burton had told the truth, here was the most remarkable confirmation of her story, coming at exactly the right time; on the other hand, if the imagination of the child had been stimulated by persuasions the most tempting, and by threats the most appalling, this suspicious story was clearly an invention, suggested by hers and told with a selfish purpose. It was certainly clumsy, contradictory, and incredible; it was related by a thief who, unless he could commend himself to mercy in this way, was certain of heavy punishment; was certain, if he could so commend himself, of reward as well as pardon.

From so slight a beginning of wrong-doing, first made fortuitously conspicuous, then tortured into something that it was not by low cunning, transparent falsehood, and intense credulity, there grew a strange scene of terror and outrage. For its disregard of all rules of legal evidence, for its prostitution of the forms of law for the perpetration of cruelty, for popular credulity and cowardice, for the abnegation of all sense of mercy, for the oppression of the weakest and most defenceless, it was without precedent, and has had no parallel in

any civilized community. There were, indeed, Judge Horsmanden acknowledges, "some wanton, wrong-headed persons amongst us, who took the liberty to arraign the justice of the proceedings, and set up their private opinions in superiority to the court and grand jury," and who "declared with no small assurance (notwithstanding what we *saw* with our eyes, and *heard* with our ears, and every one might have judged of by his intellects, that had any) *that there was no plot at all!*" But these were only a wretched minority. The popular mind was not in a state to weigh nice points of evidence, or even points that were far from nice, to detect motives in cunning and interested witnesses, to consider probabilities calmly. Except by the few, the tales of Mary Burton and Price were caught up with avidity and accepted without question. The man Hughson, Peggy, and the three



The Negroes Sentenced.

negroes were speedily brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. They were tried, indeed, for the robbery — the negroes for committing the act, the whites for receiving the stolen goods; — but when Cæsar and Prince were brought up for sentence, the judge exhorted them to discover their confede-

Execution of Cæsar and Prince.

rates "in designing or endeavouring to burn this city and to destroy its inhabitants," as he was "fully persuaded" it was in their power to do if they would. But there was no delay in their execution, in the hope that their speedy punishment might bring others to confession. To the last they denied that they knew of any conspiracy.

The Hughsons and Peggy were spared a little longer, to be indicted for the plot. Peggy had stoutly and indignantly denied, up to this time, that there was any truth in Price's story. But now, in the hope of saving her life, she made a pretended confession. If what she said was true, Mary Burton's tale was false, for she shifted the headquarters of the plot from Hughson's to Romme's, charging him with being a receiver of goods stolen by negroes, with inciting them to insurrection, and promising to take them all, when enough had been stolen, to another country. She said nothing of the two negroes who had just been hanged, but she implicated a number of others, all of whom were immediately arrested.

Peggy's confession.

The 13th of May, designated a month before by Lieutenant-governor Clarke as a day of public fasting and humiliation, was so observed with great solemnity. The excitement grew more intense, sanctioned thus by religious observance, and the highest example in the State, and fed with constantly new revelations. At Hackensack, on the other side of the Bay, in New Jersey, some barns had been burnt, and suspicion fell, of course, upon the negroes. Two were apprehended and tried, confession was extorted from one of them, and both were burnt at the stake.

A public Fast ordered.

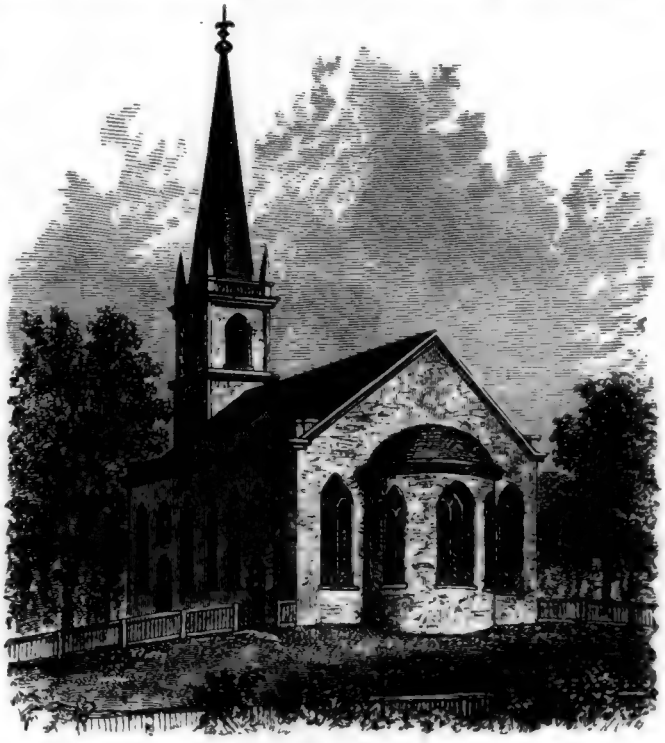
The Burton child was equal to any demands that could be made upon her. With that "remarkable glibness of tongue," which even Judge Horsmanden — who, no doubt, would have cheerfully burned any negro in the colony — was compelled to acknowledge, distinguished her, she could confirm any accusation brought against anybody. Romme, she now remembered, was intimate with Hughson, and often conferred with him; the negroes whom Peggy accused, Mary had frequently seen at Hughson's house. When, soon after, with Hughson and his wife, Peggy was hanged, declaring, with her last breath, that there was not a word of truth in her previous confession, and that she was totally ignorant of any plot, having hoped only to save herself by accusing others, Mary's testimony — which that pretended confession had suggested — was still held as conclusive by the Court.

And so in all subsequent proceedings, the trembling slaves — wild with fright — sometimes when arrested on mere suspicion, or when standing at the foot of the gallows, or about to be bound to the stake where the ready fagots were piled to consume

Character of the evidence.

presently their living flesh, — were only too eager, as the frenzy grew, to confess to anything, to avow the wildest and most improbable designs, to impute to others the most horrible purposes, that so they might appeal to the mercy of the Court, and save their own wretched lives. To Mary Burton any new revelation was a fresh impulse to her own recollections, and her evidence was always forthcoming in proof of anything that needed confirmation. Price, within the walls of the jail, was equally useful, so long as the unsuspicious negroes would consent to hold intercourse with him. That he might lead his victims into unwary talk, to be turned against them, the authorities furnished him with liquor, that he might first make them drunk.

No stories, however absurd, were held by the Court or by the people as incredible. None of these confessions extorted by fear, sometimes at the gallows' foot, or at the stake in the hope of reprieve, and often recalled when hope was no longer possible, — none of these pretended to any concerted plan, which could secure success to an insurrection, or prevent its immediate suppression by the most ordinary method of preserving the peace. There was only the vague purpose of burning and killing, for which the provision of arms was the eight guns, three pistols, and four swords which Mary Burton declared were concealed at Hughson's.



Trinity Church, 1741.

This baldness of detail, and the evident poverty of imagination which gave no heed even to probabilities, showed that the mere abjectness of fear prompted these confessions, while no outside evidence supplied the essential element of proof. It was accepted as true that there was an understanding between Hughson and Romme — who supplied negroes with liquor and received their petty thievings — and the Spanish Government for the capture of the city, and this ridiculous supposition was suggested no doubt by the presence of the score of Spanish negroes probably held unlawfully

Character of the alleged plot.

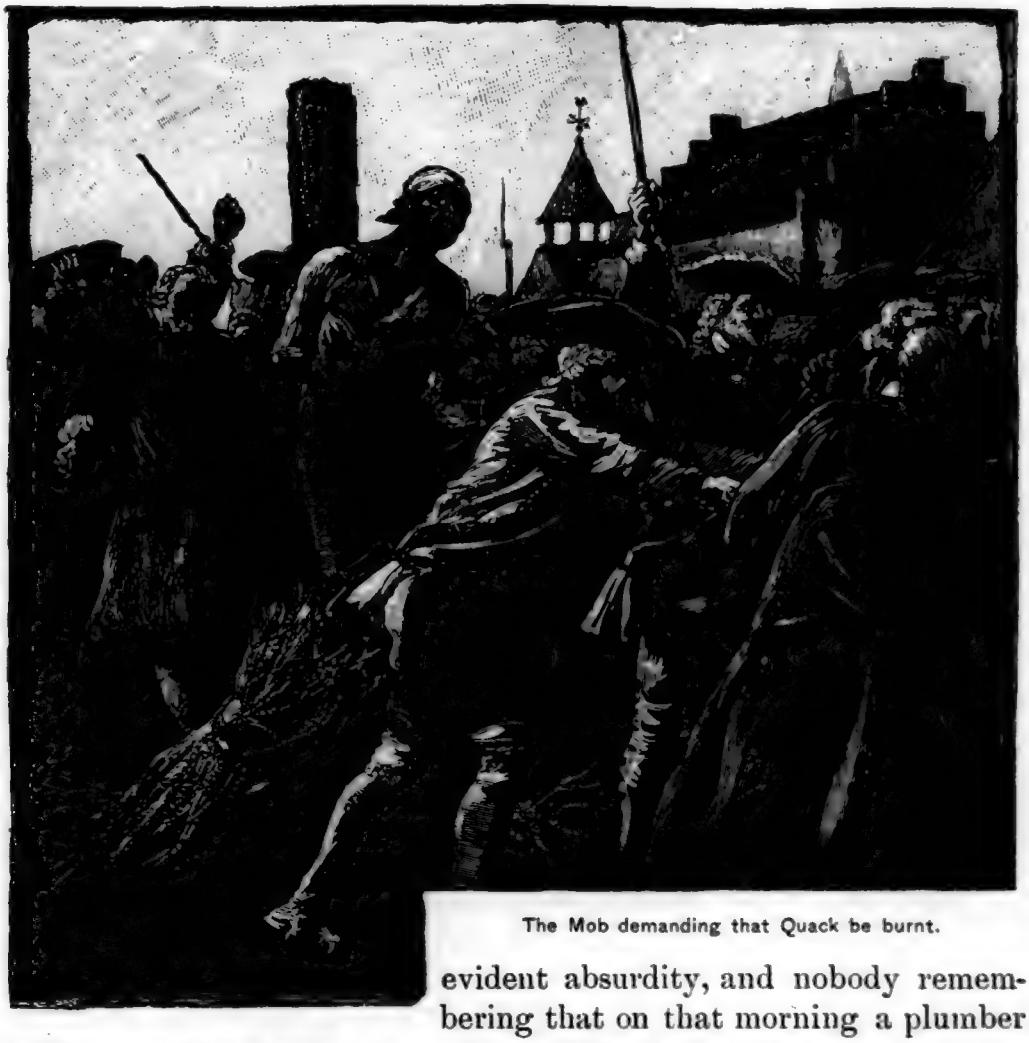
as slaves. It was seriously believed that a few negroes meant to watch at the doors of Trinity Church with the expectation that the congregation, as it came out from service some Sunday morning, would quietly submit to be killed one by one; that a handful of discontented blacks meant to murder their masters and take their mistresses for their wives, in the expectation that their fellows would at once follow their example when a few should begin the work of murder and rapine — that thus a small minority of the population, ignorant, degraded, unorganized, and unarmed, could compel the most servile submission from a community, intelligent, well-ordered, strong in civil and military government, outnumbering these besotted insurgents — even if they were joined by every negro in the city — five to one; and that in such a community there could be grave reason for fearing that one of the vilest of the lowest class of whites had seriously proposed to make himself King, his wife Queen, the slave Cæsar Governor, with the prostitute Peggy as the head of a governor's household.

In the great dread that all these absurd and impossible things were impending, the Supreme Court, countenanced and aided by the whole bar of the city, applauded and urged on by the most enlightened and influential citizens, in the course of two or three months, imprisoned more than a hundred and fifty negroes — four of them women; convicted over a hundred of these as conspirators; burnt twelve of them alive at the stake; hanged eighteen, and transported seventy-two — some of whom were probably freemen — to be sold as slaves in other countries. The accused were in all cases without counsel; whenever their masters appeared on their behalf to give testimony as to their good character, or to show by alibi, or other circumstances, that the accusations were necessarily false, the evidence was disregarded. That a conspiracy existed, was assumed to be true; accusation was accepted as proof, and this was held to be none the less conclusive although the so-called confession on which it rested was subsequently declared to be false by him who had made it with the hope of saving his own life, because he repented of having borne false witness against the innocent.

Quack's confession and execution.

One instance may be given of the method pursued in the trials and the character of the confessions that obtained credence. Roosevelt's Quack was charged with being one of the conspirators, and with having set fire to the Governor's house. When bound to the stake, the hope of a pardon was held out to him, if he would tell all he knew. With the fagots piled about the wretched negro, what else could he do but confess anything that was charged against him? The essential point was, did he set fire to the Gov-

ernor's house? He declared that he did; that the night before, he took a brand from the kitchen fire and placed it on a beam beneath the roof. But as nothing came of it, he, the next day — twelve or thirteen hours afterwards — went again to the garret, quickened the still burning brand with his breath, and the fire caught the roof. The confession was accepted as true, nobody, apparently, observing its



The Mob demanding that Quack be burnt.

evident absurdity, and nobody remembering that on that morning a plumber had been employed upon the roof in a high wind, with an open furnace of live coals. But it was too late to save his life; the mob howled for his execution, and the fagots piled about the stake to which he was bound were soon ablaze.

But among the accused were some who were not black, besides the Hughson and Romme families. As the panic spread, there sprang up the fear of Papacy. The town was searched for Catholic priests; none were found; but an obscure schoolmaster, one John Ury, was arrested on suspicion. Extorted confessions, after his arrest, were made to implicate him as one of the con-

Arrest of and accusations against Ury.

spirators at John Hughson's house. Sarah, Hughson's daughter, who was repeatedly reprieved and finally pardoned, had become a swift and willing witness against any prisoner whose conviction was determined on. Ury, hitherto unheard of, and about whom many who had gone to their deaths had said no word, appeared now as a chief instigator of the plot. It was he who presided at banquets at Hughson's; he who kept a list of the conspirators; he who swore them to secrecy by drawing a circle on the floor with chalk, into which each negro put his foot as he took the oath; he who administered the sacrament and absolved from all sins — confessing Peggy among the rest, who was often, it was said, his bed-fellow. Mary Burton, who was never wanting, who at first swore she had seen no white persons at Hughson's house, except themselves, but who remembered Romme as soon as he was arrested, now also remembered Ury. She had witnessed these ceremonies; had seen the chalk-circle, and "black things" — the negroes' toes, it was conjectured — going in and out; had been offered absolution by Ury. All this, forgotten before, was now recalled vividly by this swift and willing witness.

Ury was hanged. All testimony from those who knew him well, and who showed him to be a harmless and humble teacher, was rejected. He protested, on the gallows, with an appeal to God, that he "never knew Hughson, his wife, or the creature that was hanged with them;" that he "never saw them living, dying, or dead;" that he "never knew the perjured witnesses but at his trial;" that he "never had any knowledge or confederacy with white or black as to any plot;" and he declared that he was not a Catholic, but a non-juring minister of the Church of England.

Governor Oglethorpe's letter.

On his trial was produced a letter from Governor Oglethorpe to Governor Clarke, in which the writer said he had received "some intelligence of a villainous design of a very extraordinary nature and, if true, very important." It was that "the Spaniards had employed emissaries to burn all the magazines and considerable towns of North America," and that for this purpose "many priests were employed who pretended to be physicians, dancing-masters, and other such kinds of occupations." It was thought certain that Ury was one of these priests. Then there was one Corry, a dancing-master, already in custody, suspected of being a Catholic — whom Mary Burton, of course, recognized at once, as one of the company at Hughson's, when Corry "stoutly denied it and declared he had never seen her before, at which the girl laughed." There was also great search for one Holt, another dancing-master and supposed Catholic, but he, fortunately for himself, had left the town. Oglethorpe's letter produced a profound sensation, though it

does not seem to have been observed that he closes it by saying that he had no faith in these rumors and failed to find any confirmation of them from Spanish prisoners. They firmly believed, in New York, in pretended schoolmasters and dancing-masters, who were Catholic priests in disguise, and who were conspiring with slaves to burn American cities.

Some soldiers stationed at the Fort were also taken into custody, apparently on no other ground than the suspicion that they were Papists. One of them was frightened into a confession, and his testimony was much relied upon to convict Ury. The Burton child professed to know all about these men also — to know so much, indeed, that she had often been sent, she said, to bring a dozen soldiers at a time to Hughson's house.

Arrest of supposed Catholics.

But it seems to have been suspected, at last, that these stores of knowledge, held in reserve by this ingenious young person, might become embarrassing. She talked of many white persons coming to Hughson's house, and "some in ruffles;" that these ruffled gentlemen would often send letters to Hughson, with money in them, which she judged, by the feeling, to be "milled Spanish pieces-of-eight;" she gave "the names of several white persons beyond the vulgar who sometimes resorted at Hughson's;" and she said that attempts had been made to bribe her to silence by offers of silk dresses and promises of gold. Of all this, Judge Horsmanden, who sat upon all the trials, says, "the Recorder did not care to be over-solicitous, for some reasons."

But Judge Horsmanden was himself the Recorder. His solicitude for the extreme punishment of negroes and obscure Catholics had been intense, and there can be little doubt as to his reasons for hesitating to enter upon the wider field of exploration to which Mary Burton was ready to lead the way. The fervor of the persecution was burning itself out; the opinion of those "wanton, wrong-headed persons" who, as Judge Horsmanden said, always declared "there was no plot at all," was making its way among sensible people; the testimony of the infatuated and evil-minded child — whose story had grown so rapidly from the imputation of some vague talk of insurrection by two or three thieves and the receiver of the stolen goods, to a plot including gentlemen of standing, with wealth at their command, and in which soldiers by the score had already enlisted — such testimony would prove too much, if accepted, and would presently make everybody ridiculous who lent an ear to it. The natural revulsion of a panic came at last. Of the twenty white persons committed, four were hanged and others banished from the colony. But with Ury the tragedy ended; the town

Revulsion of popular feeling.

recovered from its insane and cowardly terror by the end of summer; though for months timid people heard in every alarm of fire a threatened conflagration, and so long after as March of the next spring, a futile attempt was made to revive the belief in insurrection by hanging a negro idiot accused of arson. As the proceedings began with a Fast, so now the Governor and Council appointed the 24th of September as a day of public Thanksgiving to God for his mercies in delivering the colony from "this horrible and execrable conspiracy." To many persons the presence of an avenging Providence had been visible in a miraculous manner, in that the body of Hughson, which had been hung in chains, was believed to have turned black, and the body of Cæsar — also hung in chains on Ellis's Island, in New York harbor — to have turned white.

A day of Thanksgiving.



Ellis's Island.

This melancholy exhibition of the unmanly and abject fear which may seize upon an intelligent and vigorous community in the presence of a servile race, ignorant and powerless, seems to have been confined chiefly to the city. There were two or three cases of the punishment of blacks for some alleged connection with the plot — one we have already mentioned on the Jersey side of the Hudson — in the vicinity of New York; but everywhere, except in the town, the proportion of blacks to whites was probably too small to admit of any serious apprehension of a negro insurrection.

The population of this province had increased, in the half century between Leisler's death and the accession of Clinton, who succeeded Clarke as Governor, from ten thousand to more than sixty thousand people. "We are," said a memorial of the Council to the Govern-

ment at home in 1692, "the key and centre of all their majesties' plantations in this main." Although, as the memorial complained, "the East and West Jerseys, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on the Delaware, and that part of Connecticut which is to the westward of the Connecticut River, were lopped off,"[1] the province was large enough and its advantages obvious enough to attract emigrants. Presbyterians from Ireland, and Protestants from France, came in considerable numbers towards the end of the century. In 1710 three thousand of the Protestants who had fled to England at the invasion of the Rhenish palatinate by Louis XIV., crossed the ocean, and many of them planted new homes along the upper waters of the Mohawk and Schoharie Creek. In 1737 several hundred Dutch families made their way to the valley of the Mohawk. Within the next two years Scotch and Scotch-Irish, under the leadership of John Lindesay, pushed over the hills which border the Mohawk on the south, and settled on the banks of Cherry Valley Creek upon a grant of land made by Governor Clarke to four associates — among them his own representative.[2] These hardy pioneers brought with them the best elements of civilization, and were as robust and vigorous of character as they were strong to encounter the hardships of the wilderness. By them were built the first church and school-house in which the English tongue was spoken and taught west of the Hudson.[3] Among the earlier settlers in the Mohawk Valley was William Johnson — afterward Sir William — who came as the manager of his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, to whom a large land-grant had been made in that region. So along the Susquehanna and the Mohawk and their tributaries was scattered from time to time through the first half of the eighteenth century, the seed that was to bloom in later years into the rich harvest of Central and Western New York.

Growth of the province.

In the interminable records of disputes which royal governors maintained with their councils and assemblies, the reader vainly searches for some glimpse of the life of the men and women who were unconsciously building up an empire through the uneventful detail of their daily duties and pleasures. But a bit of a journal from the pen of an adventurous woman who went on horseback from Boston to New York in 1704, to collect some debts due to the estate of her husband, supplies a little picture of domestic life in that prosperous hamlet by the seaside, which has now become a city of a million inhabitants. "The City of New

Life in New York early in the eighteenth century.

[1] See *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. iii., 836

[2] *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. vi.

[3] *Central New York in the Revolution.* By Douglass Campbell. 1878.

York," she says, "is a pleasant, well-compacted place, situated on a Commodious River which is a fine harbor for shipping. . . . . The Bricks in some of the Houses are of divers Colors, and laid in Checkers; being glazed, look very agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plastered, and the Lumoners and Joist are planed and kept very white scoured, as so is all the partitions if made of Boards. . . . . The hearths and staircases were laid with the finest tile that I ever see, which is ever clean, and so are the walls of the kitchen, which had a Brick floor. . . . . They are Generally of the Church of England, and have a New England Gentleman[1] for their minister, and a very fine church, set out with all Customary requisites. There are also a Dutch and Divers Conventicles, viz.: Baptists, Quakers, &c. They are not strict in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had been, But seem to deal with great exactness, as far as I can see or Deal with. . . . . The English go very fashionable in their dress. But the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women in their habit, go loose, wear French muches, which are like a Cap and head-band in one, leaving their ears bare, which are set out with Jewels of large size and many in number, and their fingers hooped with Rings, some with large stones in them of many Colors, as were their pendants in their ears, which you should see very old women wear as well as young.

The houses described.

Female costume.

"They have Vendues very frequently, and make their Earnings very well by them, for they treat with good Liquor Liberally, and the Customers Drink as Liberally and Generally pay for it as well, by paying for that which they Bid up Briskly for, after the sack has gone plentifully about, — though sometimes good pennyworths are got there. Their Diversions in the Winter is Riding Sleighs about three or four Miles out of Town, where they have Houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery, and some go to friends' Houses, who handsomely treat them."

Vendues.

In 1724, when Benjamin Franklin was returning from his first visit to Boston, after he had made his home in Philadelphia, the captain of the sloop which brought him to New York spread the intelligence that his passenger had "a trunk full of books." So large a cargo of an article so rare excited surprise, and in consequence the printer lad received a message from Governor Burnet that he would be glad to see him, and Franklin accordingly waited on the Governor. A long narrative of the interview is preserved, which closed with a cordial invitation from the Governor to Franklin to visit him again. This incident is valuable as showing the utter sim-

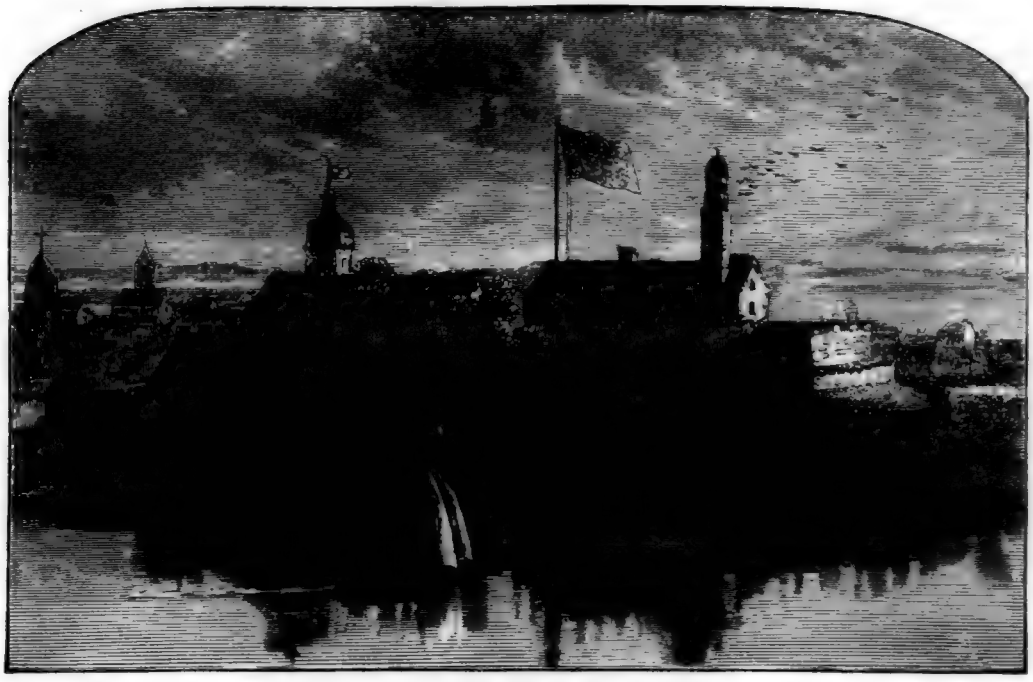
Anecdote of Franklin.

[1] Mr. Vesey.

plicity of life in the colonial seaport, where books and men who had read them were so few that the King's representative was glad to hold an hour's literary conversation with a printer's boy.

The Governor lived within the lines of the Fort, near the upper end of what is now the Battery, and his official residence was called Fort George. It was burned down, with tragic consequences, as we have already related, in the fire of 1740. The Governor's report of that date shows that it was roofed with cedar shingles. Most of the large buildings at that time were covered with tiles, and it is said that no roof in New York was slated till after the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Governor's house.



Fort George in 1740.

An amusing passage in one of Governor Clarke's despatches shows how far the city, in 1738, had drifted from the decorous pretences of loyalty. He complains that many of the principal people of the town refused to follow his example in putting on mourning for the death of Queen Caroline, "pretending that they had made themselves the joke of the town for doing it on the late king's death."

Decay of loyalty.

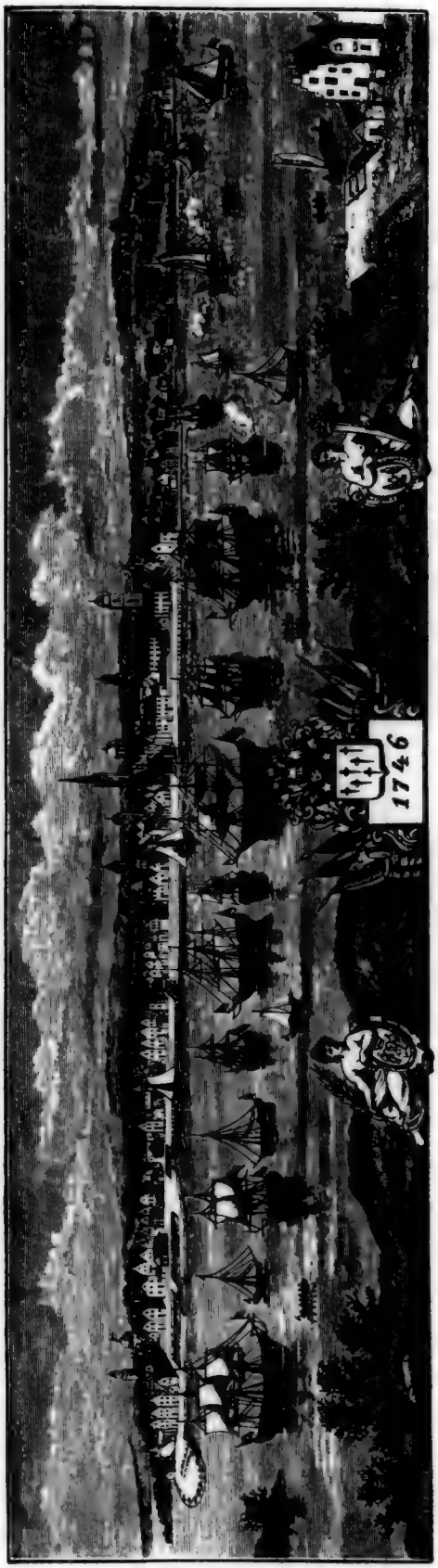
The population of New York city, which was hardly 3,000 in 1689, was about 12,000 in 1756. In the face of the perpetual difference, common to all the colonies, produced by the desire of the governors to make their own salaries a permanent charge on the colonial revenue, the matchless advantages of the seaport asserted themselves

in a growth so quiet and steady as to be hardly noticed. Their complaints that their territory had been diminished, to the advantage of Connecticut and the Jerseys, showed their ignorance of the laws of trade; for the products of those provinces came to New York as steadily as ever. New Jersey, as we have seen, hoped to make of Perth-Amboy the most important provincial seaport. But natural laws are stronger than legislation, and it is difficult now to believe that the pretty seaside village on the Jersey coast could ever have been supposed to be a formidable rival to the great commercial city of our time.

Growth of the city.

As the trade in furs became less important, the exportation of naval stores increased. But down to 1740 the attempts to manufacture potash — now one of the products most readily furnished by forest regions in America — had not been successful. Dreams of making a wine country of the valleys of the Hudson and Mohawk appear in some of the governors' despatches. Some iron was made from the rich bog ores; but neither the people of New York nor the grantees of Pennsylvania knew the value of the coal which was yet to be found on the upper waters of the Delaware and Susquehanna. In general, it may be said that the manufactures of the province were unimportant. That colonial policy of England which Chatham succinctly stated when he said he would not have a hob-nail made in

Manufactures.



New York. East Side.

the colonies, had full sway. In 1700 "a coarse pair of yarn stockings," which cost 9*d.* in London, cost 3*s.* 6*d.* English in the city of New York; and a pair of shoes which cost 3*s.* 6*d.* in London, cost 7*s.* 6*d.* in New York. But ship-building flourished steadily, and vessels were sent abroad loaded with provincial products, and sold at once in foreign harbors.

Colden's navigation scheme.

Cadwallader Colden, the Surveyor-general, who was one of the few American men of science at that time, in attempting to show the existence of a feasible route for trade to the Mississippi, finds it by the upper waters of the Susquehanna, which he proposed to reach by Cayuga Lake, thence through the Juniata by portages to the Alleghany River, and so through the Ohio.

Talk of a college.

As early as 1703 a delegation waited on Lord Cornbury to ask in what part of the "King's farm" he wished to have the college [King's, now Columbia] built. The King's farm included all the region west of Broadway, and north of Cortland Street. But no happy answer of Cornbury founded a university by a grant out of that princely domain. In 1738 Lieutenant-governor Clarke sent home "an act for the further encouragement of public schools for the teaching of Latin, Greek, and mathematics." The encouragement was the appropriation for this purpose of a tax on peddlers and hucksters.

Healthy growth of the colony.

From a perusal of council records, or governors' reports, of the condition of the colony during the first half of the eighteenth century, one would suppose it was shaken by disease in every limb, and only preserved each year from instant death by the most heroic stimulants. But in truth it was gaining with that sturdy health which a temperate climate, a matchless system of water communication, boundless forests, fertile soil, and a frugal, religious, and industrious people almost compelled. Before the half century was over, which began when Sloughter, in a drunken fit, hanged Leisler, the representative of popular rights, the people of New York had discovered their own real power, and in their own quiet way had asserted it. The misdeeds of the King's governors did little toward arresting the healthy growth of material prosperity. Education and the ornaments of civilization followed, perhaps with somewhat unequal step, on the accumulation of wealth, and before the middle of the century the province had established itself as "the key of the system of American colonies." Though it did not know it, New York was already well forward on the path of empire.

Since 1737 Lord Delaware had held the sinecure office of Governor-general over New York and New Jersey; but in 1743 a separate jurisdiction was established in each, George Clinton being appointed

Governor of the former, and Lewis Morris of the latter province. Clinton was the second son of the Earl of Lincoln, and an admiral in the British navy. He remained in office ten years; and if, as has been charged against him, he carried back to England eighty thousand pounds as the fruit of his ten years' service, he may have thought himself sufficiently compensated for an official career of more than ordinary trials and vexations. If the post was bestowed upon him through family influence, rather than because of any personal fitness, he served his royal master at least with zeal, even if he gained small credit for ability.

George Clinton Governor.

His administration was one long struggle in defence of the royal prerogative. The result was an enforced concession to the colonists of rights for which they had long contended, but which by previous governors had been in some measure successfully withstood. Clarke, the late Lieutenant-governor, had retired from office worn out with contention with the popular party, and the most influential leader of that party was James De Lancey, the Chief Justice. This able man Clinton, nevertheless, at his accession took for his adviser, and for the rest of his term repented of his weakness. It had long been a vital point with the party which De Lancey represented, that the Governor should be under the control of the Assembly, by making his salary depend upon an annual appropriation. Hunter had in his time defeated this policy, by inducing or constraining the Assembly to extend the limitation to five years, and this had held good through the administrations of successive governors to the time of Clarke, Clinton's predecessor. In the contest with Clarke the popular party had been successful; the rule was changed, and the salaries of the Governor and other official persons were to be determined from year to year by the will of the Assembly.

Influence of De Lancey over him.

De Lancey persuaded Clinton to continue this concession; to accept, that is, the precedent lately established under Clarke, and not to insist upon that which several preceding governors had made the rule. He took a still greater advantage afterward of the Governor's ignorance of civil affairs, by persuading him to consent to another and more serious innovation. The Assembly sent the Governor an appropriation bill, in which, instead of appropriating certain sums for the salaries of incumbents of certain offices, they provided that those salaries should be paid to certain persons named who then held those offices. The Governor signed the bill, and the advantage once gained the Assembly never relinquished. They had reduced him at the outset to pecuniary dependence, by getting into their own hands the power of making his salary what they pleased from year to year, or even of withholding it altogether; and

Advantages gained by the Assembly.

he practically surrendered the appointing power when he permitted them to bestow a salary upon a person named in the appropriation bill; for the pay expired with his term of office, and the next incumbent was without pay till the Assembly saw fit to provide it. It was a short step from refusing to pay anything to an officer nominated by the Governor, to dictating whom they chose to have him nominate.

Experience soon taught the Governor how skillfully he had been led to put himself almost entirely under the control of the Assembly. His letters to the Government at home are filled, from the first year of his administration to the end of it, with complaints of encroachments upon the royal prerogative by an insolent, malicious, and flagitious "faction," which aimed at getting the whole power of government into its own hands, and would be satisfied with nothing less than making the colony independent of the Crown. Whether from want of regard to the man, or indifference as to the affairs of the colony, and incredulity as to the growth of this popular spirit, the Board of Trade and the Secretary of State seem to have given little heed to these constant and bitter complaints of the Governor. He soon quarrelled with De Lancey, and took Cadwallader Colden as his chief adviser; the result was only to add to the hostility of the Assembly the hostility of the Council. When the war with France was over and the public exigencies were lessened, he attempted to retrieve his early errors, by refusing to sign money bills till the Assembly would consent to make the support of the Governor permanent, and to attach salaries to offices and not to officers named. But the Assembly was quite as firm as he, and could afford to refrain from appropriating money much longer than he and the Government could afford to do without it. A dead-lock of two years ended in his unconditional submission, and he signed the bills at last with their objectionable features unchanged. He prorogued Assemblies and removed councillors, but the faction did not abate in the slightest degree its opposition to him and his plans and policy. The Government at home



Cadwallader Colden.

Clinton's weakness.

paid so little heed to his complaints, that it sent out to De Lancey a commission as Lieutenant-governor. Clinton put it in his pocket and kept it there for a year or two, making the while pathetic appeals to Government that he might not be compelled to submit to the humiliation of appointing his bitterest enemy to a place of trust second only to his own, — a humiliation, nevertheless, which he was compelled to submit to when he left for England, and was constrained, on the eve of departure, to install De Lancey as his successor.

This bitter contest between Clinton and the Assembly, underlies all the public events of this period of ten years in the history of New York, — a contest not merely personal, remarkable as it was in that respect, but between the incongruous forces of arbitrary rule and the rights of the people.[1] The renewal of war between France and England was known in New York in July, 1744, and Clinton was at that time in Albany making preparations in expectation of that event. The treaty with the Six Nations was renewed; circular letters were sent to the governors of the other provinces, that measures might be concerted for the common defence, and the Governor some time before had ordered a double garrison to Oswego, which the traders had deserted, to hold that important post. He was already face to face with the difficulties which were for years to perplex and harass him. The Assembly was urged by repeated messages to provide for the safety of the province, but he writes to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for the Colonies, — to whom he sends his messages and the replies, — "Your Grace will see how backward they are in their deliberations, and that it is with the utmost difficulty to bring them to any tolerable resolution for the service of the publick." The Assembly chose to judge for itself, of the necessities of the occasion; the treasury was under their control; they would not submit to dictation from the Governor, and they were largely influenced by the jealous caution, — common to all the colonies, — lest their expenditure for defence should be of more benefit to some other province than their own. It was a question, moreover, with many persons whether the wiser policy was not for the colonies to maintain neutrality in the war, and thus be safe from attack from either French or Indians; and from this came the most serious accusation which Clinton made, as year by year the difference between him and his opponents grew wider and deeper, that there was a strong party at Albany with whom the trade in peltries and rum was of far more moment than their allegiance to the King or the safety of the colony, — an accusation which was hardly thought worthy of contradiction.

War with France.

Independence of the Assembly.

[1] *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. vi.

The next year Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, asked for aid in his proposed expedition against Louisburg. It was, Clinton thought, of quite as much importance to New York as to New England that this attempt should be successful. But the Assembly did not agree with him. They refused to send men, and in money appropriated only £3,000. Even this was done with great deliberation and evident reluctance, while they were not in the least moved to emulation when the Governor sent off at his own expense some cannon to assist in the siege. They turned a deaf ear to his earnest demands for active measures of defence and offence, till at length, wearied with a hopeless struggle, he dissolved the House, and ordered a new election. Though the news of the probable success of the siege of Louisburg induced this body to vote £5,000 additional in aid of that enterprise, it soon showed itself as uncompliant as its predecessor. "The dispatch of business," wrote the Governor, is

Aid to expedition against Louisburg.



Smith's Vly. — From an Old Print.

"greatly neglected by the Assembly." "They are selfish, and jealous of the power of the Crown, and of such levelling principles that they are constantly attacking its prerogative." That his complaints were not altogether unreasonable, is plain enough.

In November of this year the fort and twenty houses at Saratoga were destroyed, thirty persons killed, and sixty made captives by the Indians.

Crown Point on Lake Champlain was a position of great importance to both French and English, as it commanded the frontier line and the ordinary road of communication between Canada and Albany. In 1746 orders came from England for the capture of Canada, in ac-

cordance with Shirley's plan, to follow up the taking of Louisburg; and all the colonies, as far south as Virginia, were to furnish troops for that purpose. An advance was to be made from Louisburg against Quebec, and another from Albany towards Montreal by way of Crown Point. The Six Nations again promised to take up the war hatchet against the French, and that they would not permit their priests to come among them any more, declaring, "on the contrary, should any now dare to come, we know no use for him or them but to Roast them." As the rendezvous of the troops was at Albany, within the jurisdiction of Governor Clinton, the command devolved upon him, when Lieutenant-governor Gooch, of Virginia, who had been appointed to that position by the commissioners of the several provinces, declined to accept it.

Proposed invasion of Canada.

Clinton called to his aid William Johnson, who was already well known for his knowledge of the Indians and his influence over them. The Mohawks made him one of their chiefs, and he had married an Indian woman, the sister of Joseph Brant, who was the head of that tribe. Through Johnson's efforts the alliance with the Six Nations was confirmed, and other tribes in Pennsylvania and New England had promised to go upon the war-path. But all these formidable preparations were destined only to involve the unfortunate Governor in fresh difficulties. D'Anville's fleet off the coast of Nova Scotia arrested the movement from Louisburg. General St. Clair, who was to be commander-in-chief of the expedition against Canada, did not come with the promised reënforcement of British troops. Delay was inevitable; the Indians, disgusted with inactivity, began to disperse. The colonial troops remained idle, without pay, and poorly fed, at Albany, through the autumn and winter. The Assembly, in spite of Clinton's appeals and protests, refused to make any appropriation for their pay, and the Council, with the exception of Mr. Colden and one or two other members, sustained the Assembly. The troops clamored and broke out at last into open mutiny, and the Governor was only able to extricate himself from serious difficulty by drawing upon England for large sums. Johnson attempted to take Crown Point with an inadequate force and failed, and then came advices from England that the expedition against Canada was abandoned, to be followed soon after by a general peace and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

William Johnson.

When the news reached the Governor that the offensive movement against the French was given up, and that the troops were to be disbanded, he proposed to put his own province upon the defensive. He deemed it necessary that a force of eight hundred men should be retained and sent to the frontier, but the Assembly refused to provide

the means, and declined to do anything further for the support of the Indians. The Governor thereupon ordered the colonels of the militia of the several counties to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice. He called out the regiment and independent companies of the city of New York to parade, and his order was read at the head of the ranks. "But," he writes to the Duke of Newcastle, "every man unanimously refused to obey any orders from the Crown, unless an Act of Assembly

Disregard of Clinton's orders.



East River Shore, 1750. — From an Old Print.

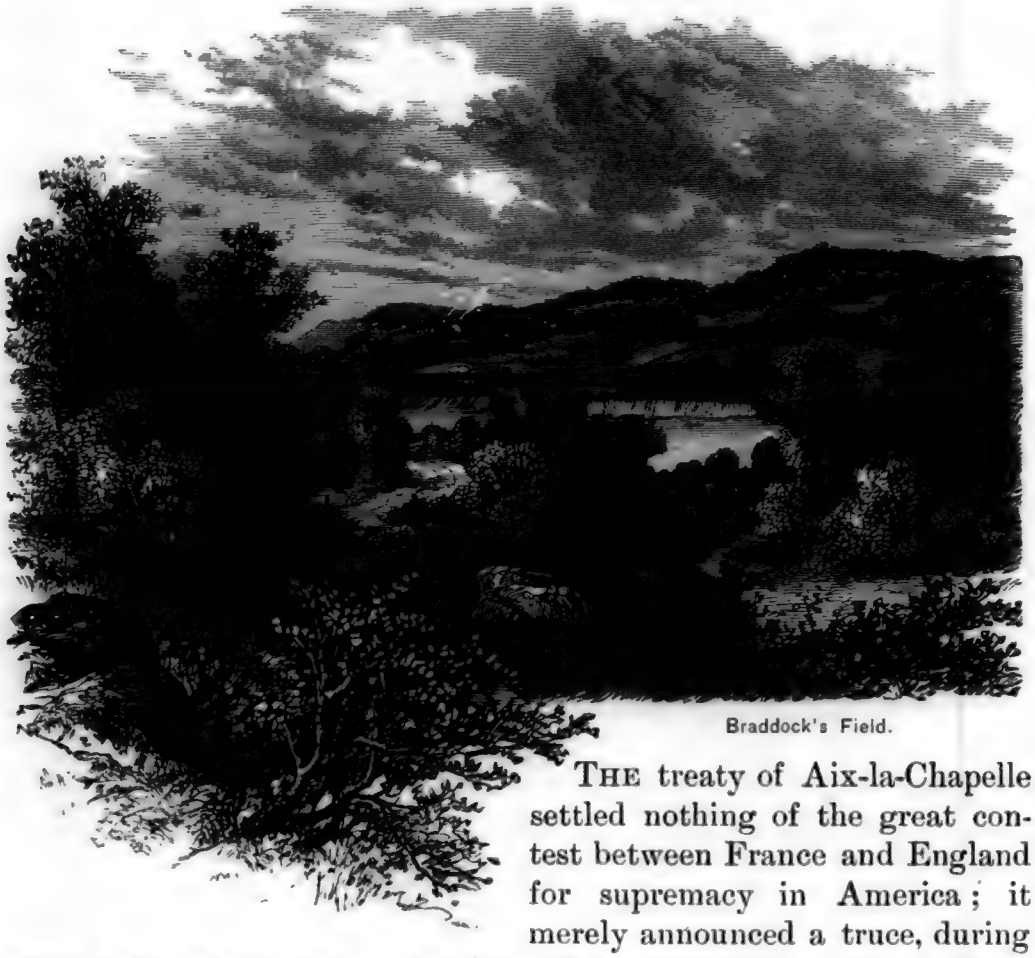
was passed in the Province for that purpose; which shows how well my opinion of their levelling, and the republican principles, has been grounded from time to time." And he adds pathetically in a postscript — "nothing has encouraged ye faction so much as this, that I have not been able to obtain any thing to show to them, signifying His Majest^s^ approbation of my conduct, or displeasure of theirs." It was not his fault that he was compelled for several years longer to endure these humiliations, for he asked repeatedly, but in vain, to be recalled; and the final mortification — the necessity of giving to De Lancey his commission as Lieutenant-governor — was, no doubt, the keener that he had hoped to escape it when Sir Danvers Osborn arrived in 1753, to supersede him as Governor. But that gentleman, who was in a condition of morbid mental depression, took his own life two days after his inauguration; and Clinton had then no alternative but to deliver formally to De Lancey the commission which he had so long withheld, and had so repeatedly urged the Government in England to recall.

Suicide of Sir Danvers Osborn.

CHAPTER X.

OPENING OF THE FRENCH WAR.

CONTEST BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE FOR TERRITORY IN AMERICA. — FRENCH MOVEMENTS INTO THE VALLEY OF THE OHIO. — LINE OF FRENCH FORTS AT THE WEST. — PROGRESS OF ENGLISH SETTLEMENT WESTWARD. — THE OHIO COMPANY. — MAJOR WASHINGTON. — HIS FIGHT WITH JUMONVILLE. — SURRENDER AT FORT NECESSITY. — CONVENTION AT ALBANY AND PLAN FOR COLONIAL UNION. — ARRIVAL OF GENERAL BRADDOCK. — HIS EXPEDITION. — FRANKLIN'S ADVICE. — BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT AND DEATH. — OPERATIONS IN NOVA SCOTIA. — THE QUESTION OF BOUNDARIES. — SETTLEMENT OF HALIFAX. — EXILE OF THE ACADIANS.



Braddock's Field.

THE treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle settled nothing of the great contest between France and England for supremacy in America; it merely announced a truce, during which both parties, recovering from their exhaustion, made provision against an inevitable and decisive conflict. In America petty hostil-

ities on the border were scarcely interrupted between the date of the treaty (1748) and the resumption of open war in 1755. As we have seen, Governor Clinton, of New York, thought it absolutely necessary, — though the Assembly did not agree with him, — that on the disbanding of the troops in 1748, a force of eight hundred men should be in readiness to march at a moment's warning to the defence of the frontiers. The Governors of other provinces sympathized with Clinton's apprehensions, and not without reason.

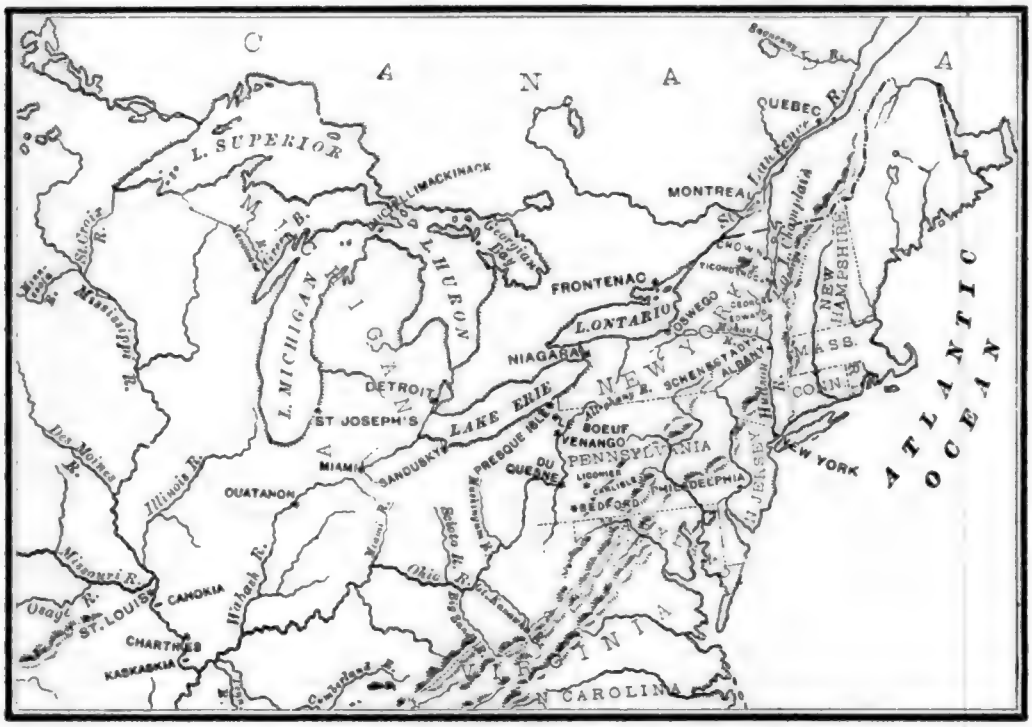
The two centres of interest for both nations were the country about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the valley of the Ohio. In 1749, De Celoron, the French commander at Detroit, made an expedition to the Ohio River, claimed the country as belonging to the French King, commanded all English traders to leave it, and wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania that if such "traders should thereafter make their appearance on the Beautiful River, they would be treated without any delicacy." Some who did not obey were afterward arrested near the lake of Otsanderket (Sandusky) and were detained as prisoners. A few months later, several Mohawk chiefs assembled at the house of Colonel Johnson, and asked of him an explanation of a leaden tablet which was to have been buried on the banks of the Ohio, but had been taken by some of their tribe from a French interpreter. It bore a Latin inscription claiming ownership of all that region of country for France.[1] The French built a fort at a commanding point above Niagara Falls, the Governor of Canada maintaining their right to encroach thus upon the lands of the Iroquois, who, he declared, were not subjects of England, but, if subjects at all, of France. There were constant alarms of bodies of Frenchmen making their way southward from the lakes to the Ohio valley; and of their determination to possess and hold that region, there was no room for doubt. The aim of both nations was the same, to be compassed, however, for different purposes and in different ways. The French meant, by a series of fortifications, to connect the St. Lawrence with the Gulf of Mexico; the English proposed the establishment of colonies westward of the Alleghanies, which should be outposts of defence for the seaboard settlements, and bases for

French and English plans in the West.

[1] Translation: In the year 1749, during the reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, commander-in-chief of New France, for the restoration of tranquillity in some villages of Indians of these districts, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Tchadakoin, this 29th July, near the River Ohio, otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all those that therein fall, and of all the lands on both sides, as far as the sources of the said rivers, as enjoyed or ought to be enjoyed by the preceding kings of France, and as they therein have maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially by those of Riswick, of Utrecht, and of Aix-la-Chapelle. — *Documents Relating to Colonial History of New York*, vol. vi.

further advances into the unknown western country. Each put forth claims resting upon discovery or purchase, but each knew also that possession was the strongest title, and it was inevitable that the struggle for possession should come first upon those who actually stood upon the disputed territory.

The course of the French can be traced by the successive posts which they established along the chain of great lakes and upon the



Map showing the Positions of French and English Forts and Settlements about the beginning of the French War.

highways of the river system. As early as 1670 and 1671 the Jesuits established missions at the outlet of Lake Superior, at the head of Green Bay, and upon the northern shore of Lake Michigan; and the Sault Ste. Marie, La Baye, and Michilimackinac became centres of Indian trade, rendezvous for the *coureurs de bois*, and garrisons for French troops. A little later, a line of forts was established, guarding the passages of the great lakes, Frontenac, — where the St. Lawrence issues from Lake Ontario, — Niagara, and Detroit. These places became by degrees the centres of little settlements that grew up under the protection of their walls, but military occupation continued to be the chief aim. Then the access to the Mississippi was controlled by Fort St. Joseph near one of the sources of the Illinois, and still more by the older fort at Green Bay, on the Wisconsin River. The valleys of the Miami and the Wabash were held by Fort Miami and Fort

Ouatanon, a little below the present site of Lafayette, Ind., while the southern shore of Lake Erie was guarded by Forts Presqu' Isle, Le Bœuf, and Sandusky. Along the natural highways to the Mississippi and the Ohio were stockade settlements at Vincennes, at Kaskaskia, at Cahokia; and on the banks of the Mississippi were solitary stations marking the course of French arms and trade. Coming closer to the frontier of British settlements, communication was open from Fort Niagara to Presqu' Isle, on the site of the present town of Erie, thence to Fort Le Bœuf on a branch of the Alleghany, from which there was direct passage by water to Venango, and to the entrance of the Alleghany into the Ohio, where stood the farthest outpost of the French, in this quarter, Fort Du Quesne. It will thus be seen that the French could march their troops by natural highways from the stronghold in Canada, at the back of the New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia settlements, and were rapidly getting control of that great artery, the Mississippi itself.

The English, on the other hand, were pushing their colonies from the Atlantic coast westward, by irregular lines, across the rugged Alleghanies, with little help from river courses. From those mountains and from the country on the farther side, incursions from Indians were always threatened, and it was early seen that there was need of establishing settlements upon that frontier country which should serve as a protection to the thinly scattered homes lying between the mountains and the sea-coast. But the English life was that of settlers, not of traders and hunters, and the measures taken were for occupation of the country, not for simple military control. It was partly the movements of the French that suggested to Spotswood of Virginia the extension of the Virginia settlements westward, to intercept the communication between Canada and Louisiana; and three years later Governor Keith of Pennsylvania urged upon the Lords of Trade the erection of a fort on Lake Erie. From time to time, during the next thirty years, warning voices were raised by sagacious observers, and plans suggested for the systematic action of the government.[1]

The first organized attempt at possession, was the formation of the Ohio Company in 1748, by an association of gentlemen in Virginia and Maryland, with a representative in London. Thomas Lee, one of his Majesty's Council in Virginia, was the original projector; and Lawrence and Augustine Washington, elder brothers of George, were largely interested in the enterprise. Five hundred thousand acres of land were granted to the Company by the King, to be

The Ohio Company.

[1] These considerations, with others, were set forth at a later date by Franklin in his defence of the Walpole Grant, which asked for an immense tract of country south of the Ohio, for purposes of settlement.

taken chiefly on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers, and west of the Alleghanies. One of the principal objects of the Company was to make use of the river communication by the Potomac and the eastern branches of the Ohio, and thus connect the new country with Virginia and Maryland, rather than with the rival colony of Pennsylvania. The road over the mountains from Cumberland to what is now Pittsburg, was laid out by Colonel Cresap, one of the Company, chiefly through the agency of a friendly Indian, Nemacolin. Exploring parties were sent out in 1750 and 1751 under Christopher Gist, and Gist himself, who had been appointed surveyor of the Company, formed a settlement, with eleven other families, in the country between the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers.

But the country which the Ohio Company proposed to occupy, though granted by George II., had other owners. When Penn made his first settlement, he found on the banks of the Delaware the Lenni Lenape (Original Men), known by the English then and afterward as the Delaware Indians. They had been reduced to submission by the Iroquois, and they afterward sold their lands to Penn, and lived amicably by the side of the settlers. But little by little the whites crowded back the Indians, Penn's successors not always dealing with them according to his precept and example, till the Delawares were driven to the western slopes of the Alleghanies and the adjacent valleys. The Shawnoes, who had also been subdued by the Six Nations, were their neighbors.

The Company's plans of settlement.

The Ohio Company petitioned the government of Virginia to invite the Indians to a treaty. A meeting was called at Logstown, a trading-post about seventeen miles from the present site of Pittsburg, on the north side of the Ohio. The traders and the French alike threw obstacles in the way of a good understanding between the government and the Indians, and it was not until a second call was given in 1752, that Mr. Gist, as agent of the Company, Colonel Fry, and two other commissioners from Virginia, met the Indians and effected a treaty, by which the Indians agreed not to molest any settlements that might be made on the southeast side of the Ohio. But the Indians were careful even now to refuse to recognize any English claim to the land. The Company constructed a fort, built some roads, and brought goods for trading; a few families settled about Gist's place, but before the country had been fairly occupied, their vigilant adversaries, the French, had pushed southward from Lake Erie by the highway of the Alleghany, and were preparing to establish themselves, not by colonies, but by forts, in the heart of the disputed territory. In the autumn of 1753 they had intrenched

themselves at Venango (now Franklin, in Venango County, Pennsylvania). When this was known in Virginia, it was determined to send a commissioner to investigate the proceeding, since Venango was on territory claimed by that colony. Governor Dinwiddie selected for this duty a Virginia surveyor, about twenty-two years of age, who had already shown a marked capacity for dealing with Indians and for backwoods life, and whose brothers had been closely identified with the movements of the Ohio Company, — Major George Washington. The young commissioner, accompanied by Mr. Gist and a few attendants, set out from Fredericksburg, October 30, 1753, and making friends at Logstown with some Delaware chiefs, took them with him to Venango, which he reached early in December. The officers whom he found there sent him on to the

George Washington appointed commisioner for the Company.



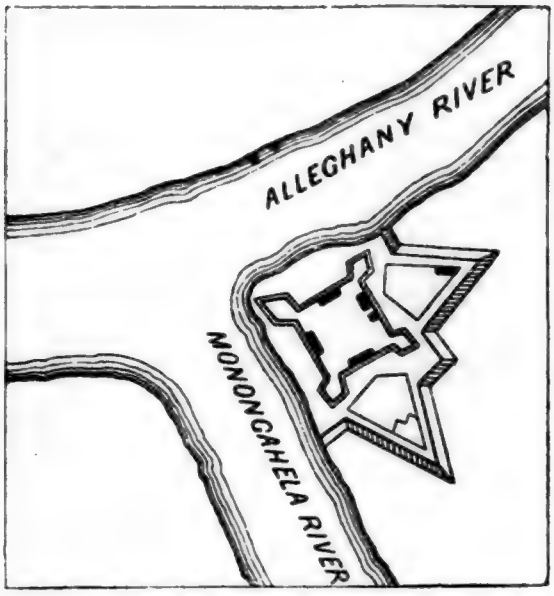
Washington on his Journey to the French Forts.

commander at Fort Le Bœuf, to whom he delivered the letter of Governor Dinwiddie. He brought back an evasive reply, but the object of his expedition was really accomplished in his observations of the movements and plans of the French and their dealings with the Indians.

The report made by Washington on his return, January 16, 1754, led to prompt action on the part of Virginia. The Assembly voted £10,000 for fitting out an expedition, which was to erect necessary fortifications at the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela to protect the Ohio Company in its operations. The provinces of North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Maryland were called upon for aid, but the jealousy between the provinces, and the disputes between the people and Proprietary in Pennsylvania, prevented any very vigorous

assistance, so that the main burden fell upon Virginia. Washington was made second in command, under Colonel Joshua Fry, and the active work of organizing the little army at Alexandria was mainly his. Meanwhile, in advance of the action of the Burgesses, a company of men under Ensign Ward had been sent forward in haste to secure the position. Washington, in command of the main body, had reached the camp at Will's Creek, near Cumberland, when he learned that the French under Contrecœur had appeared in force before the works which Ward and his men had begun, and had demanded an immediate surrender. On the 17th of April, 1754, Ward surrendered, and that date has been taken as the beginning of actual hostilities in this final struggle of the French and English for supremacy in America. Ward himself brought the intelligence to Washington, who at once sent expresses to the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, asking for reënforcements, and then pressed forward with his men, without waiting for Colonel Fry, who had not yet arrived. Contrecœur proceeded, after Ward's surrender, to complete the works which the English had begun, and named the place Fort Du Quesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

Hostilities begun by the French.



Plan of Fort Du Quesne.

It was Washington's plan to proceed to the junction of Red Stone Creek with the Monongahela, thirty-seven miles from the French position, and there intrench while waiting for reënforcements; but before he reached that point he learned, at a place called Great Meadows, not only that the French force had been increased, but that a party was in the woods approaching him. He took advantage of the night to surprise the scouting party in advance of the main body, and captured more than half their number. In the attack M. de Jumonville, the commander, was slain. Washington then hastily erected earthworks at Great Meadows, naming the place Fort Necessity, and waited anxiously for the reënforcements which he had been told were on the way. Before these came, however, on the 3d of July, he was attacked by a large body of French and compelled, after a gallant struggle, to capitulate, upon

Washington's surrender.

terms which, through the ignorance or duplicity of the interpreter, proved to be less favorable than was at first supposed.

The French seized upon this affair as a pretext for diplomatic negotiation, behind which they concealed more active measures. The English pushed forward their preparations with less diligence. The government had already sent instructions to the colonies not to permit encroachments by the French, — which was precisely the course Virginia had been pursuing, — to form a confederacy for mutual support, and directed the Governor of New York to call a Council of Indian chiefs, to conciliate them by presents, and win them to the British interest. The imminent peril in which the colonies found themselves was a powerful auxiliary to these instructions, and on the 19th of June, 1754, twenty-five delegates from seven northern colonies assembled at Albany, and there met delegates from the Six Nations.

Rapid progress toward war.

Franklin, who was sent from Pennsylvania, relates, in his "Autobiography," that, on the way to Albany, he drew up a plan for a union of all the colonies under one government, and found, on his arrival, that several of the commissioners had done the same thing. There was a general belief in the necessity of such a union for the better defence of the colonies, and the subject was discussed with great deliberation. The plan finally adopted, based upon that proposed by Franklin, provided for a federal government, consisting of a President-general and a Grand Council. The President was to be appointed by the Crown, with a veto power over the acts of the Council; the Council was to be a popular Congress, composed of a designated number of delegates chosen by the Assembly of each colony. The Congress was to meet annually, and oftener if summoned by the President, and the term of service of members was to be three years.[1] This constitution of government was submitted in due time to the Board of Trade in England, and to the Assemblies of the several provinces, but was rejected by both. In England it was thought to give too much power to the people; in America the fear was that too much was granted to a royal President.

Proposed union of the colonies.

[1] The delegations of the several provinces were fixed as follows, and they show the relative importance of each at that time: —

Massachusetts Bay	7	Pennsylvania	6
New Hampshire	2	Maryland	4
Connecticut	5	Virginia	7
Rhode Island	2	North Carolina	4
New York	4	South Carolina	4
New Jerseys	3		

Nova Scotia and Georgia were not included in the plan. For a full report of the Convention, see *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. vi.

The Convention, however, devoted itself with great zeal to strengthening the alliance with the Indians, and impressing upon them how disastrous it would be to their welfare, should they permit the French to build forts upon the Ohio. The Indians replied: "The Governor of Virginia and the Governor of Canada are both quarrelling about lands which belong to us, and such a quarrel as this may end in our destruction."

Arrival of General Braddock.

In September, 1754, Edward Braddock was commissioned as Commander-in-chief of all the forces in North America, and with him, as next in command, were associated Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperell of Massachusetts. It was the design of the government to make a fourfold movement against the French possessions. The French forts in Acadia were to be taken; expeditions were to proceed against Crown Point and Niagara; and Braddock himself was at once to dislodge the French from Fort Du Quesne and the other forts in the Ohio valley. After reducing those places, he was to move on to Niagara and join the expedition which was at the same time to attack that stronghold. The provision made for this comprehensive plan was liberal. Six thousand troops were provided by the Crown, equipped for service, and large sums were placed at the disposal of the provinces, which were encouraged to raise a provincial army. Braddock himself arrived with his expedition in Hampton Roads, in February, 1755. The French, after reënforcing Fort Du Quesne, in expectation of an early attack, had withdrawn their troops during the winter, and there were now not over two hundred men, French and Indian, in occupation. But the movements of the English were speedily known, and the commander of the fort, on guard against surprise, was able to summon something less than a thousand men from the neighboring forts. Two months after Braddock landed in Virginia, a formidable squadron sailed from Brest, carrying three thousand men to Canada. It seems almost as if the English had become befogged by their own diplomatic manœuvres, when, instead of attacking at once an armament whose destination and purpose were unequivocal, they sent Admiral Boscawen, with a force half that of the enemy's, to lie in wait for the squadron off the Banks of Newfoundland, and some time after sent an insufficient reënforcement to support him in the face of another powerful detachment of the French fleet. Mirepoix had declared that the first gun fired at sea in a hostile manner should be taken as a declaration of war. Boscawen captured only two French ships, and war was now opened in dead earnest.

War begun.

The Commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America was a soldier of acknowledged training and personal bravery, but a self-

confident and obstinate man, a martinet who held in high esteem the traditions of the Coldstream Guards, of which he had been Lieutenant-colonel. Upon his arrival he called a convention of the Governors of the different colonies to meet him for conference, and urged upon them, in the same letter, the formation of a common fund with which to assist in carrying on operations. The convention met on April 14, at Alexandria, and the intervening months were spent by the General in discovering the difficulties which lay in his way. He found himself representing the British power, but unable to overcome the obstinacy or indifference of Assemblies and Governors. The affair of the Ohio lands had been taken up by Virginia, and Virginia, therefore, showed most alacrity in supporting the English General; Pennsylvania was dilatory, not from want of interest, but because of the interminable quarrel between the Governor and the Assembly as to the amount of money to be raised and the best way of raising it. The most direct road led through that province, and contemporary as well as later judgments unite in deploring the error which led Braddock to make Virginia, rather than Pennsylvania, his starting-point;[1] but the choice was not singular, when Virginia had been all along the moving colony, and the previous expeditions had followed the road that had been blazed from Hill's Creek.

Braddock's expedition.

At the meeting of Governors, General Braddock earnestly urged those points in the campaign which formed the basis of his instructions. He called for the establishment of a common fund; but they replied that they had in vain endeavored to persuade the several Assemblies to take measures for this. He proposed that a treaty, with presents, should be made with the Six Nations, and that Colonel Johnson should negotiate it. They assented to this, promised to raise eight hundred pounds for presents, and also agreed to place the expedition against Crown Point under Johnson's command. He proposed the reënforcement of the fort at Oswego, and the building of two vessels on Lake Ontario, to which they also agreed; and after full instructions to Johnson, — who was at first reluctant to accept his trust as plenipotentiary to the Six Nations, because of the lack of faith heretofore shown toward the Indians, but finally was persuaded to accept in consideration of Braddock's known integrity, — the council broke up, and the army began its movements.

On the 24th of April Braddock was at Frederick, Maryland, impatiently awaiting the arrival of the wagons which he had ordered for

[1] Entick, i. 142. Franklin's *Autobiography*, in Bigelow's *Life of Benjamin Franklin, written by himself*, i. 317. *The Olden Time*, ii. 540. "It was computed at the time that had he landed at Philadelphia, his march would have been shortened by six weeks, and £40,000 wou'd have been saved in the cost of the expedition. — Sargent's *Braddock*, pp. 161, 162.

transporting his stores. In the old barracks, still standing, he received Washington, whom he had invited to join his military family as aid-de-camp, and Franklin, who at this time was Postmaster-general of the colonies. Franklin gave him immediate and important aid. When the efforts to procure wagons had signally failed, he came forward with a proposal to obtain them from Pennsylvania, and by a most adroit advertisement and address, added to his personal influence, the necessary conveyances were promptly secured. He might have been of far greater service if Braddock could have been prevailed upon to take warning from the words of this shrewd American. The English General, who had already discussed with the naval commander the best course to be pursued with the French whom he should capture at Fort Du Quesne, and had laid out his journey through the backwoods as confidently as if expecting to march from London to Greenwich, said to Franklin, in an off-hand way, that he should only stop a day or two at Fort Du Quesne, and then go on to Niagara and Frontenac. Franklin ventured only to say: "To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Du Quesne with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, that place, not completely fortified, and, as we hear, with no very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march is from ambuscades of Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other." "He smiled at my ignorance," adds Franklin, "and replied: 'These savages may, indeed, be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression.' I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more."[1]

Braddock's plans.



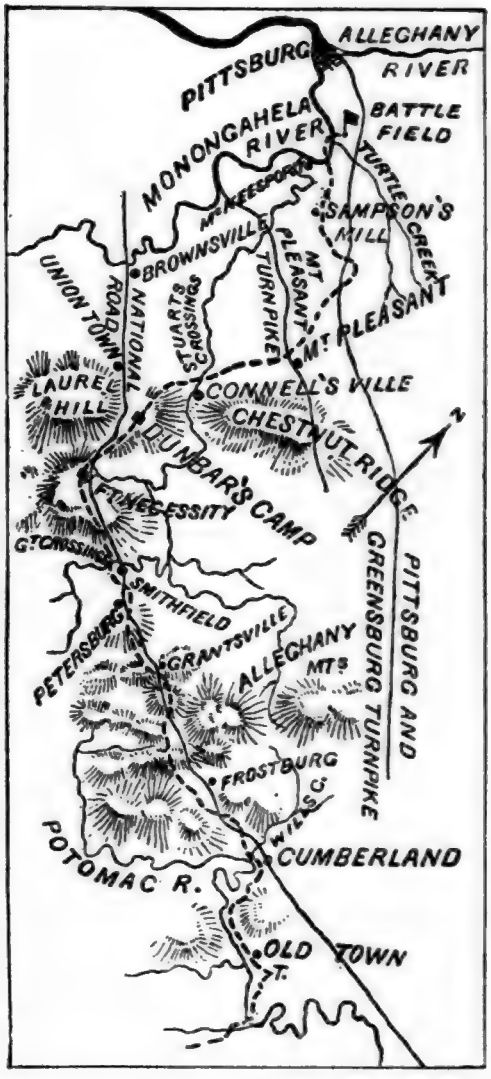
Old Barracks, Frederick.

[1] Bigelow's *Life of Franklin*, i. 324, 325.

The same fatuous reliance on "regular troops" led Braddock to receive so coldly and disdainfully the overtures of Croghan, the interpreter, and his hundred Indians, that they fell off from him. Washington knew the value of these men, and urged them upon the General; but though he seems to have been drawn to the young Virginian, he was incapable, as Washington himself says, "of giving up any point he asserts, be it ever so incompatible with reason or common sense."

His forces.

The rendezvous for all the forces was at Fort Cumberland on Will's Creek, and here, on the 7th of June, Franklin's wagons and horses having been gathered, the expedition made its final start. It consisted of 1,000 regulars, brought over by Braddock, 30 sailors, and 1,200 provincials, besides a train of artillery, and with them, at the start, were a number of friendly Indians. The road followed was that originally made by Nemacolin, over which Washington had passed, now slowly widened by the axes of the advance guard. On the third night after starting, the encampment was only five miles beyond Fort Cumberland. A week later, when they had effected the crossing of the Great Savage Mountain, they entered upon the gloomy tract known as the Shades of Death. Dense woods of enormous white pines covered this region, and the stillness of the forest only sharpened the ear more intently for the sudden crack of the Indian's rifle.



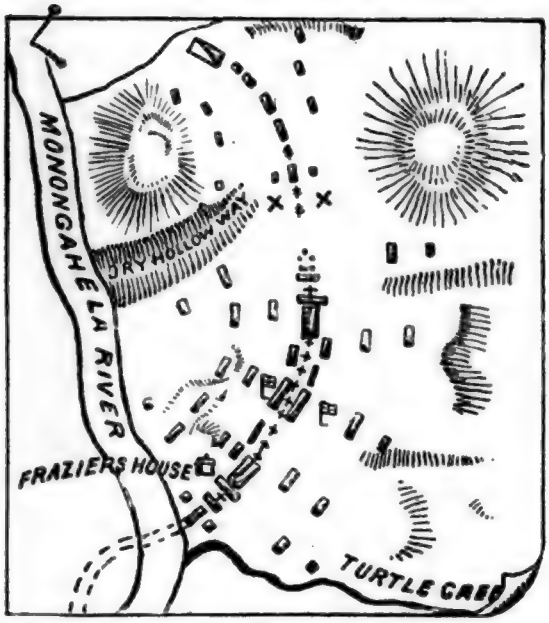
Braddock's Route

When the expedition emerged from this, at Little Meadows, where an advance detachment had thrown up some rude fortifications, a council was held, to consider how best to meet the growing difficulties. Washington's urgent advice was, to push on with twelve hundred men, lightly equipped, leaving about half the men and all the baggage and horses that could be spared. His advice was taken, and again the army

moved forward, now more compact, but growing worn and exhausted by the unwonted labors.

His march.

Now began also, as they plunged deeper into the wilderness, desertions of the Indian allies, the picking off of stragglers by hostile savages hovering on the flanks of the train, and sudden apparitions of dusky forms at night. The tactics of the army were still those of European warfare. They halted, as Washington impatiently declares, "to level every mole-hill and to erect bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles." It was with difficulty that Braddock could persuade any of the Indians still remaining with him, to act as scouts, while his own movements were constantly watched and reported to the French commander. At length on the 8th of July the army encamped two miles from the Monongahela, near what is known as Crooked Run. They were on the same side of the river as the Fort, but the passage for two miles was by a narrow defile, having the river on the left, and a high ridge on the right. It was determined, therefore, to take advantage of two fords on the Monongahela; to cross at the first ford not far from the camp; then, proceeding along the south side, to recross at the other, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, distant, as the crow flies, from Fort Du Quesne, only about eight miles; thence to march upon the fort and invest it.



Map of Braddock's Field.

Action of the French.

The progress of Braddock's march had been reported from day to day to Contrecœur, the commander at the fort. The number of the army, whose line extended sometimes four miles, was greatly exaggerated, and Contrecœur, looking upon his feeble garrison, not a thousand in number, of which four fifths were Indians encamped about the walls, resolved not to hazard a battle, but to seek an honorable surrender. The Indians shared his apprehensions; but one of the captains of the regulars, De Beaujeu, well versed in Indian warfare, begged to be allowed to lay an ambuscade and intercept the British on their march. To do this, the consent of the Indians had to be obtained, and it was only upon the morning of the 9th, when a runner brought word that the army was in

motion again, that Beaujeu could bring them to resolution. Appearing at their council, he burst out, "I am determined to go out and meet the enemy. What! will you suffer your father to go out alone?" From timidity and unfeigned reluctance they passed suddenly to fierce confidence and headlong haste. In a moment the war-paint was on, and the whole body of French and Indians were frantic for action.

Braddock broke camp early on the morning of the 9th, and having sent detachments to hold both fords, moved his army across the river. He ordered the march to be made as if on dress parade, and in this manner, with splendid uniforms, colors flying, and martial music, the soldiers eagerly looking forward to the end of their toil, the whole army passed along the southern bank from the first ford to the second, the sunlight falling on the brilliant colors and gleaming steel.[1] Washington and Gates, Gage, Morgan, and Mercer, — names that were to be famous in another war, — were there.

By two o'clock most of the troops had crossed the second ford. From the gentle slope of the river bank, covered with an open wood of walnut trees, the land rose abruptly into high hills from which fell off three deep ravines, dense with a rank growth of trees and underbrush. The march was over these rounding hills and diagonally to the ravines which now began to disclose themselves. Suddenly, when the troops were separated by the nature of the ground, one of the engineers, who was marking out the road, looked up and saw a man, gayly dressed in a fringed hunting-dress, wearing a silver gorget on his breast, come leaping down the hill-side. It was Beaujeu. Behind him, following with bounding steps, the motley array of French and Indians came pressing on. He stopped, and swung his hat about his head, when suddenly the savages disappeared, the French only remaining in sight and pouring a murderous fire upon the English. In a moment from the ravines on either side came volleys accompanied by unearthly yells and shrieks such as never before had saluted the ears of the regulars. Gage's men, who held the advance, stood their ground and were presently reënforced by St. Clair's working party. They returned the fire of the French, and Beaujeu fell dead.

The ambuscade.

The Indians began to fly, but Dumas and De Ligueris, companions of Beaujeu, rallied the savages, and from their posts behind the trees rapidly picked off the regulars, who continued to fire with great noise and fury into the forest, which now seemed transformed into a

[1] "Washington was often heard to say, during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning." — Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 469.

troop of devils, each tree sending its murderous bullets into the ranks of the regiment. Scarcely a man was to be seen, but the deadly fire was unerring and incessant. Braddock, who was with the rear still at the river bank, hearing the engagement, sent forward the bulk of his forces, leaving four hundred to protect the baggage at the river. They had formed and were advancing, when Gage's party fell back upon the advance, and the mass of men, struggling in confusion, became almost a mob, into which the French and Indians, hovering about as if in the branches of the trees, plunged their deadly fire. In vain Braddock, rushing hither and thither, sought to rally his



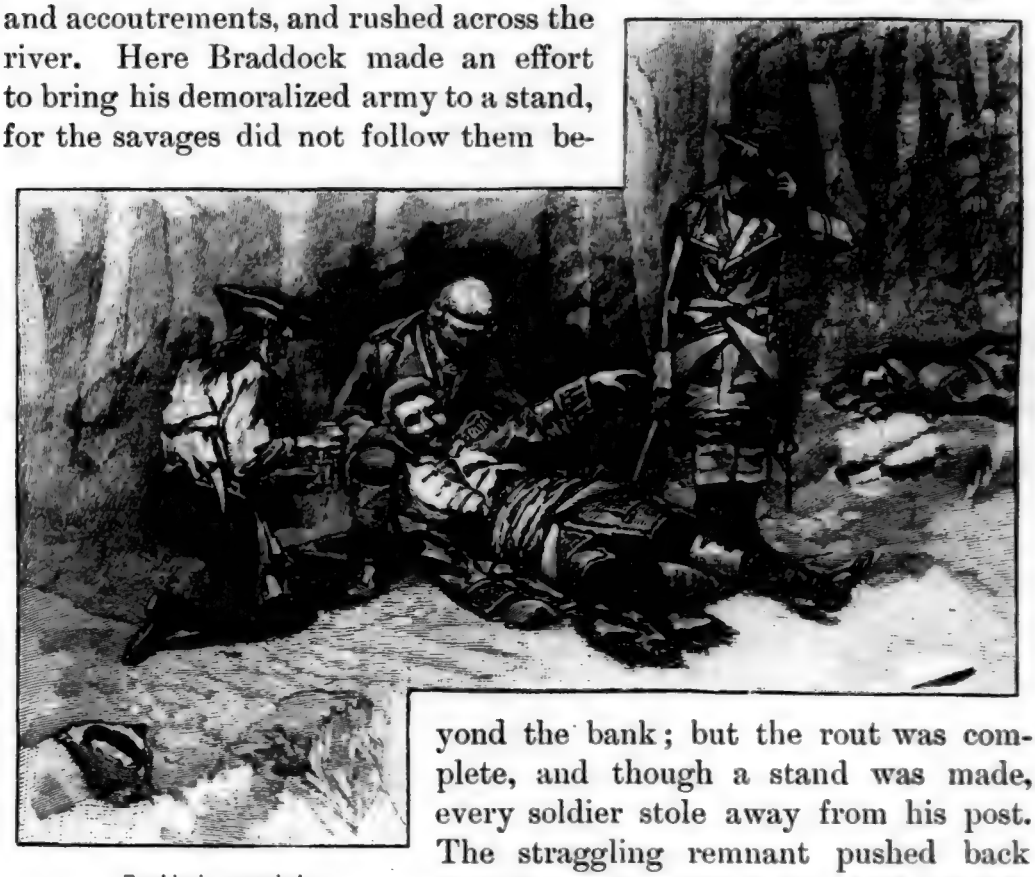
Beaujeu's Advance.

men and form them; in vain he urged them forward. Four horses were shot under him; he mounted a fifth, and with his officers flung himself in advance to inspirit his men. But they could not be rallied. The provincials, indeed, who throughout maintained more coolness than the regulars, better understanding the nature of the warfare, quickly took positions behind trees. Washington urged Braddock to

give the word for the men to adopt this method, but instead, the infatuated commander himself drove men from out of their skulking-places, as he thought them, and insisted that the battle should be waged according to established rules. In the confusion the men fired upon their own comrades. Braddock himself was wounded, but while lying upon the ground he continued to give orders, and the army, trained to obedience, while it could not advance, could at least stand and be shot down.

At length, when they were surrounded and even the baggage was attacked, and all hope of victory was gone, he ordered the drums to beat a retreat. In a moment, the retreat became a panic, and it was only by the bravery of a few devoted men that Braddock himself was borne off the field. The men threw aside guns and accoutrements, and rushed across the river. Here Braddock made an effort to bring his demoralized army to a stand, for the savages did not follow them beyond the bank; but the rout was complete, and though a stand was made, every soldier stole away from his post. The straggling remnant pushed back over the road by which they had so lately advanced, and on the 11th the camp of reserves was reached. The army was utterly disorganized, and no effort was made to save anything. The stores were destroyed, and the straggling troops fell back at last to Fort Cumberland.

The panic



Braddock wounded.

Braddock continued giving orders so long as strength remained to him, but kept utter silence otherwise. On Sunday, the 13th, as the shattered army lay at Great Meadows, he gave his final orders, and

committed affairs to Washington, for whom he had formed a strong attachment. During the retreat he is said to have spoken only to give his commands. Now, his sole allusion to the terrible discomfiture which had broken up his army and destroyed his military reputation, was in the half-muttered words, "Who would have thought it! Who would have thought it!" He turned to Orme, his faithful lieutenant, and said, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time." But Braddock's one chance had been lost through his own obstinacy and wrong-headedness. He died, and was buried at Great Meadows, where his grave is still pointed out. The army, under Dunbar, finally reached Philadelphia at the end of August.

Results of Braddock's defeat.

The miserable conclusion of an expedition which had set out so vainglorioously, brought a train of evils in the devastation of the back country of Virginia and Pennsylvania by the Indians, who had no fear of this defeated enemy; it brought also one unsuspected good in the knowledge that regulars were not invincible, and the British power not blindly to be relied upon. The conduct of the provincials in the fight, showed clearly the mettle of the country troops, and their superiority in fighting methods. The breaking down of the foreign army led at once to the creation of a militia organization, and out of Braddock's defeat grew that confidence in themselves which sustained the Americans in the subsequent conflict with Great Britain. The immediate effect, nevertheless, upon the minds of English and Americans was one of bitter chagrin and disappointment.

In Nova Scotia, the news of the disaster was received at a moment so critical to operations in that quarter, that imperative orders were given to prevent its reaching the French inhabitants. The English occupation of that province since its cession by France in the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, had been very meagre, and such population as the peninsula held was mainly French, while the boundaries of the province were the subject of long and minute controversy, a controversy only ended by the conquest of Canada itself.

Boundaries of Nova Scotia.

The question of boundaries was considered for more than three years at Paris by a Board of Commissaries. The range of the discussion included the consideration of ancient limits and the identity of Nova Scotia and Acadia, and conclusions differed widely. But both governments practically recognized the popular understanding that Nova Scotia or Acadia corresponded with the present limits of the peninsula. The French acknowledged that the people about the Basin of Minas were British subjects, and the English confined their efforts at colonization to Nova Scotia proper.

The importance of the peninsula, and the necessity of planting it

with Englishmen, if it was to be anything more than nominally English, were beginning to be seen. Scarcely any organized effort had been made by the English to occupy the country, while the French settlements about Annapolis Royal and the Basin of Minas had grown into compact communities who were rapidly accumulating wealth. Not the nationality only, but the religion of these French settlers held them together and made them a foreign body, all the more dangerous in the eyes of Englishmen that they were both French and Roman Catholic. "The zeal and attachment of these Nova Scotians to the Romish faith," writes a vigorous pamphleteer of that day,[1] "will always prevent the settlement of Protestants in the country, unless it be done in compact bodies and under the cover of fortifications; but till this is accomplished, it can no more be said that the Province belongs to the Crown of Great Britain, because it is possessed of Annapolis Royal, than of the kingdom of Spain from our possession of Gibraltar. It is therefore absolutely necessary for the safety and interest of the Northern colonies that some speedy and effectual measures are taken to put these Nova Scotians on a definite footing, or to remove them; the last cannot well be done, and the first in nothing better than by encouraging a considerable number of foreign Protestants and others to settle amongst them."

Condition of the Acadian Peninsula.

This encouragement was soon given. An advertisement in the London "Gazette," dated at Whitehall, 7th March, 1749, was issued by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, offering special inducements to recently dismissed officers and privates of the army and navy, as also to carpenters, shipwrights, smiths, masons, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, "and all other artificers necessary in building or husbandry," by which passage was given to Nova Scotia, grants of land made, and subsistence promised for a year. So popular was the enterprise and so prompt the movement that, early in May of the same year, Colonel Edward Cornwallis — uncle to that Lord Cornwallis whose name occupies so conspicuous a place in the annals of the American Revolution — led an expedition of about twenty-five hundred persons into Chebucto Harbor in Nova Scotia.[2]

Inducements to English settlers in Nova Scotia.

The name of Halifax was given to the settlement which was then begun, in honor of the President of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, Lord Halifax, who was exceedingly interested in the success

[1] *The State of Trade in the Northern Colonies considered: with an Account of their Produce, and a particular Description of Nova Scotia.* By Otis Little.

[2] Haliburton's *Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia* makes the number much larger; but Akins's *Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia* gives a list of those who came with Cornwallis.

of the enterprise. The country about Chebucto Harbor was densely wooded, and the nearest settlement was that of the French about the Basin of Minas, twenty miles distant, but a cattle-path already connected the two points. Cornwallis at once set his colonists to work, clearing the ground in preparation for the winter, and at the end of four months could report "there are now three hundred houses covered in at Halifax, which I hope will be tolerably comfortable for the winter." The removal of the garrison from Louisburg added both to the force and to the stores of the young colony, and French and Indians were hired to labor upon the public works.

Halifax founded.



Earl of Halifax

Cornwallis had the poorest possible opinion of the military resources at Annapolis. "My Lord," he writes to the Duke of Bedford, who had now become Secretary for the Colonies, "these Companies are as prepared for service as a Regiment raised yesterday. The whole management in this Province, both with regard to the Inhabitants and these Companies, has been such that 't is scandalous the Crown should be so served. It has been called an English Province these thirty-four years, and I don't believe that the King had one true subject without the Fort of Annapolis. I cannot trace the least glimpse of an English Government." He wrote repeatedly of the way in which the French were inciting the Indians to make war upon the colony, openly and by stealth: "The French have not only set on the Indians, but have acted in conjunction with them; they have entered and took possession of part of the Province, drove off the Inhabitants, forced them to swear allegiance to the French King, and in short acted with as much vigour and done as much harm to us as they could have done in open war."

Relations of the English colonists with the French.

There was hardly a pretence, indeed, of a cessation of hostilities. A French settlement had recently been made at the mouth of the St. John, and an expedition had been sent to occupy the isthmus between Nova Scotia and the mainland. Throughout the whole win-

ter Halifax was in constant apprehension of attack, and was incessantly annoyed by predatory bands of French and Indians. To strengthen the Province, Cornwallis believed first of all in military measures; but he recommended also the introduction of foreign Protestants, especially from among the Swiss, whose influence over the French Catholics, he hoped, would be beneficial.

The problem of dealing with the French inhabitants.

But some more direct interference with the inhabitants seemed necessary. The troubles of the colonists could be traced directly to the machinations of certain priests and intriguing men amongst them; and in event of an open war with France, which was steadily becoming more probable, there could be little doubt that the French settlers would, openly or secretly, side with the French cause. To banish them from the Province was only to turn them into open enemies and increase the strength of Canada and Cape Breton. That peril had been early foreseen, and repeated allusions to it recur in the correspondence between Cornwallis and the home government. On the other hand, there was no time, in the face of the gathering storm, to make English citizens of them. The introduction of French Protestants was an experiment which might easily work in the opposite direction from what was intended, and fan the flame of religious hatred.

Difficulties of the question.

In tracing the relations between the English and French which led to the deportation of the Acadians, it becomes necessary to note how constantly the English government, both at home and in the Province, were reminded that the persons with whom they were dealing held but a paper loyalty to them. By the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the French residents in Acadia, then ceded to the English, were allowed a year in which either to take the oath as British subjects, or to leave the country. But while the French in Canada urged them to remove, and threatened them with the fate of rebels if they did not, the English were aware that not only would their removal greatly increase the importance of the rival colony of Cape Breton, but leave Nova Scotia almost entirely depopulated. It was hoped, moreover, that in process of time the descendants would become Anglicized by intercourse with English emigrants. But English emigrants came slowly, while the French remained, assuming the position of Neutrals, a name, indeed, which was frequently applied to them. They claimed that to the oath of allegiance, which they finally took, there was a reservation which exempted them from taking up arms against their own blood. Like all neutrals, they were suspected by both sides — by the French, because they owed allegiance to the English; by the English, because their blood, their sympathies, and their religion were French.

From the settlement of Halifax in 1749, to the outbreak of the war in 1755, the French Acadians, either personally or by delegates, were repeatedly summoned to meet the English authorities, and the one condition imposed upon them, of taking the oath of allegiance without reserve, was evaded or refused with an ingenuity which confirms the common judgment of the English at that time — that behind these simple people were French emissaries, especially the priest Le Soutre, who used them with great dexterity for their own purposes. When every other argument failed, the Acadians would announce their resolution to leave the country; but that was precisely what the English were bent on preventing, although the project of removing them began to present itself as the only satisfactory method of solving the problem. The position which the English claimed for themselves is very forcibly set forth in the reply which Cornwallis made to the deputies of the French district, when, at the beginning of his rule as Governor, they appeared before him and presented a letter signed by one thousand persons, having in it this clause: "The inhabitants in general, Sir, over the whole extent of this country, have resolved not to take the oath which Your Excellency requires of us; but if Your Excellency will grant us our old oath which was given at Minas to Mr. Richard Phillips,[1] with an exemption for ourselves and for our heirs from taking up arms, we will accept it. But if Your Excellency is not disposed to grant us what we take the liberty of asking, we are resolved, every one of us, to leave the country." In his reply, Colonel Cornwallis said, with great emphasis: "Gentlemen, you allow yourselves to be led away by people who find it to their interest to lead you astray. They have made you imagine it is only your oath which binds you to the English. They deceive you. It is not the oath which a king administers to his subjects that makes them subjects. The oath supposes that they are so already. The oath is nothing but a very sacred bond of the fidelity of those who take it."

Cornwallis's statement of the English position.

The crisis seems to have been reached in the summer of 1755, when memorials were presented from the people of Minas and Pisiquid (now Windsor), praying for the restoration of the arms which had been

[1] This oath, given in 1727–28, was the oath of allegiance, qualified by the insertion of a clause in the margin that the Acadians were not to be obliged to take up arms against France. There is no evidence that Governor Phillips tendered such an oath, but it does appear that Governor Armstrong in 1727 allowed the modification in certain cases, and was severely reprimanded by the home government for so doing, and that Ensign Wroth repeated the blunder the next year in other cases. He also was summoned before the Council and reprimanded, on the ground that "the articles and concessions" granted by him were "unwarrantable and dishonorable to H. M. government and authority, and consequently null and void." See *Akins*, p. 78. The Acadians clung to this modified oath with the greatest persistency.

taken from them, and for exemption from the required oath. These memorials were offered at a time when it was rumored that a French fleet was in the Bay of Fundy, and the commander in charge at Minas reported an immediate change of temper in the people from submission to insolence. The deputies who presented the memorials were brought before the Council, July 3, 1755, and a long conference was held, at the close of which the deputies asked permission to return and consult the body of inhabitants; but the request, clearly to gain time, was refused, and they were required to give a definite answer to the demands of the Council the next day.

The crisis.

The next day came, and the deputies refused to take the oath, whereupon they were ordered into confinement. The Governor[1] now issued an order for all the French inhabitants to send at once to Halifax new deputies with the "general resolution of the said inhabitants in regard to taking the oath, and that none of them should for the future be admitted to take it after having once refused so to do, but that effectual measures ought to be taken to remove all such recusants out of the Province." Two hundred and seven inhabitants of Annapolis River sent thirty deputies, with instructions to contract no new oath; one hundred and three inhabitants of Pisiquid, Minas, and the river Canard, presented a memorial by deputies, utterly refusing to take any but the reserved oath, and asking that those who had been detained at Halifax be set at liberty; two hundred and three inhabitants of Minas and the river Canard clung to the oath which they believed they had taken under Governor Phillips, and called for the release of the prisoners in Halifax. The deputies presenting these memorials appeared before the Council and refused the oath. "Whereupon," says the record of the Council, "they were all ordered into confinement. As it had been before determined to send all the French inhabitants out of the Province, if they refused to take the oaths, nothing now remained to be considered but what measures should be taken to send them away, and where they should be sent to."

The force requisite for this purpose was at hand. Besides the small body of troops in the Province, a regiment of two battalions, consisting in all of two thousand men, had been enlisted in Massachusetts by Lieutenant-colonel John Winslow, of Marshfield, great-grandson of Edward Winslow, one of the founders of the Plymouth settlement. This expedition, sailing from Boston on the 20th of May, had arrived at Annapolis Harbor five days later, and on the 1st of June moved forward in a fleet of forty-one vessels

A force sent to Acadia.

[1] Cornwallis had been succeeded by Peregrine Thomas Hopson in 1752, and he by Charles Lawrence, as Lieutenant-governor, in 1754, and Governor-in-chief in 1756.

to Chiegnecto, the district now known as Cumberland, where a narrow isthmus separates the waters of the Bay of Fundy from Northumberland Strait, and connects the peninsula of Nova Scotia with the continent. Here the French had established themselves in three fortified places, with a view to command the land connection and give free passage into the district occupied mainly by the French Acadians. Winslow's force was enlarged by the addition of three hundred regulars, with a small train of artillery, and the whole expedition was under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Monckton. The success of the expedition was unequivocal. The French fortifications were taken; the garrison of Fort Beau Séjour were sent to Louisburg on condition of not bearing arms in America for six months; the Acadians and Indians were disarmed, the Acadians being pardoned, in one instance at least, as having been pressed into the service.



Lieutenant-colonel Winslow.

It was this force on which Governor Lawrence now relied for the deportation of the Acadians. The whole number for which provision was to be made was about three thousand.[1] In a letter to Colonel Monckton, Governor Lawrence had already advised that the whole affair should be conducted as a stratagem: "It will be necessary to keep this measure as secret as possible, as well to prevent their attempting to escape, as to carry off their cattle, etc.; and the better to effect this, you will endeavor to fall upon some stratagem to get the men, both young and old (especially the heads of families), into your power, and detain them till the trans-

Measures for carrying away the French colonists.

[1] Minot's *History of Massachusetts* says: "The whole number of persons collected at Grand Pré finally amounted to 483 men and 337 women, heads of families, and their sons and daughters to 527 of the former, and 576 of the latter, making in the whole 1,923 souls."

ports shall arrive, so as that they may be ready to be shipped off; for when this is done, it is not much to be feared that the women and children will attempt to go away and carry off the cattle. . . . . As their whole stock of cattle and corn is forfeited to the Crown by their rebellion, and must be secured and apply'd towards a reimbursement of the expense the government will be at in transporting them out of the country, care must be had that nobody make any bargain for purchasing them under any colour or pretence whatever; if they do, the sale will be void, for the inhabitants have now (since the order in Council) no property in them, nor will they be allowed to carry away the least thing but their ready money and household furniture."

The mode of procedure being left to Colonel Winslow and Captain Murray, they agreed upon the issuing of a proclamation to call the people together, which should be ambiguous in statement, but positive in its object. The paper was accordingly drawn up and distributed in the several communities. It ordered all the inhabitants, "both old men and young men, as well as all the lads of ten years of age, to attend at the church at Grand Pré, on Friday the fifth instant, at three of the clock in the afternoon, that we may impart to them what we are ordered to communicate to them;" declaring that no excuse will be admitted on any pretence whatever, on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, in default of real estate.

The purpose of this meeting does not seem to have been suspected by the inhabitants, for it was not the first time they had been summoned to appear before their rulers to discuss their relations to the government. At any rate, they assembled at the appointed time, to the number of four hundred and eighteen able-bodied men, in the church at Grand Pré. The church was put under guard, and was continued thenceforth as a guard-house. They were not kept long in suspense as to the meaning of this reception. Colonel Winslow, surrounded by his officers, took his place in the centre of the Assembly. They were called together, he told them, to hear "his Majesty's final resolution" in regard to a people who "for almost half a century had had more indulgence granted to them than any of his subjects in any part of his dominions," though, he added, "what use you have made of it, you yourselves best know." The duty that had devolved upon him, he continued, "though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you;" but his business was to deliver "his Majesty's orders and instructions, namely — that your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the Crown, with all other your effects saving your money and household goods." So far as the capacity of the transports permitted, they were to be allowed to carry

their household goods with them; families, it was promised, should be kept together, and the removal should be as easy to them as it was possible to make it. He concluded with the expression of a hope "that, in whatever part of the world you may fall, you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people."



Winslow reading the Decree of Expulsion.

They were surrounded by the troops, and escape was impossible. But they begged that certain of their number might be retained as hostages, leaving the rest free to attend to their families and make the necessary provision for removal. Colonel Winslow would not grant this, but he permitted ten to be absent at a time, and, as the ten returned, others took their

places. But even this privilege he was soon compelled to deny them. He saw, or fancied he saw, some suspicious movement among the prisoners. The transports had not arrived, and it was determined that other vessels in the harbor should be used, instead of the church, as a temporary place of detention. Orders were given for the removal to these vessels, first, of all the young unmarried men, and then of the young married men, leaving on shore only the old and feeble. The scene of the separation was one of great lamentation. At first



Embarking the Young Men.

the young men refused to march, but the prick of the bayonet, and Colonel Winslow's personal handling of the foremost, brought them into line, and they filed down to the boats, weeping, praying, and singing hymns, while a great company of women and children knelt by the way, and added their cries to the voice of the men. It was many weeks yet before the transports arrived which were to remove the families, and meanwhile the cares of Colonel Winslow increased. He was not inhuman nor even needlessly severe

The parting scenes.

in the performance of the task imposed upon him; but he was a man of decision, and the delays fretted him. "It hurts me," he writes, September 29, "to hear their weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth;" and on the same date he expresses an ardent wish "to be rid of the worst piece of service that ever I was in."

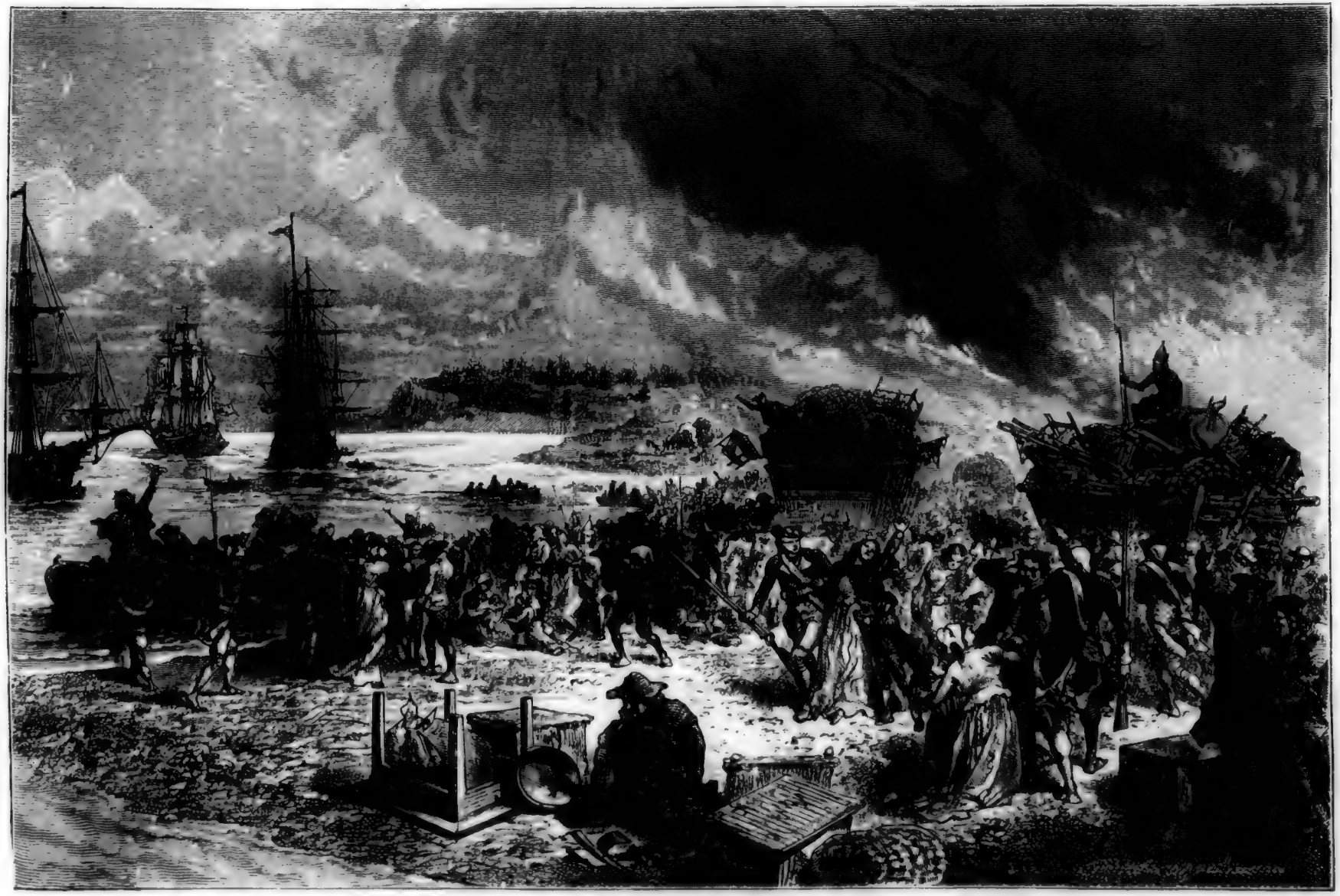
The transports did not arrive until the 10th of October, but, in anticipation of their arrival, Colonel Winslow, on the 6th, ordered the families to be in readiness for embarkation. "Even then," he says, "I could not persuade them I was in earnest." Meanwhile twenty-four of the young men deserted from the vessels, but twenty-two of these returned. On the 21st of October, the transports were filled with their unhappy passengers, and ready to sail. Orders were given, in accordance with Winslow's promise, that families should not be separated; but in the confusion of embarkation, and from the preliminary dispersion of the younger men among the vessels of the harbor for safe-keeping, the rule was sometimes disregarded, though not by design.[1]

The exiles were scattered through the several colonies, and their names are found in many places to this day, though often sadly corrupted. Many were merged in time in the English population. Two separate villages, however, near Bordeaux, in France, are filled with descendants of Acadian exiles who found their way thither. Some families went to Guiana; ten years later, enough of them retained their social and religious relations to plant a colony in the western parishes of Attakapas and Opelousas, in Louisiana, where the corrupted name of "Cajeans," and the primitive habits and simplicity of the people, still testify to their pure descent from the Acadians of Nova Scotia.

The larger portion of these exiles were sent to Massachusetts, where they were distributed among the several towns. The two volumes of records in the State House at Boston[2] contain varied testimony respecting the unfortunate exiles. They were often subjected to harsh treatment. Their children were forcibly taken from them; the provision for their support was denied; and they were shifted impatiently from town to town. The tenacity with which they clung

[1] The number of persons expelled from Acadia has commonly been set down as about 7,000. This is the estimate of Haliburton, Graham, Parkman, and others. Probably the origin of the statement is in the circular letter from Governor Lawrence to the governors of the several colonies to which the exiles were sent: "As their numbers amount to near seven thousand persons," he writes, "the driving them off, with leave to go whither they pleased, would have doubtless strengthened Canada with so considerable a number of inhabitants." Seven thousand probably represents with sufficient accuracy the total French population of Acadia in 1755, but the entire number of those exiled did not exceed, if Minot be correct, two thousand, of whom many subsequently returned to Acadia.

[2] *French Neutrals*, 23, 24.



THE EMBARKATION OF THE ACADIANS.

to their faith seems to have annoyed their persecutors. One town sends in its bill for "keeping three French pagans." There were instances, however, of friendly protection shown by individuals, and the more generous sentiment found expression in a report, though it was not accepted, by a committee appointed to consider certain complaints of ill usage, wherein the selectmen of the towns complained against are "expected to show common acts of humanity." In Pennsylvania, a somewhat similar disposition of the exiles was made in a distribution among the country towns, and provision was made for them from time to time, amounting in all to about £7,500.[1]

Until they ceased to continue as a distinct body in the several colonies, there is almost unvarying witness to their submission and gentleness. The whole body of testimony regarding them deepens the sense of their harmlessness, and when the poet sang of their wrongs, he at once touched the latent feeling regarding them when two or three generations had removed their history from the arena of war and politics.

[1] See Hon. W. B. Reed's paper, "The Acadian Exiles, or French Neutrals in Pennsylvania," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. vi., 1858, in which he clearly refutes Judge Haliburton's charge that the Acadians were offered for sale in Pennsylvania.

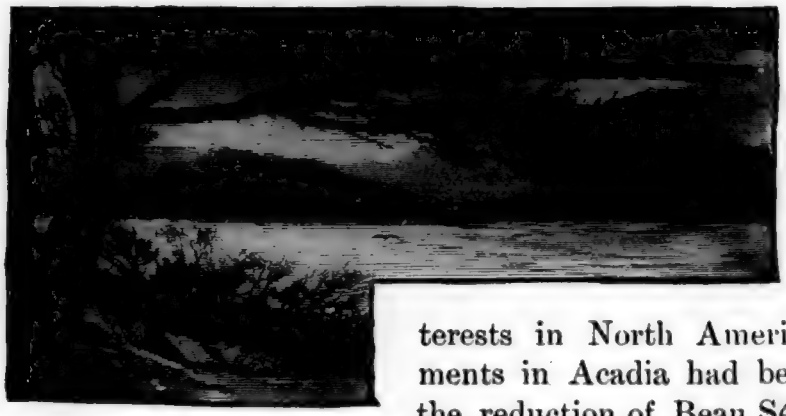


Braddock's Grave.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF THE FRENCH WAR.

PROPOSED OPERATIONS UNDER SHIRLEY AND JOHNSON. — BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE. — WAR DECLARED BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. — LORD LOUDOUN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN AMERICA. — MONTCALM IN CANADA. — LOSS OF FORT OSWEGO. — LOUDOUN'S PLANS AND FAILURE. — FORT WILLIAM HENRY TAKEN BY THE FRENCH. — MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON. — DISCOURAGEMENT IN THE COLONIES. — THE WAR AT THE SOUTH. — GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COLONIES AND OF CANADA. — WILLIAM PITT. — AMHERST SUPERSEDES LOUDOUN. — CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG. — DEFEAT OF ABERCROMBIE. — CAPTURE OF FORTS FRONTENAC, DU QUESNE, AND NIAGARA. — TICONDEROGA TAKEN BY AMHERST.



View on Lake George.

BRADDOCK'S ill-starred expedition was only part of a general scheme for establishing the supremacy of the British interests in North America. The movements in Acadia had been successful by the reduction of Beau Séjour, and by the silence of the depopulated and wasted villages about the Minas Basin and Annapolis Royal. We have seen that Braddock purposed, after capturing Du Quesne, to push on and join the forces sent to take Niagara. Albany was the rendezvous for the two expeditions, the one against Niagara under General Shirley, and the other against Crown Point under General Johnson, and in June an army of nearly six thousand men, raised by the northern provinces, was assembled there and in the neighborhood. They were mainly provincials, ill-disciplined and impatient of delay, and Indians, who never could be brought under even the ordinary rules of the camp. It was Shirley's plan to take his forces to Oswego, by way of the Mohawk River and Oneida Lake, and thence to Niagara. There was delay in the arrival of the troops; and when, at the end of July, the last regiments were embarking at Schenectady, the news of Braddock's defeat ar-

The expedition against Niagara.

rived, and so discouraged the men, already dispirited by the evident lack of generalship, that great numbers deserted, and many of the batteau men especially, on whom the expedition was so dependent, refused to go farther. It was the 18th of August before Shirley reached Oswego, and another month before he could make sufficient provision for the attack upon Niagara. The stormy season then set in, and after waiting nearly a fortnight, and seeing the force reduced steadily by sickness and by desertion, it was determined in council to abandon the attack this year, to leave Colonel Mercer with a garrison of seven hundred men at Oswego, and that General Shirley should return with the rest of the army to Albany.

There was another reason why Shirley hesitated to attack Niagara, and determined instead to strengthen Oswego, though it would have moved a man of more martial zeal to prosecute his first purpose with greater activity. Intelligence had reached him of an intended movement against Oswego. The French expedition which had sailed from Brest in the spring had lost six hundred men and two ships of war in a dash made by Admiral Boscawen; but it had substantially increased the military resources of Canada by landing a thousand men at Louisburg, and fourteen hundred at Quebec. The first duty imposed on Baron Dieskau, in command of these forces, was the reduction of Oswego. Forts Frontenac and Niagara commanded the two extremities of Lake Ontario, but so long as Oswego was held by the English, the communication between Canada and the Ohio Valley was always liable to interruption. Moreover, the capture of General Braddock's papers had disclosed the plans of Shirley. Accordingly, Dieskau, proceeding to Montreal, prepared at once for a movement up the river to Fort Frontenac. It was a rumor of this movement that came to Shirley, and he hesitated, when he should have taken active measures either for a vigorous attack or a prudent defence.

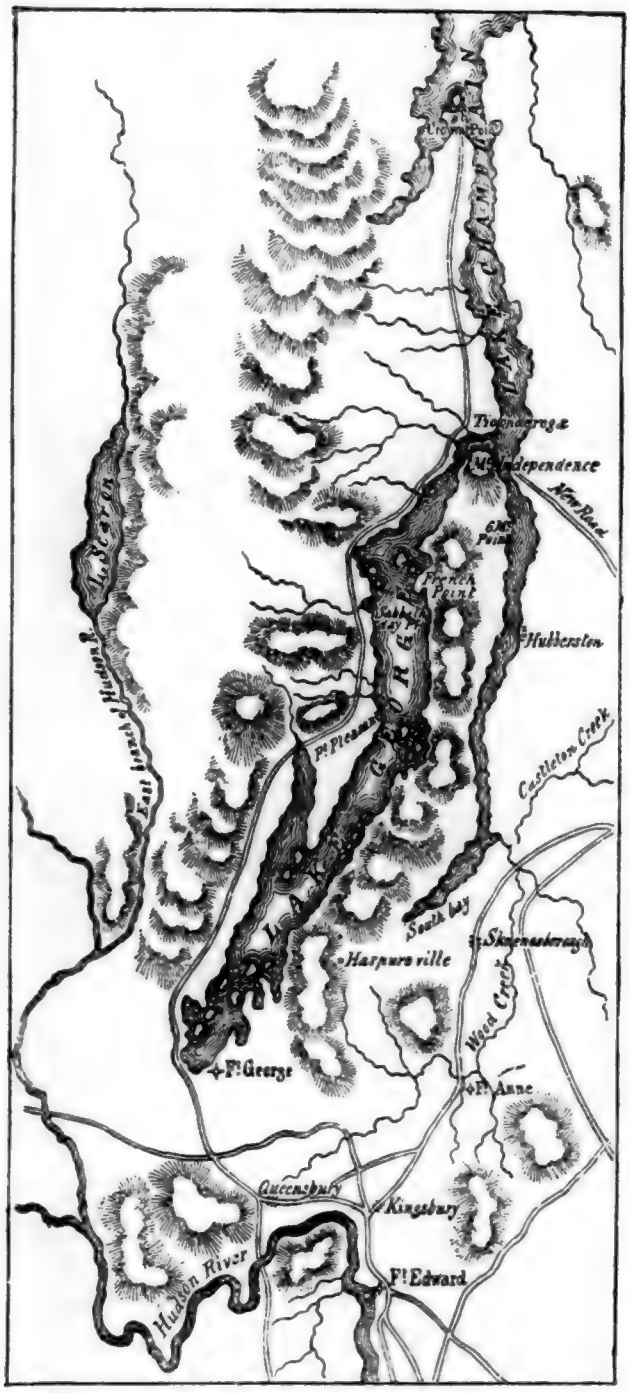
A French movement against Oswego diverted to Crown Point.

But when Dieskau was on the eve of moving, information reached Montreal that the other expedition, designed to reduce Crown Point, had already been put in motion, and Dieskau was importuned to abandon his original intention and meet this more imminent danger. He consented with reluctance, and led his troops, numbering about two thousand men, up Lake Champlain to Fort St. Frederick at Crown Point, and there awaited the arrival of the English.

The forces collected at Albany for the northern campaign were sent forward, without artillery or batteaux, under General Lyman, early in July. These were occupied in building Fort Lyman, afterward Fort Edward, on the east bank of the Hudson, until General William Johnson should arrive with the neces-

English expedition against Ticonderoga.

sary equipments and provisions. It was the 8th of August before Johnson set out and joined Lyman at the fort, which was at the beginning of the "carry" of fourteen miles, to Lake St. Sacrament — named soon afterward, by General Johnson, Lake George, in honor of the King, George II.



Map of Lake George and part of Lake Champlain.

Marching leisurely northward, he encamped at the south end of the lake in a strong position, covered by swampy ground and woods on the sides not protected by the lake. Here he proposed waiting for his batteaux, building a fort meanwhile, when he would proceed to Ticonderoga, fifteen miles below Crown Point, a strong military position not yet occupied, to make that his base of operations against Fort St. Frederick. He expected to be joined here by a large number of warriors from the Six Nations, and was mortified and disappointed that they did not come. The old chief, Hendrick, attributed this to Shirley, who, he declared, had spoken with great contempt of Johnson to the Indians, and had urged them to go with him to Oswego, and not to Crown Point. This, no doubt, was true, for there was no cordiality between the two generals. Johnson had already complained to the Board of Trade of Shirley's attempts to undermine his influence with the Six Nations, and his unwarrantable interference with

him as their superintendent, to which post Johnson had been appointed by Braddock. The Indians, however, came in day by day, though in small companies, and took an active share in the campaign.

Dieskau, leaving a large force at Crown Point, pushed on with six hundred Indians, seven hundred Canadians, and two hundred regulars, by way of Lake Champlain to South Bay, now Whitehall. Here he learned from an English prisoner that the fort which Lyman had built was without cannon, and that Johnson, in his camp, was also almost without artillery. The French commander then proposed by a sudden movement to seize Fort Lyman, thus cutting off Johnson from his supplies, and to occupy a position from which he could either descend upon Albany and intercept the communication with Oswego, or attack the New England border. The scheme seemed perfectly feasible. Dieskau marched his army to within a short distance of the fort, on the road leading directly to Lake George, where he halted and sent a party of Indians to reconnoitre. They quickly returned, bringing word that Johnson had learned of their approach, and had sent warning to the fort. Johnson was indeed aware of the imminent peril in which both his little army and the fort were placed. Early in the morning of the 7th of September a council was held, in which it was decided to despatch a thousand troops and two hundred Indians on the road to the fort, to meet the enemy. Hendrick, the Iroquois Sachem, alone dissented from the decision. "If they are to fight," he reasoned, "they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." But he was overruled. The march was begun, the provincials headed by Colonel Williams, the Indians by Hendrick himself, whose weight compelled him to ride.

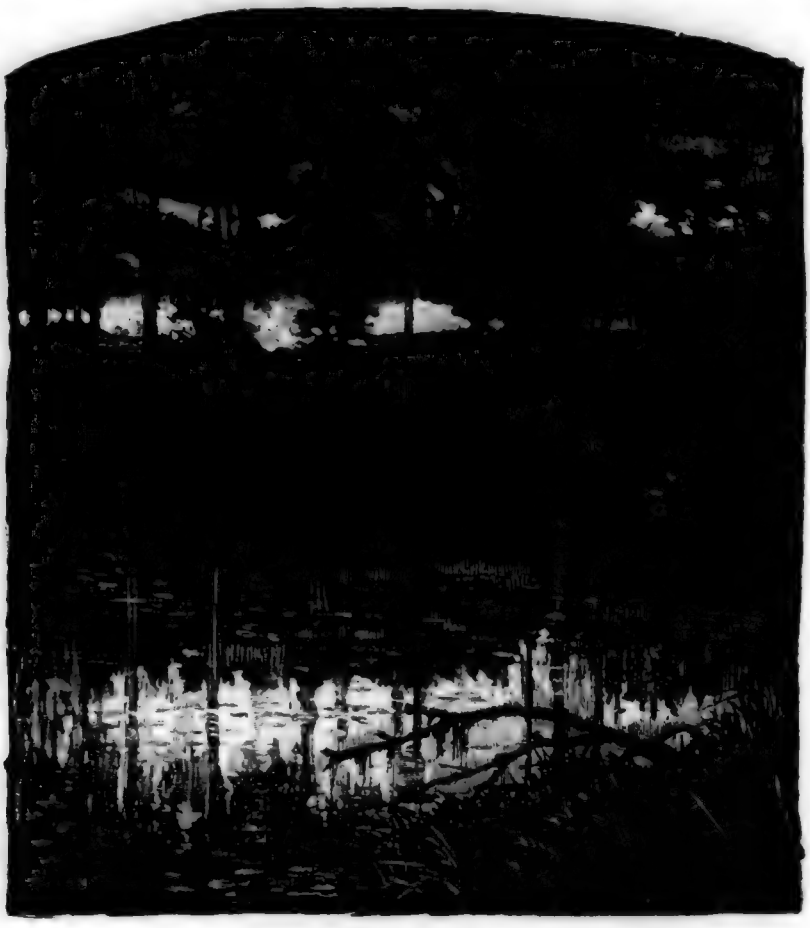
Dieskau marches on Fort Lyman.

Meanwhile Dieskau, whose aim it was to capture the fort first, found himself balked by the reluctance of his Indians, who had a terror of fortified places, and believed that the fort was supplied with the dreaded cannon. They refused to make the attack, but were ready to march against Johnson's camp. Dieskau accepted the situation, and at once moved toward Lake George, encamping near the southern spur of the French Mountain. On the 8th, learning of the approach of the English, he prepared an ambuscade in a defile of the road less than four miles from Johnson's camp. On his left, where his line extended half a mile, a natural breastwork, covered with trees and shrubs, concealed the men from the road; the right line bent like a hook across the road for a quarter of a mile to where swampy ground covered with a thick growth of trees and brush afforded perfect concealment. The ambush formed thus a horse-shoe-shaped trap, and if the enemy should enter it, it would be

He ambuscades the English.

possible, by bringing round the long left line, to enclose the whole body and open an attack on the rear.

Into this trap marched Colonel Williams and Hendrick with their men. Williams had halted two and a half miles from the camp, near the entrance of the defile, to wait for the other divisions, but by a strange neglect in so experienced an officer, had not sent forward scouts. The Indian, Hendrick, now took the lead, and the division pushed forward. The old warrior had advanced beyond the extremity of the shorter line of the ambuscade when he was suddenly hailed by



Bloody Pond.

an Indian who appeared near him. "Whence came you?" was the challenge. "From the Mohawks. Whence came you?" "From Montreal." At this a musket-shot, fired, contrary to orders, by some impatient man before the entire division had entered the fatal circle, brought on the engagement. From the thick woods on either side, and in the rear, volley after volley fell upon the entrapped soldiers. The old Indian chieftain was one of the first to fall, shot through the back. Williams also fell,[1] and the

Death of Hendrick and Colonel Williams.

[1] Colonel Ephraim Williams, a brave soldier and earnest patriot, by his will founded

command devolved upon Lieutenant Whiting. The men, who fought bravely, rushed to the right of the road where Dieskau's long left was hidden behind the natural breastwork. The French and Indians rose suddenly and fell upon them, doing great execution. But the men fell back, notwithstanding, in good order, till another stand was made near a small pond,[1] where reënforcements, sent forward by Johnson, gave them new confidence and covered the retreat to the camp.

Arrived at the camp, they clambered over the hasty barricade of fallen trees which Johnson had begun to raise after sending out Colonel Williams's party in the early morning. He had also dragged up his cannon from the lake, and had disposed them where they could be most serviceable in case of attack. Dieskau following the retreating soldiers came into full view of the camp, and the sight of the cannon at once damped the ardor of the Indians, who skulked into the woods. The quarter-hour which was spent in bringing back the stragglers and forming his lines, was a breathing-time for the English, who were now behind their slight defences and under the command of their officers.

Johnson's camp was protected in the rear by the lake; in front the hastily thrown-up breastwork afforded a slight bulwark. Three guns were posted in front of the road which led to the camp from Lyman's fort, and other cannon were placed near the ammunition close by the lake. It was half after eleven o'clock. Down the road came the regulars of the French army, forming in line as if for parade, their white uniforms gleaming and sharp bayonets glistening; on either flank the Indians and Canadians had dispersed themselves in the swamps. The Mohawks at the first alarm had fled with their squaws and pappooses to their own camp, and had not returned when the battle opened.

The attack on the breastwork.

These New England and New York men had known little of fighting in the presence of solid ranks of trained soldiers. Dieskau halted the regulars, who opened fire by platoons, while the Canadians and Indians kept up a sharp rattle on the flanks. The three guns at first only made reply; but presently the provincials, finding themselves as yet unhurt, regained their courage and began, from behind their breastwork, picking off the regulars before them. Unable to hold their position in this cleared place, the regulars took to the woods like the savages. Dieskau led his men to Johnson's left, but without effect, and then passed to the right, where the Indians had done the fiercest fighting. Johnson, wounded at the outset, had been carried to his tent,

Williams College, in Massachusetts. The Alumni of the College have erected a monument over his grave

[1] Bloody Pond, still pointed out as holding in its depths the bones of the men who fell in that fight.

and Lyman took command, placing himself in the most exposed position and showing the utmost bravery. The Mohawks had returned and engaged in the fight, which now became a hand-to-hand contest over the breastwork. The provincials, no longer in fear, fought, as Dieskau said, like devils, and leaping the breastwork, clubbed their muskets and dashed furiously at the enemy. The guns at the same time were brought to bear upon a party of Canadians and Indians concealed in the morass, and did such execution that the enemy was dislodged from a position of much advantage. The Indians and Canadians were scattered right and left; the regulars were speedily overcome at close quarters with the provincials, who struck at them as with sledges, and pounded them to death, so that scarcely one escaped.

Retreat of the French.

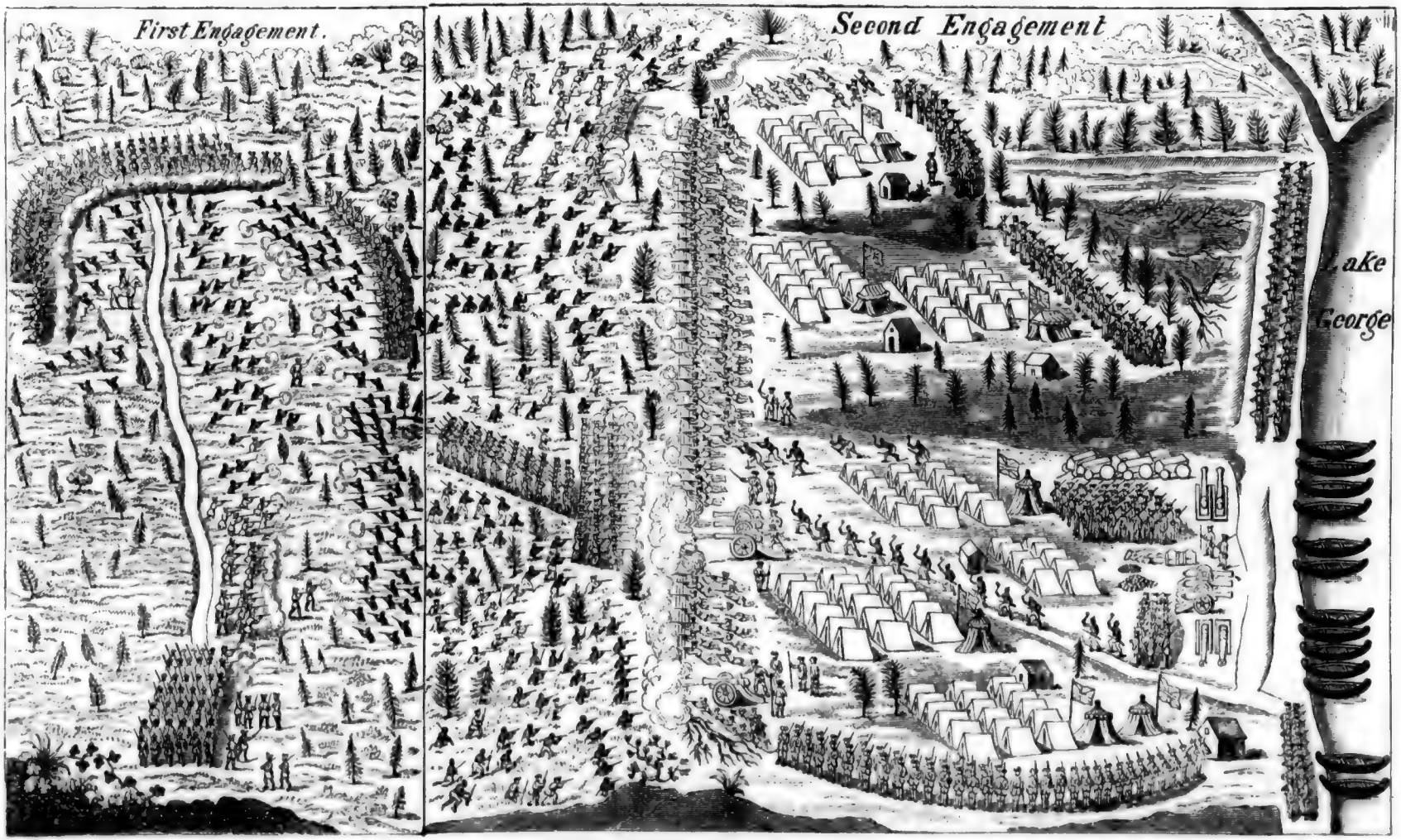
The retreat was a disorderly flight. Dieskau, who had already been severely wounded, was shot by one of his own men as they left the field; he was carried into the general's tent, and treated with consideration. Lyman was for pursuing the enemy, but Johnson gave orders to call back the men. But the garrison at Fort Lyman had heard the noise of the engagement, and had sent a detachment of two hundred New Hampshire troops to the field. These suddenly came upon the remnant of the French army at dusk, resting by Rocky Brook, where, half-starved, they were making a hasty supper. Lyman's men fell upon them, and completed the rout, capturing the baggage and ammunition. Of the English forces, the loss during the day was between two hundred and three hundred. The French lost, by different estimates, not far from a third of their number, or about five hundred.



Fort George, or William Henry.

That the whole expedition was not captured, was due apparently to the extreme caution or hesitation of the wounded general, Johnson. But the success was otherwise so complete, and the news of it so inspiriting, after Braddock's defeat two months before, that the colonies rang with rejoicings. Johnson, besides being rewarded with a gift of £5,000 from the English Government, was made a baronet. His part in the fight was not to be overlooked, but in his own account of it he seems to have slighted General Lyman's services.[1] The escape from peril was a real one, and the danger was even more imminent than from the defeat of Braddock; for, had Dieskau captured Fort Lyman and defeated Johnson, he would have been able to march at once upon Albany, and leave behind him an open road to Canada.

[1] See *Livingston's Review*, and *Dwight's Travels*, iii.



BATTLES OF LAKE GEORGE.
[From an Old Print]

While the English built a strong fort at the south end of Lake George after Dieskau's repulse, — Fort William Henry or Fort George, — and garrisoned that and Fort Edward, — as Fort Lyman was re-named, — the French took possession of the important pass at Ticonderoga, and at once proceeded to fortify it. After the death of Braddock, Governor Shirley was at the head of the English army in America. He called a council in the autumn of this year (1755), in which the campaign for the ensuing spring and summer was laid down upon precisely the lines adopted for the late campaign. That is, Fort Du Quesne and Crown Point were to be the objects of attack; Oswego was to be reënforced, and Niagara and Frontenac to be assailed from that point. Ticonderoga was to have been attacked in front from the frozen lake, but this project was defeated by the mildness of the winter. In the almost palsied condition of the British administration of that day, all action seemed perpetually waiting upon some special movement which, after all, was not of vital importance. War had been actually declared at length by the British Government on the 17th of May, 1756, and by the French Government on the 9th of June following. The campaign in America now waited on the arrival of the new Commander-in-chief, Lord Loudoun, and Lord Loudoun waited for somebody else. He was "a mere pen-and-ink man," as the Earl of Shelburne styles him,[1] one of the Duke of Cumberland's school, forever getting ready to start.[2]

Both parties fortify.

Shirley's campaign.

The declaration of war.

Lord Loudoun Commander-in-chief.

A very different man was at the head of the French forces. Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm de Saint Veron, had arrived in Canada with three thousand men and abundant stores with which to prosecute the war. The management of military affairs in Canada had not been of the best, but the French rarely lacked men ready to seize the opportunity, and Montcalm brought great ability and experience to his task. While the English were waiting and hesitating, or quarrelling about rank and precedence, the French were actively engaged in cutting off the supplies intended for Oswego, in making dashes at the English, capturing small forts and taking prisoners, and in winning the Six Nations so far as they could from the English alliance. The siege of Oswego was early determined upon, and a strong corps of observation was posted by Montcalm at what is now Six-Town Point, in Henderson, Jefferson County, New York, on the shore of Lake Ontario. Fort Niagara also was strengthened and reënforced.

Montcalm in Canada.

[1] Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, i. 81.

[2] Franklin, who was vexed at Loudoun's indecision, quotes a witty characterization of the Earl by one Innis: "He is like St. George on the signs, always on horseback, and never rides on."—Autobiography in Bigelow's *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. i., p. 356.

On the 3d of July, when Colonel Bradstreet, who had been charged with the conduct of a convoy of provisions and stores down the Onondaga to Oswego, was returning to Schenectady, he was suddenly attacked about ten miles from Oswego, and had a sharp skirmish with a body of Canadians and Indians, followed by a more serious engagement, in which Bradstreet routed the enemy, but was unable to follow up his advantage. From one of the prisoners the movements of the French against Oswego were learned, and promptly reported to General Abercrombie, who, awaiting Lord Loudoun's arrival, was commanding at Albany and Fort William Henry a force of about ten thousand men. The General ordered a regiment of regulars to the relief of Oswego; but before they could be moved, Lord Loudoun appeared, and through his dilatory action it was the 12th of August before the relief set out from Albany.

Oswego besieged

On that very day the last of the forces intended for the investment of Fort Oswego arrived in camp, and Montcalm at once opened fire upon Fort Ontario, on the right bank of the river. The garrison was under the command of Colonel Mercer. As the enemy brought their batteries nearer and nearer, Colonel Mercer, whose ammunition was already expended, spiked his guns, destroyed his provisions, and ordered a retreat across the river to Fort Oswego, distant four hundred and fifty yards. Here a brisk fire was opened upon the fort he had just abandoned. A portion of his force, however, had ascended the river four and a half miles to a hill, where Colonel Schuyler was intrenched, whence they could have harassed the enemy; but Montcalm perceived the manœuvre, and while keeping up an active fire on the fort, sent a large body of Canadians and Indians to cut off communication between it and the hill. On the 13th Colo-

And captured.

nel Mercer was killed by a cannon ball, and the garrison gave up the struggle, and surrendered to Montcalm,[1] though the common soldiery were still ready to continue the fight. The French loss was trifling. The English lost as prisoners of war sixteen hundred men, including eighty officers, one hundred and twenty-one pieces of artillery, and a great store of ammunition, together with seven armed ships and two hundred batteaux which had been preparing for a descent upon Niagara and Frontenac. The forts at

[1] Montcalm was a little surprised at the quickness with which he had accomplished his object. "The celerity of our operations in a soil which they considered impracticable, the erection of our batteries, completed with so much rapidity, the idea these works gave them of the number of the French troops, the movements of the corps detached from the other side of the river, the dread of the savages, the death of Colonel Mercer, commander of Chouaguen [as the French called Oswego], who was killed at eight o'clock in the morning, doubtless determined the besieged to a step which we had not dared to expect so soon.' Montcalm's Journal of the Siege of Oswego, in *New York Colonial History*, x. 443.

Oswego had been built in the territory of the Six Nations. Several of these Indians were present at the battle, and Montcalm, immediately upon the surrender, destroyed the forts in the presence of the Indians; an act which had a two-fold significance, as marking the superiority of the French to the English and the friendliness of the French to the Indians.

General Webb, meanwhile, with his reënforcements, was slowly making his way to Oswego, and had reached the great portage, when he heard the news of the capture of the forts. The great portage was now the most advanced post held by the English in the Iroquois country, and as if to aid the French in their schemes, General Webb proceeded to destroy the fortifications which had been begun there in a naturally strong position, and to retreat with the garrison and his own men to Schenectady and Albany. The English had now apparently abandoned the Six Nations as well as lost the key to Lake Ontario.

Webb's retreat.

There still remained an opportunity to turn the forces assembled at Albany against Crown Point, and so retrieve the ill-fortune. But the paralysis of inaction continued. In the long delay the seven thousand men who had been collected had dwindled by desertion and sickness to four thousand; the success of Montcalm, instead of quickening the English, seemed to discourage them, and the expeditions against Ticonderoga and Du Quesne were abandoned. Forts William Henry and Edward were strengthened, and the grand campaign which had been planned was turned into an ignoble defence. Montcalm, anticipating an attack on Ticonderoga, hurried thither from Oswego: but no enemy appearing, he strengthened the fortifications there and returned to Montreal for the winter.

The campaign for the next year was begun by assembling another council of generals and governors. With more men and with a naval armament, Lord Loudoun proposed to confine active hostilities to a single expedition. The posts already held were to be strongly fortified, and a combined attack by land and sea to be made against Louisburg, a place which New England coveted above all others. It was partly on this account, doubtless, that a requisition for four thousand men was readily complied with. New York and New Jersey added their quota, and in July Admiral Holbourne arrived at Halifax with a squadron and a reënforcement of five thousand troops. Halifax was the rendezvous, and Loudoun arrived there from New York with six thousand regulars. There he learned that Louisburg was held by six thousand regulars, in addition to the provincials, was guarded by seventeen line-of-battle ships in the harbor, and a French fleet that had lately sailed from Brest was looked

Loudoun's plans.

A fiasco at Louisburg.

for daily. It was quite in accordance with his usual method to return to New York with the Admiral the last of August, putting off the capture of Louisburg for a year.[1]

When Montcalm learned that Loudoun had left New York for Louisburg he proceeded to carry into execution the plan which he had formed for attacking Fort William Henry. The French had been unceasing in their efforts to win over the Indians of the Six Nations to their side, and the repeated defeats of the English, together with the policy of the French emissaries, had at length produced so strong an impression upon the Indians that by parties and tribes they deserted the English and attached themselves to the successful and more sympathetic French. The fort which had been erected on the spot where Johnson and Lyman had repulsed Dieskau was badly placed on the shore of Lake George, with low land all about it, and overlooked by hills on the west and northwest, by one of which at least it was perfectly commanded. At this time it was garrisoned by two or three thousand regulars under the command of Colonel Monroe, while at Fort Edward was stationed an army of four thousand men under General Webb. At both forts a descent from the upper waters was constantly looked for, and this summer had already brought with it several warnings. As early indeed as March 18, an attempt had been made by Rigaud to surprise Fort William Henry, and though he was obliged to return to Ticonderoga he succeeded in destroying more than three hundred batteaux, several buildings, and a quantity of provisions. A skirmish had taken place near the end of July at Harbor Island, a little south of Sabbath Day Point; a raid almost to the walls of Fort Edward had resulted in the loss of thirty-two of the English and Indians; and a few days later a party sent from Fort William Henry to reconnoitre fell into an ambush, and almost the entire party of three hundred were either killed or captured, twelve only escaping.

Fort William Henry.

Montcalm, with fifty-five hundred Canadians and regulars, and sixteen hundred Indians, was now making his way from the rendezvous

[1] How these performances were viewed in England, which was fretting under the gross mismanagement of affairs, may be inferred from Walpole's letters. "Shortly after came letters from the Earl of Loudoun, the commander-in-chief in North America, stating that he found the French twenty-one thousand strong, and that, not having so many, he could not attack Louisburg, but should return to Halifax. Admiral Holbourne, one of the sternest condemners of Byng, wrote at the same time that he having but seventeen ships and the French nineteen, he dared not attack them. Here was another summer lost! Pitt expressed himself with great vehemence against the Earl; and we naturally have too lofty ideas of our naval strength to suppose that seventeen of our ships are not a match for any nineteen others." Walpole's *George II.*, vol. ii., p. 231. Entick (ii., 392) declares that there was no such formidable force at Louisburg, but that the enemy adroitly managed to let the English capture some fictitious despatches, giving these impressions.



View from Old Fort, Lake George.

at Ticonderoga across the portage to the upper waters of Lake George. Here a division was made. De Lévis, with twenty-two hundred French and Canadians, escorted by six hundred Indians, toiled by land down the narrow trail at the west of the lake; the rest, with all the baggage, were transported in batteaux and canoes. The Indians had been brought together from wide distances. On the morning of the 3d of August the besieging army landed on the west side of the lake, about two miles from the fort. The guns were immediately placed in position, and Montcalm despatched a letter to Colonel Monroe, calling upon him to surrender, and intimating that he might not be able to restrain his Indians in case the English resisted and the fort should be taken. But the English commander relied not alone upon his own forces. General Webb, at Fort Edward, was only fifteen miles

The fort besieged.

distant with four thousand men, and Monroe replied briefly that he would not surrender. Montcalm's approach was not unknown to Webb. Sir William Johnson also had heard of the movement as soon as the French General left Ticonderoga, and at once hastily gathered Indians and militia, and marched to Fort Edward, which he reached on the second day of the siege. Israel Putnam, making a reconnoissance on the lake with a body of rangers, discovered Montcalm's approach, and had, it is said, notified Webb, urging him to oppose the landing; Webb, who was near Fort William Henry, enjoining secrecy upon Putnam, hastily returned to Fort Edward.

In the investment of the fort, De Lévis occupied the right and held the road leading to Fort Edward. On the 4th of August, the second day of the siege, a messenger from the fort to Colonel Monroe was intercepted, and a letter found from the imbecile Webb, advising Monroe to surrender, as he dared not send any reënforcements until he should himself receive aid from below. The messenger was sped on his way. Johnson did come, apparently that same day, and begged to be allowed to take volunteers to the support of Monroe. Webb gave consent reluctantly, but when the entire body of provincials sprang forward ready to follow Johnson, he withdrew his consent, and left Monroe to his fate.

The siege lasted six days, when Monroe, with half of his guns useless and nearly all his ammunition expended, hung out a flag of truce and obtained liberal terms from Montcalm. But the confidence which he placed in the French General's word that the English should march to Fort Edward under guard of a detachment, was not justified. Montcalm, in the terms of surrender, stipulated that a hostage should be held by him until the safe return of the escort from Fort Edward. The peril did not lie with them, but with the unhappy men whom they escorted, for scarcely had they begun their march when the Indians, wild with liquor and the hope of plunder, fell upon the English soldiers, and killed them, without mercy. A panic seized the English. Some fled to the French for protection, others took to the woods, and many were held captive by the Indians. Montcalm, like other commanders in similar situations, had sown the wind, and the whirlwind was reaped. It was easier to excite the Indians to a pitch of frenzy than to control them when thus excited, and it has been necessary ever since that day to defend a general whose fault lay not in a deliberate connivance with his savage allies, but in his reckless use of material which served his purpose in war. When the news of this massacre was spread through the country, the provincials flocked to the defence of the frontier. But Montcalm, after burning the fort, returned to Canada with the stores.

And captured.

Massacre of the garrison.

The close of the year 1757 marked the most discouraging period in the contest of the colonies with France. At the extreme south indeed there was peace and moderate prosperity. A firm hand held the government in Georgia, where Governor Ellis, finding the colony distracted, factious, and disordered, speedily succeeded in restoring good feeling, protecting the coast and frontier, effecting amicable relations with the Creek Indians, and making the colony a refuge for many families that fell back from the dangerous frontiers farther north. To South Carolina, also, there had been an exodus of families from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, after Braddock's defeat; but here the often-repeated story of English mismanagement of the Indians was approaching a terrible conclusion. In 1753, Governor Glen had made a treaty with the Cherokees, by which that tribe had agreed to keep the peace with the Creeks, and also to concede large tracts in the upper country to the English. At least, this was the English interpretation of the treaty, and, amid the murmurs of a people among whom the French had already begun to intrigue, they proceeded to build forts, notably Fort Prince George near the headwaters of the Savannah, and Fort Loudoun, at the head of navigation on the Tennessee, about thirty miles from Knoxville.

Review of affairs in 1757.

The French had already penetrated to the centre of East Tennessee, and had trading-houses convenient to the over-hill Cherokees, and these Indians, like the other tribes, were vacillating between the two powers, uncertain which was the more deadly enemy. These forts, meanwhile, though far removed from the base of supplies, gave encouragement to settlers in the back country and in the western parts of the two Carolinas. But farther north, the country west of the Blue Ridge had been rendered uninhabitable for whites. The Indians and French had carried fire and sword up and down the valley. Fort Loudoun, at Winchester, was the chief protection of the western frontier. Dinwiddie, the somewhat visionary and capricious Governor of Virginia, had urged on the Board of Trade the erection of a cordon of forts from Crown Point to the country of the Creeks, and Washington had advised that Virginia should erect forts along her frontier at distances of fifteen miles; but the cries of families flying before the Indians continued to be heard, and the military resources of Virginia had been reduced by the policy of Loudoun in drawing off soldiers for his great and utterly ineffective army. Fort Du Quesne was still in the hands of the French, and the English had lost Oswego. Acadia was still in their possession, but a powerful armament at Louisburg threatened not only Halifax, but the New England colonies. Bitter conflicts in the management of internal affairs were distracting Pennsylvania and New York, and although the people everywhere,

especially on the frontier, made vigorous by the hard experience of life in a new country, were equal to any emergency, there was no one in England or America who so commanded the universal respect and confidence as to be able to unite for any common purpose the separate strength inherent in all the colonies.

The French, on the other hand, though Canada was suffering from gross official peculation and was brought to the verge of a distressing poverty, appeared at this time singularly strong and victorious. They had achieved almost uninterrupted military success; they had been fortunate in their commanders; and, though the history of that province had been the history of a military and ecclesiastical despotism, there was a concentrated force now under control which could strike quickly and effectively. But New France, nevertheless, was approaching a point of exhaustion. The very advantage which it held as a military power carried with it the disadvantage of having no allies in an agricultural and self-reliant people. The base of supplies was in France, not in the colony, and thus, as the war continued, the gathering force of the English and American resources began to tell. In the long run the English would have worn out the French; the wavering line of frontier settlements would have been slowly pushed forward from behind. But the issue was to come quicker, and the disadvantages under which the colonies had labored were to give way before the genius of a single man.

William Pitt.

Pitt had been forced upon the King by his own impetuous nature and by the complaints of a disappointed people. The Secretary of State, who was one of the Council, became substantially prime minister. His measures for prosecuting the war in America met at once the obstacles which before had stood in the way of success. He had faith in the men of the colonies, and he dealt with them frankly and honestly. England should furnish arms, ammunition, and all necessary equipments; the colonies were to raise, clothe, and pay the men. England would furnish from her trained soldiers the generals and upper officers; but the colonial troops might choose their own colonels and subordinate officers, and these should rank with English officers of the same grade. To Pitt's policy at this time is largely due not only the success in arms but the independent spirit of the colonies. They responded at once to the call for men and money.

The campaign of 1758.

The objective points in the coming campaign were the same as they had always been — Louisburg, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Du Quesne, — these were the keys of the French military system. Instead of Admiral Holbourne and the Earl of Loudoun, who had been recalled, Admiral Boscawen and Sir

Jeffery Amherst were placed in command of the naval and land forces which were to attack Louisburg. On the 2d of June, 1758, the combined forces, acting in perfect harmony, arrived before Louisburg, and on the 8th, the first favorable day, landed in the face of the enemy, making their way through heavy surf and up steep acclivities. The decisive work was done with the landing; after that it was a question of time, as the English parallels rapidly advanced. On the 25th of July the garrison surrendered upon demand, threatened by a final assault, for which preparations had been made with great vigor. Nearly six thousand prisoners were taken, and sent to England and France, and the victory was not only complete, but left a substantial result in the possession of the coveted fortress, which at once became a standing menace to Quebec. The moral effect of the capture was in every way important. New England was awakened to new enthusiasm by the recapture of a place which she had once taken, and whose restoration to France by England she had never ceased to regret. The brilliancy of the assault, in which Brigadier-general Wolfe played a conspicuous part, revived the sinking spirits of men who had seen action paralyzed under the feebleness of Loudoun and Webb.

Capture of Louisburg.



William Pitt.

While Amherst was prosecuting the siege, General Abercrombie, who had succeeded Loudoun upon his return to England, was aiming at the second great object of the campaign — the capture of Ticonderoga. The officer next in command, Lord Howe, was the ruling spirit of the army. Before Abercrombie reached the camp, Howe had sent Rogers with his rangers, who, winter and summer, had scoured the woods and lakes of the country, on a reconnoissance, and thus had secured a plan of the French works at Ticonderoga, and a survey of the neighboring district. The fortified town and camp of Carillon, as the French called the place, was upon a point of land washed on the north, east, and south by the waters

Attack on Ticonderoga.

of Wood's Creek, the entrance to Lake Champlain, and the entrance to Lake George. On the west only was there approach by land, and here, on either extremity, was low, wet land, while the country occupied by the French was hilly and broken. Montcalm was in command, with about three thousand effective soldiers, and De Lévis, who had been sent to relieve Fort Frontenac, which was threatened, was hastily recalled, as the news came that the English, twenty-five thousand strong, were setting out for Carillon. The fortifications of the place were not very strong, but the ground to be passed over by an investing force offered excellent opportunities for defence. Here, therefore, intrenchments were hastily made, with an abattis of felled trees. Yet Montcalm, even on the day of the attack, hesitated whether to attempt to hold it or retire to Crown Point. He finally decided that he would await the attack of the enemy who were before him, since if they could not carry the works by storm there would needs be two or three days before they could bring up the artillery.[1] Abercrombie had not twenty-five thousand, but only fifteen thousand troops, regulars and provincials.

It was the 5th of July when he left his camp at the foot of Lake George and ascended the lake with batteaux and rafts, — a brilliant spectacle, made more picturesque by the bright plaids of his Highlanders. Two bodies of French troops had been sent out to dispute the landing of the English; but when, the next day, the enemy appeared in force, they at once retreated; one division went safely back; the other, making a detour, became involved in the tangled woods, and suddenly came upon a body of English troops, equally bewildered. It was the centre column, headed by Lord Howe, and the two parties at once began firing upon each other. The provincials with Howe fought bravely, and almost the whole French detachment of three hundred and fifty men was slain; but Howe fell at the first fire, and his loss was irreparable. Abercrombie knew nothing of fighting but by rule; he refused the advice of the provincial leaders; he showed caution when dash would have succeeded, and was obstinate in attack when obstinacy was failure and defeat. The French labored incessantly at their defence, cheered by Montcalm, who worked with the rest. De Lévis arrived, and gave them fresh courage. Meanwhile the English lost precious time in securing a position which was unnecessary, whether they were to succeed or to fail.

Death of Howe.

The attack was made on the 8th. Abercrombie, ignorant of the formidable character of the abattis, though warned by Stark, of New

[1] Pouchot's *Memoir upon the Late War in North America*, translated by Franklin B Hough, 1866, i. 115, 116.

Hampshire, sent his obedient regulars again and again to the attack. For five hours the battle raged; the English were dogged and obedient, the provincials cool and alert. They tried now the centre, now the flanks; they hurled themselves against the sharp, ugly barrier, and could scarcely see the shouting line behind that poured a murderous fire into their ranks. A French officer hung a red handkerchief on the end of a musket, and beckoned the enemy on. Some thought it a flag of truce, and rushed up crying quarter. The French, seeing them come with their arms held against their breasts, were at first puzzled, and then fired furiously at the intrepid men who were breaking through the hedge.



Field of Abercrombie's Defeat.

At sunset the hopeless attempt was abandoned, and the troops withdrew to the lake. But the final confession of failure, with the terrible scenes of the day, broke down the spirits of the men, and those who had made the attack without flinching at last took to precipitate flight. The darkness of the night and the ignorance of the French saved them from pursuit, and the shattered force encamped again on the ruins of Fort William Henry, having lost more than two thousand men, and left the dead and wounded along their track.

The retreat.

Immediately after the ill-starred attack on Carillon, Bradstreet, with a detachment of three thousand men, nearly all provincials, marched rapidly to Oswego, and, taking passage to Fort Frontenac, quickly reduced it, and captured its little garri-

Reduction of Fort Frontenac.

son and abundant stores. He destroyed the fort and the vessels that lay there, and returned to Albany to join the main army.

Meanwhile the remaining expedition, for the recovery of Fort Du Quesne, succeeded through the weakness of the French, and almost in spite of the English commander. It had been placed under the command of Brigadier-general Joseph Forbes, who, with nearly seven thousand men, was five months in crawling to the Ohio, and was even abandoning the object at the last moment, when a happy fortune disclosed the weakness of the enemy. General Forbes had left Philadelphia with his command early in July, and listening to Pennsylvania advisers, who were suspected of wishing to secure a new road, determined not to use Braddock's road, but to make another, which would be shorter, from his rendezvous at Raystown, now Bedford. Colonel Washington joined him with the Virginia troops at Bedford, greatly dissatisfied with the course which had been pursued. He was sent forward in advance of the main army to take command of a division employed in opening the road, against which, as a useless waste of time, he had vainly protested.

At Turtle Creek, twelve miles from the Ohio, a council of war was called, on the 24th of November, for the situation seemed well-nigh desperate. Provisions were almost exhausted, and the general opinion was, that a retreat was imperative. Forbes, who from his unbending will had earned the name of the Head of Iron, swore that he would take Du Quesne or die in the attempt. But that night clouds of smoke were seen above the fort, and the sound of a heavy explosion reached the camp. It was conjectured — as Forbes soon knew from his scouts was the fact — that the French were abandoning the place. In the morning the army moved cautiously forward; no enemy opposed them; in a few hours they entered the fort, but it was only to take a heap of ruins.

The French had retreated down the river, and the Indians had dispersed. That the works had been destroyed, was of little moment; the important thing was, that the valley of the Ohio was recovered to the English. But it might, perhaps, have been done at less cost had Forbes been as sagacious as he was undoubtedly brave. A rapid march by the old road would have led to the same result and would have precluded one disaster. While the army halted at Raystown, waiting for the new road to be made, the General sent Bouquet with two thousand men to occupy the Loyalhanna (now Ligonier, Pennsylvania). Here Bouquet entrenched, and sent forward Major Grant with eight hundred men, as a preparatory movement toward taking the fort, which he believed he could do without waiting for Forbes. On a hill — still called Grant's Hill — overlooking Du Quesne, Grant

was surprised by a sally of seven or eight hundred Frenchmen, with a host of Indians, and, though he fought with great bravery, his command was almost destroyed. It consisted chiefly of Highlanders; and as, on the 25th of November, their countrymen under Forbes moved through an Indian path in approaching the fort, their rage and their grief were beyond control when they saw the remains of their old comrades exposed to every indignity that savage ingenuity could invent. To bury these, as he had already buried the whitening bones that still strewed the field of Braddock's fight, Forbes esteemed a sacred duty.

Reënforcements from England.

Pitt, aware of the growing weakness of Canada, was pouring men and material into America, in preparation for a campaign which it was hoped would be final. Amherst had displaced Abercrombie, and was to mass his forces in an attack upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then proceed by the northern route. Wolfe, who had shown his skill and courage at Louisburg, was to conduct an expedition up the St. Lawrence against Quebec, and General Prideaux, in command mainly of provincials and Indians, was to lay siege to Fort Niagara, and then, descending the St. Lawrence, meet the other two armies before Montreal.

Fort Niagara was being strengthened by Pouchot, who had been sent in command, and who complained bitterly of the inadequate support given him. He was going to a distant post in the midst of Indians who were fast coming under the control of the English, and only about a hundred and fifty men were allowed him. He intimates that M. de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, was so sure the place would be captured, that he withheld a larger body from him. Nevertheless, he proceeded on his errand, and even entertained the project of retaking and destroying Fort Du Quesne. He reached Niagara on the 30th of April, and busied himself in repairing the fort, in communicating with the other posts, and in using every exertion to detach the Indians from the English alliance.

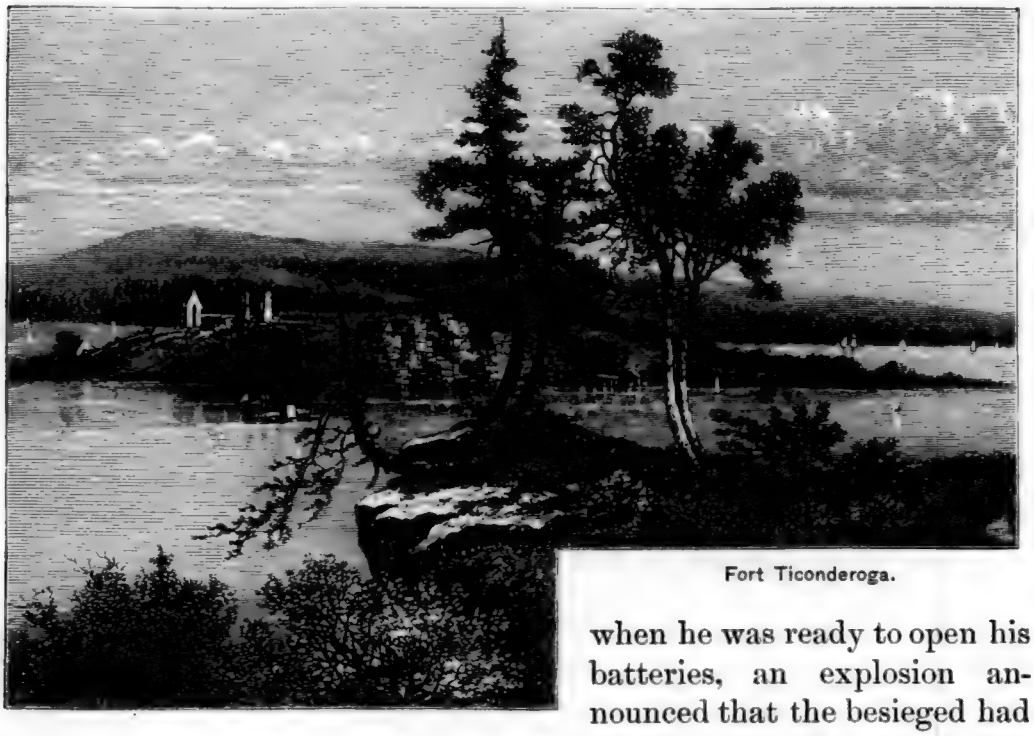
Capture of Fort Niagara.

General Prideaux's division, marching rapidly to Oswego, embarked at once, and appeared before Niagara on the 6th of July. The work was pushed forward with great vigor, but Prideaux was killed by the carelessness of one of his soldiers very early in the siege, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. Pouchot summoned to his aid the forces from Detroit, Venango, and Presqu' Isle; for it was clear that the fort could not stand a long siege, and that their only hope lay in a repulse of the English. That hope was speedily destroyed. About nine o'clock in the morning of July 24, the garrison heard distant firing and saw a com-

motion which they could not understand. It was explained to them shortly by the arrival of a messenger, bringing a summons to surrender, and the intelligence that the little army sent to raise the siege had been met, and in a spirited battle of an hour had been completely routed. Pouchot refused to believe the calamity, but when it was made clear the garrison surrendered.

Ticonderoga taken by the English.

Meanwhile the centre division was encountering the delays which seemed to attend every movement on Lake George. On the 22d of July, after a month's delay, — for disaster had inculcated prudence, — Amherst appeared with an army of about eleven thousand men before Ticonderoga, and occupied the outer lines which had been abandoned by the French. Four days later,



Fort Ticonderoga.

when he was ready to open his batteries, an explosion announced that the besieged had blown up the magazine and evacuated the fort. Amherst took possession of the works, and, still cautious, groped his way to Crown Point, only to find that Fort St. Frederick had also been abandoned, and that the French had retreated to the Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. He spent the rest of the season in strengthening Ticonderoga and building massive works at Crown Point, which consumed millions of money, apparently only to give pleasure to the idle tourists who now saunter about the ruins. Amherst indeed made preparations for a flotilla which should command the lake and give means for attack on the French army; he opened a road also to the Connecticut River, and he sent the daring

Rogers on an expedition against the Indian village of St. Francis, an expedition marked by some of the most exciting passages of the ranger's perilous life. But the army which had been gathered with so much care remained inactive, while Wolfe was conducting his part of the campaign before Quebec with untiring energy.

CHAPTER XII.

CONQUEST OF CANADA. — PONTIAC'S WAR.

FALL OF QUEBEC AND MONTREAL. — RENEWAL OF INDIAN HOSTILITIES. — PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY. — SIEGE OF DETROIT. — BATTLE OF BLOODY BRIDGE. — DEATH OF DALZELL. — ATTACK ON SANDUSKY. — TAKING OF FORTS ST. JOSEPH, MIAMI, AND OUATANON. — MASSACRE AT MICHILIMACKINAC. — FIGHT AT PRESQU' ISLE. — BURNING OF FORT LE BŒUF. — FORTS VENANGO, LIGONIER, AND AUGUSTA REDUCED. — FORT PITT BESIEGED. — BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION. BATTLE OF BUSHY RUN. — THE PAXTON MEN. — ADVANCE ON PHILADELPHIA. — DEATH OF PONTIAC. — SUBMISSION OF THE INDIANS.

General Wolfe undertakes the capture of Quebec.

AFTER the capture of Louisburg, Wolfe had returned for a season to England, but, with all his bodily weakness, he had the invincible spirit of a soldier, and a loyalty which borrowed pathos from a presentiment of death in the field. Louisburg was the rendezvous for the land and sea forces, amounting to about eight thousand, with which Wolfe undertook the capture of Quebec. He was ably seconded both by Admirals Saunders and Holmes, and by the three Brigadiers — Monckton, Townsend, and Murray. They left Louisburg toward the end of June, 1759, and dropped anchor in the St. Lawrence, below Quebec, making the principal camp on the Isle d'Orleans, but presently occupying also the promontory of Point Levi, on the southern shore of the river and nearer Quebec. Montcalm had been advised of the approach of the enemy, and gathering all the forces which could be spared from Montreal, Three Rivers, and the fields of the starving Canadians, had disposed them in such a way as to fortify those approaches to the citadel not then deemed naturally impregnable. The city, rising with rocky front between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles, had been unapproachable by the Indians, who for a hundred years and more had scalped their victims almost at its base; it had defied the formidable squadron under Sir William Phips, and it seemed now to need only abundance of provision and a few disciplined soldiers to hold out against a siege until the hard northern winter should again encircle it with the protection of frost and storm.

The city and its defences.

But Canada was assailed by more dangerous enemies than the Eng-

lish, and when the great fleet with its profusion of resources lay before Quebec, Montcalm must have grown bitter over the corruption which had eaten away the strength of the place. He had lined the shore, from the St. Charles to the Falls of the Montmorenci, with fortified camps, containing, with the garrison in the city, about thirteen thousand men of varying degrees of military discipline and with unequal equipment. A boom had been built across the St. Charles, with vessels sunk behind it, and barges in front. On the south side of the city, the land fell off precipitously to the St. Lawrence, here a rapid river, a mile wide, the ascent of which was guarded by the small naval force, consisting of two frigates under Captain Vauquelin. Steep paths led from the shore to the plains above, and small bodies of troops stationed here could serve easily as pickets in a place so admirably fortified by nature. Wolfe planted his batteries along the opposite shore, and began a severe cannonading on the city walls — harmless as regarded the citadel, but rendering the lower town almost uninhabitable. His forces were not equal to Montcalm's in numbers, and it was evident that he must gain the advantage either by strategy or by the powerful assistance of the fleet. The French maintained the defensive, except that they made two futile attempts, one to destroy the enemy's fleet by fire-rafts, the other to dislodge Monckton, shortly after he had taken up his position at Point Levi. Wolfe resolved to attack Montcalm's extreme left, which rested on the banks of the Montmorenci. He had already occupied the left bank of



General Wolfe.

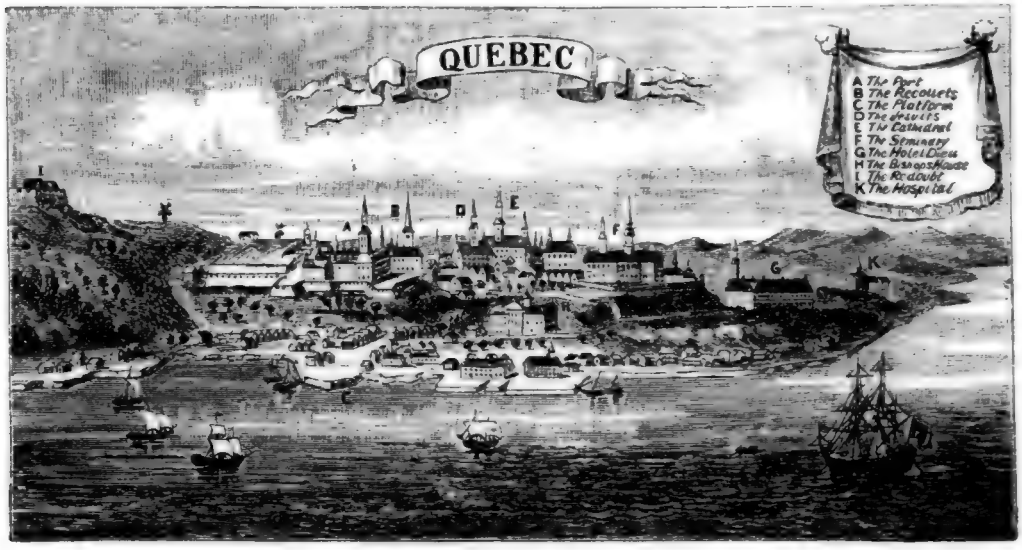
that river, and he had there the advantage of overlooking the lower right bank, with the French intrenchments. Below and above the Falls were fording-places; by these Wolfe proposed to send detachments, while a division from Point Levi, crossing in barges, was to land on the strand, west of the Falls, where the landing was to be covered by the *Centurion*, a sixty-gun ship anchored below.

Attack on the French left.

The day chosen for the movement was the 31st of July, and the basin swarmed with barges bearing Monckton's detachment, and flying back and forth between the several camps. It was a sultry day, and the movement did not begin until after noon. De Lévis, in command of the extreme left of the French army, had disposed his troops at the two fords, and, having the inside, could readily mass the defence at either point. It was Wolfe's intention that the three parties, after landing and crossing the river, should meet upon the Courville road, and immediately advance upon the French redoubt, and it was an important part of his plan that the landing and the two crossings should be made simultaneously, in order to divide the enemy's defence. There was a redoubt near the point where Monckton's division was to land, and not far from the lower ford, and when this was taken the ranks were to form for an attack upon the intrenchments behind.

The plan was intricate and bold, and there was no lack of courage in the assailants. There was, however, apparent lack of discipline and concentration. At the upper ford the British were driven back, and De Lévis's men, accomplishing this, made haste to reënforce those who were awaiting the attack of the troops which, landing on the strand, were now hurrying pell-mell across the ground from the redoubt that had been immediately evacuated, toward the intrenchments. There was irregularity and want of concert both in the landing and in the attack. The abandonment of the redoubt may have misled the English into a contempt for the enemy. But they were quickly undeceived. The Canadians, waiting behind the intrenchments, suddenly, as the troops came rushing upon them, opened fire, so sure and so rapid that the attack was arrested. At that moment a thunder-storm burst overhead. Over the slippery ground the English fled precipitately to their boats, their retreat hidden by the blinding rain. When the storm cleared, the Canadians saw the enemy bearing their wounded to the boats, a part recrossing the lower ford and regaining their intrenchments on the left bank of the Montmorenci, and part returning in the barges to the camp at Point Levi. The victorious Canadians harassed the retreating soldiers with their guns, while their Indian allies hovered about them with their tomahawks. The British kept up their cannonading all night, but the expedition was a sorry failure. About five hundred men had been lost by the attacking party.

The siege was prolonged for another month, and an expedition was sent up the river, but with little effect, except, it may be, to familiarize the officers with that side of the city which was now to witness the triumph of the British army. Wolfe, sick and discouraged, called a council of his officers and invited new plans for the capture of Quebec. The plan proposed by the council involved the reëmbarkation of the army, to be conducted up the river to the south side, above the town, where they should cross, gain the rear of the works, and compel Montcalm to meet them, while at the same time they cut off his communication with Montreal. The preparations for this new approach excited great uneasiness in the city, and Montcalm was urged to anticipate the movement by a new disposition of his troops. But he was confident that a handful of men could defend the ap-



Quebec in 1730.—From an Old Print.

proach to the city in the narrow passes leading to the river, and moreover he had strong doubts that the enemy intended anything more than a feint, as demonstrations were still continued at the mouth of the Montmorenci. However, Bougainville with a body of men was stationed up the river, and was now reënforced, while the guards along the steep bank were cautioned to be on the lookout.

Wolfe, lying almost helpless in his chamber, caught at a plan which commended itself to his own courageous spirit, and the troops were transferred to the fleet. A detachment was sent forward to reconnoitre during the 7th, 8th, and 9th of September, and news was brought by two deserters from the French that a convoy of provisions was to arrive from up the river, and seek to gain the port in the darkness of the night of the 12th–13th. The city was much distressed from lack of provisions, which were slowly brought with great

difficulty by land, and it had been determined to run the risk of dropping barges noiselessly down the river with the flood. Wolfe seized upon the fact to further his own purposes. Holmes's fleet had passed the town, receiving a fire from the fortress, which it could not return, and was now anchored above the port. A detachment had been sent beyond Cape Rouge in order to hold Bougainville's attention, while a show of operations was still kept up at the Montmorenci, to engage the vigilance of De Lévis. There was no moon on the night of the 12th, but the air was clear and the sky was bright with stars. Wolfe rose from his sick-bed and led the perilous expedition in person. In the depth of the night, some thirty boats, bearing sixteen hundred soldiers, fell silently down the river toward the little cove which had been chosen for the debarkation. As they floated down the stream, Wolfe repeated in a low voice stanzas from Gray's "Elegy," one verse of which, it has been often remarked, was so appropriate to the fate about to befall him: —

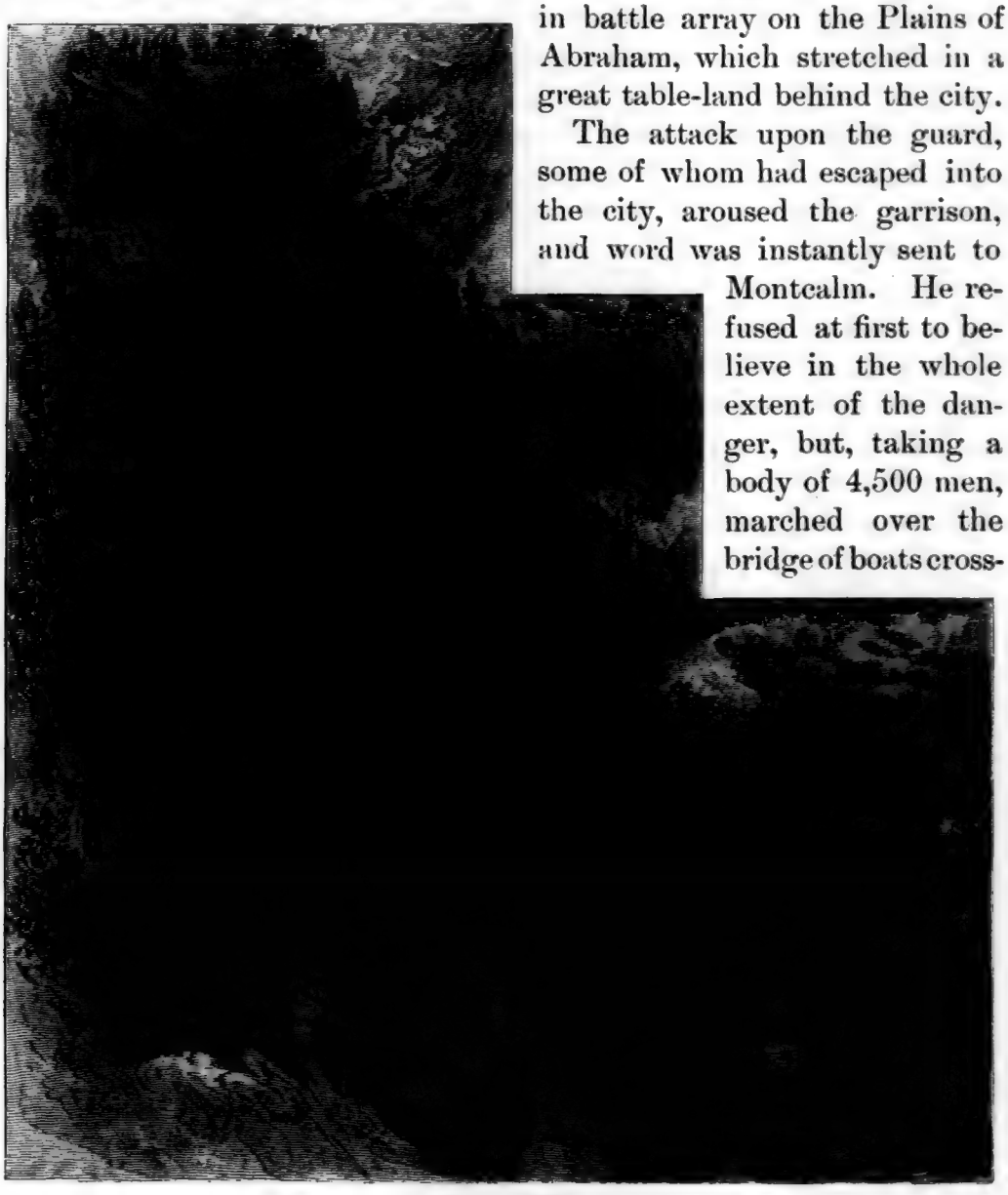
The successful assault.

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable hour:
> The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

"Gentlemen," he said to the officers who had listened to him, "I would rather have written those lines than take Quebec to-morrow."

The boats drew near the landing-place beneath the overhanging wooded heights. The sentinel, peering out from the darkness, heard rather than saw the objects in the water. "Qui vive?" he called. "La France!" replied a Highlander in the foremost boat, plans having been laid for those familiar with French to answer the demands. "A quel régiment?" continued the sentinel. "De la Reine," was the reply, the name of a regiment under Bougainville's command. This boat and others, being under too much headway, shot beyond the landing-place. Again one of the barges was challenged. "Qui vive?" "Ne faites pas de bruit, ce sont les vivres," ("Hush! the provisions,") was the half-whispered rejoinder. Then some of the boats grated on the beach at the cove, and the Highlanders of Fraser's regiment sprang ashore. Wolfe had turned his boat back, and was one of the first to land. A guard-house stood at the head of the cove, and a narrow path led up the steep from this point. The guard was instantly surprised, and the Highlanders sprang up the path, catching at bushes and roots and trees to help them. A small guard was at the head of the pass, commanded by an officer who had already shown himself unworthy, and who now was in bed. These made a hasty defence, but were overpowered by the foremost Highlanders, while up the path, hastened by the sound of musket-shots above,

men came crowding and pushing one another. The pass was held, and in the breaking day the men could see the ships coming to anchor opposite the cove, now known as Wolfe's Cove, when fresh troops clambered up the path. As the sun rose, the English army stood in battle array on the Plains of Abraham, which stretched in a great table-land behind the city.



Landing of Wolfe.

The attack upon the guard, some of whom had escaped into the city, aroused the garrison, and word was instantly sent to Montcalm. He refused at first to believe in the whole extent of the danger, but, taking a body of 4,500 men, marched over the bridge of boats crossing the St. Charles, and passed through the city to the Plains beyond. It was eight o'clock in the morning, and Montcalm, fearful lest the British should intrench themselves, as indeed they had already begun to do, determined, against the advice of his generals, to make an immediate assault. The enemy had been able to bring up but one gun, and in case of defeat would inevitably be subjected to terrible punishment, for there could be no orderly retreat from the position

they had taken, while Bougainville's division, which had been ordered up at once, would receive them in rear and flank. Montcalm was driven to desperation as he saw the British in a position which he had first declared it was impossible for them to take, and that to take it was of the greatest peril to the city. He ordered an attack, and the Canadians, crouching in the corn and copse, kept up a brisk fire, while the regulars began to advance rapidly in three divisions, the English still maintaining an unbroken front. The French advance was broken and irregular, the men already fatigued by their march to the city, but it was quick and resolute, and the platoons delivered a determined fire as they pushed forward. Still the British line did not reply. When at length the French were only forty yards distant, the word was given to fire, and in an instant the muskets, doubly charged, mowed down the French ranks, so that these, already disorderly, became confused and irresolute. Wolfe saw his opportunity. He flung himself before the grenadiers, and charged upon the amazed Frenchmen. They turned and fled, and the shouting Englishmen leaped after them, driving them headlong and felling them to the ground. In the first rush of this impetuous charge a ball pierced Wolfe in the side. He staggered forward, when another struck his breast, and he fell. He was borne to the rear and laid on the grass. The charge was still tumultuous, and one of the officers excitedly cried out, "See how they run!"

Death of Wolfe and Montcalm.

"Who run?" asked Wolfe, who had lain as if in a deadly swoon, but roused himself now.

"The enemy, sir; they give way everywhere."

"Then," said Wolfe, "tell Colonel Burton to march Webb's regiment down to Charles River, to cut off their retreat from the bridge. Now, God be praised, I shall die in peace." And turning on his side, he passed into the shadow at the end of the path of glory. By a tragic coincidence, Montcalm also fell at the head of his troops, as he sought to rally them after the first fierce attack. He was borne to the hospital, and refused to give any more orders. He had words for the bravery of his opponents, and for the last offices of religion, but the fight he gave up instantly. He had a soldier's burial, at his own desire, in a cavity of the earth formed by the bursting of a bomb-shell.

The French were driven behind the walls of Quebec. Within a few days, terms of capitulation were proposed, which General Townsend acceded to, and on the 18th of September the British entered the city. The winter passed in enforced inactivity on both sides, the French withdrawing their troops to Montreal, and the English sending away a portion of their army in the fleet.

When the river opened in the spring, De Lévis, with an army of about seven thousand men, moved down from Montreal. General Murray had not three thousand men in garrison, but he sallied out at once to meet the enemy, and a second well-fought battle upon the Plains of Abraham followed. The English, however, were repulsed, and the French made immediate preparations for a siege. Both commanders were hoping for speedy reënforcements, and in May they came, but to the English only. De Lévis threw his heavy guns into the river and retreated. Vauquelin withstood an attack, but, after a stout defence, was compelled to leave his two frigates in the hands of the enemy.



Montcalm.

It was plain that the French could do little now but await events. The approach to Montreal was guarded at the Isle aux Noix by Bougainville; the rapids above were held by a small force, as were those on the upper St. Lawrence. Fresh reënforcements to the English were looked for by all these routes. From the south came Colonel Haviland, with an army from Crown Point; Amherst, with his own division of ten thousand regulars and provincials, reënforced at Oswego by a thousand Indians under Sir William Johnson, came from Lake Ontario; and these, with General Murray from the east, met before Montreal. On the 8th of September the city surrendered, and in the terms of capitulation were included Detroit, Michilimackinac, and other posts held by the French farther west. The French fleet, which arrived upon the coast soon after, but too late, was met by a British squadron and completely destroyed. New France was soon wiped out from the map of America.

Peace, indeed, was not definitively concluded between France and Great Britain till the autumn of 1762, when Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton were ceded to Great Britain, France retaining

New Orleans and the region west of the Mississippi, which she immediately conveyed to Spain. The contest, meanwhile, was continued in America, not by the French, but by the Indians, who foresaw the certainty of their own subjugation when they could no longer command the friendship and protection of one of the two great powers. A few months after the surrender of Quebec, Major Robert Rogers, a native of New Hampshire, a noted ranger, was sent by General Amherst to carry the news of the capitulation to Detroit, and take possession of that and other western posts on the frontier. In November, 1760, they encamped at the mouth of the Cuyahoga, where the city of Cleveland now stands, to wait for fair weather. Here they were visited by a party of Indians,[1] who announced that they came from Pontiac, the chief who claimed all that country, and whose orders were, that the English should proceed no farther till they had received his permission. A few hours later he entered the camp in person.

Conditions of peace.

Pontiac was chief of the Ottawas, whom he was said to have commanded at Braddock's defeat, and in 1746 he and his warriors had defended the French at Detroit against an attack by some of the northern tribes. His mother was an Ojibwa, and the Ojibwas and Pottawotamies were in alliance with the Ottawas, he being the principal chief of the three tribes. He was now nearly or quite fifty years of age, and is described as unusually dark in complexion, of medium height, of powerful frame, and of haughty bearing. Subtle, patient, cruel, with much more than the ordinary capacity of his race, he possessed all of their few good qualities and most of their many bad ones.

Pontiac.

Pontiac demanded of Major Rogers his reasons for being at that place, and why he presumed to pass through the country without his permission. He was told in reply of the conquest of Canada by the English, that the party were on their way to receive the surrender of Detroit, and that it was hoped a general peace and friendly relations might immediately follow. Pontiac took a night for the consideration of intelligence with which probably he was already familiar, and the next day in a second speech declared that he wished to be at peace with the English, and would let them remain in the country so long as they treated him with due consideration. He was, perhaps, at that moment sincere. His old friends, the French, were conquered, and he may have hoped, by an early declaration of friendship for the

[1] In the relation of the Indian warfare of this period, the historian has only to follow faithfully and gratefully *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, by Francis Parkman, one of the most exhaustive, as well as interesting and instructive monographs, that have ever been contributed to American history.

English, to secure an influence that would give him a complete ascendency over the other tribes. His good-will was further shown when Rogers and his two hundred rangers arrived at Detroit River, where four hundred Detroit Indians were lying in ambush. They were persuaded by Pontiac to relinquish their design of cutting off the English.

His friendship.

The Indians who witnessed the surrender of Detroit, November 29, 1760, marvelled that the stronger garrison should tamely lay down their arms to a force so much inferior, and could only account for it by attributing to the English a superhuman prowess. No such belief, however, found lodgment in the mind of their wiser chief. He hated the English, and did not believe them to be invincible; he dreaded their supremacy, and feared that they meant to conquer his own race, as they had conquered the French, and would drive them from their hunting-grounds or make them slaves. His ears were open to idle tales which soon reached him from the Canadian traders — that his father, the French King, was old and had been asleep, but that he had aroused himself, and a great army was coming to the help of his dusky children; his fleet of great canoes, it was rumored, was on its way up the St. Lawrence River. He took counsel, therefore, of his thirst for vengeance, and not of any fear of the prowess or the numbers of the hated enemy. He pondered over these things for months alone in the depths of the forest, or in the silence of his wigwam, where none dared to interrupt the thoughts of the grim and melancholy savage. His plans, at length, were fixed. In a single day all the forts should be attacked and their garrisons put to the sword; all the frontier settlements should be laid waste; then, with the aid of the French, he would move upon the older ones, and the English should be exterminated or driven across the sea.

Pontiac's plan of extermination.

Near the close of 1762, Pontiac sent ambassadors to the several nations, to lay his plan before them and propose the next spring as the time for its execution. These ambassadors, bearing a red-stained tomahawk and a wampum war-belt, visited every tribe between the Ottawa and the Lower Mississippi. The only nation of the Iroquois that joined in the conspiracy was the Senecas, the others being restrained through the influence of Sir William Johnson. But all the Algonquins, with few exceptions, the Wyandots, and some of the Southern tribes, entered into it, as well as the three immediately under the control of Pontiac. The time was fixed at a certain change of the moon in May. Each tribe was to dispose of the garrison of the nearest fort, and then all were to turn upon the settlements.

His negotiations with other tribes.

Although within two years several smaller conspiracies of this nature had been discovered and thwarted, most of the commanders of the forts appear to have been almost stupidly unsuspicious and negligent. In March, Ensign Holmes, commanding Fort Miami, where Fort Wayne, Indiana, now stands, was informed by a friendly Indian that the neighboring tribe had received a war-belt and were preparing to capture his post. He at once called them together, and accused them of it. They confessed the truth, pleaded that they had been over-persuaded by another tribe, and renewed their old protestations of friendship. Holmes wrote to Major Gladwyn, the commander at Detroit, saying: "Since my last letter to

Holmes discovers the plot.



Scalp-Dance.

you, wherein I acquainted you of the Bloody Belt being in this village, I have made all the search I could about it, and have found it out to be true. Whereon I assembled all the chiefs of this nation, and after a long and troublesome spell with them, I obtained the Belt with a Speech as you will receive enclosed. This affair is very timely stopt, and I hope the news of a peace will put a stop to any further troubles with those Indians who are the principal ones of setting mischief on foot. I send you the Belt with this packet, which I hope you will forward to the Generál." Gladwyn did send the information to Amherst, but said he believed it to be a trifling matter which would soon blow over.

Pontiac called a great council, at a point on the river Ecorces, not

far from Detroit, which was held on the 27th of April, 1763, and was very fully attended. He delivered a long oration, in which he recounted the wrongs and indignities that the Indians had suffered at the hands of the English. The French, he told them, were their friends, and he repeated the stories he had heard that the King of France would soon sail up the St. Lawrence with his great war-canoes to assist his children. Above all he pointed out to them the probability that unless something was done, their extermination was inevitable. Then he told them of a tradition, which he could hardly have invented, that a Delaware Indian had been admitted to the presence of the Great Spirit, who told him his race must return to the customs and weapons of their ancestors, throw away the implements they had acquired from the white man, abstain from whiskey, and take up the hatchet against the English, — "these dogs dressed in red, who have come to rob you of your hunting-grounds and drive away the game."

Pontiac's council.

His speech.

The time fixed for the insurrection was the 7th of May. Pontiac was to lead in person the attack on Detroit. On the 1st he visited the fort with forty warriors, and danced the calumet-dance before the officers. A few days later he called a final council of a hundred chiefs, and laid before them his specific plans. With weapons concealed in their blankets, they were to go to the fort and demand a council with the commandant. Being admitted, Pontiac was to make a speech, and when he presented the wampum-belt wrong end foremost, it was to be the signal for the chiefs to fall upon and slaughter the officers. At the sound of this, the Indians who waited at the gate, or lounged about the streets, were to massacre the soldiers and citizens.

The plan at Detroit.

On the 5th the wife of a settler, visiting an Ottawa village to buy maple sugar and venison, observed many of the warriors cutting off the barrels of their guns with files. When she returned home and reported this, the blacksmith of the post remembered that the Indians had recently come to his shop to borrow files and saws, refusing to tell the purpose for which they wanted them. Those who understood the native character, knew at once that this could only mean that the guns were to be shortened for easier concealment beneath their blankets, and this could only be for some treacherous purpose. But Gladwyn was not convinced till the next day, when he received a visit from his mistress, an Ojibwa girl, said to be very beautiful, whose unusual manner, and reluctance to depart when the gates were about to be closed, led him to question her. After considerable hesitation she revealed the plot with all its particulars.[1]

Its discovery.

[1] Parkman traces the fate of this girl. She was probably seized by the Indians and

Description of the fort.

The fort at this time consisted of a square inclosed by a palisade twenty-five feet high, with a wooden bastion at each corner mounting a few light pieces of artillery, and block-houses over the gateways. Within were barracks, a small church, and about a hundred houses, mostly of wood, divided from one another by narrow streets, but all separated from the palisade by a wide space. The garrison consisted of one hundred and twenty men, and there were about forty others capable of bearing arms. Two armed schooners were anchored in the river. Estimates of the force under Pontiac vary from six hundred to two thousand. When, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 7th, the great chief entered the gate with his sixty chosen warriors, all plumed and painted, and closely wrapped in gaudy blankets, he saw at once that his design was known. The garrison was under arms and posted in readiness for immediate orders, while every officer had a sword and two pistols in his belt. "Why," said the chief, "do I see so many of my father's young men standing in the street with their guns?" Gladwyn answered carelessly that he had ordered them out for exercise. With many misgivings, knowing what they themselves would have done had they discovered such treachery on the part of pretended friends, the Indians took the seats assigned them, and with much embarrassment Pontiac began his speech. He appeared to debate in his own mind whether it would not be best, even now, to attempt carrying out the plot. Once he seemed about to lift the wampum-belt, when a slight gesture from Gladwyn was instantly answered by the rattle of arms at the door, and the warning roll of a drum. Pontiac seemed confounded at this evidence of the discovery of his purpose, and that the English were in readiness to resist the proposed onslaught, was silenced, and sat down. After a pause, Gladwyn made a short reply, assuring the warriors of his friendship so long as they deserved it, but telling them that instant vengeance would be taken for any hostile act. The council presently broke up, and the discomfited conspirators were conducted to the gate.

Pontiac baffled.

The next day Pontiac and three of his chiefs returned to present Major Gladwyn with a calumet, and to assure him that "evil birds had sung lies in his ear." He knew that Gladwyn knew it was he who lied, and when, the following day, he came with a large crowd of warriors, he found the gates barred, and was told that he alone might enter. Then he made instant declaration of war. His followers gave the war-whoop, and running to the houses of two

He declares war.

taken before Pontiac, who punished her with his own hands, beating her with a kind of racket club which the natives used in their ball-play. But her life was spared. She lived to be an old woman, and was at last scalded to death in a kettle of boiling maple-sap into which she fell when drunk.

or three defenceless English outside the palisades, murdered them and shook their bleeding scalps at the soldiers of the fort.

Pontiac ordered the Ottawa village to be moved across the river to the Detroit shore, where it was pitched at the mouth of Parent's Creek (afterward called Bloody Run), a mile and a half northeast of the fort. He had been joined by the Ojibwas, and on the 10th established a determined siege. From behind barns, fences, and trees, and from inequalities in the ground, the savages opened fire, and kept it up for six hours. This was returned whenever one of the dusky forms could be seen. A group of outbuildings which sheltered a large number of them was set on fire with red-hot spikes shot from a cannon, and burned down. When the day closed, no impression had been made upon the fort, except that five of the garrison were wounded.

The siege begun.

Gladwyn greatly underrated the extent and seriousness of the plot, and on the 11th he opened negotiations with the Indians, through an interpreter and two Canadians. The chief replied that he wished to hold a council with the English, and asked that Major Campbell, who was second in command, be sent to him. The Major went, accompanied by Lieutenant McDougal, — rather against Gladwyn's will, however, — and both were detained as prisoners. McDougal escaped a few weeks later, but Campbell was afterward murdered by a savage to revenge the death of his nephew, who had been killed in a skirmish.

Campbell and McDougal betrayed.

On the 12th, Pontiac compelled the Wyandots to join him, and renewed the siege. By midnight sallies and other expedients, the garrison gradually removed all buildings, fences, and orchards that interfered with the sweep of their guns, or gave shelter to the enemy in their approaches to the fort. The cannon-shot, of which, in common with all Indians, they had great dread, kept them at a distance ; but they could still shoot their arrows tipped with burning tow upon the roofs of the houses within the palisades. The supply of water was inexhaustible, but it needed unwearied watchfulness to guard against this terrible danger. Every man in the fort was constantly under arms ; no possible precaution was overlooked ; the provisions were wisely husbanded ; and friendly Canadians across the river brought over considerable supplies under cover of darkness. On the other side, the assailants, who had expected a speedy victory, had exhausted their scanty stores of food, and they sought to replenish them by robbing the Canadian farmers of the neighborhood. When these complained to Pontiac, he replied that he was fighting for their interests no less than his own. Theft, he promised them, should be stopped, but he substituted for it regu-

Pontiac's commissariat.

lar requisitions upon them for supplies, and gave them in payment promissory notes drawn on birch bark, and signed with the figure of an otter, — all of which, it is said, were redeemed.

Gladwyn knew that reënforcements and supplies for his own and other posts were on their way up Lake Erie, and one of the schooners was sent to meet the boats and hurry them forward. Unfortunately she missed them, and they approached leisurely along the shores of the lake till they reached the mouth of the Detroit River, quite unsuspicious of any danger. While they were making preparations to encamp for the night, a band of Wyandots surprised and routed the party. About sixty men were killed or taken prisoners, two only of the boats escaping, in one of which was Lieutenant Cuyler, the commander of the expedition, and about forty men. The other boats the Indians compelled their prisoners to row to Detroit, where their approach was hailed with delight till it was discovered that they were filled with savages. They had concealed themselves in the bottoms of the boats, and had hoped to enter the fort by stratagem. The disappointment in the fort was almost unbearable, when they discovered, by a fight in one of the boats between an Indian and a white soldier, that the whole convoy had been captured, and that the hoped-for relief was only so much additional strength to the savages, in arms, ammunition, and provisions.

Night attack on a schooner.

When Cuyler reached Niagara and told his story, another expedition of relief was started in Gladwyn's schooner, which had arrived at that place in safety. On the 23d of June she came in sight of Detroit, but for lack of a breeze was compelled to drop anchor. That night the Indians, in their canoes, attempted her capture; but when they came within a few yards of the prize, a broadside of grape-shot, with a shower of musket-balls, tore through the fleet of birch bark, killing fourteen Indians, wounding as many more, and scattering the remainder. Several days afterward she succeeded in ascending to the fort, giving the Wyandot village a broadside of grape as she passed, and came to anchor beside her consort. Besides food, ammunition, and reënforcements, she brought news of the Treaty of Paris.

But Pontiac still clung to his purpose, gained a few recruits among the floating and adventurous population of the Canadian villages, and pushed the siege. The schooners were a serious annoyance to the Indians, as their fire swept the approaches to the fort, and their guns were frequently turned upon the camp of the besiegers. Several attempts were made to destroy them by means of fire-rafts, but with no success.

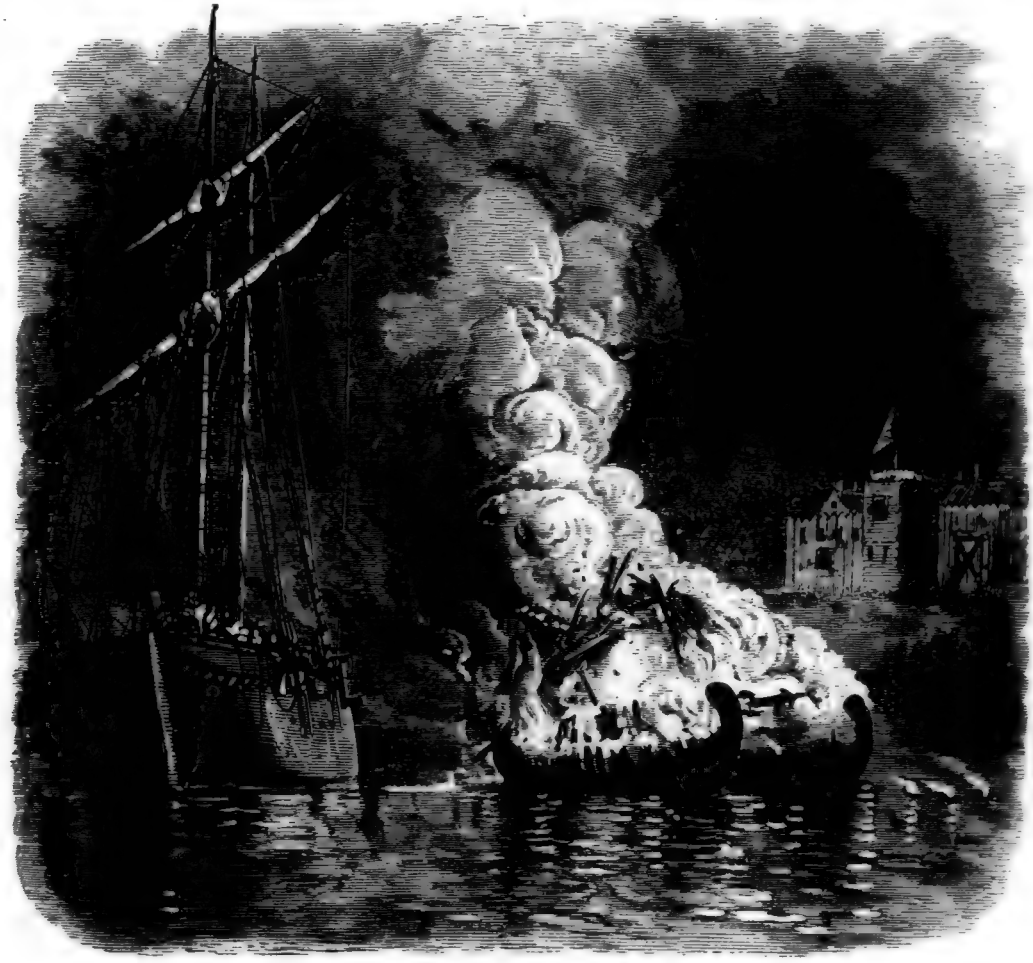
The Wyandots and Pottawotamies now sued for peace, and ex-

changed prisoners with Gladwyn; but the Ottawas and Ojibwas still watched the fort and kept up a desultory fire. Meanwhile a reënforcement of two hundred and eighty men, with artillery and supplies, was coming from Niagara in twenty-two barges, under command of Captain Dalzell. On the morning of July 29, favored by a heavy fog, they ascended the river; but as they passed the villages of the Wyandots and Pottawotamies a heavy fire was opened upon them and fifteen men were killed or wounded.

Two tribes sue for peace

The siege continued by the Ojibwas.

Dalzell, whose arrival was hailed as a promise of salvation to the exhausted garrison, soon proposed a rash plan for a night attack on Pontiac's camp. Gladwyn, who better knew the numbers and re-



The Fire-rafts in Detroit River.

sources of the Indians, consented only with great reluctance and many misgivings. At two o'clock on the morning of July 31, two hundred and fifty men, led by Dalzell, left the fort and marched silently along the shore toward the Indian camp, which was on the farther bank of Parent's Creek. They were accompanied by two large batteaux, each

carrying a swivel gun in the bow. But some Canadians had learned of the intended attack and betrayed it to Pontiac, and the Indians had made the mile and a half of road that lay between the fort and the camp one long ambuscade. They were behind every tree and fence and house, silently watching their victims as they unsuspectingly marched by. No resistance was offered till the van reached the bridge over the creek, when a destructive fire was opened in front, and half of the advance guard fell. Dalzell, conspicuous for his bravery and coolness, prevented a rout and led on his men through the darkness. But no enemy was to be found in front; the English knew nothing of the ground beyond this point, and a retreat became inevitable. Then from every shelter along the roadside flashed the guns of the hidden savages, and the whole retreat, though marked by many acts of brave devotion, became little more than a sickening detail of helpless slaughter. Those who straggled or fell were quickly scalped as the exultant enemy closed in upon the retiring column. Dalzell, already twice wounded, turned back to rescue a wounded sergeant, and was shot dead. Major Rogers with a strong party covered the retreat by taking possession of a strong house, which was already crowded with refugees, the cellar being full of women and children, and the aged master of the house standing upon the trap-door that led to it, to keep out the hardly less frightened soldiers. Here, while the remainder of the troops reached the fort, Rogers and his men were besieged by two hundred Indians till the batteaux, which had gone down laden with the wounded, returned and drove off the assailants by a fire from the swivels that swept the whole ground about the house. In this battle, known as the fight of Bloody Bridge, the English lost fifty-nine men killed or wounded; the Indians probably not more than twenty.

Battle of Bloody Bridge.

Death of Dalzell.

One of the schooners, sent down to Niagara with despatches, was returning with a crew of ten men, besides the captain and mate, when she was attacked in Detroit River, on the night of August 4, by more than three hundred Indians, who silently surrounded her in their canoes, and were clambering up the sides with their knives between their teeth, when the alarm was given. The crew sprang to the gunwales with spears and hatchets, and despatched more than a score of the assailants. But the captain was killed, several of the crew disabled, and the vessel in the possession of the savages, when the mate roared out an order to fire the magazine and blow her up. A few of the Indians knew enough English to understand this order, and in an instant more the whole party leaped overboard and swam off in every direction.

A desperate fight on the river.

Notwithstanding the supply of provisions brought by the schooner,

it was soon necessary to place the garrison on short allowance. But now the Indians, whose own provisions were failing, began to tire of the siege, and were further discouraged by news that strong reënforcements from Niagara were coming to the relief. But this expedition, under command of Major Wilkins, was overtaken by a disastrous storm on the lake. Seventy lives were lost, besides all the stores and ammunition, and the survivors returned to Niagara.

On the 12th of October, all except the Ottawas sued for peace. Gladwyn replied that he had no power to make peace, but would grant a truce. This was finally accepted, and he took advantage of it to gather in a good supply of provisions for the winter's use. The Ottawas maintained their hostile attitude till the 30th of October, when a French messenger arrived with a letter from M. Neyon, commanding Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, in which Pontiac was informed that he could have no help from the French, as they were now at peace with the English, and he was advised to discontinue hostilities at once. Pontiac sullenly raised the siege, and went off into the country bordering the Maumee, where he vainly endeavored to organize another movement.

The siege raised.

Though the originator of this plan of extermination had failed to carry out his own part in it, his allies who attacked the other English posts were almost uniformly successful. On the 16th of May, seven Indians appeared at Fort Sandusky, commanded by Ensign Paully, and asked for a conference. They were admitted, and, at a signal, seized Paully and bound him. At the same instant, shots and shrieks were heard without, and in a few minutes the fort was in the hands of a band of savages, and most of the garrison were slain. They burned the fort, and carried off Paully with the intention of torturing him to death; but an aged Indian widow offered him the alternative of marriage, which he accepted, and after a time made his escape. On the 25th of May, a large party of Pottawotamies appeared before Fort St. Joseph, on the southeastern shore of Lake Michigan, at the mouth of St. Joseph River. This little work was held by Ensign Schlosser with fourteen men. The Indians, crowding in under pretences of friendship, suddenly fell upon the garrison, and in less than two minutes killed all but Schlosser and three men, quickly plundered the fort, and carried its commander to Detroit. At Fort Miami, on May 27, Ensign Holmes was decoyed from the fort by a story of a sick woman in the Indian village who wanted medical assistance. On arriving there, he was shot dead. The fort was then summoned to surrender, with a promise of mercy if no resistance was made. Discouraged by the loss of their commander and the numbers

Attack on Sandusky.

On St. Joseph.

Miami.

of the Indians, the garrison made haste to surrender. Fort Ouatanon, on the Wabash, near the present site of Lafayette, was also captured by stratagem; but the lives of Lieutenant Jenkins and his men were spared through the intercession of some French traders.

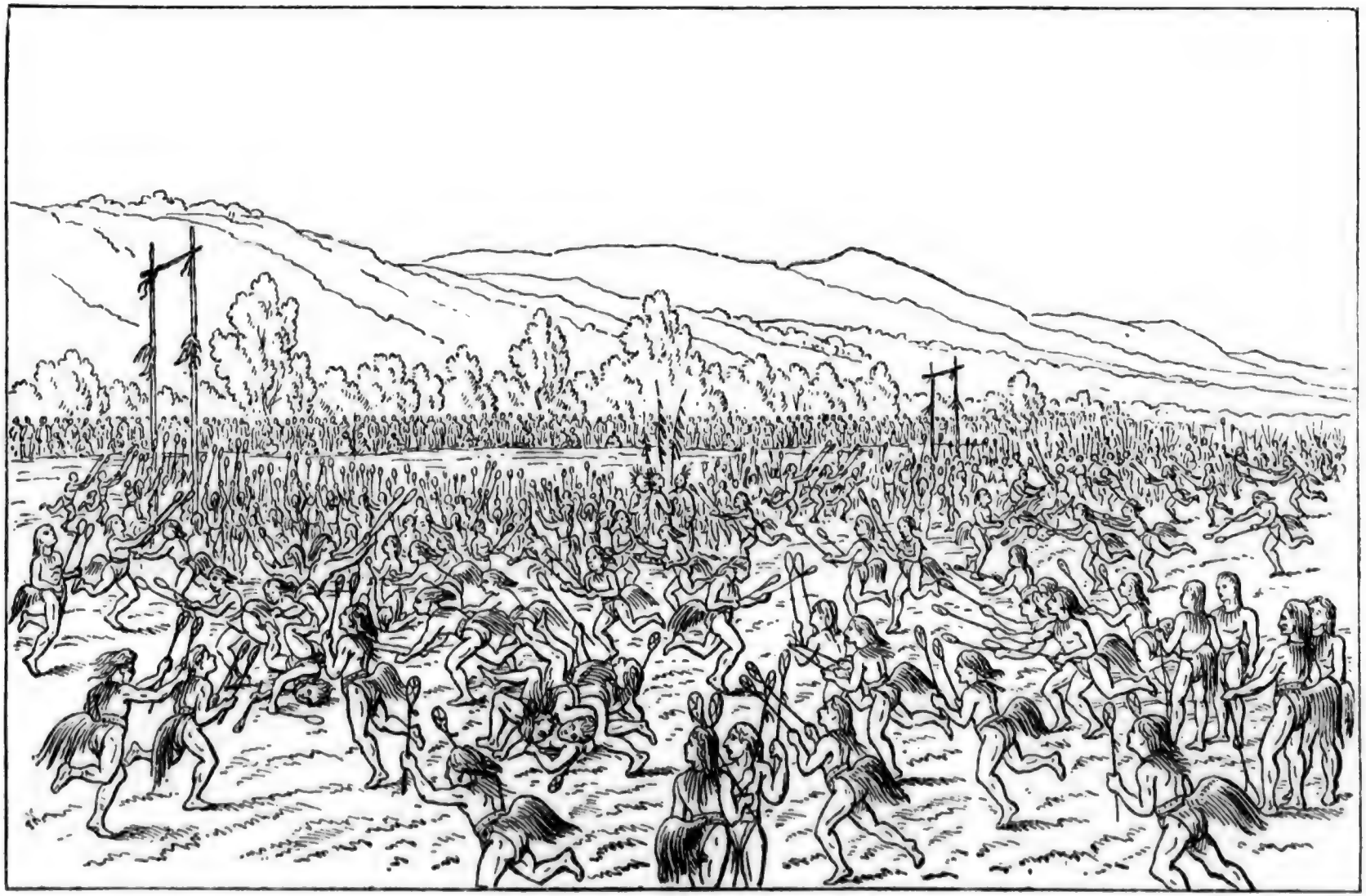
Ouatanon.

At Michilimackinac the Chippewas assembled in great numbers, but aroused no suspicion of the purpose of their visit, so harmless at first was their behavior, and so earnest their protestations of friendship to the English. On the 4th of June, these were invited to witness their game of ball on the plain in front of the fort. The whole garrison looked out upon the sport, from open doors and windows, and were thrown entirely off their guard by the eagerness with which the savages followed the ball, intent apparently to drive it either to one goal or the other. The game continued from early morning till noon. Just outside the gate stood Captain Etherington and Lieutenant Lester, careless and unsuspicious of any sinister design. But the savages, in all their racing and shouting, were warily watching for the favorable moment. At length, about noon, the ball was thrown near the gate as if by accident; there was a sudden rush, — the two officers were bound and hurried away, and the savages poured into the fort. Their squaws were already there, with weapons concealed in their blankets, which the warriors snatched from their hands. So sudden was the movement that the scattered and unprepared soldiers were incapable of defence. Seventeen were instantly killed, and the five or six who were taken prisoners, were only reserved for a more cruel death. All the English traders were robbed of their goods and they themselves led away into captivity. But there was no molestation of the French, who had calmly witnessed, and, for the most part, probably approved of the massacre.

Michilimackinac.

At Presqu' Isle, near the site of the present town of Erie, Pennsylvania, was an unusually strong block-house commanded by Ensign Christie, with a courageous and skillful garrison. On the morning of June 15, it was surrounded by two hundred Indians, most of whom had come from Detroit. The garrison at once retired to the block-house, where they held out against an assault that had no cessation for two days and a half. The Indians threw fire-arrows and balls of flaming pitch, and again and again the house was set on fire, but amid showers of bullets the flames were extinguished by the cool courage of the soldiers. Rude breastworks were piled up by the savages on a ridge that commanded the fort, whence they could fire in comparative safety. Some of them, growing bold, attempted to cross an open space and take shelter under the walls, but were shot down in the attempt. Then they resorted to mining; and

Attack on Presqu' Isle.



INDIAN GAME OF BALL.
[After Catlin.]

while this work was going on the water in the fort became exhausted, and the soldiers, the well in the parade-ground being out of their reach, dug a new one inside the fort. The mine reached the house of the commanding officer, which the assailants at once set on fire, nearly stifling the garrison with the smoke and heat, for it was close to the block-house. Through the night and all the next day the intrepid garrison fought without a moment's rest against fire, and the incessant and fierce assaults of the enemy. When it was evident that the mine had reached a point beneath their feet, and that further resistance was hopeless, they surrendered, but only on condition that they should be permitted to depart unmolested. The promise, however, was broken; they were all bound and taken prisoners to Pontiac's camp, whence Christie soon escaped and found refuge in the fort at Detroit.

Three days after this attack on Presqu' Isle, Fort Le Bœuf, a dozen miles south of it, was surrounded and set on fire. Ensign Price and his garrison of thirteen men cut a hole through the rear wall of the block-house, and silently escaped, while the howling savages in front believed them to be perishing in the flames. About half of them reached Fort Pitt, the remainder dying of hunger by the way. Fort Venango, still farther down the Alleghany, was captured by a band of Senecas, who gained admittance on some friendly pretext. They butchered the entire garrison at once, tortured Lieutenant Gordon to death by slow process, and then laid the whole work in ashes. Soon afterward the same band made a futile demonstration against Niagara. Fort Ligonier, forty miles southeast of Fort Pitt, was attacked by a strong force, but was successfully defended till relieved by the advance of Bouquet's expedition. Fort Augusta, at the forks of the Susquehanna, was only threatened — perhaps because of its situation so far east.

Burning of Fort Le Bœuf.

Venango.

Ligonier and Augusta.

At Fort Pitt, where Captain Ecuyer commanded three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders, and woodsmen, when news of some of these disasters arrived, the most vigorous measures were taken for defence. The walls of the fortification were repaired and strengthened, a larger supply of water provided for, and an efficient though rude steam-engine was built. On June 23 a few Delawares appeared, called a parley, and with the usual professions of friendship, said that six great Indian nations had captured all the other forts, and were now marching against this. "You must leave this fort," said their chief, "with all your women and children, and go down to the English settlements, where you will be safe. There are many bad Indians already here, but we will protect you from them." Ecuyer, who was quite as cunning as the Indians, thanked them warmly, but

Fort Pitt.

declined to go. He told them, he said, "in confidence," as a return for their kindness, that an English army of six thousand men was on its way thither, while another of three thousand had gone to attack the Ottawas and Ojibwas, and a third, on the frontiers of Virginia, would be joined by the Cherokees and Catawbas, "who are coming here to destroy you. Therefore take pity on your women and children, and get out of the way as soon as possible." The frightened Indians withdrew for a time, but returned on the 26th of July, and repeated their proposition, but were defied. At night they began the attack, many of them digging holes in the river bank, where they could shelter themselves and fire at every soldier who appeared.

Bouquet's expedition.

Colonel Henry Bouquet, by birth a Swiss, an able and experienced soldier, who had entered the English service and was now in command at Philadelphia, was ordered to march to the relief of Fort Pitt, with all the force he could muster. With five hundred men, mainly Highlanders, he set out, and about the 1st of July reached Carlisle, where he found the population in a state of terror. Many of the settlements in Western Pennsylvania had been laid waste, and those of the settlers who had escaped the tomahawk were crowding into the villages farther east. There were more in Carlisle than could be sheltered, and they were encamped in the fields all around it. About the 18th, Bouquet was ready to leave Carlisle, and, sending forward thirty chosen men to Fort Ligonier, he took both that and Fort Bedford on his line of march, and dispersed the Indians who had gathered about and beleaguered them for weeks. Thence he passed on over the ground traversed by Braddock eight years before. But Bouquet was as familiar with the Indian character and Indian methods of warfare as Braddock had been ignorant. The vigilance of his men, on the march or in camp, was never relaxed for a moment; on such perpetual watchfulness he knew that safety depended, and that he could best encounter Indians with Indian tactics.

Battle of Bushy Run.

At one o'clock on the 5th of August, they had reached within a mile of a small stream called Bushy Run, by the side of which it was proposed to encamp and give the needed rest to troops who had been on the march since daybreak. Bouquet was not taken by surprise when suddenly a fierce attack was made upon his advanced guard. Sending forward troops to their support, he brought together his horses, cattle, and wagons, to secure their safety, surrounding them with a reserved corps. As the battle in front evidently grew more furious, he led forward this force, who, with rapid discharges from their guns and at the point of the bayonet, drove the Indians before them and relieved their comrades. Then came fresh assaults upon both flanks, and upon the convoy in the rear, and the

troops fell back to meet the tide of battle from these unexpected quarters. The little army was surrounded; the woods were full of Indians, who, fighting from behind trees and under-brush, poured a deadly fire into the troops collected in one spot. The maddened horses, — there were nearly four hundred of them in the inclosed space, — bewildered and unmanageable with fright at the firing and the yells of the savages, plunged about wildly and created inextricable confusion. But the men stood firm. They delivered their fire with precision, or charged steadily with the bayonet, whenever a chance was offered to strike a blow at the enemy; though the chances were few, for the Indians fled to their hiding-places at every charge, to appear again from all sides, and to pour in again their deadly fire, as the soldiers fell back into line. So the conflict continued all the afternoon, till the friendly darkness hid assailants and assailed alike.

The situation seemed desperate, and Bouquet wrote that night to Amherst in a tone that showed, though he had not lost courage, he had little hope that he and his command would survive the next day's battle. Already he had lost sixty men, and many were wounded. The camp was on a hill, and they had no water. The suffering, especially of the wounded, from thirst was almost intolerable, — "more intolerable," wrote Bouquet, "than the enemy's fire." But they had only to wait through the long night, weary and faint with waiting and watching, for what another day would bring forth. Any attempt to move the camp in the face of the enemy would be fatal. They must conquer or die where they were.

The day renewed the fight. With the first light, the forest resounded with the yells of the savages; through the branches and leaves bullets rattled like hail. It was a question of hours only, as to how long it would be before every soldier would be shot down, as all stood, a conspicuous target to enemies who surrounded them on all sides, and who took a deadly aim, each man from his own particular hiding-place. To return their fire was to fire at shadows; to charge was to charge upon dusky phantoms who flitted singly from tree to tree, or faded out of sight in the dim light of the forest. Bouquet was hopeless of any successful resistance, unless he could bring these scattered and agile opponents into one compact body, to remain so long enough to receive the crushing blows he knew the English could deal them. To do this, he resorted to a stratagem which completely answered his purpose. He feigned a retreat. Two companies of light infantry were ordered to fall back into the circle which was Bouquet's central point of defence. On the right and left the troops opened their files to receive them, and then closed up in their rear as if to cover the

retreat of the central circle. Two other companies drew up as if in aid of this proposed retreat, when the Indians, completely deceived by these skilful and careful movements, and fearing that their prey was about to escape them, rushed headlong, wild with rage, and — that which the English so longed to see — in a compact body, to the attack. It was a fierce, a terrible and destructive onslaught, as it must needs have been; but out of it came safety. Had the Indians watched more warily, they would have seen there were movements from, as well as toward, the central circle. Two companies, under cover of the hill, were so placed that, as the savages threw themselves on the main body, determined to destroy it by one united and concentrated blow, these two companies poured in upon their flanks, dealing death by bullet and bayonet upon the foe at last within their reach. As the Indians turned to fly, two other companies met them in front, and the rout of the few who were left alive was complete. No savage had time to fire his gun more than once; he was either dead or flying for his life before he could load a second time. The Indians who were on the other flank made no attempt to help those on whom such swift destruction had fallen, but fled with the utmost precipitation. The English lost, in the two days, eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men, and the Indian loss was somewhat smaller. The march was resumed; the enemy made but one attempt to interrupt it, which was easily repulsed, and on the 15th of August the troops entered Fort Pitt.

Arrival at Fort Pitt.

There came, not long afterward, general submission and universal peace. Bradstreet, along the lakes, and Croghan and Bouquet, in the valley of the Ohio, had pacified the most warlike of the tribes, compelled the surrender of all English prisoners, and induced the chiefs — Pontiac among them — to assemble at Oswego to meet Sir William Johnson, where a treaty was concluded in the summer of 1766.

Treaty of 1766 at Oswego.

But for many months, along the borders of all the midland colonies, the people lived in perpetual fear of savage incursions, subjected often to atrocities that seem almost incredible, and retaliating with as little mercy when the chance was offered them. Two thousand of the whites were killed, and as many families were driven from their homes. It is hardly to be wondered at that the peaceful tenets of the Friends — who would not believe that all the fault was on the side of the untutored savages, who were fighting for the lands which had belonged to them and their fathers — exasperated the backwoodsmen whose life was a perpetual warfare. Some of these on the Susquehanna — who came to be known as the "Paxton Men," from the name

of their settlement — were restrained by no considerations of mercy or of justice. Believing that some Indians at Conestoga were more faithful to their own people than to the Christians whose faith they had accepted, the Paxton Men forced an entrance into a house where these Indians had been put for safety, and murdered them in cold blood. When others were taken to Philadelphia for protection, the borderers marched on the city, swearing vengeance on Quakers and Indians alike. For a day or two the city was almost in a state of siege from a mob of several hundred of these rough men, who had gathered at Germantown, and peaceful Friends took up arms, turning their meeting-house into barracks, in defence of the innocent and helpless. The frontiersmen were at length induced to disperse and return to their homes. Much of their exasperation was undoubtedly due to the interminable dispute between the Proprietary Governors and the Assemblies, — in which there was usually a large Quaker element, — the latter always sturdily maintaining their right to tax themselves in their own way, and that an equitable portion of that taxation should be borne by the Proprietaries. And this difference was also aggravated by the jealousy of the Presbyterians of the influence of Friends.

The Paxton Men.



Sir William Johnson's House.

Pontiac's conspiracy had failed in its grand object. But it had resulted in the capture and destruction of eight out of the twelve fortified posts attacked, generally by the massacre of their garrisons; it had inflicted upon the English the wreck of several costly expeditions, and had carried terror and desolation into some of the most fertile valleys on the frontiers of civilization. This able chief afterward succeeded in rallying some of the tribes of the Illinois country, and was joined by a considerable number of French traders; but his followers gradually fell away, and in 1766

Results of the conspiracy.

he gave in his formal submission to Sir William Johnson. In 1769, a Kaskaskia Indian, being bribed by an English trader with a barrel of liquor and a promise of additional reward, followed the great chief into the forest, where East St. Louis now stands, and assassinated him.

Death of Pontiac.



Bouquet's Redoubt at Pittsburg.

CHAPTER XIII.

ALIENATION FROM ENGLAND.

Debts of England and her Colonies. — Wealth of America. — The Navigation Acts. — The Writs of Assistance. — Plan of Taxing America for the Royal Exchequer. — George Grenville's Resolution. — The King and the King's Friends. — Grenville and the Colonial Agents. — The Sugar Act. — Colonial Protest against Taxation. — Otis's Letter and Book. — Passage of the Stamp Act. — Reply of the Colonies. — First Continental Congress. — Their Resolves. — Resolves of Virginia. — Other Measures of Opposition. — The Stamps Refused. — Mob in Boston. — The English Government. — William Pitt. — The Stamp Act repealed. — The Declaratory Act. — Confusion in English Counsels. — Joy for the Repeal of the Stamp Act. — Franklin before the House of Commons.



The Province House in Boston.

The end of war is, of course, a period of universal congratulation; yet all nations have learned that it brings with it a series of changes in social, financial, and commercial arrangements, involving great difficulties even after victory. The peace of 1763 was attended with such results both in England and in America. True, France was humbled and disgraced, and there were court flatterers enough in England to say that her power was broken forever. But the wise Count de Vergennes, one of the ministers of France,

Results of the peace of 1763.

read the future well enough to see and to say that the loss of Canada by France involved the loss to England of her American colonies. Since the event, many similar prophecies have been found in the words of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Americans of that time.

Value of Canada to France and England.

Both countries over-estimated the immediate value, to either crown, of the province which was lost and won. The French Government did not know how to administer colonies. It had given away the whole valley of the Mississippi to the King of Spain, for mere want of skill to make it worth the trifle which it cost the French exchequer. Canada, though longer held, was not more profitable. For the bureaux of administration, under all dynasties, have a foolish way of valuing possessions or departments according as they are a charge on the treasury or yield it a profit. To England, Canada was of value, because its possession secured peace to the English colonies, — but hardly for its own sake. Even under the false "Colonial System" it could hardly be claimed that the furs or timber or naval stores of Canada were any more valuable to English trade than those which could be obtained in her other colonies.

What was perfectly clear, however, both in the colonies and in England, was, that the first duty of peace was, to pay the expenses of war. The American governments, fortunately for themselves, had had so little credit in Europe that they had not attempted to borrow largely there. But their home debts were considerable. That of Massachusetts alone was nearly £200,000, not funded, — a large sum for those days, — and the province had determined on a system of taxation which should repay it in five years. In other colonies, the embarrassments caused by debt, in especial by paper currency, were considerable. The national debt of England, almost doubled by the war, was now £145,000,000.[1] What had been gained by the war? Safety to the American colonies, and additional territory. True, the new territory had but a few hundred thousand inhabitants, and much of it was inaccessible wilderness. But on the map, at least, it doubled the English dominions in America, and the thought was naturally suggested that America must pay a part of the enormous debt, to justify which American provinces were the largest visible acquisitions.

A habit had grown up, indeed, of justifying the subsidies paid to German powers, and the other expenses of war upon the Continent of Europe, by saying that England could "conquer America in Germany." It was not simply the cost of the campaigns of Braddock, Abercrombie, and Wolfe, which was to be repaid; it was those more doubtful expenditures which had left the memories of Minden and

[1] Private correspondence of that time is full of terrors regarding it, and a belief that the nation is bankrupt is constantly expressed.

Fontenoy, that were to be met, if possible, by the colonies now freed from the dread of French rivalry or of savage war. The money grants made to all the American colonies in the war were only a little over a million pounds.[1] But the charge of the army and the navy, it was said, should be borne in part by them. The colonists considered that they had borne their share in maintaining their own contingents of troops, and they had lost nearly thirty thousand of their young men in the war.

Wealth of the American Colonies.

Meanwhile, the rapid increase of the American colonies, both in numbers and in wealth, was forced upon the attention even of the most careless. It is said that, between 1765 and 1775, two thirds of the foreign commerce of Great Britain was that which she conducted with America. Between 1700 and 1760, the value of property in England increased fifty per cent., and Pitt declared this was wholly due to the American colonies. Speaking in 1766, he said, "The profit to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies is two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. You owe this to America." Let it be remembered that Great Britain supplied three millions of people in America with almost every manufactured article which they needed; that she received from her colonies the tobacco and much of the fish, indigo, rice, naval stores, and other productions which she required; that, with her growing strength in the West Indies, she used her colonies on the main land to feed her islands, — and it will be understood that English merchants and those who had to deal with them in England conceived high ideas of the wealth to be derived from America. From 1760 to 1775, Great Britain sent to New England, New York, and Pennsylvania alone, goods amounting in value to about £2,000,000 annually. The exports of the thirteen colonies to Great Britain alone, as appeared from the public statistics, were often more than a million pounds a year. In 1773 they were as much as £1,369,232. The comparison supplies us with an estimate of the result of the trade of the colonies with the West Indies and the Mediterranean, from which trade by bills of exchange, or other methods, the English merchants were paid what the direct exports did not provide. There was a constant drain of specie, which compelled the colonies to resort to the issue of paper currency as a circulating medium among themselves, and in its turn increased their burdens. Sir Robert Walpole said he supposed that if the colonies should gain £500,000 in trade, half of it would, in two years, pass by indirect channels into the English exchequer. There were sound commercial, as well as political, reasons for colonial resistance to any taxation in the benefits of which they were to have no share.

[1] The precise sum was £1,031,066 13*s.* 4*d.*

The Navigation Act.

In the vast enlargement of the commerce of England and of the colonies, and in the movements of armies and navies in the war, the strictness of the "Navigation Act" sustained many severe strains. Exceptions were made to its principles by statute. In particular, such exceptions permitted direct commerce with Catholic countries, which the colonies supplied with fish for Lent, and with the islands of the West Indies. More than this, however, — the revenue officers had been permitted, and were even expected, to overlook violations of the act in certain classes of trade, where the national interest seemed to require its relaxation. But on the whole these laws were sustained, and with the return of peace a greater stringency was observed. Every province felt it, and the annals of every state contain accounts of popular indignation against the officers of the customs. In Boston, they were ordered to procure from the Supreme Court general warrants authorizing them to search where they would for smuggled goods. The collector directed his deputy at Salem to obtain one of these Writs of Assistance, as they were called. The question of legality was raised, and the Superior Court decided to hear argument before granting the writ. James Otis, Jr., was Advocate-general, and it was his duty officially to appear on behalf of the Crown. He refused, resigned his office, and at the trial in Boston, in February, 1761, appeared, with Oxenbridge Thacher, a leading lawyer, on behalf of the popular side. "Then and there," says John Adams, "American Independence was born." "Otis was a flame of fire. With a promptitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American independence was then and there born. . . . . Every man of an immense, crowded audience, appeared to me to go away as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance." In this case, the court took time to consult the English practice, which, as it proved, permitted the issue of the general warrants. But the warrants, though granted, were never used.

James Otis, Jr.

In the interval between the petition for the writ and the hearing before the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Sewall, who had doubts of the legality of granting the power of search, died. Hutchinson, who was Lieutenant-governor, a member of the Council, and a Judge of Probate, was also appointed Chief Justice, as Sewall's successor, by Governor Bernard. There was little doubt what the decision of the Court would be under this new Chief Justice. The appointment was made, it was supposed, to secure a decision in favor of the Crown; and the indignation and disgust were the greater that the choice



JAMES OTIS.

(After the portrait by Blackburn.)

should have fallen upon one who already held three other important offices. In reply to the bitter animadversions upon such an appointment, it was retorted that Otis had resigned his position as Advocate-general, not from any patriotic motive, but because the office of Chief Justice was not given to his father, James Otis, a distinguished lawyer of Barnstable, and a member of the Provincial Assembly. The calumny was a baseless invention, and John Adams afterward expressed his surprise, in writing upon these events, that anybody should "have swallowed that execrable lie, that Otis had no patriotism."[1]

Grenville's plan of stamp-duties.

When the popular hatred had driven Lord Bute from the ministry in 1763, George Grenville succeeded him as prime minister. On the 10th of March, 1764, Grenville moved, on an amendment to the Sugar Act, a resolution which contained these words: "It may be proper to charge stamp-duties on the colonies and plantations." The issue of these fatal words has been so important, that every effort has been made to trace the origin of the suggestion. As early as 1734, Governor Cosby, of New York, had proposed to the Assembly "a Duty upon Paper to be used in the Law, and in all Conveyances and Deeds," as a convenient method of taxation; but the Assembly did not accept the proposition, though it was intended as a colonial measure. That such a tax should be levied by act of Parliament, seems to have been first suggested ten years later by Lieutenant-governor Clarke, of New York. In December, 1744, Governor Clinton wrote to the Duke of Newcastle: "Mr. Clarke, the Lieu[t] Governor, lately showed me two printed scheimes which he said were sent him from England." One was of a general character in relation to trade; but the other was a proposal "for establishing by Act of Parliament dutys upon stamp papers and parchment in all the British and American Colonys." "I must beg leave," adds the Governor, "to make a short observation upon them," — and it was the wisest observation he ever made. "The People in North America," he continues, "are quite strangers to any duty, but such as they raise themselves, and was such a scheim to take place without their knowledge, it might prove a dangerous consequence to His Majesty's interest."[2] The next reference to the project is found in the English Archives, under date of July 5, 1763, in a note from Hugh McCulloh, a treasury clerk, in which he says the stamp-duty on vellum and paper in America would produce upwards of £60,000 a year. The plan must have been considered, therefore, immediately after Grenville took the reins. For the Earl of Bute had resigned on the 8th of April, 1763.

First suggestion of the plan.

[1] Tudor's *Life of James Otis.*

[2] *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, vol. vi.

The King and "the King's friends."

According to an anecdote of a later period, told on the authority of Benjamin West, George III., when he came to the throne, wished to have a new palace, which might rival the palaces of the Continent. It is said that the ground for this new Versailles was selected in Hyde Park, and that nothing was needed but the money to build it. To obtain for the treasury a larger revenue became thus a personal wish of the King and the courtiers, and to gratify that wish also the scheme of a revenue from the colonies was determined on. There is probably some foundation for this story. It is not necessary, however, to go far to find the reasons why the ministers of great nations wish to increase the receipts of the treasuries they control. This is certain, — that the knot of courtiers who, at this time, took the name of "The King's friends," always favored, as the King himself did, all proposals for taxation.



George III.

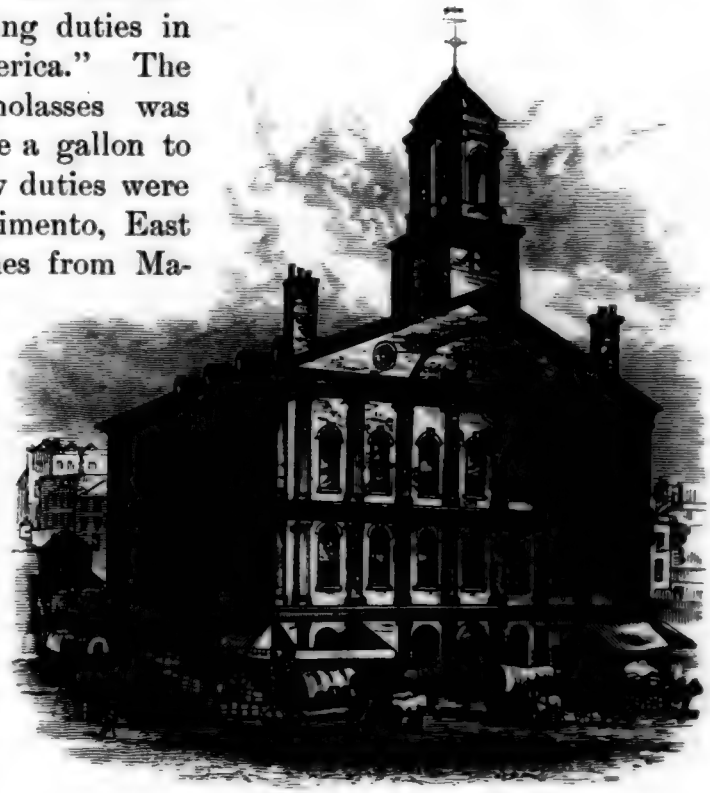
Grenville and the Colonies' agents.

The cautiously worded clause introduced by Grenville into a sugar bill only committed Parliament to what might be necessary, and attracted but little observation in London, except among the agents of the colonial Assemblies. The custom had become general for each Assembly to maintain an agent constantly in London, who represented its interests. This custom illustrates the relations of the colonies to the Crown, and shows how little the Assemblies trusted their own Governors as mediators between them and England. The agents instantly told Grenville that any scheme for internal taxation would be intolerable to America. He replied that he should have carried through the measure that year, instead of indicating it by a resolution, if he had not himself thought it advisable that the Assemblies should have notice of the intention, and an opportunity of proposing another mode of contributing to this charge, if any other should be more agreeable to them.[1]

[1] There was afterwards much discussion, even in Parliament, how far this overture of Grenville's to the agents went. A comparison of the statement in Franklin's letters, and

The Sugar Act, which, by Grenville's amendment, obtained a place so important in American history, was first enacted in the sixth year of the reign of George II. (1734). In order to protect the English sugar colonies, a duty, so high as to be practically prohibitory, was laid upon all sugar and molasses from foreign colonies introduced into American ports. This act expired in 1764. In renewing it, Grenville wished to make it remunerative instead of prohibitory, and accordingly changed both text and title. The old title was, "An act for the better securing the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America;" the new one was, "An act granting duties in the colonies of America." The duty on foreign molasses was changed from sixpence a gallon to three pence, and new duties were imposed on coffee, pimento, East India goods, and wines from Madeira and the Western Islands. Importations direct from these islands to the colonies were permitted, by one of the numerous exceptions to the Navigation Act. The colonies had conceded the right of the government to protect trade with a prohibitory tariff; but when the preamble of the new bill declared that it was "just and necessary that a revenue should be raised there," and it was proposed that this be done by a tax virtually direct, which would burden almost every business transaction in the daily life of the citizens, it aroused a storm of universal indignation. It was an assumption by Parliament of a power which

The Sugar Act.



Faneuil Hall, 1879.

Hutchinson's account of Bollan's advices to Massachusetts, shows that the fact is as given above. Hutchinson's statements are always open to suspicion, because he wrote after the result. But in this case, the Assembly's letter in reply to that of their agent, Jasper Mauduit, makes it certain that Hutchinson rightly represents its contents. That letter was written by James Otis, June 13, 1764. It says distinctly: "The kind offer of suspending the stamp-duty, in the manner and upon the condition mentioned, amounts to no more than this, that if the Colonies will not tax themselves as they may be directed, the Parliament will tax them."

the Colonial Assemblies had long maintained was inherent in the colonies themselves, and considerations of private interest now gave strength to a principle of public policy.

When the news reached Boston that it was proposed to impose a stamp act upon the colonies, a meeting was called in Faneuil Hall, and instructions to the representatives of the town in the General Court — written by Samuel Adams — were adopted. "There is," said this paper, "no more room for delay. We therefore expect that you will use your earliest endeavors in the General Assembly that such methods will be taken as will effectually prevent these proceedings. . . . . But what still heightens our apprehensions is, that these unexpected proceedings may be preparatory to more extensive taxations upon us. For if our trade may be taxed, why not our lands? Why not the produce of our lands, and in short everything we possess or make use of? . . . . If taxes are laid upon us in any shape, without our having a legal representative where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?" And the instructions concluded with this suggestion, — the germ of the union of the provinces, — that "as his Majesty's other North American Colonies are embarked with us in this most important bottom, we further desire you to use your endeavors that their weight may be added to that of this Province; that by the united applications of all who are aggrieved, all may obtain redress."

This document the House adopted essentially as its own, and sent it, with James Otis's pamphlet on the "Rights of the Colonies," as instructions for the guidance of Mauduit, the Massachusetts agent in London. About the same time, a committee to correspond with other colonies "upon measures which concerned their common interest" was appointed, as Adams's original report to the town meeting had suggested.

The letter to Mauduit, the English agent, undoubtedly drawn by James Otis, was explicit. It set forth the expenses which Massachusetts also had sustained in these wars, carried on for the benefit of the empire. "Granting the time may come, which we hope is far off, when the British[1] Parliament shall think fit to oblige the North

[1] Once for all in these pages, it may be said here that the use of the word "British" was the custom of the time on both sides of the water. After the union with Scotland, it had been made a fashion, which had at last taken root everywhere. In literature, in Parliament, and in correspondence, the "British army," the "British Parliament," and the "British Constitution" were spoken of, — of course correctly, if the feelings of Scotland were to be considered. This habit has died out in England, and the custom of to-day speaks of the "English Parliament" and the "English Army." Readers of Sir Walter Scott will remember how unwilling he was to yield to this habit. Ignorant Englishmen, — as ignorant of the literature of their own country as of everything else, — have come to regard the use of the word "British" in American writers as a provincialism. The truth

Americans not only to maintain civil government among themselves, but to support an army to protect them, can it be possible that the duties to be imposed, and the taxes to be levied, shall be assessed without the voice of an American parliament? If all colonists are to be taxed at pleasure, without any representation in Parliament, what will there be to distinguish them, in point of liberty, from the subjects of the most absolute prince? If we are not represented, we are slaves." Colonial protests.

This is the same ground which the House of Representatives had taken two years before, in a remonstrance also prepared by Otis. In that case, Governor Bernard, in a recess of the Assembly, had incurred a small expense, and made a contract for the future, which he asked the Assembly to assume. The House of Representatives then replied that their most darling privilege was the right of originating all taxes. They said, "It would be of little consequence to the people whether they were subject to George or to Louis, — the King of Great Britain, or the French King, — if both were as arbitrary as both would be, if both could levy taxes without Parliament." [1]

Other colonies were not less alarmed, and some of them not less emphatic in their protests against the proposed tax. In October, the General Assembly of New York addressed a memorial to the House of Commons, in concluding which they said they had "no desire to derogate from the power of the Parliament of Great Britain; but they cannot avoid deprecating the loss of such rights as they have hitherto enjoyed, ... the deprivation of which will dispirit the people, abate their industry, discourage trade, introduce discord, poverty, and slavery." And they also at the same time appointed committees to correspond with the agent of the province in London, and with the Assemblies, or their committees, in the other colonies. Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Virginia instructed their agents to ask for a hearing before the House of Commons, and Pennsylvania sent a moderate but firm protest to Franklin, to be presented to Grenville.

On the 11th of August, however, the Earl of Halifax had sent instructions to all the Governors in the colonies, that they should at once transmit to him "a list of all instruments made use of in public transactions, law proceedings, grants, conveyances, securities of land or money, within your government, with proper and sufficient descriptions of the same; in order that, if Parliament should think proper to pursue the intention of the aforesaid resolution, they may thereby

is, the American writers follow the custom of the period when their ancestors were still the subjects of the "Best of Kings."

[1] Adjourned session, September, 1762.

be enabled to carry it into execution in the most effectual and least burdensome manner."

So soon as the Massachusetts Assembly received these tidings, it prepared an address, drawn up by Hutchinson, to the King, Lords, and Commons. There was much difficulty in framing it so that it should be acceptable at once to the people, who were represented in the Assembly, and to the more courtly Council, which had been selected by the Governor from the candidates sent up by the House. At last, however, an address was agreed upon. When it arrived in England, the Board of Trade seems at first to have refused to forward it to the King.[1] Edmund Burke and Governor Hutchinson both speak of the refusal to receive this and other memorials. But at the end of the year, perhaps in response to some unofficial instructions, this memorial, with Otis's pamphlet and the New York protest, was sent to the King by the Board of Trade, with the letter of the Massachusetts Assembly to Mauduit, their agent. The Board said, "We humbly conceive that in this letter the Acts and Resolutions of the Legislature of Great Britain are treated with the most indecent disrespect, principles of the most dangerous nature and tendency openly avowed, and the Assemblies of other colonies invited in the most extraordinary manner to adopt the same opinions. We think it our duty humbly to lay these votes before your Majesty, together with a book referred to therein, printed and published in Boston, and since reprinted and published in London."

The Legislature of Virginia met so late in the year that its resolutions were not among those thus coolly condemned by the Board which sent these memorials to the King. When it met, in November, 1764, a memorial was drawn by Pendleton or Bland, which remonstrated with Parliament against taxation without representation. The language was moderate in comparison with that of after years, but it did not lack for distinctness in its assertion of the principle for which her sister colonies were contending.

With such warnings, Grenville introduced the Stamp Act, which was passed on the 22d of March, 1765. It was debated hotly, and was opposed earnestly in a full House; but the majority for the measure was very large — 294 to 42. By this act, every business document was declared illegal and void unless written on paper bearing the government stamp. The cheapest stamp was one shilling, and for the more important documents the prices ranged upward from this sum.

The Stamp Act.

[1] Judge Marshall says the ground was taken that petitions against money bills interfered with the privilege of the House of Commons. Neither Burke nor Hutchinson alludes to this excuse. If it was made, the claim was extraordinary.

The colonies had been wholly prepared for this by the intimations of the previous year, and their indignation was all the greater because their remonstrances were unnoticed. Protests against parliamentary interference in taxation, which for a century and a half had been made on separate occasions, were now called forth at the same moment by one act, of which for a year they had had warning. Every colony spoke in reply, and with no uncertain sound. The news arrived in Massachusetts before the annual "election day" in May. The House of Representatives did not so much as compliment the Governor by an answer to his speech, but sent letters, in the name of the House, to every Assembly as far as South Carolina, proposing a general congress to consult on the circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they would be reduced by parliamentary taxation, and to "consider of a general, united, dutiful, loyal, and humble representation to the King." The day proposed was the first Tuesday in October. In Rhode Island, where the Governor was elected by the people, Ward, who held the office, refused to swear to carry out the act. In Connecticut, the Governor, Fitch, took the fatal oath, fell from popular favor at once, and was never reëlected.



A Royal Stamp.

The Legislature of Virginia had also met in May. According to Patrick Henry's recollections, when he was an old man, there was a certain aversion on the part of the leading members to come forward. Observing this, he wrote, on the blank leaf of an old law-book, four resolutions which became celebrated. The third and fourth are in these words: — Henry's resolutions.

"Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, or the easiest method of raising them, and must themselves be affected by every tax laid on the people, is the only security against a burdensome taxation, and the distinguished characteristick of British freedom, without which the ancient constitution cannot exist.

"Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people of his most ancient and loyal colony, have without interruption enjoyed the inestimable right of being governed by such laws respecting their internal polity and taxation, as are derived from their own consent, with the approbation of their sovereign or his substitutes, and that the same has been constantly recognized by the King and people of Great Britain."

These resolutions were opposed, with great earnestness, by all the

more prominent members. They said the same thing had been expressed in more conciliatory form, in the resolutions of the previous year, to which no answer was yet received. Henry supported his resolutions with all the fire of his eloquence. It was in the midst of this debate that he exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third —" ("Treason!" cried the Speaker. "Treason! treason!" echoed from every part of the house.) Henry faltered not for an instant, but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the Speaker a look of determination, finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis — "*may profit by their example.* If *this* be treason, make the most of it."

The resolutions passed by a very close vote; the last of the series by one majority only. It was afterwards remembered that the messenger who carried to Massachusetts these resolutions of Virginia, passed on the way, and conversed with, the messenger who carried to Carolina and Virginia the invitation of Massachusetts to a Continental Congress.



Patrick Henry.

The resolutions of Virginia were passed on the 29th of May, 1765. The Massachusetts Assembly met the same week. As the summer passed, the arrival of bales of stamped paper and the commissions for the new officers who were to sell the stamps, was the signal in each seaport for the expression of popular indignation. The collectors were hung in effigy; they were "waited on" by mobs, and compelled to decline. As successive Assemblies met, they pronounced the Stamp Act illegal. And nine Assemblies appointed their delegates, in answer to the invitation of Massachusetts, to the First Continental Congress. It met in the city of New York on the first Tuesday of October, 1765. Twenty-eight delegates constituted the Assembly. They chose General Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, President.[1] This Congress was composed of some of the most distinguished men in the colonies. They had been chosen, also, with the wish to have the colonies fairly repre-

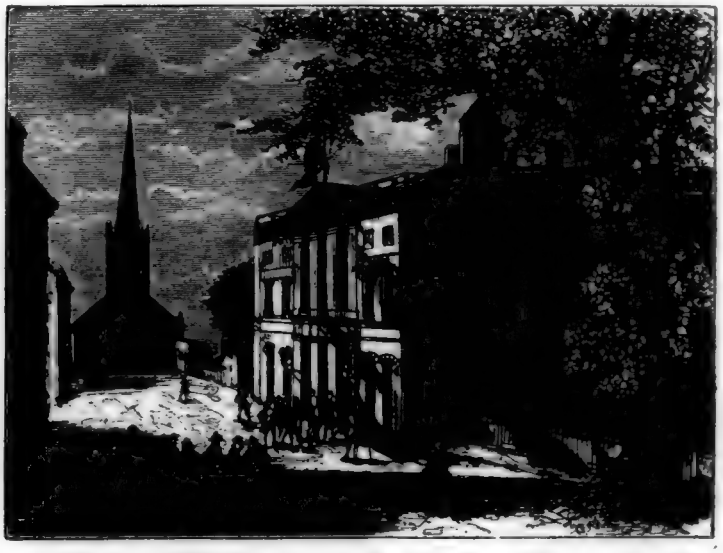
Congress of delegates held in New York.

[1] He did not concur in the conclusions of the Congress.

sented. On the roll are found the names of some who, in the final issue, sided with the Crown. But their resolution was decided; it satisfied the most eager; it surprised the royal Governors; it probably surprised the government in England. The resolves which the Congress agreed upon should be studied for a precise view of the position in which at that moment the country stood, now united for the first time. They are in the following words: —

Their protest.

"The members of the Congress, sincerely devoted, with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty, to his Majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British Colonies on this continent, having considered, as maturely as time will permit, the circumstances of the said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declaration of our humble opinion respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonies, and of the grievances under which they labour by reason of several late acts of Parliament.



Old City Hall, Wall St., where the First Continental Congress met.

"I. That his Majesty's subjects in these colonies owe the same allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body, the Parliament of Great Britain.

"II. That his Majesty's liege subjects in these colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural-born subjects within the Kingdom of Great Britain.

"III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives.

"IV. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain.

"V. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been or can be constitutionally imposed on them but by their respective legislatures.

"VI. That all supplies to the Crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British Constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to his Majesty the property of the Colonists.

"VII. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British Subject in these Colonies.

"VIII. That the late act of Parliament, entitled 'An Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties in the British Colonies and plantations in America, etc.,' by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these Colonies, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.

"IX. That the duties imposed by several late acts of Parliament, from the peculiar Circumstances of these Colonies, will be extremely burthensome and grievous, and from the scarcity of specie the payment of them is absolutely impracticable.

"X. That as the profits of the trade of these Colonies ultimately centre in Great Britain to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the Crown.

"XI. That the restrictions imposed by several late acts of Parliament on the trade of these Colonies will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.

"XII. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of these Colonies depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great Britain, mutually affectionate and advantageous.

"XIII. That it is the right of the British subjects in these Colonies to petition the King, or either house of Parliament.

"Lastly, that it is the indispensable duty of these Colonies to the best of sovereigns, to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavour by a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty, and humble applications to both houses of Parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of Parliament, whereby the jurisdiction of the Admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of American commerce."

Similar resolves were passed in many of the Colonial Assem-

blies, Virginia taking the lead in a series which encouraged all the others.

Among the measures already taken in the colonies to resent the proposal of taxation, were agreements by which the associates bound themselves not to import English goods, and orders that had gone forward were countermanded. Retail traders agreed not to buy and sell such goods if they were brought into the country; and in New York a fair was opened for the exhibition and the encouragement of domestic manufactures. It was agreed not to put on mourning apparel, as the required stuffs were English. That the growth of wool might be encouraged, it was determined that lambs should not be used as food. The royal Governors, in that delusion which ruled them through the whole, spoke with contempt of these compacts. But they were so powerful as to govern the whole course of the year's trade, and were sufficient to appall some of the largest manufacturing towns in England. Manchester first appears in the parliamentary history as a place of importance at this crisis, when the petition of her manufacturers asserts that nine tenths of their workmen are unemployed.

Measures of opposition.

It was soon found that it would be impossible to enforce the use of stamped paper, though the refusal suspended the whole business of the country. Mr. Oliver, the agent for its distribution in Massachusetts, was compelled to resign, and afterward required by a mob to renew his resignation in public. His windows were broken and his house entered, in the violence of the transaction. Gaining courage by the quiet with which this outrage was received, the mob attacked the house of his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, which was entered, and everything in it thrown into the street and destroyed or carried away.[1] The local authorities called out the militia, and offered rewards for the arrest of the ringleaders. But when some persons were arrested, another mob released them.

Popular hostility to the stamp-distributors.

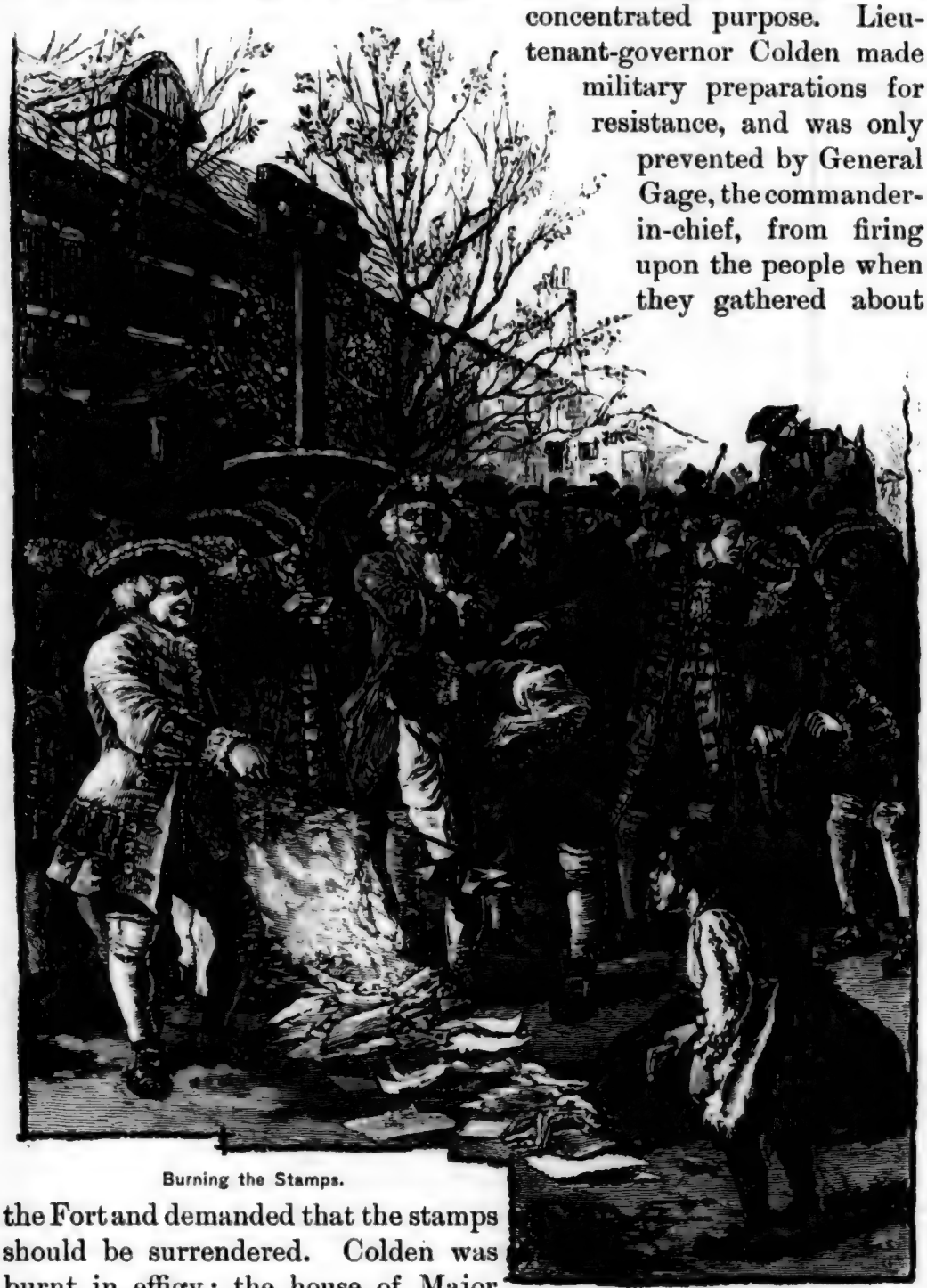
Mobs in Boston.

In other colonies, violent measures or peaceable agreements were resorted to with the same result. Except among those holding office under the Crown, there was but one feeling. The newspapers — whose influence then was less through editorial comment upon public affairs, and more in letters from private citizens — led public opinion in warm appeals to patriotism, as well as in dispassionate essays upon the rights of the people. In New York, an association called the Sons of Liberty[2] took upon itself the direction of the opposition.

[1] The estimate of the damage was £2,500, which may be taken as the value of the furniture and other property in one of the most elegant establishments in Boston, at that time.

[2] When the Stamp Act was passing through Parliament, Charles Townshend spoke of

Similar associations were formed in other provinces, and a committee of correspondence gave to that opposition the strength of mutual and concentrated purpose. Lieutenant-governor Colden made military preparations for resistance, and was only prevented by General Gage, the commander-in-chief, from firing upon the people when they gathered about



Burning the Stamps.

the Fort and demanded that the stamps should be surrendered. Colden was burnt in effigy; the house of Major James was sacked, and its contents completely destroyed. He had made himself peculiarly obnoxious by declaring that "he would cram

the colonies as planted by the care of England. It was then that Colonel Barré broke out in that brilliant and indignant defence of the colonies, where in the French War he had

the stamps down their throats with the end of his sword;" that "if they attempted to rise he would drive them all out of the town, for a pack of rascals, with four and twenty men." Colden was at length compelled, by the popular excitement and violence, to pledge himself not to use the stamps, and to deposit them with the city Government for safe-keeping. When a vessel arrived in the harbor of New York with stamps on board for use in Connecticut, the vessel was boarded, the packages seized, taken on shore, and a bonfire made of them. In Philadelphia, the stamp-distributor, one Hughes, made haste publicly to resign his office when informed that his rather tardy deliberation would be aided by a visit from the Sons of Liberty. In Maryland, the distributor, Hood, was burnt in effigy, and when he fled to New York, a deputation from the "Sons" visited him at Flushing, demanded and received a formal resignation of his office, and an oath that he would not resume it. In every province, the stamp-distributor was compelled to resign his office. In New Hampshire, the commission of that officer was carried in procession upon the point of a sword; the newspaper of Portsmouth came out in mourning, and an effigy of the Goddess of Liberty was carried to an open grave. In South Carolina, the Stamp Act was publicly burnt, while the bells of Charleston tolled, and the flags on the ships in the harbor were hung at half-mast.

The English government.

The Constitution of England was by no means yet adjusted on its present basis, or on what were then called "constitutional principles." George III. had steadily carried forward his notions of a possible royal prerogative, such as his predecessors, George I. and George II., had been content to yield. The Earl of Bute, the favorite of the young King's mother, and the head of his household when he was a prince, had indeed ceased to rule; but the popular indignation suspected, however unjustly, that his influence still controlled the government when Grenville was crowded out of power before the year closed, chiefly from the feeling that he was Bute's tool and appointed successor. Under the powerful patronage of the Duke

served as a soldier. "They planted by your care!" he exclaimed. "No, your oppressions planted them in America. . . . . They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of deputies to some member of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those *sons of liberty* to recoil within them." The speech was reported by Jared Ingersoll, the agent of Connecticut, and was probably widely and gratefully read in America before the Sons of Liberty in New York had formed their association and given it a name. "I am happy to hear of your success the American day," wrote the Earl of Shelburne to Barré. "It must give your friends in America the greatest pleasure." — Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*. Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull has shown that the phrase "sons of liberty" had been used many years before in Connecticut. But it had then been applied to freedom from ecclesiastical rather than political tyranny.

of Cumberland, a new cabinet, which was really independent of the Earl of Bute, came into being, headed by the Marquis of Rockingham. This Rockingham ministry was so much engaged in home politics, and in securing its own existence, that when it became necessary to call Parliament together, in December, 1765, it had come to no understanding on its course regarding America; the King's speech simply referring to the importance of the news received from there. Grenville, enraged by this news, moved an amendment to the address, full of indignation. The Ministers were not yet reëlected to Parliament, and, with some difficulty, Grenville, in deference to them, withdrew his motion. But after the recess the storm came.

Strange to say, however, even in the recess, the Ministry could not agree on their course. Nor had they agreed when the necessity of action was forced upon them. Then ensued one of the most dramatic scenes that Parliament ever witnessed, and the debate of January, 1766, which is one of the most memorable in history.

William Pitt.

It was a year since William Pitt had appeared in the House. The formal debate on the address to the King came on. A young member, whom the world did not know, but who has since given us the most vital history of this whole business, — Edmund Burke, — made his maiden speech. Pitt rose immediately after him, the whole House eager to hear the voice of the oracle. He began by congratulating Parliament and Burke's friends on the value of the acquisition of such a member, and then went on to speak doubtfully, even sarcastically, of the Ministry. At last he came to speak of America: "When the resolution was taken in the House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to be carried in my bed, so great was my agitation of mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. . . . . Since I cannot depend upon health for any future day, I will now say thus much, that in my opinion this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. . . . . Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. At the same time, on any real point of legislation, I believe the authority of Parliament to be fixed as the Polar Star, fixed for the reciprocal benefit of the mother country and her infant colonies. They are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen, and equally bound by its laws. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England." [1]

Pitt's defence of America.

[1] It was in this speech that Pitt made his celebrated prophecy that the "rotten part of the Constitution" — by which he meant the "rotten borough" system — would not continue a century.

At the close of this speech a long pause ensued. Then General Conway rose, — the leader of the Ministry in the House. He was one of the few men who had voted against the Stamp Act. He said he agreed with almost every word which Pitt had uttered, and he believed the Ministers did; and he disclaimed distinctly the charge which Pitt had made in the speech, that the Earl of Bute still had an influence in the royal councils.

George Grenville, of course, could not bear silently such attacks on his policy. He defended the Stamp Act ably. He said the origin of the American hatred to it was to be found in the factions of the House. When he ceased speaking, Pitt rose to answer him, though to speak twice was forbidden by the rules. But the House cried, "Go on!" and Pitt went on. "The gentleman tells us America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted! Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." These words, perhaps, more than any others in those celebrated addresses, endeared Pitt to the Americans. It would be hard to find other words more widely repeated, even by school-boys in their declamations, for more than a hundred years.



Edmund Burke.

The address to the King determined nothing. But Pitt's speeches fixed the minds of the wavering ministers. He had given them a policy, and they were sure it would be sustained by the House. In compliance with his ideas, they brought in a bill repealing the Stamp Act, and another declaring the supreme power of Parliament over the colonies. They also laid on the table large extracts from the American correspondence. The House heard at its bar witnesses acquainted with the subject, among others, Dr. Franklin.[1] This examination closed with these questions and answers: —

The results.

[1] The full report of the examination, all alive with Franklin's wisdom and wit, is in Sparks's *Franklin*, vol. iv., p. 192, and in earlier editions of Franklin's *Works*.

"*Q.* What used to be the pride of Americans?

"*A.* To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

"*Q.* What is now their pride?

"*A.* To wear their old clothes over again."

If the final result of Pitt's eloquence, of Conway's conviction, of Franklin's wit and wisdom, and the apparent wish of the majority of the House, seems to us a confused medley, we are no worse off than they were who participated in it. Pitt wrote to his wife, confidentially, on the 11th of February, "The whole of things is inexplicable." Lord Chesterfield wrote to his son the same day, "Perhaps you expect from me a particular account of the present state of affairs. If you do, you will be disappointed, for no man living knows what it is." In truth, the ministers were disappointed in their effort to state, in resolutions, the doctrines which Pitt had laid down. The Stamp Act could be repealed; but the law officers would not consent to any statement of his favorite doctrine that the right to legislate and the right to tax were distinct. Lord Camden understood, and maintained the distinction. But Lord Mansfield ridiculed it, and, when the bill was to be drawn, he would not hear of it. Pitt and Camden both said that taxation and legislation were separate. Pitt's statement had been, "that we may bind their trade, confine their manufacture, and exercise any power, except only that of taking their money from their pockets without their own consent." But the Declaratory Act, as drawn by the law advisers of the Crown, instead of saying this, said that the power of Parliament was supreme over the colonies, and extended to all cases whatsoever. It always happens that a body like Parliament prefers the larger definition of its own authority, and Pitt writes to his wife, in the same letter which has been cited, "We debated long on various resolutions relating to America, and finally ended in a good deal of agreement." It seemed to him, as to all men eager for a solution of the immediate difficulty, that the repeal of the Stamp Act was the great practical object.

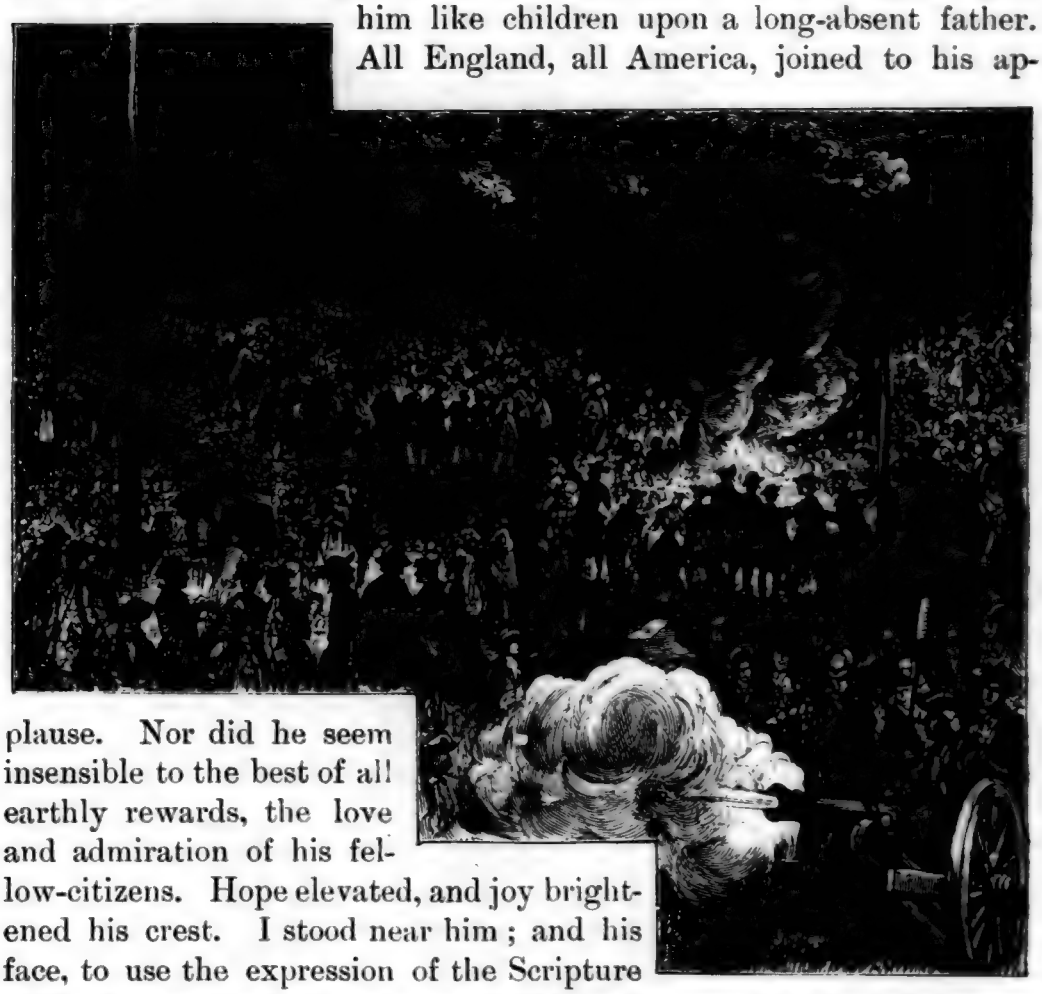
Conflict of opinions among English statesmen.

Meanwhile the Ministry were embarrassed on another side. They were embarrassed, as those who dealt with George III. often were, by finding they had misconceived his wishes. Before the debate was over, the leaders in the House found they were speaking and voting against "the King's friends." But this misunderstanding was explained, and, at the moment, wrought them no mischief.

General Conway brought in the resolution for the repeal of the Stamp Act on the 17th of February, 1766. After another remarkable debate in March, in which Grenville and Pitt both spoke, the vote in its favor was 275 to 167. Describing this

Repeal of the Stamp Act.

occasion, eight years after, Burke said: "I remember, Sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the honorable gentleman (General Conway) who made the motion for the repeal; when the whole trading interest of this Empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When at length you had determined in their favor, and your doors, thrown open, showed them the figure of their deliverer, in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children upon a long-absent father. All England, all America, joined to his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. Hope elevated, and joy brightened his crest. I stood near him; and his face, to use the expression of the Scripture of the first martyr, 'his face was as if it had been the face of an angel.' . . . . I did hope that that day's danger and honor would have been a bond to hold us all together forever. But, alas! that, with other pleasing visions, is long since vanished."



Liberty-Pole Festival.

The joy described with so much spirit by Burke, extended itself through all the mercantile and manufacturing towns in England. In America it was unbounded. The people had hoped; but the news, when it came, was more than they had dared

Joy at the repeal.

to hope for. General Conway, who had been the consistent friend of the colonies, accompanied the repealing act by a conciliatory letter, and, for the moment, it seemed as if the bone of contention was out of the way and a new era had come in. Full-length portraits of Conway and of Barré were ordered to be hung up in Faneuil Hall in Boston. The Assembly of Virginia voted to erect a statue of George III.; and a similar honor to Pitt was proposed in Maryland. But nowhere was the enthusiasm greater than in New York. The inhabitants petitioned for, and the Assembly decreed, the erection of statues both of the King and of Pitt;[1] on the King's birthday, which occurred not long after the news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received, the people assembled in the Fields (now City Hall Park) and with rejoicings and festivities set up a Liberty Pole, at the foot of which the King's health was drunk in hogsheads of punch.

But it was a perishable monument of the restoration of peace and harmony. Before the summer was over, in only a little more than two months from the time of its erection, the Pole was levelled to the ground by the soldiers of the Fort. Thenceforward it became for several years a rallying-point of contention between the soldiers and the people. It was repeatedly cut down, or blown up with gunpowder, and as often replaced at once by a new one; and in these contests, where hard blows and sometimes serious wounds were given and taken, the spirit of resistance was kept alive and active.

[1] The statues were not finished for four years. In August, 1770, that of George III., which was of lead, was set up in the Bowling Green, and that of Pitt, in marble, at the corner of Wall and Smith (now William) Streets.

CHAPTER XIV.

END OF COLONIAL RULE.

MEASURES FOLLOWING THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT. — IGNORANCE OF AMERICA IN ENGLAND. — QUARTERING TROOPS IN BOSTON. — CONSEQUENT ILL-FEELING. — IMPRESSMENT AND RESISTANCE OF SEAMEN. — QUARRELS BETWEEN CITIZENS AND SOLDIERS. — THE BOSTON MASSACRE. — REMOVAL OF THE MILITARY. — "SAM. ADAMS'S REGIMENTS." — TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF CAPTAIN PRESTON. — VERDICT AGAINST TWO SOLDIERS. — EFFORTS OF THE DUKE OF GRAFTON AT RECONCILIATION. — CONDUCT OF THE EARL OF HILLSBOROUGH. — LORD NORTH'S MINISTRY. — THE TEA TAX. — THE WHATELY LETTERS. — FRANKLIN INSULTED BY WEDDERBURN. — ARRIVAL OF THE TEA SHIPS IN AMERICA. — DISPOSITION OF THE TEA IN VARIOUS PLACES. — BOSTON PORT BILL. — GAGE APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE repeal of the Stamp Act was, after all, only a concession for the sake of present expediency, not an acknowledgment of an exclusive and inherent right in the colonial subjects to tax themselves. It was accompanied by a Declaratory Act asserting the power of Parliament over the colonies "in all cases whatsoever;" which might well arouse, as Lord Shelburne afterward wrote to Pitt it did, "an unfortunate jealousy and distrust of the English Government throughout the Colonies." The Mutiny Act, also, not long before, had been extended to America, and one of its provisions was, that the Colonial Assemblies should provide quarters, with "fire, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, utensils for cooking, beer or cider, and rum," for the support of troops. Parliament, moreover, accompanied the repeal of the obnoxious act by a resolution recommending that the Assemblies of the several provinces should compensate all those who had suffered loss the year before in the stamp riots. That the Sugar Act should still remain the law, without modification, would have been enough to keep alive distrust of the home government; but when, to the negation of any essential change of policy, there was added so much positive proof that the policy was unchanged, there was quite sufficient reason for the most jealous watchfulness on the part of the Americans.

Assertion of power over the colonies by Parliament.

The Mutiny Act.

Meanwhile the Rockingham Ministry was dissolved, and, though Pitt accepted the Privy Seal, the changes in the Cabinet indicated

that a spirit of aggression rather than of conciliation would rule in the affairs of the colonies. Pitt, moreover, to the surprise of all England, and, indeed, of all Europe, chose to go into the House of Lords as the Earl of Chatham, at the sacrifice of his influence as well as of his popularity. That mysterious illness of his — which has been a cause of so much speculation, which was believed by many to be akin to madness, by others the exaggeration of peculiar eccentricity, and, in our time, perhaps, would be covered under the more charitable and comprehensive term of nervous prostration — was now at its height. Whatever it was, it led him, unfortunately both for England and America, into almost complete isolation, leaving Charles Townshend free from all restraint. He had accepted office under Pitt, while opposed to his policy in regard to the affairs of the colonies. He had acceded to the repeal of the Stamp Act, only because it was inexpedient to attempt to enforce it. Military garrisons, he now insisted, should be kept up in the large colonial towns, to be supported by colonial taxation; a colonial revenue must be exacted; and he ridiculed the distinction between internal and external taxes. This distinction was one at first strenuously insisted upon by the Americans; but had Townshend, who died in the autumn of 1767, lived a little longer, he would have seen how completely his own measures changed their opinions on this point. Taxation of the colonies was to be resisted, let it take what form it would, if only the purpose was plainly seen that taxation was intended.

Changes in the English Cabinet.

Ascendency of Townshend.

The intrigues and strife of parties, and the determination of the landed interest in England to lighten its own burden, favored Townshend's polity. It was proposed to reduce the land-tax of four shillings in the pound to three shillings, and Townshend was quite willing to see the defeat of his own party on this question, as it enabled him to insist upon making up the deficiency in the revenue by colonial taxation. But the colonies were of one mind; they would submit to no infringement upon their rights by Parliament, though, as events ordered, it was upon New York and Massachusetts that the duty devolved of taking the lead in defence of those rights.

When Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of New York, sent a message in June, 1768, to the Assembly, requiring them to make provision for troops, then on their way to that colony, in accordance with the Act of Parliament, the Assembly refused. They were willing to bear a proportionate share in the support of troops on the march through the province, as they had always done, and of their own free will. But the quartering of soldiers in the colony at the colony's expense, as this act provided, was the imposition

Refusal of New York to support troops.

of a tax without their consent. In the spring, Parliament ordered that the legislative functions of New York should be suspended till the law was complied with. In the debate on this measure, Pownall, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, but now a member of Parliament, was exceedingly frank in his animadversions upon the conduct of the House. It had seen fit to assume that New York alone had revolted against this assumption of power. "Believe me," said Mr. Pownall, — whose experience and sound judgment should have commended his words to those men who ought by this time to have begun to see that they were attempting to ride a storm and guide a whirlwind, — "Believe me, there is not a province, a colony, or a plantation that will submit to a tax thus imposed, more than New York will."

Other colonies, where like requisitions were made for the support of troops, were careful, in granting them, to avoid seeming to do so in obedience to the act. Sympathy with New York, as the target of ministerial displeasure, extended to them all, and that deepened to indignation when the Mutiny Act was extended for another year, and it was determined to impose port duties on wines, oil, and fruit, if shipped direct from Spain and Portugal, and upon glass, paper, lead, colors, and tea. The revenue to be raised from these duties was to be at the disposal of the Crown, and to be used for the support of the civil officers of the colonies.

Sustained by the other colonies.

This was justly considered a blow at the very root of their constitutional rights. The one thing above all others which the colonists had never lost sight of, and had never ceased to contend for, — as the history of the colonial period shows, — was, to provide for the necessities of government in their own way, and to keep those to whom the affairs of government were intrusted, dependent upon the Colonial Assemblies. In this emergency, the General Court of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to the Assemblies of all the other colonies, suggesting that they should unite in supplications to the King for relief.

The acts of Parliament, they said in this letter, "imposing duties on the people of this province, with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue, are infringements of their natural and constitutional rights; because, as they are not represented in the British Parliament, his Majesty's Commons in Britain by those acts grant their property without their consent." And they submitted it to the consideration of their countrymen, "Whether any people can be said to enjoy any degree of freedom, if the Crown, in addition to his undoubted authority for constituting a Governor, should appoint him such a stipend as it shall judge proper, without

Circular Letter of Massachusetts.

the consent of the people, and at their expence; and whether, while the judges of the land, and other civil officers, hold not their commissions during good behavior, their having salaries appointed for them by the Crown, independant of the people, hath not a tendency to subvert the principles of equity, and endanger the happiness and security of the subject." With one accord the other colonies united in hearty approbation of this letter. But when it reached England, the Earl of Hillsborough, who had succeeded Shelburne as Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Governor Bernard of Massachusetts to order the General Court "to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the letter, and to declare their disapprobation of and dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding;" and if they refused, the Governor was to dissolve the Court. The other colonies were ordered to take no notice of the letter, and were also threatened with dissolution of their Assemblies in case of disobedience.

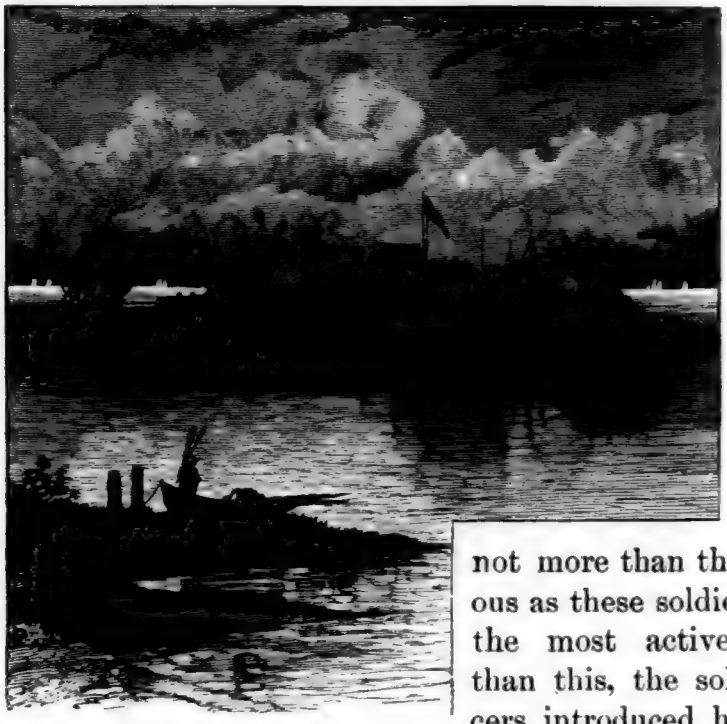
English ignorance of America.

It is a remarkable evidence of the utter ignorance that prevailed in England of American affairs and American character, that Hillsborough could have sent such a message to a body whose leading men, when measured with the worthiest of the public men of England, were in every sense their peers, and in some sense their superiors. The General Court replied with great dignity to the minister's insolent demand, and by a vote of ninety-five to seventeen declined to comply with it. In truth, no other result was probable, or hardly possible. The older colonies had been essentially self-governed for a century and a half, and were virtually independent. Almost all of the inhabitants, except in Georgia, were born upon the soil. The circumstances of their lives had created habits of thought as well as methods of living, and no "Be it enacted," pronounced three thousand miles away, could stand if brought in conflict with this native self-reliance and inborn belief in their own rights. To ministers in England it seemed that to dissolve an Assembly was a final and decisive step. In Boston it only showed the people that the time had come for town meetings. An appeal from Faneuil Hall was responded to by every town in the province, and committees of correspondence and of safety laid deep and strong the foundations of a new state. It was easy to impose taxes on imports by bills in Parliament, and to appoint revenue officers for their due collection. If not quite so easy to do, it was more to the purpose when done, to determine neither to order nor to receive importations. If the Ministry supposed that the colonists were to be overawed by the presence of troops, they misjudged the circumstances and character of the people in this as in everything else. Their appeals had been to the clemency of a King to whom they avowed the most loyal allegiance;

to the justice and reason of ministers who, they were slow to believe, intended to take from them the rights they had always maintained, and the loss of which would reduce them to political slavery. If the final arbitration must be by force of arms, they would be as ready for that as they had been to meet all other questions; but they were reluctant to admit that the necessity for such arbitration could ever arise.

When, therefore, under the King's new system of government, four regiments of soldiers from the Crown establishment were quartered in the town of Boston, every prejudice of that community was shocked; every man felt that this was an insult to the good fame of the town; and every man, whatever his station, asked himself what these soldiers were doing, and what they were there for.[1] The answer was clear enough, that they were doing nothing. The King was paying them for doing nothing, in a little town in which the whole population of able-bodied men, not more than three times as numerous as these soldiers, were engaged in the most active industry. Worse than this, the soldiers and their officers introduced habits in the last degree exasperating in a Puritan town. The army of England at that time was recruited from the lowest dregs of the English population. And here, by way of bravado, four regiments were introduced in the midst of a community where men had not been used to see a professional soldier once in a generation, and where public morals, and the outward forms of society, had been pushed by the leaders of the government to the very verge of asceticism. Had any enemy of King George counselled him as to the best method by which he could alienate his subjects here, such an enemy

The quartering of troops.



Castle William.

[1] Ten years after, when the Count Rochambeau commanded the French army in America, he was asked in Connecticut, to his great amusement, "What he did when he was at home?"

could not have suggested a plan more ingenious than that of quartering a considerable body of troops in Boston. To quarter so many troops in a provincial town of England would, perhaps, have been thought a favor. The habits of society, the gayety, and the other stimulants to intercourse and trade, had long since blotted out in England the old prejudice against a standing army. But all the larger colonies had been formed while that prejudice still existed. All the old political writers of England, on whom the colonists greatly relied, regarded any standing army as an instrument of tyranny. And, as has been said, the experience of all their history had shown that in such states as theirs, at least, no standing army was necessary for order or tranquillity.

Castle William.

Up to the year 1767, the presence of English troops was unknown in New England, excepting in time of war; and even then, such troops were moved as soon as possible to the frontier. In the spring of 1768, in the midst of bitter irritation between the Governor and the Massachusetts Assembly, the newly-appointed Commissioners of the Customs had been compelled to remove to Castle William, about three miles below Boston, in the harbor, where the garrison then consisted of a detail from the militia of the neighborhood. The Governor was so far dissatisfied with this garrison, that he requested General Gage, the English Commander-in-chief at New York, to order one or two regiments of the King's troops from Halifax to hold the fort. He also moved three vessels of war down the harbor so as to cover it. Before his orders could be executed, the government in England, of their own movement, had anticipated them and sent their orders for quartering troops in the town. Early in September, an officer arrived to prepare their quarters. His errand was at once known, and the popular indignation was shown by the immediate provision of a tar-barrel, which was hauled up by night into the frame, long empty, of the beacon which gave its name to Beacon Hill,— the highest of the three hills of Boston. In preparation for such a purpose, the selectmen of the town had repaired the beacon. It may be doubted whether this beacon had been used since it summoned the people of the country to the overthrow of Andros.[1] It had been established in the very earliest days of the colony.



The Beacon.

Popular indignation in Boston. The beacon.

The town meeting of Boston sent a committee to the Governor,

[1] See vol. ii., p. 393.



[From an Old Print.]

asking him to issue precepts for a General Assembly, to take measures for the preservation of their civil rights and privileges. The Governor refused, and the committee of the town of Boston proceeded, on its own warrant, to summon an Assembly for the purpose named. The town meeting then voted that every inhabitant should be requested to provide himself with fire-arms for sudden danger in case of a war with France. As no war was probable, the design of this vote was evident. Meanwhile the Council declined to provide barracks for the troops in Boston. They said there were barracks for a thousand men at Castle William, and that these would accommodate all the troops expected from Halifax. The act of Parliament requiring them to prepare quarters for troops had provided that where barracks already existed, they should be used.

In the midst of this irritation the Convention met, and addressed the Governor. They asked him to convene the General Assembly. The Governor refused to receive their petition, but addressed a paper to them admonishing them instantly to separate. They remained in session nine days. Their moderation seems to have disappointed everybody, of both parties. The troops finally arrived off the harbor on the 28th of September, the Convention adjourned on the 29th, and on the 1st of October the troops landed. Even the regiment which was intended for the castle was brought up to the town. One regiment encamped on the Common, and the other was quartered in Faneuil Hall and the Town House. The local authorities still refused to provide barracks, and the commanding officer hired quarters for them and purchased supplies at the charge of the Crown. The Irish regiments in addition arrived on the 10th of November, and were quartered in a similar way. A fleet of eight men-of-war, with an aggregate of more than a hundred and eighty guns, was anchored off the town.

Troops sent to Boston.

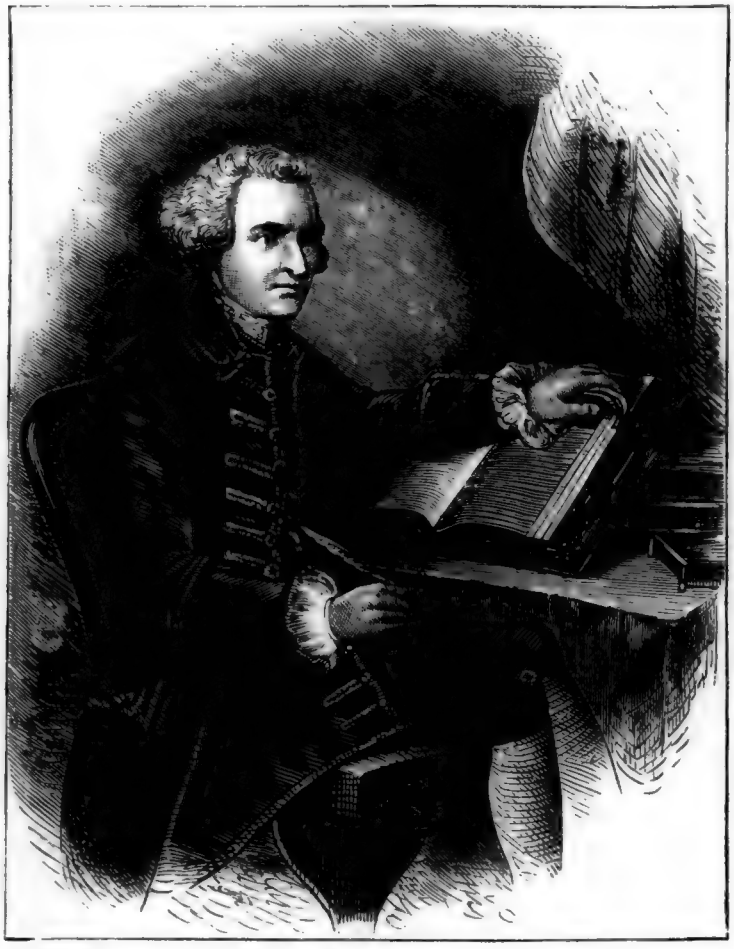
The justification made by the home government for sending a garrison to Boston was the news of a riot on the 8th of July. A schooner, laden with molasses, had been seized for violation of the customs. Thirty men entered her at night, confined the keepers, and carried off the cargo. The selectmen restored the molasses, but Governor Bernard, in reporting the matter to the government, said, with a sneer, "We are not without a government, only it is in the hands of the people of the town." This occurrence, and a similar riot in which some wines were landed from the sloop *Liberty*, belonging to John Hancock, seem to have given the motive to the English administration for severer measures than they had attempted before. A large garrison once in the town, there occasionally broke out the annoyances which might be expected after such circum-

Riots the pretext.

stances of irritation. So soon as the General Court met, in May, it proved that the result of this irritation was a stronger majority against the Governor than before. A committee was at once appointed to ask for the removal of the troops. The Governor answered that he had no authority over them. The General Court replied that it was only owing to exaggerated reports that the troops had been sent. They said there had been no disturbances which bore any proportion to similar tumults in the best regulated cities of Europe. Any disturbances here were far from being carried to that atrocious and alarming length to which riotous assemblies had been carried in Great Britain, "at the very gates of the palace, and even in the royal presence." They refused to proceed to business while surrounded with soldiers. Governor Bernard met this refusal by removing the General Court to Cambridge, where was no garrison; and the House proceeded to business there, under a protest. On the 27th, they voted a petition to the King for Governor Bernard's removal, who, as it happened, had the mortification of communicating to them the next day the King's orders that he should return to England to lay before him the state of the province. He had received these orders as early as April. The General Court asked to see the King's order, and it was laid before them. The Court replied that they "cheerfully acquiesced in the command of their sovereign for his return to Great Britain, and the order for a true statement of the

Removal of the troops demanded.

The Governor in conflict with the General Court.



John Hancock.

affairs of the province gave them peculiar satisfaction." On the departure of Bernard, Hutchinson, the Chief Justice of the Province, a gentleman of old New England blood, became acting Governor.

Other sources of irritation.

Such are, perhaps, the more important external signs of constant irritation which appear on the public records after more than a century. But, as a matter of course, the occasions of personal and private irritation, occurring almost with every hour, did more to alienate the people from the Crown than any formal passages, however bitter. Such were the daily parade of regiments, and their military instruction in the heart of the town, — duels between officers, and between officers and citizens, — the ridicule with which a body of English officers would regard the antiquated and provincial customs of the little sea-port, — and, worst of all, the quarrels, more and more frequent, between ignorant and brutal privates and the people of the lowest class of the town, equally ignorant and equally brutal. Of the population of Boston, which would not count more than four thousand able-bodied men, a large portion were seafaring men, with the habits of adventure and violence which are not unusual with sailors in all countries. Under such conditions, altercations constantly took place, of which the local annals are full. One of the most exasperating was the impressment by the officers of the *Rose* man-of-war of some seamen from a Marblehead brig. The seamen resisted, defied the English officer in command, and killed him. On the trial of the guilty person, he was acquitted by the Admiralty Court, which was wholly in the King's interest, on the ground that he acted in self-defence. It also proved that the statute which gave the right of impressment specially excepted the American coast from its execution.

Attempted impressments.

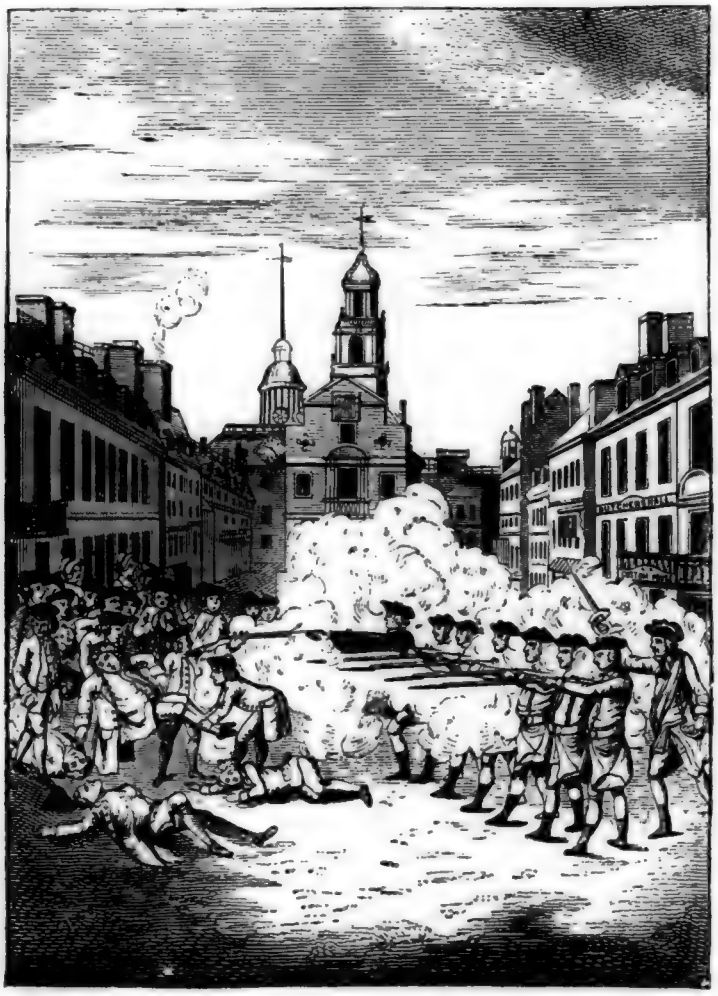
Such altercations and bitterness culminated, after a year and a half, in an occurrence which at the time received the exaggerated name of the "Boston Massacre," a name which it has never lost. In the experience of places always accustomed to quarrels between soldiers and civilians, this transaction would have been considered trifling. Its importance in this instance is due to the fact that it brought to a crisis a long series of annoyances in a community wholly unused to a garrison.

The Boston Massacre.

On the 3d of March, 1770, by mutual agreement, a party of soldiers and rope-makers had an encounter with clubs, near midnight, and several men on each side were badly wounded. The next night, a renewal of the fight was prevented with some difficulty. On the evening of the 5th of March, two young men undertook to pass a sentinel at the foot of Cornhill,[1] without answering

[1] The name "Cornhill" then applied to a part of what is now Washington Street.

his challenge. A struggle ensued, in which some of the soldiers from the neighboring barracks turned out, one armed with a pair of tongs and another with a shovel, and the offending citizen was driven back through the alley-way which he had attempted to pass. This encounter, trifling in itself, was sufficient to call out the soldiers in defence of the sentry, and the people of the neighborhood as well.



Boston Massacre. — From an Engraving by Paul Revere.

The assembly of people was, of course, much the larger. The officers succeeded in drawing the soldiers into the barracks; but the mob was now large enough to turn its attention to another sentinel, who stood not far off, in front of the Custom House.[1] A boy pointed him out as a soldier who had lately knocked him down, and some twenty young men attacked him with missiles. The man loaded his gun, and tried to retire within the building, but, finding the door locked, called for the main guard, whose station was within hearing. The officer in command sent a sergeant with six men to his relief, and also sent

When that name gradually absorbed the names of the short streets which run from south to north through Boston, the name of "Cornhill" lapsed. It was taken up and used again for the street which now bears it. As it happens, the altercation named in the text was at the foot of each Cornhill. It was in a narrow alley which passed from what was then the end of Washington Street, to Brattle Square. The opening of what is now called "the new Washington Street" swept away all local monuments of that spot, which is now a part of the great thoroughfare.

[1] In State Street, then King Street, where the building stands now occupied by the Union and State Banks.

a messenger for Captain Preston, the officer of the day, who was at an entertainment in Concert Hall.

Meanwhile an immense mob was gathering, perhaps with the intention on the part of their leaders of attacking the main guard. But if this were so, that intention was diverted, when they saw this wretched little file in front of the Custom House. The bells had been set ringing, as if for fire, and the crowd constantly increased. The soldiers had found time to charge their pieces without orders. They were joined by Captain Preston, with six more men. By way of defence, they only presented their bayonets, falling back in a curved line in front of the Custom House. Their caution is shown, from the fact that there was time to send to Concert Hall for Preston, their commander, and for him to come down to the main guard and join them. He knew perfectly well, and the mob knew, that, by English law, his men must not fire without the order of a civil magistrate. Preston seems to have behaved with moderation and judgment to the last. The mob challenged the soldiers to fire. "Come on, you bloody-backs!" "Come on, you lobster-backs!" Such allusions to the red coat were, for ten years, favorite epithets of derision. "Fire if you dare!" "Damn you, why don't you fire?" At last a soldier received a severe blow from a club. He stepped aside a little, levelled his piece, and fired. Immediately after, seven or eight more of the men fired, and the mob fled. Three men lay dead on the ground, two others were mortally wounded, and six slightly.

The drums beat to arms, the Twenty-ninth formed in King Street, and an immense concourse of people also assembled, among whom were some of the most distinguished citizens. Governor Hutchinson addressed the people from the balcony of the State House. He promised that a full investigation should be made in the morning, and the crowds retired. A citizens' guard of a hundred men took charge of the streets, and peace was restored. Before daybreak, Preston had surrendered himself for trial, and was committed to jail, and the soldiers who had fired upon the people were committed also.

With the morning, the selectmen of Boston waited upon the Governor and Council. They said that, unless the troops were removed from the town, terrible consequences must be expected. A town meeting was called, which convened at once. It sent a committee of fifteen to demand the removal of troops; but the Governor replied that he had no power to remove them. He said the troops were under the command of General Gage at New York, but that Colonel Dalrymple was ready to withdraw the Twenty-ninth Regiment to the Castle, that being the regiment whose soldiers had had fights with the rope-makers, and had fired upon the people. The

Removal of troops again demanded.

committee reported this answer to the town meeting at the Old South Church, and the meeting voted it unsatisfactory. A smaller committee was sent to say that nothing would satisfy the meeting but a total and immediate removal of all the troops. Samuel Adams was the chairman. Hutchinson, having consulted Colonel Dalrymple in a whisper, said aloud that one of the regiments should be sent away. Adams replied with unhesitating promptness, "If the Lieutenant-governor or Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two; and nothing short of the total evacuation of the town by all the regular troops will satisfy the public mind and preserve the peace of the province."[1]



Samuel Adams.

The Governor gave way. He was ridiculed in England for his compliance, and the colonists considered it a triumph. But there is no doubt that he had to give way; and his compliance postponed the outbreak of the war five years. A promise was given, and the first orders for the removal of the troops were issued. Some of the officers were very indignant, and expresses were sent to General Gage, in the hope that he would recall the orders. Another town meeting was called to quicken the movement. On application to Dalrymple, the Twenty-ninth Regiment was removed, and the next day the Fourteenth. Both were afterwards called by Lord North "Sam Adams's Regiments." The final removal took place on the 10th and 11th of March.

"Sam Adams's Regiments."

From this time until the arrival of Gage in 1774, no troops were quartered in Boston. The mistake had been made, however. To a people not yet unwilling to recognize the authority of the Crown, the worst symbol of that authority was foolishly displayed in a most exasperating way.[2]

[1] Governor Hutchinson says this remark was made to Colonel Dalrymple. But it is clear that all present heard it.

[2] In all the tumults of ten years before the war, there appear to have been seven lives lost. One was the English officer of the *Rose*. The others were Attucks, a half-breed

Preston, the officer in command on the night of the "Massacre," was tried for murder. He was defended by Josiah Quincy and John Adams, lawyers of the highest reputation among the patriots, and was acquitted. The soldiers were also acquitted, excepting two, who were found guilty of manslaughter, and, by the inhuman law of that time, were sentenced to be branded in the hand. Hutchinson, the Governor, excuses himself for permitting this sentence to be executed, because the remission would have had a tendency to irritate the people, and, "being of little consequence to the prisoners, it was thought most advisable not to interfere."

Captain Preston's trial.

The history of America, however, was not to be decided on American soil. The fickle and wayward behavior of successive English ministries — behavior which could not be called a policy — swayed the course of events more than any decisions made in America. While the Duke of Grafton supposed that he directed affairs in England, as the head of King George's Cabinet, a Cabinet meeting was called on the first of May, 1769. Grafton urged on this occasion the remission of all the American duties; but in opposition to his opinion and to that of Camden, Granby, Conway, and Hooke, tea was still retained as a subject of taxation. The Cabinet agreed, however, that the circular to the Colonial Governors should "contain words as kind and lenient as could be proposed by some of us, with encouraging expressions."[1] These were distasteful to other members, among whom was Hillsborough, the Secretary for the Colonies. When, therefore, Hillsborough drew up the instructions, which we now have, all these "encouraging expressions," whatever they were, disappeared. There is nothing conciliatory in the despatch, excepting the statement that his Majesty's present administration had at no time intended to lay any further taxes on America, and that the duties on glass, paper, and colors are to be remitted. The Duke of Grafton says that Hillsborough not only garbled the minute in the Council Records, but accompanied it with a circular letter, which Grafton terms "unfortunate and unwarrantable, calculated to do all mischief, while our real minute might have paved the way to some good." In his manuscript Memoirs, he distinctly charges that Hillsborough made these changes at the instance of the King.

Remission of duties.

It is one of the curious questions of history how far such a remission of all duties as the Duke of Grafton proposed, if made at this early period, might have affected the subsequent course of events.

Indian negro, Carr an Irishman, and three Americans, Gray, Caldwell, and Maverick, killed in the Boston Massacre, and a German boy, Snyder, killed by a soldier a short time before.

[1] These are the Duke's words.

On the other hand, this is certain, that where the administration of a nation was thus the prey of jealousies and intrigues, — when the responsible minister was thus foiled by the "King's friends," — no policy which deserves that name was possible. Indeed, he best reads the history of America, for that period which proved so critical, who understands that, on this side the water, her affairs were directed with substantial unanimity by thoughtful men not unused to govern, who had earned the confidence of the great majority of their countrymen, and who, for all the years of this crisis, were never without a specific plan to which they gave unbroken attention. The same reader must understand that, in England, American affairs were administered by men quite ignorant of the country with which they dealt, — jealous of each other, and mixed up in every sort of personal intrigue, — taking office or leaving it according to the event of certain local controversies, and all the time liable to be thwarted by a King who was very lukewarm in his love of constitutional government, and always hoping for accessions to his personal power. Let this reader remember also that an ocean three thousand miles wide separated the two countries; that all the disadvantages of this separation accrued to England, and all the advantage to America. He will then understand that, in the impending controversy, England, though she had an army, a navy, and an organized government, stood no real chance of subduing the United Colonies. Seven million people in England, indifferent to the subject, ignorant as to the real matters of controversy, and as to the place where it was carried on, contended, at every disadvantage excepting those of numbers and wealth, with three million people, substantially united, who maintained institutions to which they had always been accustomed, in the country to which they were born.

The King's speech.

The King met Parliament rather earlier than usual at the beginning of 1770. Even in England, the opening of the royal speech amused people, so inadequate did the etiquette of the occasion seem to be to the requisitions of an empire. At a moment when a rupture with France was imminent, when Hyder Ali was in the flush of his success in India, and when America was waiting, eager for a decision as to the policy which was to govern her, — the King began by saying, "My Lords and Gentlemen, it is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open the session of Parliament with acquainting you that the distemper among horned cattle has lately broke out in this kingdom."[1] Neither House was in any

[1] Junius, whose central passion was hatred of the Duke of Grafton, says: "Instead of the firmness and decision of a King, you gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier."

mood to be satisfied with talk about diseases of cattle. Lord Chatham himself moved an amendment to the Address, promising attention to the nation's discontent, — discontent arising from the ejection of Wilkes from the House of Commons. After Chatham's speech, Lord Camden rose from the woolsack, and in so many words said he had been trammelled too long "by his Majesty, — I beg pardon, — by his Ministers." Camden, Conway, and Granby at once withdrew from the Cabinet. With them vanished the last real hope of any policy conciliatory to America. The Duke of Grafton resigned on the 28th of January, and Lord North became Prime Minister. The "King's friends" had triumphed, and their laurels, such as they were, are in the history of the next twelve years. Little credit is it to Lord North, that he personally disapproved of much of the policy to which for those twelve years he lent himself; that it was the King's policy, and not his. No English nobleman should have found himself long in any such false position. It is his excuse that he knew already the nature of the King's malady, which was still a secret to all but a very few.

Debate on the Royal Address.



Lord North.

As Lord North appeared at the time, and, indeed, as he has been represented in history, he has shown few of the traits which we associate with the hero of tragedy. A commonplace man, with a certain knack at affairs, who had the absolute confidence of a foolish King, and who used that confidence till he lost half that King's empire, — this is what appears at first, and it may be said to be the true verdict of history regarding him. But a tragic poet might go further, and, by introducing us into the secrets of his distresses and his decisions, might show that poor Lord North's position was one of the most pathetic in history. His world was indeed "out of joint," nor was it for such as he to "set it right." Whenever he proposed to abandon the enterprise, — as it is easy to say he should have done, — this poor, half-witted King, was ready with the appeal, "If you leave me, where shall I go?" And the helpless Minister, without the possi-

Lord North.

bility of advising with any human being, had to consider what would come to England, if, in the sudden shock of his resignation, his King should go mad, as he had every reason to suppose he would. Such a position would be tragic, indeed, if one of the really great men of history were placed in it. It is perhaps more tragic, certainly more pathetic, when such questions are to be solved by the unadvised wisdom and the uninstructed conscience of a man second-rate in everything. And such a man was Lord North.

The student of American history, reading the interesting record of the three years with which Lord North's administration began, searches with curious interest for whatever beginnings he may find of the policy which made the United States an independent nation. He follows thus the history of John Wilkes, of the prosecution of the printers and the beginning of reported debates; he studies the letters of Junius; he reads of the birth of the East Indian Empire of England; he follows the outbreak about the Falkland Islands; he is involved in the tragedy of the Queen of Denmark, and in the matrimonial alliances of the King's brothers. But these events and these scandals, while they intensely excite the people of Great Britain, seem to have no concern with the fortunes of America. On the other hand, the fortunes of America, through those years, seem to have no interest for the people or the statesmen of England. The votes on American affairs are taken in houses not full, and the views of the Ministry are always sustained by very strong majorities.

Attempt to repeal the duty on tea.

In the session of 1770, an effort was made to repeal the tea duty. But Lord North carried it by a majority of seventy-two. Dr. Franklin thought the House would have agreed to the motion but for what he called "lying letters," which asserted that the non-importation agreements were no longer favored in America, and that the zeal of the patriots was chilled. Two years afterwards Franklin won a personal triumph, and the colonies a substantial one, in the removal of Lord Hillsborough from the post of Colonial Secretary. The reader has seen that he was not friendly to America, in the trial of strength between the Duke of Grafton with his friends and Lord North with the King's friends. As time passed, Franklin brought forward his plan for a company for the settlement of Illinois, and secured the interest of three members of the Privy Council. But when the petition was referred to the Board of Trade, Hillsborough reported against it. He even took the ground that this would be a place of refuge for offenders, and would draw away too many people from Great Britain. Franklin replied in detail. When the petition came before the Privy Council, they granted it, setting aside Lord Hillsborough's report. Hillsborough resigned, thinking, perhaps, that

his resignation would not be accepted. But his colleagues were glad to get rid of him. Lord Dartmouth, who was really a friend of the colonies, succeeded him. Dr. Franklin thought, and had reason to think, that such an incident and such an appointment were good omens for the colonies. Governor Hutchinson notes that the government even proposed to withdraw the fleet from Boston to Halifax, which had been formerly the naval station. Other signs seemed favorable. "A general state of quiescence," wrote Arthur Lee, "seems to prevail over the whole empire, Boston only excepted."[1] But these hopes were illusive. At the same time a negotiation was in progress which, as the event has proved, made vain all such omens of peace. True, America seemed better satisfied. The removal of the regiments from Boston had been followed by the tranquillity which had been promised. But any hope of a permanent good understanding, or of a gradual forgetfulness of the causes of issues, was swept away at once by a blunder of Lord North's. This belongs to the poor tricks which James the First used to honor by the name of "king-craft," and it resulted in the dismemberment of the empire.

Hillsborough succeeded by Dartmouth, as Secretary.

For better or for worse, the Crown of England was allied to the East India Company, which even then was important, and which afterwards became imperial. This Company, at the end of a series of bad years, of which the misfortunes were due in part to the refusal of the Americans to import tea from England, found itself burdened with 17,000,000 pounds of tea in its English storehouses. It was necessary for the Government of the nation to save the company from bankruptcy by lending it a million and a half of money. The proposal was therefore matured, that the Company might export to America as much tea as it wished, and receive back, as drawback, the tax of sixpence a pound which the teas had to pay into the English exchequer. The teas would then have to pay in America only threepence a pound, the one remaining tax left, after eight years of dissension.

East India Company.

Lord North probably thought that in this way he should please two parties not easy to please. He served the East India Company, and he seemed to grant to the Americans what they wanted, a virtual suspension of the Navigation Act, so far as teas were concerned. For this plan he obtained the permission of Parliament. The wiser directors of the East India Company distrusted the gift. They knew men better than Lord North. They begged to be permitted to pay to the exchequer the sixpence duty in England, and to land the teas free in America. But this Lord North refused, probably at the King's

[1] To Reed, February 18, 1773.

direction. "There must be one tax," said the poor King, "to keep up the right." Lord North, therefore, with fatal resolution, held to the principle involved. He confessed that the whole revenue obtained would be, at the best, but twelve thousand pounds. The East India Company consented at last to the scheme, and, as the summer passed, freighted several ships for America, on their own account, consigning them to merchants in the different sea-ports. Information as to these consignments began to arrive in America in September.

The duty on tea retained.

Franklin's hopes of peace from Lord Dartmouth's appointment, or whatever other cause, were rudely dispelled by another incident, of which the germ showed itself in this same year, 1773. Confidential as his relations were with many members of Parliament and of the Government, it was mentioned to him one day, apparently as no secret, that the Government had been guided, in quartering the troops in Boston and in its other severe measures, by the advice of Americans born, — men of character and position. Franklin said he did not believe this. To satisfy him, twelve letters were brought him, written by Hutchinson, the Governor, and Oliver, the Lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, both natives of that province. These letters confirmed to the full the statement which had been made to him. They proposed the introduction of troops, and one of them proposed the establishment of a "patrician order." In one letter, which was particularly outspoken, Hutchinson said there must be an abridgment of what are called "English liberties." He said he doubted whether it was possible that the people of a colony should enjoy all the liberty of the parent state.

The Hutchinson Advice Letters.

Franklin obtained permission to send the originals of the letters to America, on condition that they should not be copied or printed, and sent them in his official letter, as Agent of the House of Assembly, to the chairman of their Committee of Correspondence. They might, he said, be read to that committee and a few other gentlemen. So soon as they arrived in Boston, they awakened a storm of indignation against Hutchinson. He had been affecting a conciliatory part. In the midst of the contest between him and the Assembly, — which was eager that the colony should pay his salary in accordance with the ancient usage, — he had affected to be, not indeed a champion of the extreme views, but a mediator between the colonies and the Crown. Here came evidence that in all such affectation he was a liar. The colonists were wounded by a man who should have been their friend. A Governor of their own religion, of their own blood, born in their chief town, and educated among them, had turned against them.

Sent to Boston by Franklin.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

(After the portrait by Duplessis in the Boston Public Library.)

Echoes of the storm which rose in Boston soon resounded in London. A duel between Mr. John Temple and Mr. Whately, brother of the gentleman to whom these letters were addressed, made the matter one of universal interest. The Privy Council itself was so far moved that it took up the petition of the Massachusetts Assembly for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver, — a petition which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been left to sleep. There followed a most exciting meeting of that great body of state, — a body which in our time acts only on occasions of mere form. It was the fullest meeting of the Council which Edmund Burke remembered. Everybody of note was there. The petition was read, with the resolutions of the Assembly, and the letters on which those resolutions were founded. John Dunning, afterward Lord Ashburton, supported the petition as counsel, and supported it temperately and ably. Then followed what was called at the time a "bull-baiting." Wedderburn, a lawyer whom Lord North's favor had hurried forward, and who was afterward Lord Chancellor, under the title of Lord Loughborough, spoke, as Solicitor-general, in opposition to the petition. He spoke for three hours, — largely in violent personal attack on Dr. Franklin, who of course was present. He charged Franklin with stealing the letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, and said that men would hide their papers from him in future. In a classical allusion, he called him "a man of three letters," by which the Romans meant a thief, and charged him with intriguing to make himself Hutchinson's successor. His triumph was complete. "No speech was so much applauded," says Hutchinson, "since those of Cicero against Anthony." The Council pronounced the petition of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts groundless and scandalous. In the method which the Council took to do this, it had insulted the great American who was the admiration of half England and of all Continental Europe. The scene excited public criticism everywhere. The wit of Wedderburn's address was highly praised; but the dignity of Franklin's manner made him new friends.[1] Afterward, William Pitt the younger, in the House of Commons, alluded to this scene in the "Cockpit."[2] He bade the House recollect how the future Chancellor of England had called the future plenipo-

The Temple-Whately duel.

Wedderburn insults Franklin.

[1] On the interview in the Council Chamber, Horace Walpole wrote this epigram: —

"Sarcastic Sawney, swollen with spite and prate,
On silent Franklin poured his venal hate:
The calm philosopher, without reply,
Withdrew, and gave his country liberty."

[2] The Cockpit and Tennis Court. These two appendages to the palace at Whitehall had been built by Henry the Eighth, close to St. James's Park. The Treasury now occupies the site of the Cockpit, and the Privy Council Office the site of the Tennis Court.

tentiary of the United States "a hoary-headed traitor," and how, as they walked away, men were ready to toss up their hats and clap their hands for joy, as if they had obtained a triumph. "Alas, sir, we paid a pretty dear price for that triumph afterwards." What they paid is shadowed in Wedderburn's own speech: "How will it hereafter sound in the annals of the present reign, that all America, the fruit of so many years of settlement by this country, the fruit of so much blood and treasure, was lost to the Crown of Great Britain in the reign of George the Third?"

This incident took place on the 29th of January, 1774. It was, in the last degree, an outrage upon Franklin, but was not in itself singularly important, for the result arrived at could have been easily predicted. It became, however, a visible, or dramatic exhibition of the conflict, which had thus far been somewhat concealed in despatches or debates. But this conflict had already passed such limits. The England which applauded the speech of Wedderburn as nothing had been applauded since Cicero, was waked now by a sudden shock, — to feel that the real contest was not a "bull-baiting" in "the cockpit," as the hall of the Privy Council was aptly called. It was to be on another continent and on a larger scale.

On the 27th of January arrived in England the first news of the reception of the vessels which had been sent out with the East India Company's tea. The people of America understood very well who made this great consignment. Although the patriots had winked at trifling private imports from England, so that, in certain cases, men had paid the duty, they did not therefore close their eyes when the Government of England, by the agency of the East India Company, invited them to give way on the matter of principle. The offer of a drawback for the Company's benefit and a consequent reduction of the price, was only an insult to such men, as Lord North might have known it would be. The Committees of Correspondence provided for the occasion long before the teas arrived. They must be sent back. In most instances they were. But in Boston Hutchinson refused to give a permit for the return of the ships, acting with that happy obstinacy about trifles which distinguished all his administration. The tea was at the wharf, and the town meeting of Boston was called to consider the crisis.

Arrival of the tea ships.

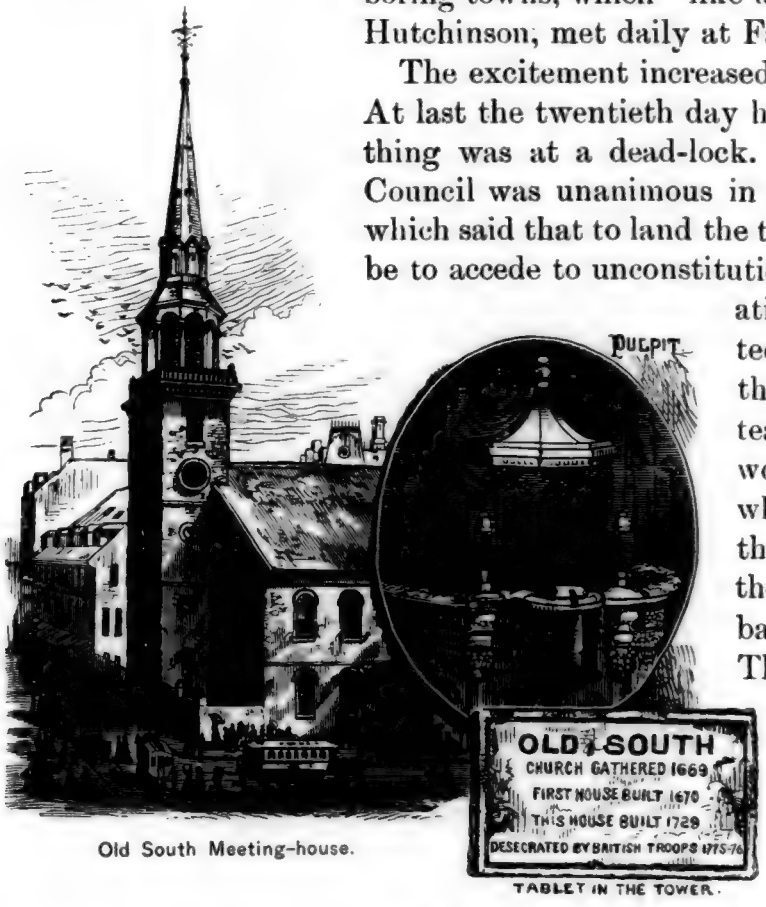
The *Dartmouth*, the first of the tea vessels, arrived on the 28th of November. A town meeting was called the next day, and because Faneuil Hall was not large enough it adjourned to the Old South Meeting-house, which was so often used for such purposes, that it gained the name from an English Governor of being the "seed-bed of rebellion." In twenty days from the arrival of the first ship the Collector would make a formal demand for duties.

In the town meeting Samuel Adams himself moved the action, which, as chairman of the Committee of Correspondence, he had suggested to the other colonies, "that the tea should not be landed, that it should be sent back in the same bottom, to the place from which it came, at all events; and that no duty should be paid on it." This resolution passed unanimously, and the owner and master were directed at their peril neither to enter the tea at the custom-house, nor suffer it to be landed. A watch was set on the ship, and six post-riders were appointed to notify the country towns of any effort to land it by force.

While negotiations were going forward between the Committee of the town and the consignees, two more tea ships arrived. By direction of the Committee, they were anchored near the *Dartmouth*, that one guard might be enough for all. This Committee, which took the whole direction of the controversy on the part of the people, was made up of the Committees of Correspondence of Boston and from neighboring towns, which "like a little senate," said Hutchinson, met daily at Faneuil Hall.

The excitement increased from day to day. At last the twentieth day had come. Everything was at a dead-lock. The Governor's Council was unanimous in accepting a report which said that to land the tea would be to accede to unconstitutional taxation. The Committee would not permit the landing of the tea. The Governor would not give a pass which should enable the ship to go by the Castle on her way back to London. The Admiral had placed ships of war to guard the channels, that no vessel without a pass should go to sea. The meeting of the people was held again at the Old South, which was crowded. It was no longer a town meeting. A citizen of Weston, Jonathan Williams, was chosen moderator, as if to show that the coun-

Not allowed to be landed.



Old South Meeting-house.

try and the town were together. When it had been kept waiting all day, a messenger came from the Governor's country seat on Milton Hill, at a quarter before six, announcing his refusal to grant a pass. Samuel Adams said, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." There was a moment of silence. A voice in the gallery cried, "Hurrah for Griffin's wharf." The meeting instantly dissolved, and the immense throng proceeded to the point where the ships lay. Two bodies of young men, whose faces were blackened, and who were otherwise so disguised that they should not be known, were all ready for the exigency.

A public meeting.

Passing to the shore, at the wharf they took possession of the ships. They bade the captain and crew furnish hoisting-tackle, and they obeyed. The chests were lifted on deck and split open, and the tea poured into the water. The great majority of the men of Boston, standing on the shore, watched the business, as, through the moonlight of a winter's night, the chests were emptied into the silent bay. The business was conducted without noise or disorder. When every box was destroyed, the working party withdrew their sentinels, and the town was at peace. It was well nigh dawn.

The tea thrown overboard.



Hutchinson's Country Seat.

It was evident that the most careful preparation had been made by the leaders for the crisis. It was equally clear that their orders were well obeyed. Even in the traditions of Boston, not more than two or three names can be certainly given of those who made up the working party. All the town saw the act. But not more than fifty, at the most, joined in the work. They kept their secret, which had probably the sanction of an oath. It is believed that a list of the actors was preserved for more than half a century, but this list probably exists no longer.[1]

[1] So well was this great secret kept, that, with two or three exceptions, it is certain that

Attempts were made by some of the spectators to carry off small portions of the tea, but probably with little success. The descendants of one of the party on board the vessel long preserved as a sacred relic — perhaps still preserve — a few leaves which their ancestor found in his shoes on returning home. A heavy bank of the tea leaves was thrown up on the Dorchester shore. One Captain O'Connor, it is related, filled his capacious pockets, but was seized as he jumped from the vessel, and left the skirts of his coat in the hands of the person who attempted to stop him. O'Connor was a well known resident of Charlestown, and his coat-tail was the next day nailed to the whipping-post in that town, — a ludicrous but effective penalty for his want of patriotism.[1]

How earnest and wide-spread the feeling was on this subject, is shown by the public records in other places besides Boston. In Frederick County, Md., in Norfolk, Va., in Piscataqua, N. H., and in other places, petty dealers who had clandestinely received a few pounds were haled before public committees and forced to confess their misdeed and deliver up the tea for destruction. At Stamford, Conn., in June, 1775, one Sylvanus Whitney appeared before the Committee of Observation, and confessed that he had been "guilty of buying and selling Bohea tea, since the first of March last past, whereby I have been guilty of a breach of the Association entered into by the Continental Congress; and sensible of my misconduct, do, in this publick manner, confess my crime, and humbly request the favor of the publick to overlook this my transgression." "Whereupon," says the official record, "the committee passed sentence against him, agreeable to the direction of the Continental Congress. His punishment being greater than he was able to bear, he requested the liberty to advertise himself, and offering to deliver up the unfortunate tea to be burnt, the committee were of the opinion that it would satisfy the publick, who are requested to accept of the following concession as a satisfaction for his crime." In the evening the tea was hung upon a gallows erected for the purpose, in the presence of a great crowd of citizens, and finally a large bonfire was built under it, "as it was thought dangerous to let the said tea hang all night, for fear of an invasion from our tea-lovers."[2]

A meeting of citizens in New York compelled the consignees to decline receiving the cargo sent thither, and when the ship arrived, a

if a man's descendants say "he was certainly on the tea-party, for he always said so," that man was not of the working party, but was only a bystander. If on the other hand a person who was questioned in old age declined to say whether he was of that party, there is a possibility that he was.

[1] *Memoirs of George R. T. Hewes*, etc.

[2] Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. ii., page 920.

vigilance committee took possession of her, and after some days she sailed again for England with all her tea on board. The captain was inclined to be stubborn; but after being escorted to the town, he was convinced that any attempt to land his cargo would only insure its destruction. Another ship had brought a few chests as a private venture, and when the fact was discovered, a mob threw them into the river. The ship sent to Philadelphia was stopped before she reached the city, and when her captain heard what had happened to the cargoes in Boston harbor, he wisely

Disposition of tea in other places.



Captain O'Connor's Coat-skirts nailed to the Whipping-post.

turned her prow toward home. The tea sent to Charleston was landed, but, purposely perhaps, was stored in damp cellars, and in a short time was found to be useless.

Intelligence from Boston reached England at the moment when Wedderburn was uttering his new philippics. The Government, which had seriously entertained the project of withdrawing the fleet, heard of this act of defiance in the harbor where that fleet lay. The King was prompt in taking up the quarrel. On the 7th of March a royal message was sent to Parliament with the principal documents received from America. On the 14th of the same month Lord North brought in the measure which proved, in the event, to be the

The Boston Port Bill.

declaration of war, — which is generally known as the Boston Port Bill.[1] This bill, by way of punishing Boston as the hot-bed of rebellion, provided that after the 18th of June, no persons should load or unload any ship in that harbor. The customs and commerce, it was hoped, would be transferred to Salem. Another measure, called "the Massachusetts Government Bill," revised the charter. The Council was to be appointed by the Crown, and the magistrates by the Governor. A third bill provided for the trial in England of persons engaged in the late disturbances, and a fourth provided for the government of Quebec. All these bills were opposed by the most liberal members, who were regarded as the friends of America, and Pownal and Johnston, who had been Royal Governors, and generally voted with the ministry, spoke against the Port Bill. Pownal said boldly that, in Hutchinson's case, he would have called on the troops without the consent of the Council, — for Hutchinson had excused himself by the Council's backwardness. He had withdrawn some companies from Castle William and posted them in neighboring towns, — not, however, in Boston. But the truth there was, that "Sam Adams's regiments" were nothing as against the array, not of a mob, but of an organized force which the Committees could have brought against them. It is in Johnston's speech on this occasion, that the statement occurs, — for which he doubtless had good warrant: "If you ask an American who is his master, he will tell you he has none, — nor any Governor but Jesus Christ." The bills all passed by large majorities. The Quebec bill was opposed with most energy. It has proved in a hundred years the source of great difficulties in the civilization of Canada.

Massachusetts Government Bill.

These acts were received in the colonies with every token of disgust and rage. The people of the sea-port towns of Massachusetts were eager to show that they would not profit by the losses of Boston. The people of other colonies were eager to show that they were ready to go as far as Massachusetts. The Port Bill was printed with black lines about it, as if it described a tragedy, and with the title, "A barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder." On the back of one of the editions was printed a private letter from London, without a name, which contained these words: "I can assure you that the commander has private orders not to fight unless they can prove you to be aggressors, — nay, they have orders not to commence hostilities without orders."

[1] It is not the only instance where a law generally resisted has retained the title of a "Bill," as if it had never passed from that embryo condition to become an "act." Thus the Fugitive Slave Law, which was law for many years in America, is still sometimes called the "Fugitive Slave Bill."

The sympathy of the other colonies had been promised in advance.

Action of the Virginia Assembly.

The Virginia Assembly, in March, 1773, had formed a colonial Committee of Correspondence, and had invited all the Assemblies "on the continent" to join them. Printed copies of their resolution were sent by the Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence to every town in their province. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire joined in the appointment of legislative committees, and a second Continental Congress was proposed. Curiously it happened, that, at the moment when the English Ministry dismissed Franklin from his place as Postmaster-general, the colonists were planning a post-office of their own.

The Port Bill provided that the trade of Boston might be recovered on proper apology, and, in particular, if the tea were paid for. But a meeting of the towns around Boston, held in Faneuil Hall, urged that no attention should be given to this offer; they prepared to join their suffering brethren of Boston in every measure for relief. They drew a circular letter proposing general cessation of trade with England. Other colonies resolved to assist the people of Boston. "Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea!" is the pointed phrase with which Christopher Gadsden accompanied a generous contribution from South Carolina.

Had Lord North advised diligently as to the measures best fitted to unite the colonies, he could not have done better than he did. To carry out those measures in Boston, he appointed General Thomas Gage Governor in Hutchinson's place. After a very short passage of twenty-four days only, Gage arrived, immediately after the news of the passage of the bill, which would close the harbor on the first of June.

Gage appointed Governor of Massachusetts.



A Profile View of the Heights of Charlestown.

CHAPTER XV.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

Loyalty of the Americans to the Crown. — Outbreak of Hostilities. — Colonel Leslie's March to Salem. — The Anniversary of the Massacre. — Altercations with the Troops. — Excursion to Jamaica Plain. — The Committee of Safety. — Colonel Smith's March to Lexington. — Signal Lights in North Church Belfry. — The First Shot. — Concord and Concord Bridge. — The Fight at Lexington. — The English Retreat. — Lord Percy and his Reënforcement. — The Siege begins. — Arrival of more Troops from England. — Skirmishes in Boston Harbor. — Bunker Hill fortified by the Americans. — The Battle. — Results of the Battle.

A century after the outbreak of the war which parted the United States from any political dependence on England, the recurrence of the anniversary of every battle of that war was enthusiastically celebrated by the people of every place concerned. Tradition yielded its doubtful authority; contemporary records gave up from the dead their living testimony; and orators and poets became historians, to make real the finest details of the past to the imagination of the children's children of the actors. In such eager study of every detail of history, it is certain that the springs of movement and the precise facts are better known to us than they were to those who were enveloped in the dust and smoke of action. The time has come when the history of those days can be written with near approach to accuracy.

When the year 1775 opened, it found the colonies exasperated to the last degree by the persistent efforts to subject them to the arbitrary rule of the King. Unwilling to give up the traditions of loyalty by which, for two generations, the House of Brunswick had been regarded as the apostles, not to say martyrs, of Liberty, the popular writers and orators in America charged the violations of their rights and customs, not on the King, but on the Ministry of the time. They were undoubtedly sincere in this use of language. The unpopular acts were spoken of as the "Ministerial Acts," and the army which was sent to enforce them was the "Ministerial Army." The revelations of a century have proved that this loyal effort to palliate the conduct of George III. was

Affairs at the beginning of 1775.

all wrong. He was the centre of the whole scheme of American taxation. In a certain wrong-headedness which was perhaps the first symptom of his insanity, he imagined that in the colonies, at least, he might play the part of an absolute monarch. The satire of another generation has called him at this period a "Brummagem Louis XIV.," and that phrase perhaps sufficiently describes his relations to American history.[1]

A conflict inevitable.

In this aspect of affairs, with a little English army stationed at Boston, and a handful of royal troops at other capital towns in the colonies, it was a question of time only, a question even of days and hours, when the bolt should fall. And, since it has proved that a new empire was born on the day of the first open collision between the colonists and the authorities of the Crown, every place in America which can present any claim to that honor has urged it eagerly at the bar of history.

First hostile meeting at Salem, Mass.

It is thus that the people of Salem, in Massachusetts, on every fit occasion, are proud to remind their countrymen that on Sunday, the 26th of February, 1775, they met the English troops in arms, and met them successfully. Nay, more, it seems certain that, when an English infantry soldier used his bayonet against a Salem boatman, the first blood of the Revolution was shed there. But, fortunately or unfortunately, as the reader may judge, the royal commander withdrew his troops without battle; and the very success of the preparations of the people of Salem and Essex County, the very promptness with which the Essex regiment under Timothy Pickering stood to its arms that day, has deprived Salem, in the mind of the American people, of the honor of beginning the American Revolution.

At the request of some friends of the royal government in Marshfield, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, General Gage had sent a small detachment to that town, to protect them from insult. This detachment had landed there, and had taken up its quarters without resistance from the people. It was, perhaps, because he was encouraged by this slight success that Gage struck next at Salem. He had heard there were some cannon there. He sent out Colonel Leslie, with a de-

[1] A passage in a speech of Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, denouncing Lord North's bill for the government of Massachusetts Bay, intimates a feminine influence in the Crown counsels. "When I talk of the Minister, I mean to speak with all due respect to the noble Lord, though I do not consider him as the immediate actor of all this. I know not the age, the person, *or the sex;* but, that I may not be wrong, I will use the language of Acts of Parliament, which I imagine will comprehend, and will say, he, she, or they, — to that person or persons alone do I mean to address myself." — Speech in House of Commons, May 2, 1774. The allusion is to the King's mother. Walpole speaks of "that cool dissimulation in which he had been so well initiated by his mother, and which comprehended almost the whole of what she taught him."

tachment, to seize them, on Sunday, February 26, 1775. The party landed at Marblehead in the morning, while the people were at meeting, and set out by land for Salem. The news had been sent from Marblehead before them, and the Salem people were not surprised. The detachment marched through the town of Salem; but when they reached the "North Bridge," they found the drawbridge up, and the commander was then told by the assembled people that really this was a private way, and that neither Colonel Leslie nor any one else could use it without the owner's permission. Colonel Leslie seems to have recognized that they had the law on

Leslie's expedition.



Salem Bridge.

their side, but in answer he appropriated two scows or "gondolas," [1] and began to embark his men. On this, the owners of the scows leaped into them with the soldiers, and began to scuttle the boats. Here Colonel Leslie's respect for private right gave way, and the owners were expelled with bayonet-thrusts. This was the first bloodshed of the Revolution.[2]

At Salem Bridge.

But Leslie did not follow up this advantage. One of the Salem ministers, Rev. Thomas Barnard, had proposed a compromise, which he accepted. The bridge was lowered, and the troops marched over, and fifty yards beyond. Then the Colonel shook hands with the min-

[1] "Gondola," the Italian word, was in use in English literature as early as Spenser's time. "Scow" is a local phrase in New England for a large flat-bottomed boat, generally towed from place to place, or propelled across shallow water by poles. "Gondola," pronounced "gundalo," is still familiarly used in New England, as a synonym for "scow," by people who never heard of Venice.

[2] But before this a man had been hanged in the Hampshire Grants, now Vermont, for resisting the Crown authority.

ister, and marched his command back over the bridge. As he left Salem, the Danvers company of minute-men, the "flank company" of the Essex regiment, arrived. But their services were not needed. Colonel Leslie continued his retreat to Marblehead and Boston without seizing the cannon he was sent for.

Warren's oration.

On the 5th of March, Dr. Warren delivered the fifth annual oration on the Boston Massacre, in that town. It was his second oration on this subject. The church was crowded with people of both parties. Even the steps of the pulpit were covered with British officers. So dense was the crowd, that Warren and his friends entered the church by a ladder through the pulpit window. There was no disturbance while the orator spoke. The oration was pointed and vehement, but always carefully avoided anything which could be called treason. This passage hints to the gentlemen around him what Warren and his friends were learning: "Even the sending troops to put these acts in execution is not without advantages to us. The exactness and beauty of their discipline inspire our youth with ardor in the pursuit of military knowledge. Charles the Invincible taught Peter the Great the art of war. The battle of Pultowa convinced Charles of the proficiency Peter had made." He said, as had been said before, that he and his friends were not seeking independence. But there were men in that house who were. "But if these pacifick measures are ineffectual," he said, "and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will undauntedly press forward until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored Goddess Liberty fast by a Brunswick's side on the American Throne."

George III. and Liberty, on an American throne, seated side by side, like William and Mary, probably made their last appearance then, even in prophecy. The oration ends with these words: "Having redeemed your country, and secured the blessing to future generations, who, fired by your example, shall emulate your virtues, and learn from you the heavenly art of making millions happy with heart-felt joy, with transports all your own, you cry, *The glorious work is done!* Then drop the mantle to some young *Elisha*, and take your seats with kindred spirits in your native skies."

As Warren spoke, an officer of the Welsh Fusileers, who sat on the pulpit stairs, drew from his pocket a handful of bullets and held them out in his hand for the rest to see. Warren dropped a white handkerchief over them.

The theme of the orators on all these occasions was the danger to liberty and order when standing armies are quartered in towns.

With the return of the garrison to Boston, the necessity of this lesson returned. That King George quartered soldiers among the people, became one of the indignant complaints of the Declaration of Inde-



Warren's Oration.

pendence. Only a week after Warren's address, appeared an illustration of the danger he described.

A man named Ditson, from Billerica, had bargained with a soldier for a gun. As soon as he had paid his money he was seized by half-a-

dozen of the soldier's comrades for breach of the act against trading with soldiers. They kept him locked up all night, and the next morning the officers condemned him without a hearing, to be tarred and feathered. The soldiers were only too glad to execute this punishment, and then paraded him through the streets with a placard inscribed "American Liberty, or a Specimen of Democracy."

Arrest of Ditson.

The Billerica selectmen remonstrated to General Gage, in a paper which ends with ominous words: "May it please your Excellency, we must tell you we are determined, if the innocent inhabitants of our country towns must be interrupted by soldiers in their lawful intercourse with the town of Boston, and treated with the most brutish ferocity, we shall hereafter use a different style from that of petition and complaint."

There is something of real pathos in such protests from the government of little country towns, which, but for the result, would seem ridiculous. That in "town meeting" a town which had not fifty voters, should vote money to buy powder and flints with which to make war against a King who, within fifteen years, had humbled the French monarchy, seemed absurd. But the history is full of such declarations. And when the selectmen of Billerica sent their warning to that King's Lieutenant-general in America, the illustration of what they meant was at hand.

To try the country, and at once to display his little army and to exercise it after a winter cramped in quarters, General Gage sent out on the 30th of March, a large body of troops on what was called "an excursion." Earl Percy, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, then a young officer of high rank in Gage's army, commanded the party, which consisted of five regiments. "It marched to Jamaica Plain, a village about four miles south of Boston, then crossed the country to Dorchester, a town nearer the sea, and so returned to Boston, after a march of about ten miles. The season was early, and it was said that the gardens and fields of the farmers were unnecessarily injured by the soldiers.

Gage's excursions.

It was to check just such "excursions" that the "Committee of Safety," since celebrated, had been created by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts as early as February 9 of this year. This committee, consisting of five men, was a permanent executive. Its "business and duty" were, to "alarm, muster, and cause to be assembled with the utmost expedition, and completely armed, accoutred, and supplied, such and so many of the militia of the province as they shall judge necessary, and at such place and places as they shall judge proper." Such levy was to be made when

The Committee of Safety.

the committee should think an attempt was made by force to carry out the "Boston Port Bill." The committee did not judge that such an occasion was presented by Percy's "excursion" to Jamaica Plain. It had no military objective. "It marched without baggage and without artillery," says Warren in a letter written at the time. "But," he adds, "had they attempted to destroy any magazines, or to abuse the people, not a man of them would have returned to Boston."

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts had been collecting at several points such stores, both of arms and of provisions, as their means permitted. One of the most indignant outbursts in the English Parliament, the year before, was in ridicule of the audacity with which the General Court of Massachusetts had sent for the royal approval a bill for the purchase of twelve brass cannon. Many stores had since been purchased without King George's approval. The towns kept theirs in their own magazines; those which belonged to the province were at Concord and Worcester, the county towns of Middlesex and Worcester counties. Concord is about twenty miles northwest of Boston. General Gage first sent two officers in disguise to reconnoitre each of these places and the routes to them,[1] and on Tuesday evening, the 18th of April, he sent a detachment of about eight hundred men to seize and destroy the guns, munitions, and stores at Concord. To insure a surprise, his troops were to march at night. Under the command of Colonel Smith, they left Boston in the boats of the squadron at the water edge of the Common,[2] landed at Lechmere's Point, now East Cambridge, and marched across the salt marshes, so as to strike the road to Menotomy, or West Cambridge. The night was clear and frosty.

Gage's expedition to Concord.

Meanwhile the country was alarmed, and the patriot leaders in Boston were well informed of every step taken by the General and his troops.

Legend and poetry have illustrated every minute of that night; but no imagination can make incidents more dramatic than the precise facts as they come out in their purity, after all the tests of the sternest examination. Dr. Warren had returned to Boston from a meeting of the Provincial Congress at Concord. It was as early as the 16th, when Gage gave warning of his plans, by launching the boats of the transports, which had been laid up all winter. On Sunday, the 16th, Warren sent Paul Revere from Boston to Lexington, to tell Hancock and Adams that the boats were launched. Paul Revere

[1] It was not a hundred years, since Worcester had received that name in direct insult to Andros, in memory of the Worcester where the son of the King of England fled for his life before the army of Cromwell.

[2] Near what is now Park Square.

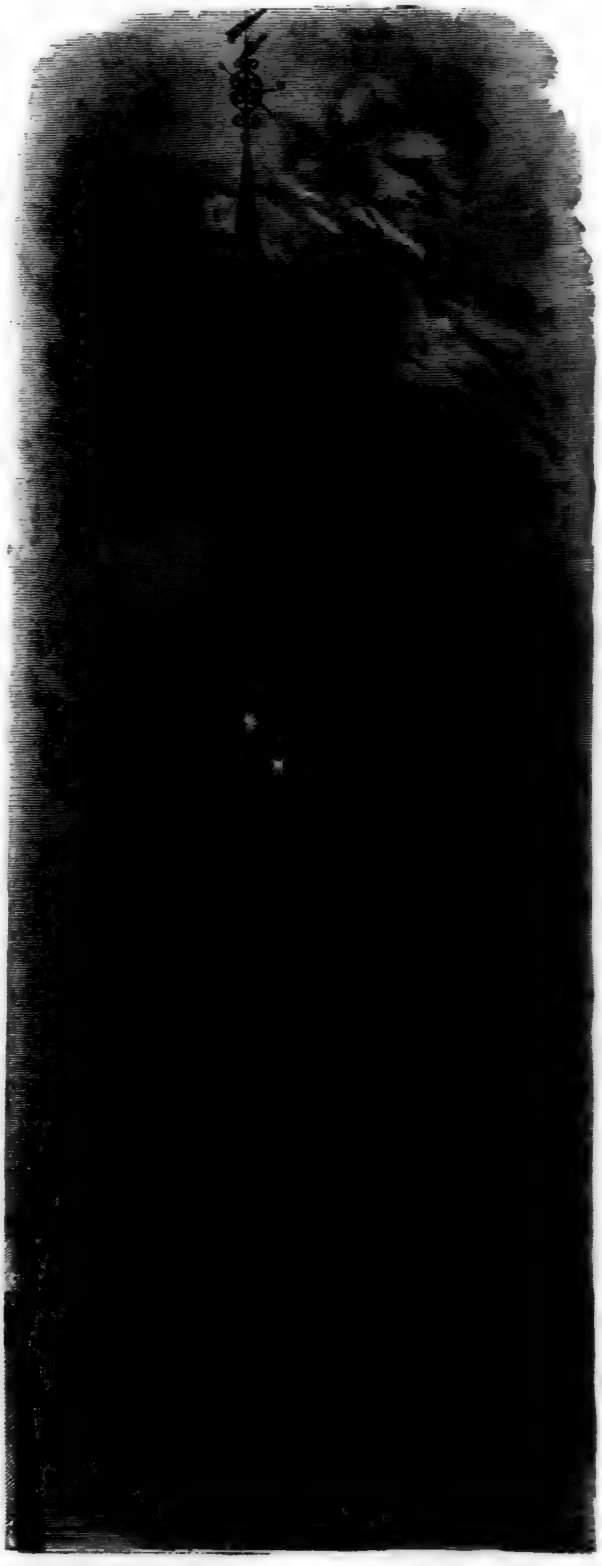
was a coppersmith and engraver. He was one of thirty "North End" mechanics who through the winter had made it their business to patrol the streets of Boston at night, in order to note every movement of the English troops. Revere took his message to Hancock, and returned through Charlestown. At Charlestown, on the night of the 16th, he agreed with "Colonel Conant and other gentlemen that if the British went out by water, we would show two lanthorns in the North Church steeple, — and if by land one, as a signal." Returning to Boston, he reported his arrangements to Warren.

On Monday and Tuesday General Gage did nothing; but the two Committees — of Safety and Supplies — were preparing for him at Concord. They passed more than twenty votes relating to the removal and disposition of cannon, ammunition, and stores. Tuesday evening Warren discovered in Boston that the troops were to move at once. He sent in great haste for Revere, and begged him to set off for Lexington. This he did, first calling — as his own narrative relates — "upon a friend," and desiring him to hang out the two signal lanterns from the tower of North Church.[1] He took his coat and boots for his ride, and, in his boat, which was in readiness, was rowed over by his men to Charlestown. When he came into the little town, he found that Colonel Conant and others had already seen his signals. Here he met also Richard Devens, who had just returned from a meeting of the Committee of Safety, and who told him he had met ten British officers riding towards Lexington from Cambridge. These were a party who had dined at Cambridge, in the futile hope that by disposing themselves on the road to Lexington after night-fall, they might cut off all news of the advance.

Revere found a good horse in Charlestown, he says; the night was pleasant, and at eleven o'clock he started on the eventful ride which, in Longfellow's version of it, has made him immortal. The moon was already up. He had scarcely left Charlestown, and was passing "where Mark was hung in chains," when two English officers on horseback tried to take him. But Revere and his horse were too quick for them. In Medford he waked the captain of the minute-men. From Medford to Lexington he alarmed almost every household. He came to Lexington about midnight, and gave his news to Hancock and

[1] "I left Dr. Warren, called upon a friend, and desired him to make the signals," is Revere's statement (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. v.). Who the "friend" was is a disputed point, on which there is no evidence except family tradition. The descendants of Robert Newman claim that he, who was the sexton of Christ Church, at Revere's request made the signals. The descendants of John Pulling declare that he was the intimate friend of Revere, and that it has been handed down in their family from generation to generation that it was he with whom Revere had an agreement to hang out the lanterns. It is not even certain which of the North churches was used, though that learned body, the mayor and aldermen of Boston, have decided that it was Christ Church.

Adams, who were at Rev. Mr. Clarke's house. Here he was joined by William Dawes, whom Warren had sent out by land, over Boston Neck. And after a little stay with Dawes and Dr. Prescott, "a high son of liberty," he started for Concord between one and two in the morning. Prescott, who was thus preordained to take the torch when it fell from the hand of the first messenger, had lingered thus late, on that critical night, with his sweetheart, a young lady of Lexington, whom he afterward married. The three rode on together toward Concord. On the way, while Dawes and Prescott stopped to alarm a house, Revere was surrounded by four English officers. Prescott escaped, and reached Concord with the news. Revere was taken prisoner, and carried back by the English officers and the other six of their party to Lexington, where he arrived a little before the column of whose movements he had given information.



Signal Lanterns in North Church Belfry.

The Provincial Committee of Safety had adjourned from Concord to Menotomy.[1] On the sudden arrival of the troops, in the middle of the night, they were awakened, and, without dressing, ran into the

[1] Afterwards West Cambridge, now Arlington.

fields to escape. These were Orne, Lee, Gray, and Heath. Dr. Warren, the fifth member of the committee, was in Boston, watching what passed there. He remained till about seven in the morning, when he left Boston, forever, as it proved, with the words: "They have begun it; that, either party can do; and we 'll end it; that, only one can do."

Colonel Smith, as has been seen, had made every effort to arrest any person who could alarm the country, but had wholly failed. Conscious of his failure, he sent back for a reënforcement. Gage received his message at five o'clock. He had anticipated it, and at four o'clock had ordered out the first brigade, under Lord Percy. But by a series of those petty blunders and delays which befall armies unused to war, it was nine o'clock before this brigade was ready in Tremont Street, in Boston. The boats could not be used, because they were at Cambridge, and Percy marched by the circuitous land route through Roxbury and Brookline. Smith, meanwhile, pushed forward six companies of his light infantry with a body of marines, under Major Pitcairn, of the Marine Corps, directing him at the earliest moment to take possession of the bridges over the Concord River at Concord. This was a military precaution against attack from the militia north or west of that little stream. On Major Pitcairn, therefore, and his immediate command, was thrown the responsibility, which soon proved so critical, of the outbreak of the war.

Pitcairn at Lexington.

The sun had not yet risen when Pitcairn, hurrying on his men, approached Lexington Common. This was a little green in front of the meeting-house. Obedient to the alarm, the Lexington minute-men had formed some time before. They had sent scouts down the silent road, who had returned saying there was no enemy, so slow had been Smith's progress. On this announcement the men had withdrawn into the meeting-house and other houses around the green. At a second alarm they paraded again. They were under the command of John Parker, a veteran of the French war. As the column under Pitcairn approached, each party could observe the numbers of the other. Parker saw that his command was wholly outnumbered, and directed his men to retire. Pitcairn, at the same moment, rushed forward, with the words, which were long after repeated in every household, —

"Disperse! rebels, disperse!"

On each side there was the most eager wish that the responsibility of the first shot should be thrown upon the other party. The Continental Congress had indicated this wish earnestly. The Provincial Congress, anxious to conform to its directions, had cautioned the town committees to use the utmost forbearance. On the other side there

was equal caution. General Gage went to the verge of pusillanimity, in directing his officers not to assume the offensive. Colonel Leslie had been ridiculed, not in print only, but in song and talk, for retiring without a struggle at Salem, and yet he had simply obeyed Gage's instructions.

Each party, in a word, wanted to show that the other struck first. And it has long been one of the mooted questions of this great struggle, whether the English or the Americans fired the first shot. Major Pitcairn, in command on the one side, and Captain John Parker, who commanded on the other, declared that their orders were strict, that no man should fire till he was fired upon. But that somebody fired, a war of seven long years was the evidence.



Lexington Green.

Sifting to the very bottom the testimony which has accumulated on both sides, it seems that the witnesses, who spoke with caution, all spoke the truth. Pitcairn probably gave no order to fire, — even commanded his men not to fire, as he always said. It is admitted on all hands that at the last moment he struck his sword or staff down, as a signal to them to forbear firing. Parker ordered his men to disperse, and not to fire, — very properly declining to attack with seventy men, not even in array, a column of six companies of royal infantry. But Pitcairn also says he saw a "flash in the pan" on the other side. What happened was probably this: One of Parker's men, without order, drew trigger, and his gun missed fire. The

The first shot.

powder flashed in the pan. Some English soldiers, without order also, considered this to be, as it certainly was, a sufficient signal that war had begun, and fired some irregular shots in return. These shots hurt no one; but a general discharge from the English line followed, in which many of the Lexington party were killed and wounded. They then returned the fire, and the war was begun.

Had the unknown Protesilaus lived, the flash of whose disobedient musket, in the gray of the morning, precipitated at that moment the certain storm, he would afterward have told the story. It was not a moment to be forgotten, nor to be ashamed of. It must be that he was one of the seven men who were found by their wretched wives and mothers dead on Lexington Common, after the English column had passed by.[1]

It is true, then, that the Americans did not fire first. It is also true that one unknown Lexington soldier tried to fire and failed. It is true that the English commander and his men did not mean to fire first. It is also true, that as events were ordered, they fired the first shot, and took the first lives lost in the war. In the return fire of Parker's men, one English soldier was killed, and one or two wounded. Of Parker's little force one fourth were killed or wounded by one volley.

The English troops fired another volley, in triumph, on the Common, and pressed on to Concord. As has been already said, Colonel Smith knew that the country was alarmed, and had sent back for reënforcements. From Lexington to Concord, as they marched, is about eight miles, by a road which, as they must have noticed then, could be easily obstructed by an adverse force. It was still early morning, and they arrived at Concord without further interruption. They had already made what a prudent officer would consider a good day's march, and had been without sleep through the night. The General's intention must have been that they should take position for that day and the next night, at least, at Concord.

The march from Lexington to Concord.

But the whole country was now alarmed, and the towns showed what they meant when they defied King George. The arrangements made by the committees of correspondence and the Provincial Congress, to carry information of any emergency, worked wonderfully well. To this hour there are traditions in northern Middlesex and Worcester counties of the "man on the white horse," who passed through before daybreak, to say that the English had left Boston, and

[1] Ten men more were wounded, — seventeen in all, out of seventy, disabled by one volley. This fact is a sufficient evidence that their military array was not considerably broken, and that the firing was at very close range. Such a proportion of loss would be remarkable at the end of a battle.

that the war had begun. Nay, it would not be hard to find those who have heard that this message came before mortal horse could have reached the spot where it was heard, and that no man can tell who this fatal messenger was, or whither he went. Without supposing that any Castor or Pollux of the eighteenth century brought the fatal tidings, it is certain that they advanced with a celerity till then unknown. The reader has been told that Colonel Smith had notified General Gage that he should need reënforcements. This was before four o'clock in the morning. But long before the tardy forms of the officials in Boston had sent off Percy's brigade to him, the minute-men of the colony, for thirty miles around, had been summoned by the prompt prevision of the patriot authorities, and were on the march.

Thus the Concord minute-men had formed, and some of their neighbors from Lincoln, the next town, had joined them before Pitcairn and Colonel Smith arrived there. Some of the companies marched down the road toward Lexington, far enough to see that they were quite outnumbered, and then withdrew. They formed on a bold hill eighty rods behind the village. Here Barrett, their Colonel, joined them. He had been engaged, under personal and secret orders from the Provincial Congress, in concealing musket-balls and removing provisions which the colony had collected there. These were beef, flour, molasses, rum, and candles. Barrett found that he was outnumbered, and withdrew his whole force across the Concord River, where he held them watching the English column in their native village. Colonel Smith, the English commander, attended to the duty assigned him. He broke off the trunnions of three new cannon, which Barrett had not been able to remove; he destroyed some wooden spoons and trenchers, and other articles in the humble commissariat provided for the army which his march of that day was calling into the field. But this did not last long. Shots at the North Bridge told all men, if any man had doubted before, that war had begun.

The fight at Concord Bridge.

The Concord and Lincoln companies, on the hill above the North Bridge, were joined by different companies of minute-men from the towns of northern Middlesex. They could see smoke, which showed that the English were firing houses or goods. The court-house was in flames. They could see at the bridge three companies of English troops, who were under an officer named Laurie. It was when these men began to take up the bridge that the little army of militia acted.

The Lincoln minute-men volunteered to clear the bridge. Captain Davis, of Acton, made the remark, now a proverb, "There is not a man in my company that is afraid." Colonel Barrett commanded the

column to pass the bridge without firing; but, if fired upon, to return the fire. The New England passion for law appears in the language of his order. "It is the King's highway, and we have a right to march on it if we march to Boston. Forward, march!" They marched to the quickest air their fifes could play — the "White Cockade."

Laurie, who commanded the detachment of English, recrossed the bridge. Major Barrett, in command of the attacking party, hurried upon it. When they were within a short distance, the English fired three distinct volleys, and Davis and Hosmer were killed. The Concord minister, Mr. Emerson, was nearer to the English than either of



Concord Bridge.

them, on the Concord side of the river. He wrote in his diary that night that he "was very uneasy till the fire was returned." When Davis and Hosmer fell, the militia returned the fire. The English retreated. The minute-men crossed the bridge, and some of them ascended the bold hill where the Concord men had formed in the morning. Another party of English, with Parsons in command, returning from Colonel Barrett's house, crossed the bridge from the northern side, and were allowed to join the main force undisturbed.

In this encounter at the bridge, the American militia first attacked the King's troops. The English lost here one soldier killed and several wounded. Colonel Smith now abandoned any idea of posting himself at Concord. As soon as he could collect proper carriages to

carry his wounded, he started on his return. Meanwhile, from every quarter, the minute-men were pouring down. They did not know what was the true "objective." But they meant to be in time, and they were in time. The whole country between Boston and Concord was aroused. The Provincials, knowing every inch of it, chose their own best places to attack the King's troops. So soon as these had passed, their unseen enemies would take some cross-road and attack again. "They are trained to protect themselves behind stone walls," writes General Gage. "They seemed to drop from the skies," says an English soldier. Smith and his men, after their hard march of nearly thirty miles, came back to Lexington exhausted. Smith himself was wounded. They had marched from Concord, nearly eight miles, in two hours.

The retreat.

"A number of our officers were wounded," says Bernicre, an English eye-witness, "so that we began to run rather than retreat in order. The whole behaved with amazing bravery, but little order."

A little beyond Lexington Common, at about three o'clock, Smith and his hard-pressed party, as they approached Boston, met the reenforcement under Lord Percy, so long desired. Lord Percy had moved at nine in the morning, in a direction almost directly opposite that of Lexington, because he was obliged to leave Boston by land. It was remembered afterwards, that as he passed through Roxbury, his bands played "Yankee Doodle," and that a prophetic boy insulted him by crying out, "You march to Yankee Doodle; you will come back to Chevy Chase." This allusion to the "woful hunting" so celebrated in literature in the history of his house, appeared again and again in the pasquinades of the time. At Cambridge he had to cross Charles River, and the Committee of Safety, or Colonel Heath, one of their number, had directed that the planks should be taken from the bridge. Percy was thus still further detained. As soon as possible he pressed forward with his troops, leaving the train of stores to follow when the bridge should be more firmly repaired. The officer in command of this convoy lost his way, and to the inquiries he made in Cambridge, such false answers were given that with only scant military escort, he fell into the hands of some West Cambridge "exempts," led with intelligence and success by a negro soldier who had served in the French war.

Percy's column.

Lord Percy, without his train, pressed on in time, as has been said, to meet Smith just below Lexington, about two or three o'clock. His field-pieces are always spoken of as awing the militia. The exhausted columns rested a while, "the men's tongues hanging from their mouths, like dogs;" such was the tradition repeated for generations. The united force then took up the march

The return to Boston.

to Boston, and met with the same resistance everywhere, from a force constantly increasing. At last, as the sun was going down, the head of the column crossed Charlestown Neck. Beacon Hill, in Boston, was covered with people, watching for their return, and, as it darkened, one could see thence the musket-flashes on the road from Cambridge to Charlestown. Percy had to use his field-pieces again. At West Cambridge, Dr. Warren, while exposing himself to the enemy's fire, had the pin on his earlock shot away. By this time Colonel Heath, of the Committee of Safety, was in some sort commanding. The English had just reached Bunker Hill in Charlestown, when one of Colonel Pickering's aids rode up to Heath with the news that the Essex regiment was just behind him, on the road from Salem. The Danvers company had marched direct to Menotomy; the rest of the regiment had gone straight to Charlestown. But Heath thought it too late for any further offensive operations. The English posted sentries on their side of Charlestown Neck; Heath placed his sentries on the other side, and ordered the militia to lie on their arms at Cambridge.

The results.

The loss of the English in the march and retreat was reported by Gage as sixty-five killed, one hundred and seventy-eight wounded, and twenty-six missing, a very large loss from a force of eighteen hundred men. The loss of the Americans was forty-nine killed, thirty-six wounded, and five missing.[1]

The gathering of the American militia.

All that night the march of the minute-men from every town in Massachusetts, from Rhode Island, from Connecticut, and from New Hampshire, kept the country towns awake. Before morning on the 20th, before Gage's tired troops were ferried back from Charlestown to their barracks, an American army was at Cambridge. The intelligence had flown over the land, that the English troops had fired on the Lexington militia, and with it had gone the news that the column had been driven back to Boston. The story grew as it went from province to province. By the time it came into western Connecticut, it took a form which was carried by express to New York, and was there relied upon as in some sort an official narrative. In that form the New York Committee of Safety despatched it southward, and so it sped to Charleston, S. C., rousing a country. No fiery cross ever stirred a nation to more eager enthusiasm. That despatch is therefore worth copying now, — although, in literal fact, every material statement in it was untrue. It was in these words: —

[1] These figures are taken from Gage's return, and from Phinney's *History*.



THE RETREAT FROM CONCORD.

"WALLINGFORD [Conn.], Monday 24th, 1775.

"DEAR SIR: Colonel *Wadsworth* was over in this place most of yesterday, and has ordered twenty men out of each Company in his Regiment, some of which had already set off, and others go this morning. He brings accounts, which came to him authenticated, from *Thursday* in the afternoon. The King's troops being reënforced a second time, and joined, as I suppose, from what I can learn, by the party who were intercepted by Colonel *Gardner*, were then encamped on *Winter* Hill, and were surrounded by twenty thousand of our men who were intrenching. Colonel *Gardner's* ambush proved fatal to Lord *Percy*, and another General Officer, who were killed on the spot the first fire. To counterbalance this good news, the story is, that our first man in command (who he is I know not) is also killed. It seems they have lost many men on both sides; Colonel *Wadsworth* had the account in a letter from *Hartford*. The Country beyond here are all gone, and we expect it will be impossible to procure horses for our wagons, as they have and will, in every place, employ themselves all their horses. In this place they send a horse for every sixth man, and are pressing them for that purpose. I know of no way, but you must immediately send a couple of stout, able horses, who may overtake us at *Hartford* possibly, where we must return Mrs. *Noyes's*, and *Meloy's* if he holds out so far. Remember the horses must be had at any rate. Lockwood's letter.

"I am in the greatest haste, your entire friend and humble servant,

"JAMES LOCKWOOD.

"N. B. Colonel *Gardner* took nine prisoners, and twelve clubbed their firelocks and came over to our party. Colonel *Gardner's* party consisted of seven hundred men, and the Regulars one thousand eight hundred, instead of one thousand two hundred, as we heard before. They have sent a vessel up *Mystick* River, as far as *Temple's* farm, which is about half a mile from *Winter* Hill. These accounts being true, all the King's forces, except four or five hundred, must be encamped on *Winter* Hill." [1]

This curious mixture of the account of personal need for horses and of the outbreak of a civil war, is hardly intelligible when compared with the facts. History has not known better than James Lockwood who was "the first man in command" on the American side. The rumor of his death probably rose from the death of Captain Davis, of Acton, in the attack on Concord Bridge. The account of Percy's being intercepted at Winter Hill is an instance where the wish was father to the thought. For a generation after, Colonel Pickering was

[1] Preserved at Charleston, S. C. Published in Marshall's *Remembrancer*.

blamed unjustly, because he did not effect this consummation with the Essex regiment.[1]

The siege of Boston.

With the twentieth of April, therefore, the "Siege of Boston" began. The patriots had studied, through the whole winter, a plan for withdrawing all the inhabitants from Boston, which Gage, naturally enough, had resented. But, with the shock of battle, the departure of the inhabitants came of course; and, eventually, when Gage found he was really besieged on the land side, he did not oppose it.

As the minute-men arrived, they were posted in that part of Charlestown (now Somerville) which is outside Charlestown Neck, in Cambridge, and in Roxbury. Works were thrown up on Charles River and on the salt marshes, to prevent any movement of English troops by boats. The only egress from the city by land was over Boston Neck, by which Percy had marched out. This passage was commanded completely by a strong fort on the highland above the Roxbury Meeting-house.[2] General Artemas Ward, of Shrewsbury, was the senior officer in command of the Massachusetts troops, and a deference was yielded to him by Spencer, of Connecticut, Greene, of Rhode Island, and Folsom, of New Hampshire. These were the senior officers of the contingents from those colonies. But his orders to them take the form of requests. And his own commission as General and Commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts troops was not given him till the 20th of May. The works which have been alluded to were planned, and well planned, by Henry Knox, a young Boston bookseller, who had interested himself in military studies, and by Gridley, who had served in the French War. During all this period, there was a wretched deficiency of powder in the stores of this suddenly enlisted army. The Provincial Congress, in fear of a bold attack by Gage, which very probably would have resulted in their defeat, made provision for securing their records and stores, such as they were, in case of the necessity of a retreat.

General Artemas Ward.

The exodus from Boston.

As early as the 26th of April,[3] a letter from Dr. Warren to Gage proposed that the people of Boston be allowed to leave the town. Gage agreed, but said their arms must be given up; and on the 27th a great number of arms were deposited at Faneuil Hall. The military habit of the time appears in the fact that there was almost one weapon for every grown man. At first, Gage

[1] "And vanquished Percy, to complete the tale,
Had hammered stone for life in Concord jail." — LOWELL.

[2] Now a little ornamental square, in which is the stand-pipe of the Boston Water Works. The "Meeting-house" was that made famous by the ministry for half a century of Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians." See vol. i., p. 539.

[3] Not the 20th, as printed by mistake in Force's *Archives*.

allowed the inhabitants to depart on the condition that only thirty wagons should leave the town daily. But so large a number left that the Tories in Boston, remembering the patriot plans of the last winter, took alarm, and compelled Gage to rescind his permission. On the day of the expedition to Concord, almost two hundred Tories were enrolled under General Ruggles, of Hardwick, said to be the best soldier in the colonies.[1] Fearing that, unless the inhabitants should remain in the town, it would be burned by the American army, they told Gage that they would leave the town themselves if the emigration were not stopped, and he was obliged to yield.

The Provincial Congress, immediately after the events of Lexington and Concord, prepared an account of the battles, confirmed by depositions from the principal actors. These they entrusted to Captain John Derby, of Salem, with the order to sail to some convenient port of Ireland and thence to hasten to London, and deliver his papers to the agent. With these orders Captain Derby started, and outsailed every other vessel on the way. Captain Brown, in the *Sukey*, with Gage's despatches, had sailed before him; but Captain Derby reached London eleven days before any other news arrived. This early announcement of the outbreak, which naturally enough took the view most favorable to the patriots, produced an immediate effect in England, such as the government deprecated. The impression, of course, gained ground every day that they had news which they dared not publish.

News of the outbreak sent to England.



General Gage.

On the 8th of May, so distinct a rumor was circulated at Cambridge that Gage intended to march out, that the minutemen of the towns near Boston were called into service. Gage had another opportunity to see how large was the reserve force at the service of his enemy. On the 13th, Israel Putnam — who, when the news of the fight at Lexington and Concord reached him, left his plough in the field at Pomfret, Conn., mounted

Movements in and around Boston.

[1] The same who had presided at the first Continental Congress, ten years before.

his horse, and the next morning was in Concord — marched a little army of two thousand three hundred men from Cambridge to Charlestown Neck, and through Charlestown to the ferry there. Had any permanent works on Bunker Hill been intended by Ward and the American officers, that was the better time, before Gage was reënforced. On the 27th, a skirmish, in which Putnam led, took place at Hog Island, northeast of Boston, in the harbor. Besides the sheep and cattle which were the object of the raid, the English lost a sloop, twelve swivels, and several men. An exaggerated account of the exploit gave to it at the south the character of a battle; and it was to this affair that Putnam owed a certain prominence at the time, which helped in securing the rank given him in the Continental army a few weeks afterward.

Several skirmishes of this character, which generally resulted to the advantage of the Americans, gave confidence to the new levies, and showed that they held the English at disadvantage. They were the result of an order of the Committee of Safety, passed on the 14th, that such live stock should be removed from the islands, and they prepared the way for the action at Bunker Hill. Gage did not seem to understand how soon he should need the provisions thus taken from him. In two of these affairs alone, thirteen hundred sheep, which he might have used, were lost.

Arrival of Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne.

On the 25th of May, Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived with large reënforcements. As they entered the harbor, they hailed a tender bound to Newport, and asked the news. When told that Boston was surrounded by ten thousand men in arms, they asked how large was the English force, and were told it was five thousand men. "Ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king's troops shut up! Let us get in, and we 'll soon find elbow-room." The story was circulated everywhere, and the nick-name "Elbow-room" was applied to Burgoyne all through the war, never with more sting, of course, than at the period of his own reverses.

The English plans. Strategic importance of Charlestown

The highest hill on the peninsula of Charlestown commands the northern part of Boston and the northern part of Boston harbor. The hills on the southeast of Boston, now part of South Boston, but then called Dorchester Heights, on Dorchester Neck, command the southern part of Boston and all the harbor. Of course both parties saw the evident necessity of immediately occupying both Charlestown and Dorchester Heights. General Burgoyne, in a letter to Lord Stanley, says it was absolutely necessary that the English should occupy these heights, and that it was thought best to begin with Dorchester. He says he has never

differed from Clinton and Howe, and they, with General Gage, formed the plan. The troops under Howe were to land on the point of Dorchester Neck now known as City Point, Clinton's in the centre, while Burgoyne cannonaded from Boston Neck, if necessary, to keep clear the line of approach from the American forces in Roxbury. These operations were to take place on Sunday, June 18. The Provincial Congress and General Ward knew all this in advance, as appears from their Report made to the Congress at Philadelphia.[1]

"*June* 20, 1775.

"We think it an indisputable duty to inform you that reënforcements from Ireland, both of horse and foot, being arrived (the numbers unknown), and having intelligence that General Gage was about to take possession of the advantageous posts in Charlestown and on Dorchester Heights, the Committee of Safety advised that our troops should prepossess them, if possible."



Artemas Ward.

It must be remembered that in this disturbed state of affairs the Committee of Safety was the only executive of the insurgents. This report to the Continental Congress is made simply for their information. Under an order of the Committee of Safety, General Ward formed a detachment to take possession of the hill above Charlestown. It was made up of Prescott's, Frye's, and Bridge's regiments, under Colonel Prescott, and a party of Connecticut men drafted from several companies under Captain Thomas Knowlton, of General Putnam's regiment. They were ordered to furnish themselves with packs, blankets, intrenching implements, and provisions for twenty-four

Measures taken by the Americans.

[1] Major Wemyss, who served under Gage, has left in his manuscript papers the following frank notice of this general, which probably contains an explanation of the way in which news leaked out from his counsels. "Lieut.-General Gage, a commander-in-chief of moderate abilities, but altogether deficient in military knowledge. Timid and undecided in every emergency, he was very unfit to command at a time of resistance and approaching rebellion to the mother country. He was governed by his wife, a handsome American; her brothers and relations held all the staff appointments in the army, and were, with less abilities, as weak characters as himself. To the great joy of the army, he went to England soon after the disastrous attack at Bunker Hill" Mrs. Gage was a daughter of Stephen Kemble, of New York.

hours. Colonel Gridley's company of artillery, with two guns, made part of the command. The expedition started from Cambridge at nine o'clock on the evening before the 17th, crossed Charlestown Neck, and reached Bunker Hill, the highest point of Charlestown, about ten. From the English battery on Copp's Hill to Bunker Hill is about one mile; from Beacon Hill, in Boston, to Bunker Hill is nearly a mile and a half. At that time Beacon Hill was one hundred and thirty-eight feet above sea-level; Bunker Hill was one hundred and ten, and Copp's Hill about sixty feet. If the object of fortifying Bunker Hill was to command the harbor, a redoubt there would hardly carry out the design, because a spur projecting southward from the hill, making an eminence of about sixty-two feet above the sea, rose between the top of Bunker Hill and the sea, and would protect the shipping to some extent. On the other hand, if the design was merely to keep the English from seizing the heights, both Bunker and the southern eminence, afterwards called Breed's Hill,[1] should be fortified at the same time. If the Provincials had contented themselves with fortifying the higher part of Bunker Hill only, the English troops might have formed under cover of the lower hill; or their commanders might have intrenched themselves on the south side of that hill, where they could not be reached by firing from Bunker Hill, from any guns in use at that time.

Bunker Hill.

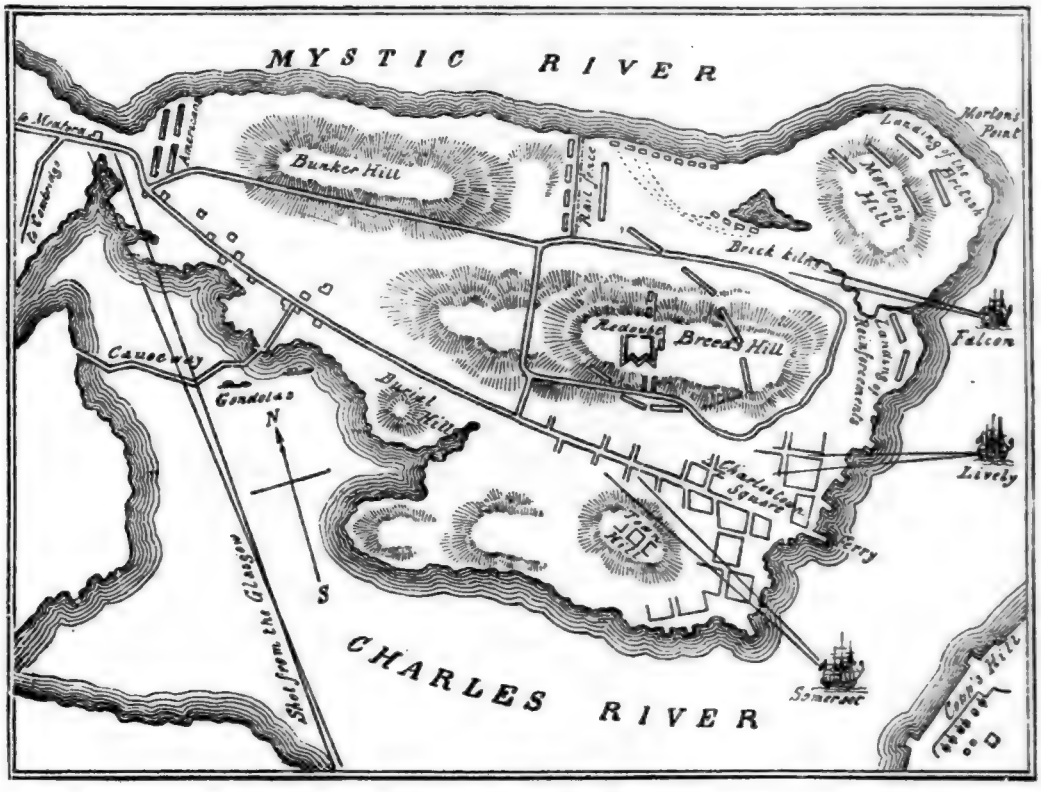
When the American officers found themselves on the crest of Bunker Hill, about ten in the evening, Prescott called the field-officers around him, and showed them his orders. They deliberated for a long time as to whether it would be more advisable to fortify the top of Bunker Hill, or take the lower eminence from which they could with greater ease harass the English fleet. After some time it was determined to proceed to the lower hill, half a mile nearer to Boston, and take post there. General Putnam, who was present, strongly advocated intrenching the upper hill as well as the lower one. The Committee of Safety, after the event, said that fortifying a point so near Boston was a mistake. But it is justified by the highest military authority, for the reasons which we have given. Colonel Gridley, the engineer officer, insisted on some decision being made without further loss of time, and when it was resolved to fortify the lower hill, he marked out the lines of a redoubt there. This re-

The fortification of Bunker Hill.

[1] The height on which the battle was fought had no distinctive name before that time, but was known as pastures belonging to different men, Breed being one of them. After the battle the hill was called Breed's Hill; but as the detachment was sent to put up fortifications on Bunker Hill, that designation clung to the fight. Hence the confusion of names which puzzles every reader out of Massachusetts. Though many insist upon calling the hill on which the tall monument stands, to commemorate the battle, Breed's Hill, the monument itself is called Bunker Hill Monument.

doubt was skilfully planned. It measured eight rods on its longest side, which fronted Charlestown. The other two sides were not quite so long. The side toward Bunker Hill was lower. A breastwork extended for about a hundred yards to the north, and stopped at a marshy place at the north side of the hill. This work was begun at midnight and continued till nearly eleven o'clock on the morning of Saturday, when the intrenching-tools were sent back to General Putnam, that he might use them to throw up fortifications on Bunker Hill strong enough to hold that height as well as the other.

It was a clear moonlight night. But so quiet was the working



Plan of Bunker Hill.

party, that it attracted no attention till morning. It was after daybreak when Linzee, the commander of the *Lively* frigate, which lay in the stream opposite where the navy-yard now is, saw the new fortification and opened fire upon it, waking the town to the bold enterprise of the night.

It was the morning of St. Botolph's day, the festival day of the saint from whom Boston derives its name.

Colonel Gridley returned Linzee's fire from his field-pieces, and the fire from the ship was soon suspended by Gage's order. He was roused from his repose, and on conference with his officers determined to attack the works before they could be strengthened.

The English and American accounts of the battle which followed, differed, at the time, as if two scenes had been described. The best English account published in London, when the news arrived there, was General Burgoyne's, in a letter to Lord Stanley.[1] He says that, seeing that the enemy had fortified the heights of Charlestown during the night, the English generals thought it necessary to attack that side instead of seizing Dorchester Heights, as it had been proposed to do on the next day. General Howe, and under him General Pigot, with about two thousand men, landed at Moulton's Point (where the navy-yard now is) and advanced up Bunker Hill where the strength of the enemy lay. "Howe's disposition was exceedingly soldier-like." As the first force advanced up the hill, "they met a thousand impediments from strong fences, and were also injured by a musketry-fire from Charlestown." Howe sent back to Burgoyne on Copp's Hill, in Boston, to set Charlestown on fire, which was instantly done by a number of red-hot shot from the batteries which afterward, together with the shipping, kept up a vigorous fire upon the heights. In this published letter, Burgoyne owns that Howe's left was staggered, and that reënforcements were sent. They remained upon the beach, however, not knowing where to march. Immediately General Clinton, without waiting for orders, crossed in a boat to command them, and arrived in time to be of service.

The Battle of Bunker Hill.

Burgoyne's account.

Burgoyne closes his letter by saying: "The day ended with glory, and the success was most important, considering the ascendency it gave the regular troops; but the loss was uncommon in officers, for the numbers engaged."

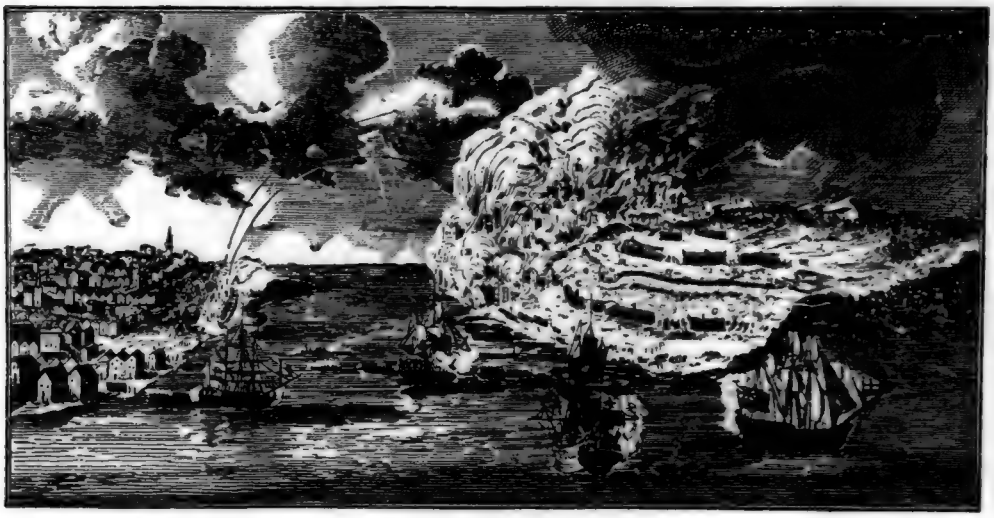
On the other hand, the Committee of Safety published an account by Rev. Peter Thacher, who saw from the eastern side of Mystic River, what could be seen by a spectator there. This was sent to Arthur Lee, and others, in London, as a correction of the report made by General Gage in a circular letter to the governors of the other colonies.

The American account.

This account says in substance, that about noon several barges approached Charlestown and landed on the beach westward of the American works. The troops formed upon landing, and waited till a second detachment arrived from Boston, when they took up their march to the redoubt. They moved slowly, with large flanking parties. At this instant, smoke and flames arose from Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, either that the smoke might cover their attack, or to dislodge one or two regiments of provincials which had been placed in the town. But the wind, shifting suddenly, blew away the smoke.

[1] The letter already referred to p. 396.

Meanwhile, according to this account, the Americans, within their intrenchments, waiting impatiently for the enemy, reserved their fire until they were within ten or twelve rods, and then delivered a terrible discharge of small arms. The enemy faltered, stood still a minute, and then ran with great precipitation towards their boats, some even seeking refuge in the boats themselves. Here, the spectators on the opposite shore could see the officers run down to them and urge the men forward with passionate gestures, even goading them on with their swords. As soon as they had rallied, they marched up towards the intrenchments, apparently with great reluctance. Again the Americans waited until they were within six or seven rods, and then fired, and again put the regular troops to flight.



A. Boston Battery. B. Charlestown. C. British Troops attacking. D. Provincial Lines.

Bunker Hill Battle.

From a Contemporary Print, entitled "View of the Attack on Bunker's Hill, with the Burning of Charlestown, June 17th, 1775."

The officers, making greater exertions than ever, once more urged on the men to a third assault. This time they brought cannon to bear upon the breastwork, raking it from one end to the other, so that the provincials retired within their redoubt. The "ministerial army" now made a great effort. The ships and batteries redoubled their fire, the officers increased their exertions, and the redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. The breastwork outside the fort had been abandoned; the ammunition of the provincials was exhausted, and there were but very few bayonets. Not until the redoubt was half filled with the British was the word given to retire. The retreat must have been cut off, however, had not the flanking party, whose place it was to attack the rear of the fort, met with a body of provincials, who kept them from advancing farther than the

beach. These two parties fought with the utmost vigor, and not until the provincials saw that the main body had left the hill, did they retire. Such is the official account as published by the Committee of Safety.

There is no doubt that Thacher's statement that there were three attacks is correct, although neither Gage in his despatches, nor Burgoyne, says anything about them.

Howe's flank movement.

While Pigot with the left wing was attacking the main body of the Americans, General Howe, with the right, marched along the Mystic River, to try to turn the American flank on its left. Against him Colonel Prescott had sent Captain Knowlton with his Connecticut men, and two field-pieces. Knowlton had taken his place behind a fence on the southern slope of Bunker Hill proper, extending northeasterly toward the water. This fence, which was made of stones, with rails of wood above, he strengthened by a parallel line of fence, filling the spaces between with new-mown grass. While he was doing this, reënforcements of New Hampshire troops under Stark arrived.

On the firmness of this body of men on the American left, eventually depended the retreat of the whole party. As Howe advanced, Colonel Callender opened fire on him with his field-pieces, which were between the redoubt and the fence. Knowlton's men at the rail fence held their fire until the enemy were within fifteen rods. When they did fire, the English retreated, terribly cut up, at about the same time that Pigot was repulsed before the redoubt.

In the second attack, Howe's guns were charged with grape. Through the whole action they had no proper balls.[1] They moved up on a road running between the redoubt and the rail fence nearly as far as the breastwork. The design was, to rake the redoubt. This time, also, Howe was on the right of his attack before Stark and Knowlton. At the rail fence and at the redoubt the Americans held their fire till even a shorter distance intervened.

In both cases the English broke and retreated. It was at this period of the action that Clinton arrived from Boston with reënforcements, as narrated by Burgoyne. The havoc at the attack thus made by Howe in person was even more terrible than that at the redoubt; the annals of war have, perhaps, no parallel to it. One light com-

[1] Thanks to the "dotage of an officer of high rank, who spends all his time with the school-master's daughters." This is the verdict of an English writer of the day. The officer was General Cleaveland, "who was enamored of the beautiful daughter of Master Lovell," and in order to gain favor with her had given her young brother an appointment in the ordnance department, for which he was not fitted. The beauty of the lady has been handed down to later generations by transmission more sure than that of verbal tradition.

pany of the Fifty-second Regiment had every man killed or wounded. Howe himself bore a charmed life, but every officer of his staff was killed or wounded. It was to the accuracy of the marksmen, whether at the redoubt or at the fence, that the terrible carnage of the day was due, and around these volleys have clustered the most frequent traditions of the fight. The efforts made by American officers who had been under fire before, to restrain the eagerness of young troops, are recollected in a hundred stories. "Fire low," "Aim at the handsome coats," "Aim at the waistbands." And there is no boy in America who does not believe that Putnam and Prescott bade their men wait, till "they could see the whites of the eyes" of the English. This order was probably familiar to the officers, who had studied with eagerness the memoirs then fresh of the wars of Frederick. It was recorded that Prince Charles, when he cut through the Austrian army in retiring from Jägendorf, gave this order to his infantry: "Silent, till you see the whites of their eyes." This was on the 22d of May, 1745. And this order, so successful that day, was remembered twelve years after at the battle of Prague, when the general Prussian order was, "By push of bayonets, — no firing till you see the whites of their eyes."

In the third attack the English artillery gained their position and drove the defenders of the breastwork into the fort. Most of the Americans had now only one round of ammunition, and few had more than three. But Prescott bade them hold their fire, and they did so until the enemy were within twenty yards. The English, taught by experience, did not attack in platoons, but were drawn up in column. The column wavered under the fire, but the men rushed on with the bayonet; and Clinton's and Pigot's men, on the south and east, reached the walls. At Prescott's order, those who had no bayonets retired to the rear of the redoubt, for their ammunition was all gone. The men in the front rank, as they scaled the walls, were all shot down. But these were the last shots, and as the English leaped over the parapet, Prescott unwillingly gave his order to retreat. His retreat was covered, as Thacher's account explains, by the firmness with which Stark and Knowlton held the rail fence. The gap between the breastwork and the rail fence had been enfiladed by Howe's artillery. The whole action had lasted about two hours of a hot summer afternoon. The English once in the redoubt had little spirit to follow the enemy. On the other hand, General Putnam, at the other work, on the crest of Bunker Hill, found it impossible to hold the retreating parties there.

The American retreat.

As the party in the redoubt left it, General Warren, as he is that day called for the first time, was killed. He had been, till this mo-

ment, the efficient leader of the popular movements in Massachusetts since Samuel Adams had left for the Congress in Philadelphia. He drew out the popular enthusiasm as no other leader had done. He had shown eloquence, energy, and wisdom. He was brave — so brave as to throw away his life. But the records of the Committee of Safety, and his own letters, show that he knew how to be prudent. Only three days before the battle he had been made a major-general by the Provincial Congress, to hold command second to Ward. His commission had not been issued, and on the day of the battle he served as a volunteer. But his presence alone, when he arrived at the redoubt late in the day, was everything to the exhausted men there. His death was regarded as a national calamity.



Joseph Warren.

Colonel Prescott, who from first to last had commanded the movement, and who ordered the retreat, escaped unhurt. But he was enraged that he was obliged to leave the ground which he had so well maintained. When he returned to headquarters, he offered to take both sets of works again, if he might only have fifteen hundred men. But General Ward very wisely refused. Prescott could probably have done what he promised; but there was no military object worth the attempt.

Through that day, and afterwards, it was suggested that Ward might have reënforced the working-party more efficiently than he did. But the criticism is unjust. It was impossible that Ward could believe that his enemy would attack the works in front and on the eastern flank only. It was entirely in Gage's power to cut off the Bunker Hill party from their base by landing a party on Charlestown Neck, under the protection of the men-of-war. He did use the fire of the ships to enfilade the Neck, and materially to retard all movement in each direction. He also kept up, all day, a heavy fire on Boston Neck from his works. General Ward had every reason to suppose that the British leaders would thus attempt to divide his army, instead of taking the resolution

Ward's action reviewed.

which proved so nearly fatal to them, of attacking Prescott's works in front. General Ward knew, also, what he would not tell, even to save his reputation, that on the day of the battle he had, for the use of his whole army, only sixty-three half-barrels of powder (sixty-nine hundred pounds), hardly half a pound for every soldier in his command. General Ward had been overruled, as the event has proved, wisely, in the council which ordered the fortification of Bunker Hill. He had himself opposed this measure, as Warren had done, which had been ordered by the Committee of Safety in opposition to them. He now decided, and decided rightly, not to risk more than a reënforcement comparatively small in the attempt to hold the hill. As it was, he had men enough there, could he only have supplied them more fully with ammunition. Prescott even reported that with bayonets he should have successfully resisted the final charge of the English left; and at his instance two thousand spears were at once made for the army. But all the bayonets in the world would not have protected Prescott's men after the gap between the redoubt and Knowlton had been passed by the English. That gap was already covered by Howe's field-pieces when Prescott ordered the retreat. A fair review of the day shows that that retreat was ordered at the proper moment, not too late and not a moment too early.

The losses by the battle.

The loss of the Americans in this battle was one hundred and fifty killed, two hundred and seventy wounded, and thirty taken prisoners. Gage's return of his loss was two hundred and twenty-four killed, and eight hundred and thirty wounded. According to his own statement of the English engaged — about two thousand men, — this was more than half the attacking force. But the British force was, in fact, somewhat larger than that estimate. Of his total loss of one thousand and fifty-four, one hundred and fifty-seven were officers. In some parts of the field the havoc was without precedent. Howe is said to have exclaimed, "They may talk of their Mindens and their Fontenoys, but there was no such fire there!" The remark is true, whether Howe made it or not. And it is certain that the impression made upon Howe and Clinton on that day, governed their lead of the British armies for the next seven years. They were wary of leading troops against intrenched men.

At the moment, and for many years after, the memory of Bunker Hill carried with it, in the minds of New Englanders, especially of those in the army, a bitter feeling of annoyance, as if "some one had blundered;" as if a victory well earned had become a disgraceful defeat. The implication was freely made that some American officers misbehaved, an implication never sustained by evidence. Courts-

martial were held, to try some of the most seriously accused. Colonel Callender was degraded from his command, for inadequately serving the wretched artillery. But in seven years of faithful service afterwards, this misused gentleman amply retrieved his reputation. From the recent publication of Burgoyne's letters, we now know that the English officers thought their privates misbehaved.[1] This was never publicly intimated at the time, either in published dispatches, or by courts of inquiry or courts-martial. The charge of cowardice made by officers hot under disappointment, does not need to be challenged by men proud of the English reputation for bravery. It will be remembered that the English privates were, in general, as new to actual war as their enemies. The critic who reads that one company of the Fifty-second Regiment had every man killed or wounded in the battle, will not ask many questions as to the bravery of the survivors.

As time has passed, and both sides of the picture have been opened to examination, it has become certain that that battle was the decisive battle of the war. From that moment the English generals understood that they were contending with soldiers.[2] From that moment the Home Government had really no permanent policy but in offers of conciliation, — more and more liberal till they granted the whole. From that moment there was no possibility of a return to a colonial position. And though more than seven years of battle followed before the last serious conflict, this battle of the beginning, the most bloody of all, and the most sharply contested, has proved to be, also, the most critical.

[1] Burgoyne to Lord Rochford. He says there is a melancholy reason for the disparity of the loss of officers, — that not only were they left unsupported by their men in the attack, but that "all the wounds of the officers were not received from the enemy." He begs Rochford that this shall not pass "even in a whisper" to any but the King. He says he trembles as he writes.

[2] "The men in all the corps having twice felt the enemy to be more formidable than they expected, it will require some training under such Generals as Howe and Clinton, before they can prudently be intrusted in many exploits against such odds." — Burgoyne to Rochford.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

WASHINGTON APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. — MAJOR-GENERALS COMMISSIONED BY CONGRESS. — WASHINGTON'S ARRIVAL AT CAMBRIDGE. — SCARCITY OF POWDER. — WEAKNESS OF THE ARMY. — RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE CONTENDING FORCES. — RECALL OF GAGE. — CONDITION OF BOSTON. — PROPOSED INTERVIEW BETWEEN BURGOYNE AND LEE. — MEASURES FOR SUPPLIES OF AMMUNITION. — NAVAL PREPARATIONS. — MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE CAUSE OF THE AMERICANS IN EUROPE. — BURNING OF FALMOUTH IN MAINE. — CAPTURE OF AN ENGLISH VESSEL WITH SUPPLIES. — TREACHERY OF DR. BENJAMIN CHURCH. — HOWE'S DIFFICULTIES AND PROPOSALS TO THE MINISTRY. — CONGRESS SUGGESTS THE DESTRUCTION OF BOSTON. — DORCHESTER HEIGHTS FORTIFIED. — THE TOWN COMMANDED BY THE AMERICANS. — EVACUATED BY THE BRITISH. — THE AMERICAN ARMY TAKES POSSESSION.

ON that hot Saturday in June, while the battle was fought at Bunker Hill, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, all unconscious of what was passing, unanimously appointed George Washington, of Virginia, to be General and Commander-in-chief of the armies raised for the maintenance of American Liberty. They appointed Artemas Ward, of Massachusetts, his First Major-general, Gates, of Virginia, his Adjutant-general, with the rank of Brigadier-general, and Charles Lee, an English half-pay officer, the Second Major-general. Two days afterward, Schuyler and Putnam were also appointed Major-generals.[1]

Washington appointed Commander-in-chief.

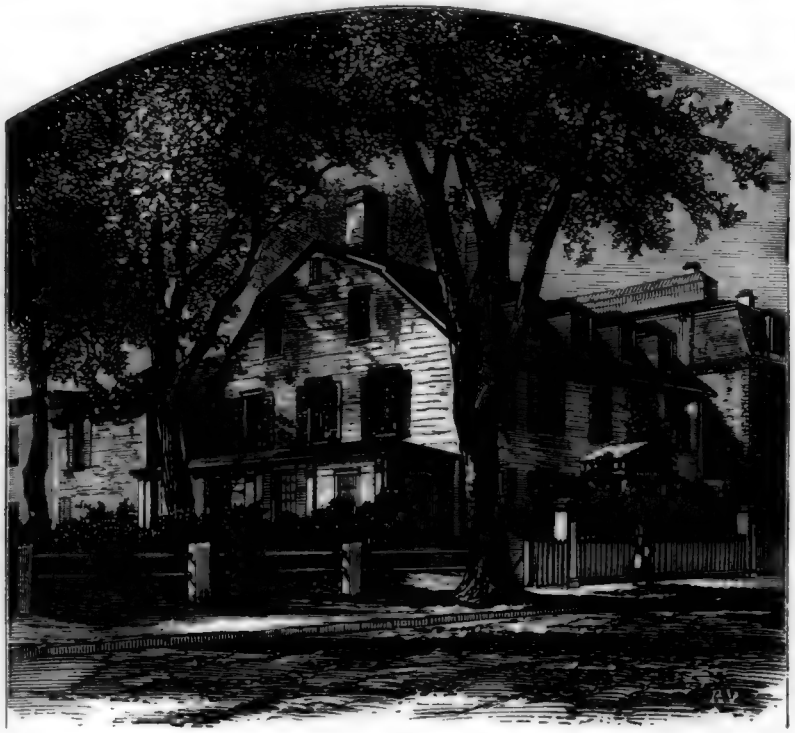
Appointments of Major-generals.

The nomination of Washington had been pressed upon Congress by the leaders of opinion in Massachusetts, and by no man more than by Warren himself, till this moment the popular leader of Massachu-

[1] The following is the list of the appointments made by the Continental Congress in June: —

George Washington, Esq., General and Commander-in-chief of all the forces raised or to be raised for the defence of American Liberty; Artemas Ward, Esq., First Major-general; Charles Lee, Esq., Second Major-general; Philip Schuyler, Esq., Third Major-general; Israel Putnam, Esq., Fourth Major-general; Seth Pomeroy, Esq., First Brigadier-general; Richard Montgomery, Esq., Second Brigadier-general; David Wooster, Esq., Third Brigadier-general; William Heath, Esq., Fourth Brigadier-general; Joseph Spencer, Esq., Fifth Brigadier-general; John Thomas, Esq., Sixth Brigadier-general; John Sullivan, Esq., Seventh Brigadier-general; Nathanael Greene, Esq., Eighth Brigadier-general; Horatio Gates, Esq., Adjutant-general, with the rank of Brigadier-general.

setts. On the day, and perhaps at the hour, when the direction of the war passed from his hands, his great successor was appointed. The nomination of Ward,[1] who was actually in command, as the second general, was almost a matter of course. The other appointments of this day, those of Gates and Lee, were suggested by the natural feeling that the great deficiency of the national army would be military skill. Here were two Englishmen, who had attained a certain rank in the English army. They never hesitated about proclaiming their own merits. And the appointments had at the moment the advantage that they gave no preëminence to one colony over another. They were well received by the people; but, in the end, both appointments proved signally unfortunate, and intensified the national dislike of everything English.



House of the President of Harvard College. — Washington's first Cambridge Headquarters.

Washington and Gates proceeded almost immediately to Cambridge. At New York they met the news of the battle of Bunker Hill. A well authenticated anecdote says that Washington expressed his joy at learning that the American soldiers had stood as firmly as they did. But he was still six days from the army, and the danger that the English officers might follow up their success was imminent. He, his aid, Mifflin, and his military secretary, Joseph Reed, with General Lee, travelled together. The eagerness of the towns through which they passed to receive the little party with honor, somewhat delayed their progress. But on Sunday noon, the

Washington starts for Cambridge.

[1] It is one of the most pathetic bits of satire in American history, that the name of the first commander of the Continental army should now be remembered by nine people in ten, only as that of an imagined humorist, — half philosopher, half showman. Even the misspelling "Artemus" of the showman will be found in Judge Marshall's reference to the Major-general.

2d of July,[1] they arrived at Cambridge, where they were received for a few days in the house of Langdon, the president of the college. On the 4th of July, with appropriate ceremony, his commission was read in the presence of a detachment of the army, and of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and he assumed the command. Nothing is more interesting than the careful deference with which, all along, he treated the local authority, such as it was, and, on the other hand, the equal deference with which the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts regarded his wishes. They had carried on their affairs without any chief long enough to feel the need of one in war. He was too wise to trespass, in the least, on an authority which was so freely conceded. He was somewhat disappointed at the lack of military precision which he found in the army that had been called into existence in a little more than two months, and was greatly alarmed at the deficient supply of what came to be called in correspondence "a necessary article." By this circumlocution men tried to conceal the fact that powder hardly existed in the thirteen States in sufficient quantity for the use of one general action.[2] Even the material for manufacture could not be obtained in large quantities. Thus the apothecaries' shops in New York were searched for saltpetre, and, in the correspondence of the leaders of the time, the discovery of a hundred pounds of that article is spoken of as if it were indeed a priceless treasure.

His arrival and assumption of the command.

Condition of the army and its supplies.

The three other appointments made on the day with Washington's were not unfavorably received in the army; but the selection of officers afterward made was not such as altogether to satisfy either him or the officers of highest rank who were actually in the field. In addition to his other difficulties, Washington had the care of persuading officers whom he wanted to remain in service, and of inducing Congress to revise their estimate of others. He appointed Joseph Trumbull, of Connecticut, Commissary-general, and named John Trumbull one of his aids. He afterwards recommended Henry Knox to the command of the artillery. After-experience indicated the profound wisdom of these appointments. In one word, it may be said that Washington instantly acquired the enthusiastic

Later appointments of officers.

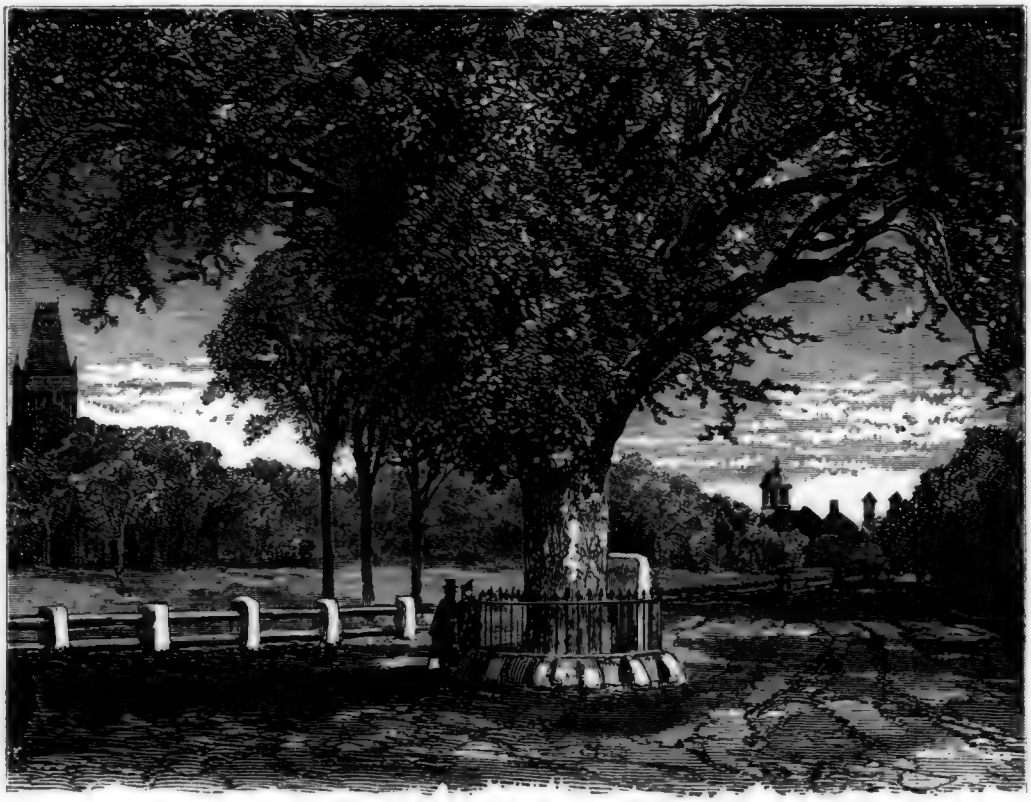
[1] Not the 3d, as by an oversight Washington himself said in the letter usually cited.

[2] At the battle of Buena Vista, in the Mexican war, 300,000 rounds of ammunition for musketry were used by the American army, and 3,750 pounds of powder by the cannon. This is a consumption of four tons for the battle, in which 5,000 Americans engaged 20,000 Mexicans. Colonel Baylor, of the American army, finds on observation of the war of the Rebellion, that the average use of a cannon in position is forty-two rounds a day, for a battle. The amount of powder is about one quarter the weight of the ball, in artillery. Washington's stock on the 3d of August was 9,937 lbs., a little less than five tons.

love of New England, though the men of New England were supposed to be so widely unlike his own Virginians; and that love he never lost.

Numbers of the opposing forces.

For many weeks, all military men in the American army lived in expectation, — it would be fair to say in dread, — of an attack from the English lines. A return of the number of the army, which Washington obtained in the week after he arrived, showed a total of sixteen thousand seven hundred and sev-



Washington Elm, Cambridge.[1]

enty-one New Englanders,[2] of whom nearly two thousand were sick, furloughed, or absent on duty. A council of the American generals, held on the 9th, determined that at least twenty-two thousand men were needed to defend the lines. Their estimate of the force of the English, including their sailors and marines, was eleven thousand five hundred, which has proved to be correct. The English generals could make their choice of Charlestown Neck, or Boston Neck, for a place of egress, if they chose to attack the American lines. These extremi-

[1] This tree, under which Washington's commission was read to the army, is still standing.

[2] From Massachusetts, 11,689; from Connecticut, 2,333; from Rhode Island, 1,085; from New Hampshire, 1,664.

ties of what may be called the American right and left wing, are many miles from each other, by circuitous routes, — separated also by Charles River, over which the Americans had but one poor bridge. It was clear, therefore, that in any attack the American army might be outnumbered. Washington had, however, the resource — of which he availed himself when he needed — of calling in the minute-men from the neighboring towns, who were always ready for duty, and moved with a promptness worthy of their name.[1]

Their relative positions.

But the English generals made no movement, not even a menace. The truth was, their loss at Bunker Hill had been more severe than the Americans at first suspected. As has been seen, it had affected the morale of their men, and made the commanding officers much more cautious. In the heat of the summer the wounded fared ill. The report from England, of the way in which the news of Lexington and Concord was received, was not encouraging to men in command. Gage was removed from his bed of thorns, and recalled to England by a despatch of August 2d. He was virtually disgraced, and no other command was ever offered to him. The command of the army was given to Howe, and was retained by him for three years, when he in turn was removed. The departure of Gage from Boston, in October, was regarded by the patriots as in some sort a victory. "Through this pane of glass," wrote Josiah Quincy, with a diamond, on his window, "I saw Gen. Gage sail out of the harbor of Boston."

Gage removed: Howe in command of Boston.

The government were certainly justified in removing Gage. They never had any reason for appointing him, but that he had served in America, and that he had an American wife. General Burgoyne charges on this handsome wife the unintentional communication of all Gage's secrets to the enemy.

Boston suffered also, all through the summer, from the lack of fresh provisions. In August, Gage was willing enough to renew the arrangements which he had quashed before, and to permit the egress of the inhabitants. They were sent out, day after day, by way of Winnisimet, and on their arrival, became, in many instances, a charge on the generous charity of the people of the country towns. While the population diminished, death was as frequent as it had ever been in the most populous days of Boston. A well informed native of the city says that the reënforcements received by

Second exodus from the city.

[1] This recourse was so considerable, that Hilliard d'Auberteuil, a French author of matchless absurdity, coolly doubles Washington's force in his statements, saying, simply, that one half was not kept in the field, but was occupied in cultivating the land! He thus gives Washington, what perhaps he would have been glad to have, an army of 60,000. In similar style he gives Howe 50,000 in Boston.

the army, before September, had not made up the losses caused by battle and disease.

Such were the reasons, so far as we can state them, why the English officers in command did not move upon Washington's army at the terrible period when it had not powder enough even for a few hours' fighting. The news of Gage's recall was received early in September. In the despatches then sent, Lord Dartmouth, Secretary for the Colonies, distinctly intimated that it would be better to make no further inroads into the country. He suggested that it would be better to leave Boston altogether, and take post at New York. If this were impossible, he asked if the army could not be divided between the ports of Halifax and Quebec.

Plans suggested in England.

To this despatch Howe replied, on the 2d of October, that nothing could be gained, except reputation, by a march into the interior. He considered that New York should be taken and held; that the "foundation of the war should be laid" by having troops in force there, large magazines and stores, and the whole well fortified and secured. He says that as Castle William in Boston Harbor is of no use to him, he had destroyed the shore battery, and mined the fort so as to destroy it when Boston should be evacuated. He also advised the seizing of the island of Rhode Island. Nothing is now said of merely reducing a rebellion. It is the "foundation of war" which is to be laid. Nor is a word now said about punishing Boston for its factious persistency, or reducing New England, as an example to the rest. The drift of the letter is, that it will be better to operate where there is less opposition. In truth, New England, by her unyielding firmness in the



General Howe.

beginning of the war, earned for herself the exemption, almost complete, from its presence, which she enjoyed for the last six years before the peace. The pressure of an enemy's army was to be chiefly felt in those very regions which the Crown officers thought at first least infected by the contagion of rebellion.

Proposed interview between Burgoyne and Lee.

Soon after General Lee arrived at the American camp, from Virginia, General Burgoyne, who had served with him in the English army, wrote him a long letter from Boston, such as he was fond of writing. He proposed an interview at an inn on "Boston Neck,"[1] with the hope of bringing about some adjustment of grievances. He did not misapprehend his man. They were men of much the same type, — conceited and arrogant, with little skill in words, but thinking they had much, and with far less skill in arms than in words. Lee sent Burgoyne's letter to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and asked their instructions, saying, at the same time, that he should wish some American gentlemen to accompany him to the interview. The Congress consented, and appointed Elbridge Gerry to accompany Lee; but the language of their reply to him was so cool that he abandoned the project.

The collection of ammunition.

All through this period of apparent quiet, the utmost efforts were made in every quarter, by the American authorities, to provide powder, lead, flints, clothing, tents, and other material for a campaign. Even the smallest quantity of powder or of saltpetre was begged for. General Cooke, of Rhode Island, Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, Robert Livingston, of New York, and Franklin, now acting on the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia, appear prominent among those most active. Livingston established a powder-mill, and did it so secretly that the English agent who had charge of the government stock of saltpetre was in ignorance of its existence till a bold raid on his stores emptied them, and taught him its value. The Committee of Safety in Georgia got hold of a supply of powder intended for the Florida Indians. A bold push into the Gulf of Mexico brought back a hundred barrels from a trading vessel there. An attack on Bermuda brought off a considerable quantity from that island. Far away, in Orleans, in Louisiana, Oliver Pollock, an American citizen, was making arrangements to send the precious commodity up to Pittsburg by the river. So soon as the English cruisers were withdrawn in the autumn, Governor Cooke sent a fast sailing vessel of eighty tons to Bordeaux, to purchase powder on the account "of the Continent." By this proud name, which should never have been given up, was the new nation

[1] The inn was the "George." It was burned before the evacuation, but reappeared as the "George Washington."

beginning to call itself. Lead was obtained from the mines of Connecticut, which had been little worked in times of peace.

The germ of an American navy.

Meanwhile, and partly in connection with this terrible necessity, a little navy was coming into existence. As early as the 5th of May the people of New Bedford and Dartmouth, in Buzzard's Bay, southwest of Cape Cod, indignant at the incursions of the *Falcon*, one of the British sloops of war, fitted out a vessel with which they attacked and recaptured one of her prizes, with fifteen prisoners, in the harbor where she had taken refuge in Martha's Vineyard. This was the first naval victory of the war.

On the 12th of June a plan was formed in Machias, in Maine, for taking the *Margaretta*, an armed sloop in the service of the Crown, then lying at that port. This scheme was carried out with success; the *Margaretta*, another King's sloop, and a sloop that was loading with lumber under her protection, being taken. Her captain and one of her crew were killed, and five wounded. The armament of the *Margaretta* was then transferred to another vessel, which was placed under the command of Jeremiah O'Brien. He was soon afterwards made marine captain by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and sent to intercept vessels bringing supplies to the troops in Boston. Many other affairs similar to that in which the *Margaretta* was captured took place on various parts of the coast. So soon as Washington's attention was called to the possibility of cutting off the supply vessels of the English, as they entered Massachusetts Bay, he commissioned officers in command of vessels, to take such supplies.[1] Their instructions were to avoid fighting, even if they were of equal force with their enemy, — the object being to seize supplies. The Massachusetts Provincial Congress at once legalized such captures. Washington supplied armaments and money from the Continental treasury, and, with little delay, six small vessels were commissioned, — the *Lynch*, *Franklin*, *Lee*, *Warren*, *Washington*, and *Harrison*. Rhode Island had at sea a vessel under Whipple, who went as far as Bermuda, where he found the inhabitants friendly to the American cause, but terrified by Gage's threats of vengeance for the loss of the powder stored there. Connecticut had a small vessel in service also.

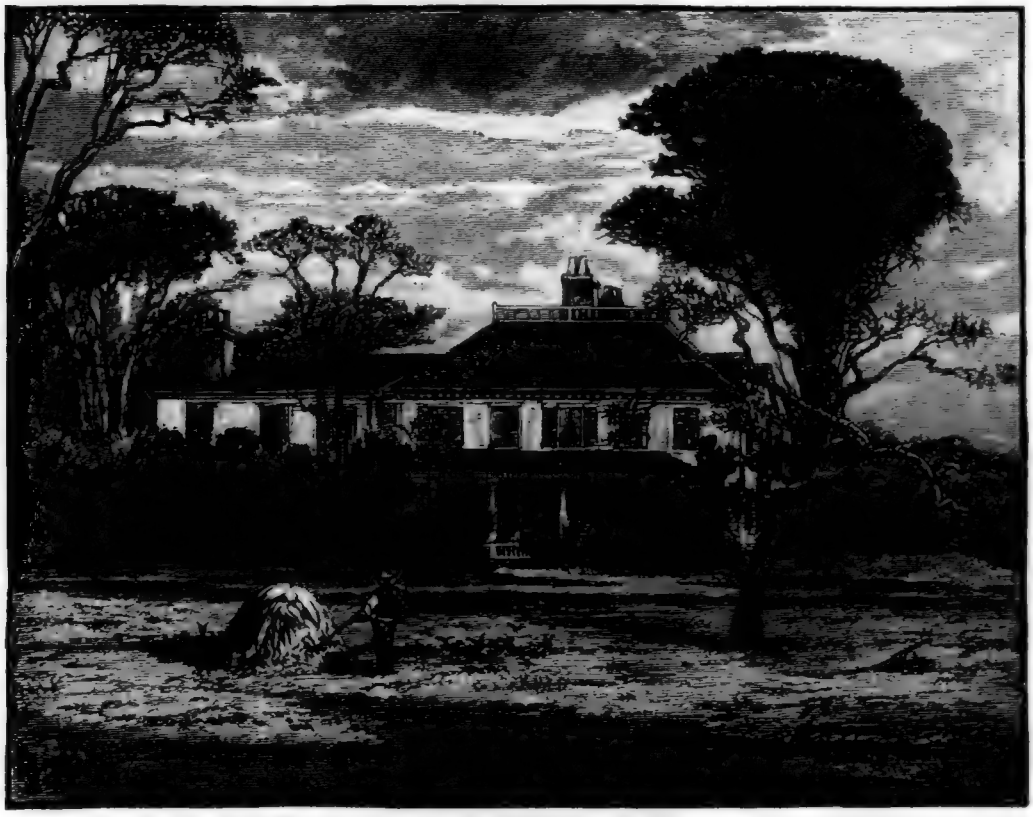
A petty war on sheep and oxen on the coasts was kept up by the smaller British vessels, that Boston might be provisioned. Yet Gage hardly brought in more animals by such raids, — which embittered all the seaboard against him, — than he had permitted the Americans to carry off from under his own eyes in Boston Bay. So severe was the destitution of his troops that on the 4th

Destitution at Boston.

[1] The first of these commissions dated September 2, 1775.

of September, after the royal cruisers had brought in more than a thousand sheep and oxen, the cattle brought, at a public sale in Boston, prices ranging from fifteen to thirty-four pounds, and the sheep thirty shillings and upward.[1]

While the English army was thus confined, and reduced by sickness, the forces under Washington were steadily enlarging. Recruiting officers were bringing up the numbers of the regiments more nearly to the complement, and furloughs were granted more charily.



The Craigie House, Washington's Headquarters at Cambridge.

A return of August 19th shows a total on paper of 19,060, — an increase of 2,390, in six weeks since Washington took the command. Among the recruits were several companies of riflemen from Virginia, — one of them under the command of Captain Daniel Morgan, who at the news of the battle of Bunker Hill had started on the long march to Boston. These skilful marksmen, who, while rapidly advancing, could hit a target of seven inches at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards, were posted along the lines and were especially dreaded by the enemy. But the American army, as well as the

[1] A camp song of the period asks : —

"And what have you got, by all your designing,
But a town without dinner to sit down and dine in ?"

English, suffered from sickness. Thus, at the end of August, more than a quarter of the Connecticut contingent were returned as sick and unfit for active service.

Washington pushes on his works.

With the first moment of relief from the terrible lack of powder, Washington displayed that spirit of enterprise which was an essential trait of his character. He advanced his works on his extreme left by fortifying Ploughed Hill; though he supposed this might bring on an action, as the fortifying of Bunker Hill had done. The enemy did not move, however. Indeed, their only victory of the summer was an extraordinary paper victory. In two issues of the "Public Advertiser" in London, full detailed accounts were published of an attack led by General Howe in person, on the rebel works in Roxbury. These works were stormed and taken, and Generals Putnam and Lee were made prisoners, with twenty-five hundred of inferior rank. The English loss in this wholly fictitious victory was one hundred and fifty killed. For all this detail there was not the slightest foundation. Later intelligence, of course, showed that the readers of London had been imposed upon. It is but one of many such stories, which we must pass without mention, although they engaged public attention in their day, and had their share in influencing the opinion of the world. On the Continent such fictions were not so easily exposed as in England. Their circulation resulted in the most extraordinary notions of the contest, — absurd to any well-informed person, but not the less received because absurd. Such notions and the fictions from which they are formed, are not yet wholly eradicated from the popular impressions of Europe.[1]

English attack on Falmouth.

Until October, the English naval force, under Admiral Graves, had made no attack upon any point on the coast, except for the seizing of sheep or oxen for the army. But in that month, Graves, having consulted with Gage, before he left, sent the *Canceau*, Captain Mowatt, and an armed transport, the *Cat*, with two other vessels, to destroy Cape Ann (by which Gloucester is meant) and Falmouth, now Portland, in Maine. In Howe's despatch to the ministry, describing the result, he seems to wish to throw the responsibility upon Graves. The only excuse offered for burning the towns is, that they were distinguished for their opposition to Government.

The selectmen of Falmouth speak of the affair as Captain Mow-

[1] No more ridiculous illustrations of such exaggerations can be found than in Hilliard d'Auberteuil's Essays, already alluded to. Under the pen of this well-meaning writer, the forests of America, being as old as she is, furnish no wood young enough for the building of large ships! Charles Lee appears as the orator whose eloquence created the Revolution, which he then passed to Washington's more prudent hand.

att's personal retaliation on them, because he had been seized by some provincial troops soon after the battle of Lexington. He had been released at that time, but the town had refused to give up their guns or to send away the troops. Notice had afterwards been sent to Falmouth, that unless they permitted Captain Coulson, who had a ship there, to sail for England, their town should be "beat about their ears." This threat was accomplished by burning it on the 17th of October. Captain Mowatt offered at the last to spare it if the town would give up their cannons, small arms, and ammunition. But this was refused. One hundred and fifty houses were burned,[1] with all the churches and other public buildings.

This attack on an open town which offered and could offer no resistance, was the real declaration of war by England against America. Up to this time there had been a lingering notion among the Americans that the army in Boston was the objective, and that war existed only in Boston Bay. The royal commanders, not unnaturally, did not choose to be confined by any such understanding. Finding no enemy in arms anywhere else, they had nothing to attack but defenceless towns. General Greene says, in a letter from Cambridge of this date, "we are at loggerheads here, but at other places only sparring." The conflagration at Falmouth showed the country that war was war, — lawless and cruel. The correspondence and journals of the time all show that in this event a step and a long step was taken. So much further was reconciliation put out of the question.

Beginning of a navy.

The destruction of Falmouth proved the imperative necessity of measures to meet the enemy on the sea as well as on the land. Connecticut and Rhode Island had been peculiarly exposed, during the autumn, to incursions from the enemy. It was the sufferings of their people, probably, that moved the delegates of the latter province in Congress to suggest the formation of a navy, of which Esek Hopkins was appointed commodore. The frigate *Rose*, under the command of Captain Wallace, was, with a number of other vessels, stationed along the southern coast of New England, and their depredations upon the people were for months unceasing. Newport was seriously threatened in October, and many of her people fled with their household property to the surrounding country in the midst of a violent storm. Wallace consented to spare the town only on condition of being supplied with fresh provisions. Bristol fared even worse, for the town was bombarded, and many houses destroyed. At Jamestown, on the island of Conanicut, opposite Newport, a force landed in December, burnt houses and barns, plundered the people, and carried off all their live stock. Governor Cooke called out all the

[1] Howe, in his despatch to England, says five hundred.

minute men of the province, and asked of the commander-in-chief that a regiment of the line might be sent for its protection. The request was complied with, though it came at that critical moment when Washington was reorganizing the army around Boston, and not long after the troops from Connecticut, whose term of enlistment had expired, were in a state of mutiny. General Lee was sent to Newport at the head of eight hundred men.[1] He so disposed them as to give protection to the inhabitants in that neighborhood; and he suppressed with a strong hand those among the Tories who encouraged the enemy and gave information which made the depredations upon their neighbors easy, and at the same time insured their own protection.

The equipment of the little fleet of the New England colonies was slow, and its operations were insignificant, till, late in November, by a fortunate stroke, Manly, in the *Lee*, took the brigantine *Nancy*, bound from London, with military stores, which were most acceptable. "Two thousand muskets," "one hundred and five thousand flints," "sixty reams of cartridge-paper," thirty-one tons of musket-shot," "three thousand round-shot for 12-pounders, four thousand for 6-pounders." Such were some of the heads of the invoice of her stores as it opened before the delighted eyes of the general officers and their hard-pressed chief of engineers, who not long before had prepared a list, not dissimilar, of the necessities of the army. For the rest, the naval service was not yet organized. Washington says, bitterly, in a private letter, in November, "Our privateersmen go on at the old rate, — mutinying if they cannot do as they please." Such has proved to be the habit of privateersmen in most wars.

[1] Lee exacted an oath from the Tories, which Washington sent to Hancock as "a specimen of his abilities in that way." This "iron-clad" oath, Arnold (*History of Rhode Island*) gives in full, as follows: —

"I, John Bours, here, in the presence of Almighty God, as I hope for ease, honor, and comfort in this world, and happiness in the world to come, most earnestly, devoutly, and religiously swear, neither directly nor indirectly to assist the wicked instruments of ministerial tyranny and villany, commonly called the King's troops and navy, by furnishing them with provisions or refreshments of any kind, unless authorized by the Continental Congress or the Legislature, as at present established in this particular colony of Rhode Island. I do also swear by the same tremendous and Almighty God, that I will neither directly nor indirectly convey any intelligence, nor give any advice to the aforesaid enemies so described, and that I pledge myself, if I should, by any accident, get the knowledge of such treason, to inform immediately the Committee of Safety. And as it is justly allowed, that when the sacred rights and liberties of a nation are invaded, neutrality is not less base and criminal than open and avowed hostility, I do further swear and pledge myself, as I hope for eternal salvation, that I will, whenever called upon by the voice of the Continental Congress, or that of the Legislature of this particular colony, under their authority, take arms and subject myself to military discipline in defence of the common rights and liberties of America. So help me God. Sworn at Newport, December 25, 1775.

"JOHN BOURSE."

The attention and anxiety of the army, and of the Continental Congress, as well as the Congress of Massachusetts, were excited in the autumn by the discovery that Dr. Benjamin Church, a member of the House in Massachusetts, was communicating secretly with his brother-in-law in Boston. Church had been a prominent patriot, the friend of Warren and of the other Boston leaders. On the discovery of a letter in cipher from him to his brother-in-law, he was arrested. The letter was deciphered, and proved to contain accounts of the force of the Americans, with disparaging allusions to their commanders. Church was expelled from the Massachusetts Assembly. In his defence he said the letter was written not long after the battle at Bunker Hill. "Was there a man," he said, "who regarded his country, who would not then have sacrificed his life to obtain a tolerable accommodation?" He called attention to his exaggeration of the resources of the American army, and affected to have carried on the correspondence in the true interest of the country. But it was clear enough that his conception of that interest was not that of men who were now committed to open war. The Continental Congress took his case as their own, and put him in close confinement.[1]

Church's treachery.

The Continental Congress was still urging an attack upon Boston, "to break up the nest there," as Washington says. He held a council of general officers on the 18th of October, to consider the subject. They decided unanimously that such an attack was impracticable. Meanwhile the army itself was near its end. The enlistments did not hold the men, except in a few instances, beyond the close of the year. A committee, consisting of Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison, came from Philadelphia to Cambridge, to make the best arrangements for its renewal. But this renewal was attended with endless care and anxiety for all parties concerned. The original idea, to make an army in which there should be no regard to colonial lines, proved impracticable. Even if the officers assented, the men would not enlist unless they knew who was to command them. The abolition of the old colonial systems, which gave small regiments in some colonies and large ones in others, made another difficulty. A general order for the enlistment of the new army was issued as early as October 22d, but on the 28th of November only 3,500 men had enlisted on "the new establishment," as it was called. The change enabled the generals to drop officers of the lower grades, who had in any way forfeited confidence, and in the end it greatly improved the condition of the army. Yet to disband one

Condition of the army. Enlistments.

[1] He remained in prison for some months, and was then permitted to sail for the West Indies. The vessel in which he took passage was never heard of afterward.

army and recruit another in the face of an enemy, was, as Washington often said, a matter for the most serious anxiety. Changes, however, were absolutely necessary, and a great point was gained when, by the first of the year, the rëorganization was complete, though the army was reduced in numbers.

The American Flag.

"The day [January 2, 1776] which gave being to the new army," Washington wrote to Reed, "but before the proclamation came to hand, we had hoisted the Union Flag, in compliment to the *United Colonies*." It happened that the King's speech had just been received in Boston, and copies of it were sent out to the American camp. The raising of this flag, and the discharge of thirteen guns that saluted it, were, not unnaturally, supposed by the British officers to be a token of rejoicing at the King's speech; for the flag itself, though it contained the thirteen stripes emblematic of the thirteen colonies, still retained the union of the British standard, the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. The Americans, when they learned of the misunderstanding of the English, indignantly made a bonfire of the royal speech, and it was in allusion to this incident that Washington wrote to Reed the words we have just quoted.



Union Flag.

Previous to this time there had been no national flags. "Union Flags," as they were called, were sometimes used, but they were simply the British Standard, with the legend, "Liberty and Property," or "Liberty and Union," inscribed upon the field. It is not certain that there was any American flag displayed at the battle of Bunker Hill, though tradition says that one floated over Prescott's redoubt emblazoned with the words "Come if you Dare!"[1] A month after the battle, however, when the Declaration of the Continental Congress, setting forth the causes and necessity of taking up arms, was publicly read in the camp on Prospect Hill, a red flag, sent from Connecticut to General Putnam, was raised, on which were inscribed the words, "*Qui transtulit, sustinet*,"[2] and "An Appeal to Heaven." The flag of Massachusetts was white, with a pine tree in the centre, also bearing the motto, "An Appeal to Heaven," words taken from the closing paragraph of the "Address of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts to their brethren in Great



Pine Tree Flag.

[1] Frothingham's *History of the Siege of Boston*.

[2] This is the motto of Connecticut.

Britain." This flag was on all the floating batteries, was borne by New Hampshire as well as Massachusetts regiments, and was suggested in October by Reed as the flag of all naval vessels. A blue flag with a white crescent was raised over the fortifications in South Carolina the same year, and the first naval flag was yellow, with a rattlesnake in the act of striking, and beneath, the motto, "Don't tread on me!" But the first recognized Continental standard was that alluded to by Washington in his letter to Reed, as raised in the camp around Boston on the 2d of January, 1776. This was superseded by a resolution of Congress, on the 14th of June, 1777, declaring "that the flag of the thirteen United Colonies be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, and the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." With the addition of stars, this has continued to be the national standard.



Rattlesnake Flag.

But General Howe, shut up in Boston, was in a condition even more critical than that which gave Washington so much anxiety. It was easy enough to say in England that he had command of the sea. But, in truth, the naval force was crippled, or the officers said it was, for want of seamen; and Howe writes earnestly that more may be sent out. So weak was it, that he could not even provision his little army from the raids on the shores of a continent which his vessels should have commanded for a thousand miles. There was also a serious misunderstanding between Howe and Admiral Graves. Provisions of every kind, not only salt meats and flour, but corn, butter, potatoes, and eggs, were shipped to Howe from England and Ireland, sometimes, alas! to fall into the hands of the insignificant American cruisers in Boston Bay. Even live oxen, sheep, and hogs were sent from England in great numbers. But the vessels met bad weather at the outset. An exaggerated account, published in English journals at the time, says the English channel was covered with the bodies of sheep which had been thrown overboard. It is now known that not one animal from this extraordinary shipment ever arrived in Boston. That the Government made it, was a concession that their cause was desperate. How could they expect to regain a continent on which a little army of ten thousand men could not find enough provisions to keep them alive?

Howe's condition.

At this period public opinion continued to declare itself in England by the generous offerings of private subscriptions, either to solace the army by national sympathy, or to rebuke the Government by charities to those whom it was oppressing. "The King's friends," through all England, were not satisfied with

English aid to Howe's forces.

addresses formally presented, and subscribed liberally for comforts to be sent to the soldiers and sailors in Boston. On the other hand, when the news of the repulse at Lexington was received in England, friends of America placed one hundred pounds in Franklin's hands for the widows and orphans of the men killed by the troops that day. Afterwards, even to the end of the war, money was thus raised by subscription for American prisoners.

General Howe found difficulty even in providing barracks for his troops for the winter season. In summer many of them were encamped on Boston Common and on Bunker Hill. On the 26th of November, he wrote a despatch to Lord Dartmouth, explaining that he must winter in Boston, because he had not transports sufficient to move the force, as Dartmouth had suggested. For this purpose, he supposed that 35,000 tons of shipping were needed, and the whole force at his command was not 26,000 tons. Unwillingly, therefore, he stayed through the winter. He pulled down one meeting-house for fuel. He even mined coal in Cape Breton for the use of his army in Boston. As late as the 27th of November, some of his regiments were still under canvas. At this period he sent out to the Americans three hundred more of their countrymen, mostly women and children. These were provided for in Hampshire County, in western Massachusetts.

Amusements of the Boston garrison.

To amuse the officers and men, theatrical entertainments, almost for the first time in Puritan Boston, were given in Faneuil Hall. Up to this time General Burgoyne's reputation had been that of a man of letters rather than a soldier. Indeed, his military fame rested on a success in Portugal which, according to modern notions of war, can scarcely be called a skirmish. For the present purpose Burgoyne wrote a little play called "The Siege of Boston." While the play went on, a sergeant rushed upon the scenes, and announced that the Yankees were on Bunker Hill. The audience laughed, regarding the announcement as a part of the performance. But in a moment more the officers were ordered by General Howe to repair to their posts, and the audience broke up in the utmost confusion and alarm. One of Knowlton's Connecticut companies, by a bold raid, had crossed the Neck and had fired the bakery of the English contingent at Charlestown. In the midst of the severities of the campaign and the summer, Howe reports, with just pride, that he had lost but thirty-three men by desertion, in seven months after the battle of Lexington.[1] Burgoyne gave up his literary and

[1] This report gives a good test of the accuracy of our materials for history. It would not be difficult, from the American reports, to say at what dates most of these men deserted. Indeed, we have the accounts which many of them brought in. At a later period the desertions from the English force weakened it sorely.

military duties for the moment, and returned to England at the end of November. He had been six months in Boston, and had not yet made "elbow-room."

German mercenaries for the English army.

In a despatch of this date, General Howe confirms the ministry in a plan they had already determined on, for raising mercenaries in Hanover and Hesse. He says that the only recruits they can send from Great Britain will be men of the worst kind. Six or seven thousand will be needed, "who will be Irish Roman Catholics, certain to desert if put to hard work, and, from their ignorance of arms, not entitled to the smallest confidence as soldiers." To obviate this difficulty, he suggests incorporating with each English regiment one hundred trained soldiers from Hanover or from Hesse. Such were the reasons for Howe's inactivity during the critical period when Washington was renewing his army. The loss of the storeship *Nancy* brought another source of anxiety, which hung on him for three months more.

Suggestions for an attack on Boston

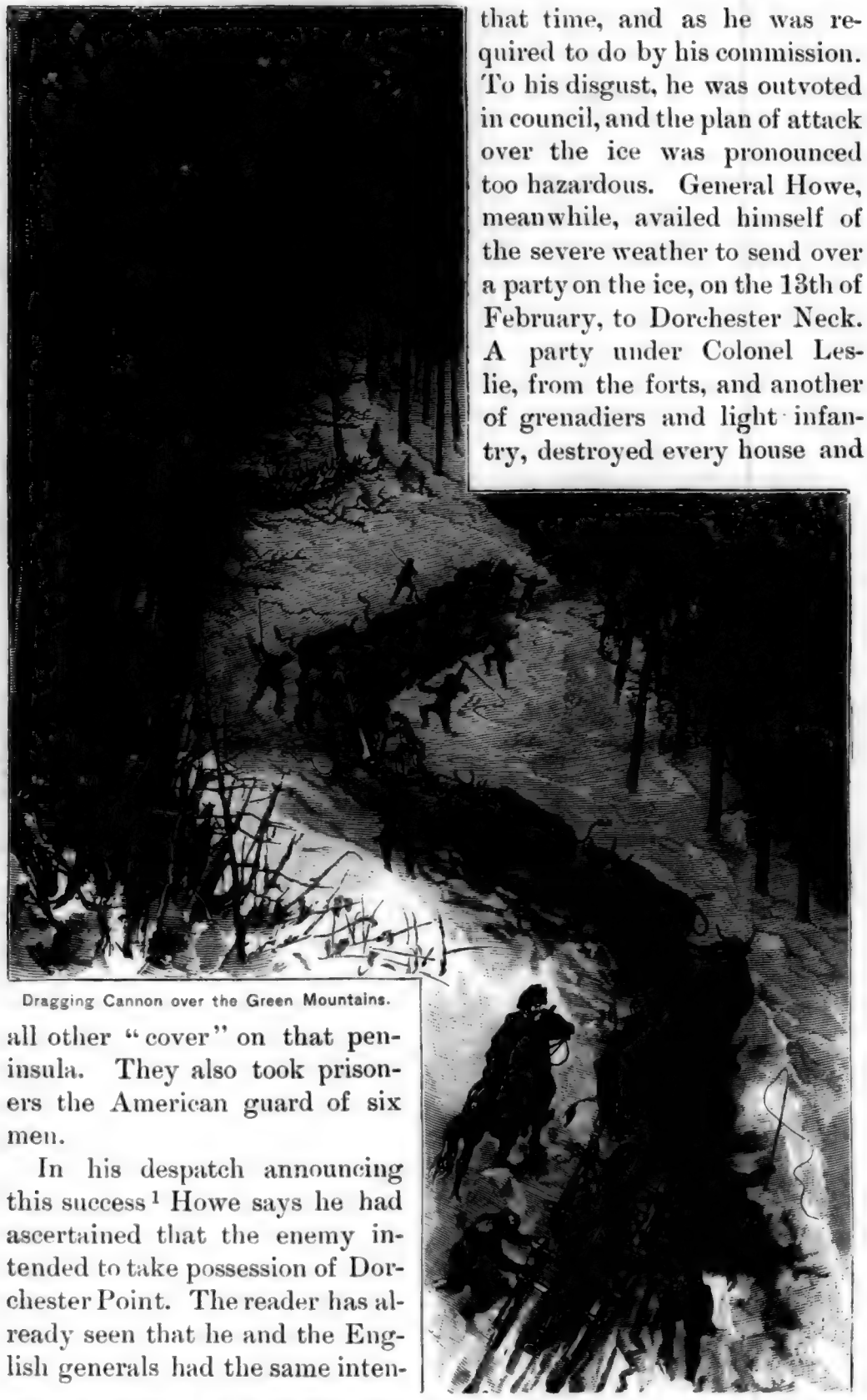
On the 3d of December, in a letter to Lord Dartmouth, he says: "The brigantine *Nancy* has been taken with four thousand stand of arms.[1] The circumstance is unfortunate, as it puts in the enemy's hands the means of setting the town on fire, as the vessel contains carcasses and other materials of like nature." Howe wrote as a soldier, and contemplated such a mode of attack as it might have been his duty to pursue under like circumstances. Had Washington acted only as a soldier, he would very probably have fired the town. The policy of doing so was openly considered in the American councils. On the 22d of December, the Continental Congress resolved, "That if General Washington and his council of war should be of opinion that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it may be destroyed." In communicating this resolve, President Hancock wrote: "You will notice the resolution relative to an attack upon Boston. This passed after a most serious debate in a committee of the whole house, and the execution was referred to you. May God crown your attempt with success. I most heartily wish it, though individually I may be the greatest sufferer."

Dorchester Neck laid waste.

But Washington's intention was to cross on the ice, so soon as the Charles River, and what was known as the "Back Bay,"[2] should freeze. In most winters, this bay, at least, was frozen over. But this winter proved unusually mild, and no such opportunity offered itself until the middle of February. Washington then called a council of war, as was the fashion in all armies at

[1] An over-statement, as the reader has seen.

[2] Now covered with streets and houses.



Dragging Cannon over the Green Mountains.

that time, and as he was required to do by his commission. To his disgust, he was outvoted in council, and the plan of attack over the ice was pronounced too hazardous. General Howe, meanwhile, availed himself of the severe weather to send over a party on the ice, on the 13th of February, to Dorchester Neck. A party under Colonel Leslie, from the forts, and another of grenadiers and light infantry, destroyed every house and all other "cover" on that peninsula. They also took prisoners the American guard of six men.

In his despatch announcing this success[1] Howe says he had ascertained that the enemy intended to take possession of Dorchester Point. The reader has already seen that he and the English generals had the same inten-

[1] In all instances, we quote from Howe's manuscript despatches, now preserved in the English State Paper Office. Only a part of them have been printed in full.

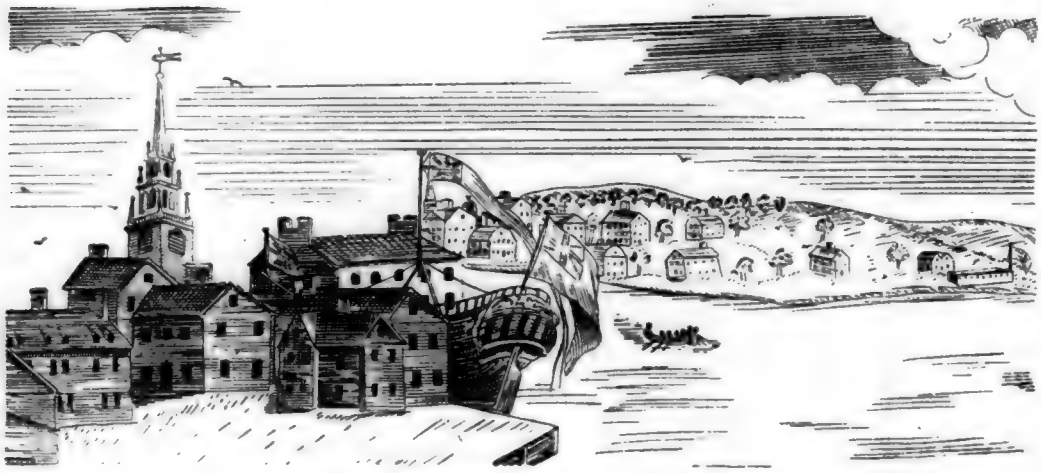
tion as early as June of the preceding year. Why they did not seize these heights, after they were reënforced, it is difficult to say. Washington had refrained, not simply for want of powder, but from lack of heavy artillery. This lack was now supplied by the capture of the *Nancy* and the arrival of a train — brought as never cannon had been brought before — from Ticonderoga. So soon as the snows of winter served, the heavy guns needed for the American lines were brought, under the admirable direction of Henry Knox, now at the head of the artillery, on forty-two sleds, drawn by long teams of oxen, through the passes and over the ridges of the Green Mountains, and down through the hill country of New England, over roads which never bore a cannon before and have never borne one since. Their arrival at Cambridge was welcomed with enthusiasm. Had Howe only known it, with that arrival his easy winter was ended.

The American movement on Dorchester Heights.

Washington asked the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts to call out the militia of the neighborhood, and this was immediately done. Ten regiments of soldierly men came in at once, and so far reënforced his army. Ward, who commanded at Roxbury, was intrusted with the oversight of the movement upon Dorchester Heights, and the immediate direction of it was intrusted to John Thomas, also of Massachusetts, one of the brigadier-generals, an officer whose early death, before this year was ended, was a serious loss to the American cause. The earth was frozen hard, so that such works as were thrown up on a summer's night at Bunker Hill were impossible. Fascines were collected, and what the military language of that day called "chandeliers," which were a kind of foundation for fascines.

On the night of Saturday, the 2d of March, 1776, a vigorous cannonade was begun from the American works to the north of Boston, and it was maintained through the nights of the 3d and 4th, to divert the attention of the English. At the least, the noise of the cannonade might overpower the sound made by Thomas's long train as it passed over frozen ground. As soon as this firing began on Monday evening, he moved from Roxbury with twelve hundred men, and took possession, without discovery, of the higher hill, that farthest from Boston, which at that time commanded Nook's Hill, nearer to the town. Four hundred yoke of oxen drew the materials for the works, and this train passed unnoticed by the English sentries, hardly a mile away on Boston Neck. When Thomas was fairly intrenched, a heavy reënforcement joined him. The movement corresponded precisely to what the movement on Bunker Hill would have been had the party intrenched the higher summit there. The men worked with energy, and by morning a respectable defence and battery were constructed,

wholly to the surprise of the English officers. The work was planned, as was that so well tested at Bunker Hill, by the veteran Gridley, who had the assistance of Colonel Putnam. Howe was astonished. He wrote to the minister that this must have been the work of twelve thousand men. One of his officers said the suddenness of the whole recalled the wonderful eastern stories of enchantment and invisible agency. Howe knew, of course, and the Admiral immediately notified him, that the fleet could not remain in safety under the fire of these guns. That evening, Howe sent three thousand men, under Lord Percy, to Castle William, which is on an island about a mile from the extreme point of Dorchester Neck, most distant from the town.



North End of Boston. From an Old Print.

Washington's plans.

Percy's instructions were, to attack the newly-built works on their eastward or southern side, where it must have been supposed that they were not so strong as in front. But a violent storm that night and the next morning broke up his plan of attack, and that day was lost. Washington, of course, expected such an attack. He relied on Thomas and his party to repel it, from works which were much stronger than those on Bunker Hill. While it engaged the enemy, Putnam was to attack the town on the western side, where Greene's and Sullivan's brigades of four thousand men were in readiness. Greene was to have landed with his men near the ground now occupied by the gardens of the Massachusetts Hospital. Sullivan was to land a little farther south, — not far north of the present line of Beacon Street. Had they succeeded, they would have moved south on the English works at Boston Neck, to admit the American troops at Roxbury. Three floating batteries were prepared, which should move in advance of the troops, and clear the ground for their landing.


BOSTON
With its Environs
in
1775 & 1776.
Miles
MEDFORD
to Lexington
Winter Hill
Mystic River
Ploughed Hill
Prospect Hill
Lee
Gen.l Wing
Charlestown Neck
Middle River
to Malden
to Watertown
Washington's Head quarters
College
CAMBRIDGE
Cobble Hill
Redoubt
Fort No.1
Phips's Farm
Mill Pond
Battle June 17th 1775
CHARLESTOWN
Boston Pt
Winnisimet Ferry
Noddle's Island
North Battery
Long Wharf
South Battery
Floating Battery
Commissary
Brookline
Sewall's Farm
Muddy River
3 Gun Battery
ROXBURY
Roxbury Fort
to Providence
Right Wing of the Gen.l Ward
Dorchester Heights
DORCHESTER
Dorchester Point
Castle Island

We shall never know what would have been the success of this bold plan, — bold enough to redeem Washington from the imputation, sometimes thrown at him, of excessive caution. He thought well of it. His officers thought well of it. The men were in high spirits and well led. The 5th of March, when he supposed it would be executed, was the anniversary of the Boston Massacre. Only a year before Warren had told Knox and others of those men in the Old South Meeting-house, of the dangers of standing armies. Only a year ago he had painted that touching picture of George and Liberty seated together on an American throne. Everything had happened since that commemoration!

But the English did not move on the new works, which with every hour's delay grew stronger. Washington now prepared to extend them, and to seize Nook's Hill, closer to Boston, — immediately opposite it, indeed. To continue the comparison with the other peninsula, Nook's Hill was for Dorchester Neck what Breed's Farm, the site of Prescott's redoubt, was for Bunker Hill. On the night of the 9th he would have intrenched that hill. But on the 8th a flag of truce from Howe appeared, with a note from the selectmen of Boston, giving information that General Howe was determined to leave Boston with the army under his command. They said that he had assured them he would not destroy the town unless his troops were molested in their embarkation. They said their fears were quieted with regard to General Howe's intentions; and they begged "that they might have some assurance that so dreadful a calamity might not be brought on by any measures from without."

Howe was not unwilling to adopt this indirect way of communication with his enemy, for which he had no lack of precedents in the etiquette of the wars of Frederick. Washington would not receive the message, which was not, indeed, addressed to him. But it answered every purpose, and without other official communication on either side, Howe was permitted to embark his forces without molestation. He had abandoned the plan of assaulting Thomas's works, and had determined to evacuate Boston.

Howe evacuates Boston.

On the nights of the 9th, 10th, and 11th, Washington continued the bombardment, and the enemy replied. But these were the last movements of offence or of defence. All Saturday night the explosions were heard, by which Howe destroyed the property he could not take away. On the morning of Sunday, the 17th of March, he sailed with his whole army, hastened, as it appeared, by the work on Nook's Hill, which Washington had at last fortified. It was just three months since he had notified the English minister that he had not transports sufficient for more than two thirds of his force. Not a vessel had

joined him in the interval. But under the spur of necessity the navy and the transports proved sufficient. General Putnam immediately marched into Charlestown, and took the English fort on Bunker Hill, which was held by two wooden sentries. General Ward sent a party from Roxbury across the Neck, and the siege of Boston was ended.

Entry of the Americans.

The selectmen notified Ward that the small-pox was in the city, and advised that those of the army not "protected" should not enter. But on Monday the great body of the army marched in. The returns of Howe's force, on the day he left, show that he had in all eight thousand nine hundred and six officers and men. They sailed in seventy-eight ships and transports. With him he took about eleven hundred loyalists, either old residents of Boston or others who had come into the town from the country to escape the persecutions of their neighbors. Many of these never returned to their native land. A large number of them settled in Nova Scotia, and were a valuable addition to the population of that colony.[1]

The larger part of Howe's squadron proceeded directly to Halifax. The naval ships loitered in the outer harbor of Boston, and elsewhere in Massachusetts Bay, to give notice to vessels from England, that they might not fall into the hands of the American army. But "the continent," from Canada to Florida, was freed from the royal army. Less than one year of vigorous assertion of the rights under which they had lived from the beginning, had, for the moment, given such an answer to the repressive measures of the English Crown. The joy was universal. The handful of residents left in Boston received the army as liberators. Washington entered the town with ceremony which is still remembered in tradition. The long street by which he came, yielded in time its historical names to his. "The Neck," which was the local name of the Isthmus, "Orange Street," which commemorated the Liberator of England, "Newbury Street," which told the tale of Charles's disgrace, "Marlborough Street," named in honor of the conqueror of Blenheim, and "Corn Hill," which fondly recalled memories of London, — all these names gave way, that "Washington Street" might remind the town of him who freed it from the first army of strangers that ever stood within its borders. Congress ordered a gold medal struck, to be presented to him. It is the first in the numismatic history of independent America, and bears the proud motto, "HOSTIBUS PRIMO FUGATIS."[2]

"As I passed through the town," — wrote one who entered it the day after the evacuation,[3] — "it gave me much pain of mind to see the

[1] See, for details, Sabine's *American Loyalists*.

[2] The original medal, in the fortunes of an expiring family, and afterward of civil war, came into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[3] Diary of Ezekiel Price, published in *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, November, 1863

havoc, waste, and destruction of those houses, fences, and trees in the town, occasioned by those sons of Belial, who have near a year past had the possession." The Old South Church had been used as a riding-school for the soldiers; the West Church and the church in Hollis Street, at the South End, had been used as barracks; the Old North had been taken down and used as fire-wood, — in revenge, it was said, of the signal lanterns hung in its belfry on the eve of the movement on Concord. Faneuil Hall had been made a play-house. But the wonder is that there had not been more destruction of private and of public property, when it is remembered that this town, beleaguered for nine months, was in possession of the enemy. If Howe made use of public buildings, and permitted the destruction of some old buildings for fuel, let it be said that he used all his authority to restrain wanton destruction and robbery. There was much of it in the last week of British possession, but he threatened death to the perpetrators.



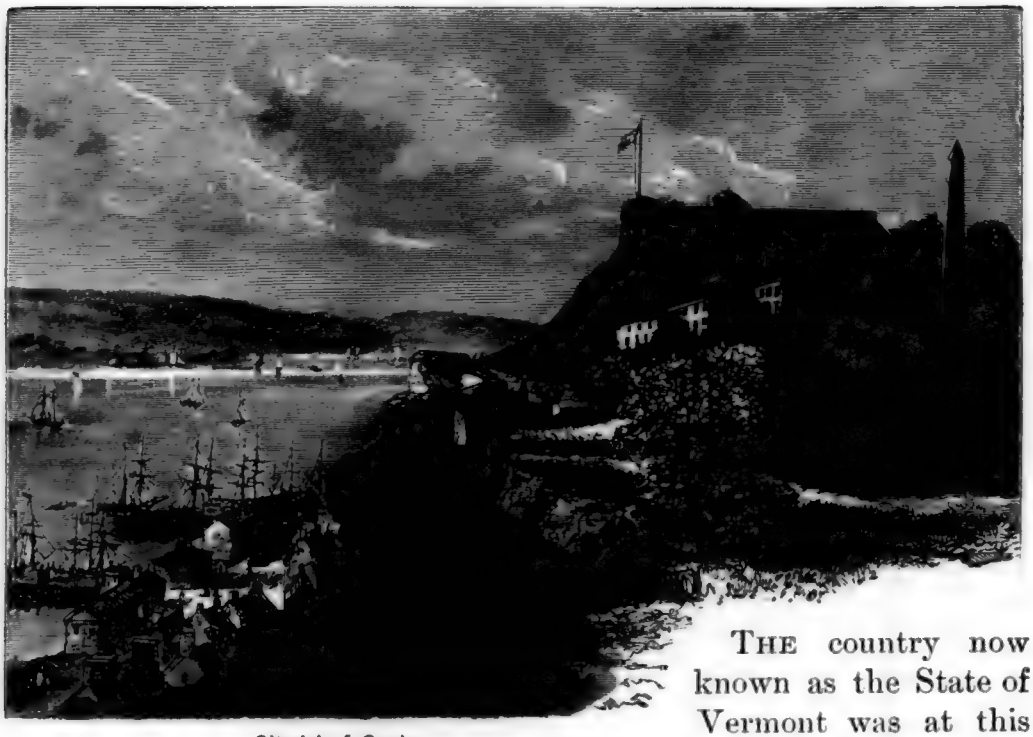
Washington's Medal.

It had been known ever since October, that English expeditions were proposed to seize Hudson River and New York. To arrange the resistance to these, General Lee had been stationed at New York, and extensive works of fortification had been planned. Now, when Howe left Boston, Washington believed that New York was the destination of his fleet and army. He immediately sent forward General Heath with the whole body of riflemen and five battalions, and General Sullivan with six battalions, to meet this expected invasion. General Putnam was ordered to New York to take command, and to carry out, so far as he thought advisable, Lee's plans of defence, till the Commander-in-chief should arrive and assume the direction of affairs.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN OF 1775.

THE DISPUTE CONCERNING THE TERRITORY OF VERMONT. — THE GREEN MOUNTAIN BOYS. — ALLEN'S EXPEDITION AGAINST TICONDEROGA. — ARNOLD CLAIMS COMMAND. — CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA AND CROWN POINT. — EXPEDITION DOWN LAKE CHAMPLAIN. — RICHARD MONTGOMERY. — SIEGE OF ST. JOHN'S. — EXPEDITION TO FORT CHAMBLY. — CAPTURE OF MONTREAL. — ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION THROUGH MAINE TO CANADA, AND ITS SUPPOSED IMPORTANCE. — ITS UNEXPECTED DIFFICULTIES. — OPERATIONS BEFORE QUEBEC. — DEFEAT AND DEATH OF MONTGOMERY. — WOOSTER TAKES COMMAND. — THE FINAL FAILURE.



Citadel of Quebec.

THE country now known as the State of Vermont was at this time a wilderness, just beginning to be occupied, and was the scene of intercolonial strife.

The Vermont dispute.

"The Grants" was the popular name for a tract first settled by emigrants from New Hampshire, who held the title to their lands under grant of the Governor of that State. But New

York claimed a prior right to the territory as far east as the Connecticut River. In 1749, the township of Bennington, the first in the territory, was granted under a patent from Governor Benning Wentworth, of New Hampshire; and although New York remonstrated, successive grants continued to be made until 1764, when an appeal to the Crown brought the decision that the Connecticut River, north of the Massachusetts line, was the boundary between New York and New Hampshire. It would have made little difference to the settlers in this new country, who had come not only from New Hampshire, but from the western districts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, under which colony they held title to their land, but the New York government, under this decree of the Crown, began to grant new patents covering the property already occupied and improved, and requiring fees and other charges to secure New York titles. The colonists, almost without exception, resisted these claims, and a warm conflict followed. The colonists were without regular government; they had no town, for it was not till after 1780 that Bennington had even a country store. There were no wagon-roads, and scarcely even foot-paths through the wilderness; but blazed trees marked the thin lines of routes that were afterward to become highways. At first the action of the New York government was resisted in the courts of Albany, and that proving of no avail, the colonists in the Grants formed a league for mutual protection, and received the officers of the Crown, who came with writs of possession, in a manner that was termed rebellious by the authorities, and self-defensive by the mountaineers. Under the name of Green Mountain Boys, they held a rude military organization, and resistance to the processes of law was so far formal and combined that a price was set on the heads of the leaders, and they were treated as outlaws.

Condition of the country.

The Green Mountain Boys.

The nearest military posts were Ticonderoga and Crown Point. From the former, especially, officers of the Crown came with their demands to the farms that lay scattered on the slopes of the Green Mountains, and the fort was looked upon as the gateway to the Grants from New York. At this time (1775), it was falling out of repair, and was garrisoned by about fifty men, but contained a considerable supply of military stores. It held at once the outlook toward Canada and the nearest approach to the unruly people of the Grants. To western New England it was the best known fortified post, and the one most identified with the frontier life, while in the East it had a wide fame through its recent history. To this point, therefore, many eyes were turned when the difficulties with Great Britain began to reach open warfare. The Green Moun-

Importance of Ticonderoga.

tain Boys, by a succession of individual encounters, had become accustomed to the idea of fighting, and there were no such restraints upon them as held back the people of more conservative and law-abiding sections. The first tidings of war found them eager to act on the offensive, especially toward the point which represented to them the only British tyranny they had known.

John Brown's mission to Canada.

In the winter of 1775, John Brown, of Pittsfield, a lawyer and an ardent patriot, who was in the counsels of the Boston committee, made a journey through the Grants to Canada, to discover the temper of the Canadians towards the British Government, and to secure, if possible, assurances of organized aid for the other colonies. In his letter from Montreal to the Committee of Correspondence in Boston, — Adams and Warren, — dated March 29, 1775, he informs them that he has established a channel of communication through the New Hampshire Grants, which may be depended upon, and adds: "One thing I must mention, to be kept a profound secret. The Fort at *Ticonderoga* must be seized as soon as possible, should hostilities be committed by the King's troops. The people on *New Hampshire Grants* have engaged to do this business, and, in my opinion, they are the most proper persons for this job." It does not appear that the Massachusetts Committee took, at the time, any steps to accomplish this object. But when the news of Lexington was spread abroad, both Massachusetts and Connecticut were alive with volunteers hurrying to the camp at Cambridge, while delegates to the Congress, about to assemble at Philadelphia, were passing through the country, consulting with patriots on the road. In Connecticut and western Massachusetts, the first thought was at once of Ticonderoga; its stores were coveted, and its undefended condition was known.

Effect of the Battle of Lexington.

Colonel Parsons, of Connecticut, was on his way from Oxford to Hartford, when he fell in with Captain Benedict Arnold, who was hurrying from New Haven over the same road to Watertown. Captain Arnold's intention was to obtain a commission from the Provincial Congress at Watertown, that he might raise a company for the capture of Ticonderoga. Parsons reached Hartford on the morning of the 27th of April, immediately consulted with five other gentlemen, communicating to them Arnold's information, and proposed that they should at once take secret measures for an expedition against the fort. Procuring £300 from the treasury on their own responsibility, they sent off two men, — Romans, who had been an engineer in the British service, and Noah Phelps, of Simsbury, on their way to the Grants, apparently, for no positive information exists on this point, — with instructions to put means in the hands of

Action of Parsons and Arnold.

the Green Mountain Boys to carry out their plans.[1] On Friday, the 28th, Captain Edward Mott, arriving in Hartford, saw Leffingwell, one of the gentlemen who had engaged with Parsons. In answer to inquiries respecting affairs at Boston, he said that the great lack of military stores could be best remedied by a sudden attack upon Ticonderoga. Leffingwell, consulting with Parsons and Silas Deane, determined that Mott should take five or six men with him, overtake Romans and Phelps, and act in concert with them; his instructions being to proceed at once to the Grants, and there enlist men for the expedition.

Designs on Ticonderoga.

Mott overtook Romans and Phelps at Salisbury on the 30th, and the party, consisting now of sixteen men, held on together northward. At Sheffield they sent two men, Halsey and Stephens, to Albany, to discover the temper of the people there, and proceeded to Pittsfield, which they reached on the first day of May. Here they lodged at Colonel Easton's, and fell in with John Brown. Their instructions had been to keep their own counsel, and not to enlist men until they reached the Grants; but Brown, who knew the country well, and was already a prominent patriot, at once won their confidence, and, with Easton, strenuously advised them to raise a portion of their forces in the more closely-settled country in which they then were. Both Easton and Brown joined them, and the former assisted Mott in enlisting men in Williamstown and Jericho, now Hancock. At Bennington there was a rendezvous, and two men — Hickok and Phelps — made an excursion to Ticonderoga to get exact information of the condition of the fort. Phelps, disguising himself, entered the fort as a countryman who desired to be shaved, and, while hunting for the barber, asked questions and kept his eyes open, playing the part of an ignorant rustic. Men were sent out on all the roads leading to the lake, to intercept passers and prevent knowledge of the movement reaching the fort, and the whole company was instructed to meet at Castleton for a final rendezvous. Here Allen, with his Green Mountain Boys, was ready for the attack, and the command of the principal body of troops was given to him. On the 8th of May the final plans were laid. Allen, with one hundred and forty men, was to go to the lake by way of Shore-

Ethan Allen.

[1] Romans and Phelps's expedition became at once merged in Mott's, whose course is clearly laid down; but in Bernard Romans's account with the Colony of Connecticut for moneys expended in the capture of Ticonderoga, there is this item: "*Paid Heman Allen going express after Ethan Allen,* 120 *miles,* £2. 16*s.*" (*Rec. Papers*, vol. iii. p. 26.) Heman Allen was a brother of Ethan, living in Salisbury, Conn., and Ethan's acknowledged leadership of the Green Mountain Boys indicates that Romans's first business was to send with despatch to the leader of the forces that were relied upon to take Ticonderoga. Something, moreover, of the nature of these first orders may be inferred from the subsequent orders given to Mott.

ham, opposite Ticonderoga. Thirty men, under Captain Herrick, were to advance to Skenesborough and capture Major Skene and his party, and then drop down the lake to join Allen, carrying boats from Skenesborough to assist in transporting the troops.

Allen had gone forward to Shoreham on the 8th, and the party under orders for Skenesborough was in readiness, when suddenly an officer appeared through the woods, attended by a servant, and hurrying to the camp. It was Benedict Arnold, who had remained in Cambridge and Watertown only long enough to lay his plans before the Committee and to receive a commission as "colonel and commander-in chief over a body of men not exceeding four hundred," to be enlisted for the reduction of Ticonderoga. He had set out at once for western Massachusetts to raise men for his command, and there learning that a party from Connecticut had just been over the same ground, he left a few officers to enlist troops, and made all haste to Castleton. Presenting himself before Mott and Easton, he announced the action of the Massachusetts Committee, and asserted his right to command the forces. They showed him their plans and took him into their counsels, but he declared they had no proper orders, and insisted upon his own superior rank and commission. The movement on their part was indeed voluntary, appointed by a self-elected committee in Connecticut, and associated with an outlaw military organization. Arnold's claim was strong, if the Massachusetts Committee had legal authority, with the right to punish for contumacy; but then Mott and Easton had the men whom they had engaged, and had promised they should be commanded by their own officers. They refused to surrender the command to Arnold. He was not to be put down, but the next morning set off to overtake and supersede Allen.

Arnold overtakes Allen's expedition

And claims the command.

He came up with Allen apparently some time before nightfall of the same day, when the advance party was at Hand's Cove, on the eastern shore of the lake, preparing to cross. Here he found himself in the midst of men making ready for action. With them he took part in the crossing of the lake, which, owing to the difficulty of procuring boats, was not wholly effected when day broke on the morning of the 10th of May. Allen was impatient of delay, and fearful lest if they waited for the entire body to cross they should lose the golden opportunity of surprising the fort, he addressed his men, eighty-three in number, telling them of the hazard of the enterprise, and calling for volunteers to follow him in an immediate attack. Not one of the men drew back. A lad living near by, familiar with the approaches, was their guide, and Allen gave the word to advance. Arnold again stepped forward and claimed the command. He was a reckless, daring

man, and the adventure exactly suited his nature, but it was an adventure where he must lead and not follow. Allen, having his own men behind him, was no less courageous and was naturally enraged at this interference. He was for putting Arnold under guard; but one of his friends, seeing the peril of the enterprise, if the dispute continued, proposed that the two men should march side by side. The compromise was accepted, and the column advanced quickly to the wicket-gate. A sentry posted there snapped his fusee, but it missed fire, and as Allen rushed upon him, he retreated with a shout through the covered way within the fort. The assailing party followed at his heels, Allen and Arnold vying in the race for leadership. The fort was surprised, and the victory was already won without a blow, as the Green Mountain Boys set up a shout on the parade facing the barracks.

Surprise of the fort.

It was so early that the garrison was still asleep. Allen forced one of the sentries to show him the commanding officer's quarters, and standing at the entrance he called on Captain Delaplace to come forth and surrender his garrison. The Captain sprang out of bed, and, half dressed, made his appearance at the door: "By what authority?" he said. "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!"[1] was Allen's answer. Delaplace, seeing the uncouth figure before him, was ready to dispute the commission; but Allen, with his sword, was an unequal disputant. The commander yielded, and ordered his men to be paraded without arms. The surrender threw into the hands of the Green Mountain Boys one captain, one lieutenant, and forty-eight subalterns and privates, exclusive of women and children, all of whom were sent to Hartford. The capture of stores and military material included a hundred and twenty pieces of cannon.[2] The first surrender of the British was on the day of meeting of the second Continental Congress.

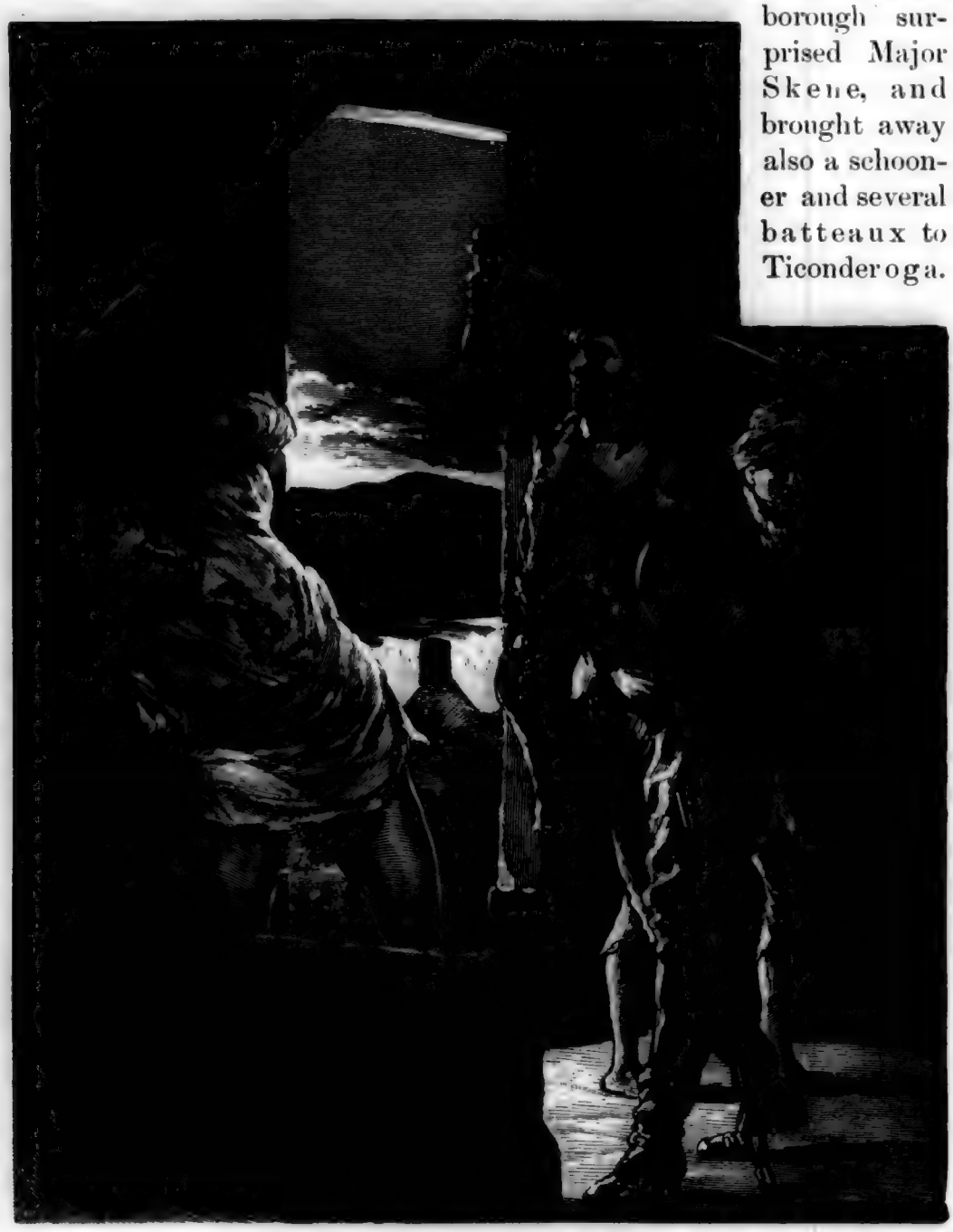
While these events were occurring in the fort, Colonel Seth Warner

[1] This swaggering demand rests upon Allen's own narrative, and has been called in question by those who, looking closely, perceive that Allen was a disbeliever in Jehovah as having anything to do with American affairs, and that the Congress, though called, had not actually assembled. It is quite possible that Allen has glorified himself somewhat; but the phrase was possible to him, for, though a vain, he was a genuinely brave man.

[2] The authorities for the movement against Ticonderoga are chiefly to be found in Captain Mott's Journal, with illustrative documents, published in *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. i., pp. 163–188, Ethan Allen's narrative of the capture of Ticonderoga, and the correspondence and newspaper reports collected in the appendix to Hon. L. E. Chittenden's address before the Vermont Historical Society, October 2, 1872, published by the society. See, also, Governor Hiland Hall's paper, read before the same society, October 19, 1869, and other contributions to the controversy by B. F. De Costa in *The Galaxy* magazine for December, 1868, Prof. George W. Benedict, in the *Burlington Free Press*, and J. Hammond Trumbull, in the *Hartford Courant*.

was bringing the rear guard across the lake, and was immediately despatched with about one hundred men to take possession of Crown Point, which was garrisoned only by a sergeant and twelve men. The capture was effected without difficulty, and a hundred cannon were secured. The party sent to Skenesborough surprised Major Skene, and brought away also a schooner and several batteaux to Ticonderoga.

Capture of Crown Point and Skenesborough.



Allen capturing Delaplace.

An armed force was now in possession of these two strongholds, with considerable material of war and transports. The quarrel for

command was at once renewed by Arnold. He wrote letters stating his grievances to the Massachusetts committee; but Allen was the accepted leader of the men, and Massachusetts, upon an understanding of the situation, complimented Arnold, but referred him for orders to Connecticut, since that colony had actually planned the expedition. Connecticut was in no mind to prefer Arnold to Allen.

Meanwhile, the operations went on, and Arnold and Allen carried on a species of off-hand freebooting together, for Arnold's audacity, and a knowledge in certain directions superior to Allen's, made him a useful ally. There was a sloop-of-war lying at St. John's, and it was proposed to take the schooner and batteaux already captured, get possession of the sloop, and make a descent upon the garrison. This done, Lake Champlain would be entirely in the hands of the patriots. Arnold, as the better seaman, was placed in charge of the schooner, while Allen followed with the batteaux. On the evening of the 17th of May, Arnold, being within thirty miles of St. John's, and becalmed, took to the batteaux, reached the sloop in the night, surprised it, captured a few men, and hastened back to Ticonderoga, without possessing himself of the place, since he learned that reënforcements were on the way from Montreal. On his return, he met Allen a little below, who undertook to form an ambuscade and intercept the reënforcements; but his men were fatigued, and when in the morning they were attacked by a superior force, they retreated to the batteaux and returned to Ticonderoga with a trifling loss in prisoners.

Minor operations.

Allen urged vehemently the immediate use of Lake Champlain as a basis of operations against Canada; but it was a month before the importance of the position was clearly seen, and meanwhile the Continental Congress, fearful lest these operations should bring them into difficulty, were half disposed to avoid responsibility, and required a complete inventory of the captured stores to be taken, against a possible restoration of them to Great Britain in event of an adjustment of the differences. Arnold, unable to accept a second place in any command, took up his quarters at Crown Point, where he was left to himself by Allen and Easton. When a committee arrived from Massachusetts to settle the disputes which had arisen, he instigated his few followers to mutiny, and threatened a withdrawal of the vessels which he controlled to St. John's, for the purpose of delivering them and his command to the enemy, if he could not carry out his own plans. Colonel Hinman, with a thousand men, had been appointed by Connecticut to take possession of Ticonderoga, and the difficulty was finally settled by the resignation of Arnold on June 24.

Timidity of Congress.

Arnold's persistence.

When it became known to Congress that General Carleton, Governor of Canada, was fortifying St. John's, building boats, and preparing to re-occupy Crown Point and Ticonderoga, a resolution was adopted (June 27) instructing General Schuyler to repair without delay to Ticonderoga, and "if he found it practicable, and it would not be disagreeable to the Canadians, immediately to take possession of St. John's and Montreal, and pursue any other measures in Canada which might have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies." The attitude of the Canadians towards the belligerents was one of great uncertainty. Governor Carleton thought the gentlemen, the clergy, and most of the bourgeois faithful to the King; but he was scarcely able to raise a company of militia, although large bounties of land were offered to volunteers. Schuyler, on his part, found it hard to secure any trustworthy intelligence from Montreal and Quebec. There were sympathizers with the American party in each place, and a committee of correspondence at Montreal; but exact information as to the active coöperation which might be expected from the people was not easily to be had. The general impression was, that the common people would at least maintain a neutrality, and, in event of the success of the Americans, would range themselves on their side. The attitude of the Indian tribes gave still greater anxiety. The powerful influence exerted by Sir William Johnson over the New York Indians had, after his death (1774), passed into the hands of his son-in-law and nephew, Guy Johnson, now Indian Agent, and his son, Sir John Johnson, both of whom were bitter Tories. At first covertly, afterward openly, they estranged the Indians of the Mohawk Valley from the Americans, and brought about an active alliance with the authorities in Canada. Schuyler sent Ethan Allen and Major John Brown into the country lying between Lake Champlain and Montreal, to discover the true condition of affairs there, and if possible to persuade the Canadians and the Indians of that country to ally themselves with the Americans.

The invasion of Canada proposed.

The Indian element.

Meanwhile volunteers came in slowly, and the absence of any controlling authority not only caused a conflict between the Provincial and Continental Congresses, but rendered the soldiers insubordinate and quarrelsome. Supplies and ammunition came slowly and irregularly, so that it was the middle of August before Schuyler was in any degree prepared to move his troops. At this time Major Brown returned and reported that there were seven hundred regular troops in Canada, three hundred of whom were at St. John's, and that Sir John Johnson was at Montreal with three hundred Tories and some Indians, endeavoring to persuade the Caughnawagas to take up the hatchet

for the King. In a few days came intelligence that Carleton was about to move up the lake to attack Ticonderoga.

Expedition down Lake Champlain

At length the expedition of about twelve hundred men, which had waited for a favorable wind, sailed down the lake. The whole force fell short of two thousand. Schuyler's chief subordinate officer was General Richard Montgomery, an Irishman, who had been in the British service, and was with Amherst in the campaign of 1759 when Wolfe captured Quebec, but had subsequently settled in New York and married into the Livingston family. He was a tall, handsome, spirited man, who drew to himself the admiration of the soldiers and the confidence of his fellow-officers. Upon him the command shortly fell; for Schuyler, disabled by illness, was compelled to return to Ticonderoga by the middle of September, before any very positive advance had been made.

Richard Montgomery.



Richard Montgomery.

At the Isle aux Noïx a boom was thrown across the channel to prevent the passage of the enemy's sloop-of-war, and an armed camp was formed. One or two skirmishes occurred, in which the insubordination and cowardice of the soldiers almost completely disheartened Montgomery. "I am," he writes to his wife, "so exceedingly out of spirits and so chagrined with the behavior of the troops, that I most heartily repent having undertaken to lead them . . . . Such a set of pusillanimous wretches never were collected. Could I, with decency, leave the army in its present situation, I would not serve an hour longer. . . . . We were so unfortunate as to have some Canadians witnesses of our disgrace. What they will think of the *brave Bostonians*, I know not."[1] Montgomery proceeded to invest St. John's, while Schuyler, remaining at Albany, used his utmost exertions to forward men and supplies.

The siege, which lasted nearly two months, was a severe test of the raw, undisciplined troops. Sickness prevailed, and homesickness was

[1] *Biographical Notes concerning General Richard Montgomery, together with hitherto unpublished Letters.* By L. L. H. 1876. p. 11. "Bostonians" was a term frequently applied to the American forces.

almost as potent, while the insubordination was so great that it was even a matter of policy at times to submit important movements to the vote of the rank and file. The independence and self-assertion of the soldiers showed itself in other ways. Ethan Allen, on his way to Montgomery's camp, with about eighty Canadians whom he had enlisted, fell in with Major Brown at the head of two hundred Americans and Canadians. Brown, who was almost as much of a free lance as Allen, proposed that they should make a sudden attack with their united party on Montreal, where he declared there were not more than thirty men in garrison, and where the townspeople were largely American in their sympathies. Allen eagerly accepted the proposition. The plan was, to cross the St. Lawrence with their respective forces above and below the city in the night, and at daybreak, upon a given signal, to make a simultaneous attack. The night was blustering, and the passage of the river dangerous and tedious; but by early dawn all of Allen's band stood upon the shore, waiting anxiously for the huzzas from Brown's party. They waited in vain. Brown had failed to keep his agreement, and Allen's forces, too weak to effect the surprise of the city alone, were set upon by the garrison, and, after a brave defence, in which some forty of the Americans fell, were overpowered and made prisoners. Allen was among them, and was sent to England.

Siege of St. John's.

Abortive attack on Montreal.

This affair was not approved by Montgomery, though not unknown to him; but he was still powerless to exercise that complete control over his ill-assorted troops which was essential to military discipline and success.

But an expedition against the fort at Chambly was more successful. The fort was taken with the aid of some of the inhabitants of the district, and its large stores of ammunition and provisions were of material aid to the army encamped under the walls of St. John's. Carleton made an effort to relieve the garrison there, but was repulsed, and at length, on the 2d of November, Major Preston, in command at St. John's, hearing of Carleton's repulse, and seeing no chance of relief, surrendered the fort and led out his troops, already in peril of starvation. Nearly five hundred regular troops, the greater part of the British army in Canada, thus fell into the hands of the Americans.

Expedition to Fort Chambly.

Surrender of St. John's.

The road was now open to Montreal, and Montgomery, advancing to Sorel, ordered a detachment to cross the St. Lawrence. He posted his forces to prevent any communication between Montreal and Quebec, and established batteries upon both banks of the river. Carleton was in the town, but he was surrounded

Montgomery captures Montreal.

by a timid and half-hearted populace, who were chiefly fearful lest their property should be destroyed. He left them to their fate, taking the little garrison with him, and on the 13th of November Montgomery marched into the town.

Expedition to Canada through Maine.

While these events were in progress, a supporting column had set out for Canada by another route, almost simultaneously with Montgomery's departure from Ticonderoga, and had fought its way against natural obstacles more serious than the forts which lay in Montgomery's path. While Schuyler was perfecting his plans for the northern campaign, he heard rumors that a portion of the British fleet had left Boston for the St. Lawrence. He wrote to General Washington for information, and was assured that no such movement had taken place. Whether or not Schuyler's letter started the project in Washington's mind, Washington wrote again, five days after the assurance had been given, outlining an expedition which was to ascend the Kennebec River, cross the highlands that divide it from the Chaudiére, and descend that stream to where it enters the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite Quebec. Such a movement he conceived would have one of two results. Either it would recall Carleton from the defence of Montreal, and so facilitate Schuyler's plans, or it would find Quebec unprepared, and the division, uniting with Schuyler's forces, could at once take that place and complete the conquest of Canada. The design was in all probability suggested to Washington by Benedict Arnold, into whose hands had fallen the journal of Colonel Montresor, an officer of engineers in the British service, who, fifteen years earlier, had conducted an exploring expedition from Quebec into the interior of Maine, covering a portion of the route. At any rate, Arnold was selected to take command of a detachment numbering about 1,100 men, drawn from the army about Boston. From the nature of the country they were to traverse, it was impossible to carry field-pieces, but it was hoped that the two rivers would afford a water highway most of the distance for the transportation of



Map of Arnold's Route

Arnold in command.

men and provisions. The order to draft the men was given on the 1st of September, and a week later the troops set out across the country to Newburyport, where they were to be transported to the mouth of the Kennebec. On the 14th, Washington addressed a letter to Arnold, with specific instructions, in which he enforced the necessity of so conducting the expedition as to respect religiously the neutrality of the Canadians, and to win them if possible to the American cause. Property was to be held sacred; religious scruples were to be tenderly considered; and death was to be the penalty for any injury to person or property of Canadian or Indian. A handbill, written by Washington, was printed for distribution amongst the Canadians, setting forth the friendliness felt by the Americans for them, and declaring that the armies sent into the country were to protect, not to injure them. They were earnestly solicited to join the cause of liberty, and to take advantage of the presence of the armies on their soil to rise against the tyranny of the British.

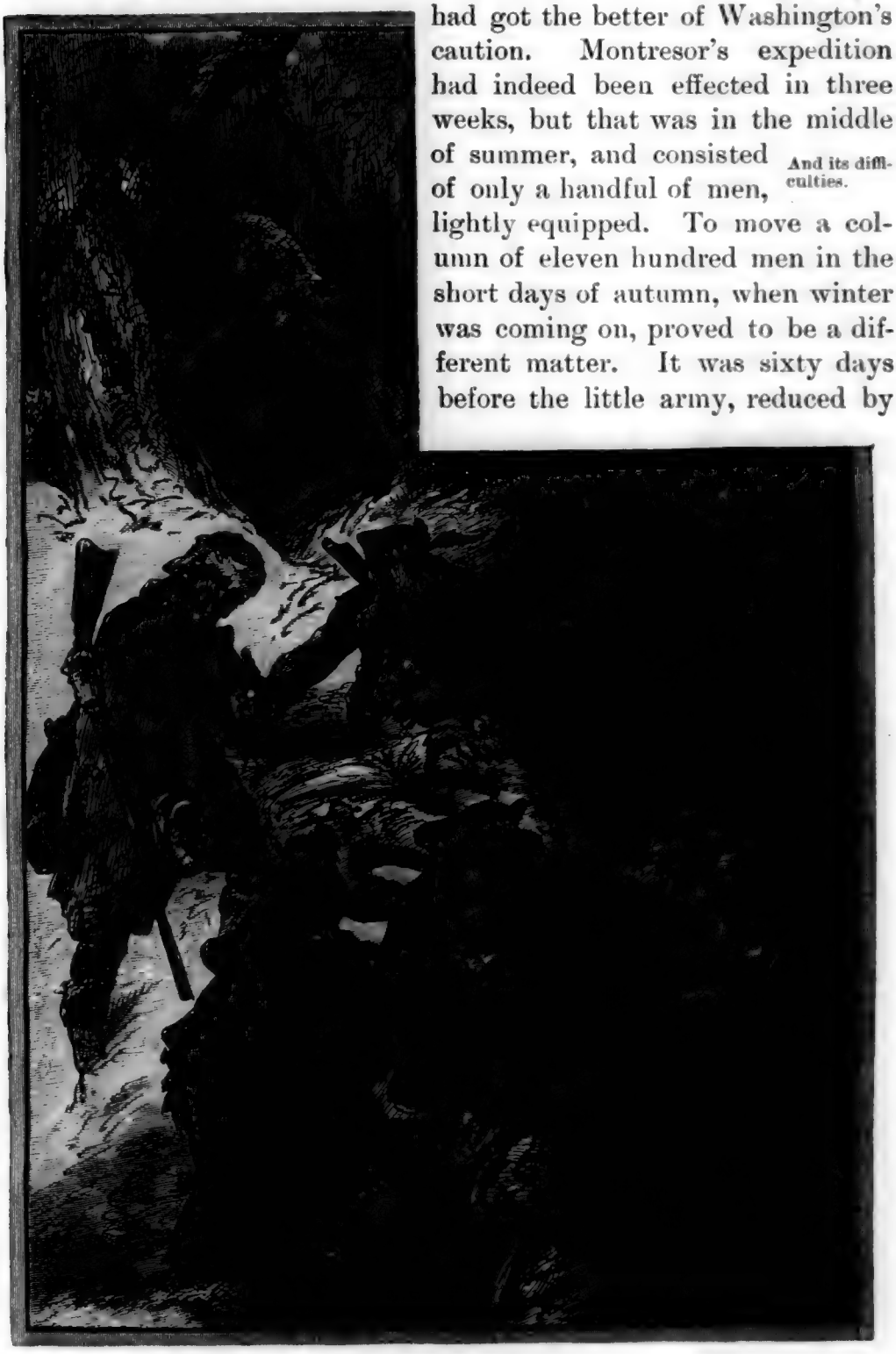
His instructions.

From the letters and papers of the day it is evident that great importance was attached to the movements in Canada. That country had been the scene of conflict within the memory of the men who were now throwing off the authority which then they fought to extend. The splendid river St. Lawrence, with the rocky fortress of Quebec, and the fertile lands that stretched to Montreal, appealed to their imagination, and the frontiersmen who had penetrated the northern forests knew that no natural boundary separated them from the vast country beyond. The fortified places which once had been centres of French trade were now threatening posts of the British enemy, and every interest suggested the necessity of possessing them. Yet the people of Canada had little in common with the colonists, and their prevailing religion was distrusted and hated by the Americans. Great caution and address, therefore, were used in making the invasion of Canada an act of hostility only to the British government, and one of emancipation to her people. Nor were the chances of war despicable. There was only one weak battalion of British troops in all Canada, and there was good evidence that the people, where they were not openly sympathetic and ready, were at least entirely indifferent to the continuation of British rule. Schuyler's army was moving, and Arnold's detachment, which reached Fort Western, — the present Augusta, on the Kennebec, — the 23d of September, was expected to be twenty days making its march of about two hundred miles. Indeed, there was some solicitude lest Arnold's army, reaching Quebec long in advance of Schuyler's, should be in danger of repulse for want of support.

Supposed importance of the movement,

It would seem almost as if Arnold's enthusiastic and fiery temper had got the better of Washington's caution. Montresor's expedition had indeed been effected in three weeks, but that was in the middle of summer, and consisted of only a handful of men, lightly equipped. To move a column of eleven hundred men in the short days of autumn, when winter was coming on, proved to be a different matter. It was sixty days before the little army, reduced by

And its difficulties.



Arnold's March.

that time about one half, reached the St. Lawrence. They left the last white family at Norridgewock, on October 3, and were nearly a

month making their way to the headwaters of the Chaudiére. Their batteaux were swamped in the rocky, boiling river; they sank to their waists in vast bogs; they were forced to make wearisome portages, and to cross and recross the same ground, to carry their loads; they lost their way: "this was the third day," writes a surgeon of the party, "we had been in search of the Chaudiére, who were only seven computed miles distant the 28th. Nor were we possessed of any certainty that our course would bring us either to the lake or river, not knowing the point it lay from where we started. However, we came to a resolution to continue it. In this state of uncertainty we wandered through hideous swamps and mountainous precipices, with the conjoint addition of cold, wet, and hunger, not to mention our fatigue, — with the terrible apprehension of fainting in the desert."[1] Their provisions failed them, so that they ate dogs, candles, shaving-soap, pomatum, and lip-salve, and boiled their moccasons in hopes of extracting some glutinous nourishment from them. They fought like beasts for succulent roots which they discovered and grubbed from the sand; great numbers fell sick and were left behind; some perished by the way, and Colonel Enos, with the whole rear division, amounting to a third of the force, when near the Canada line, being instructed by Arnold to provide for the return of the sick, called a council of his officers, in which it was resolved to return in a body to the coast, lest their provisions should utterly give out. Enos was court-martialled for his desertion of Arnold, and though acquitted, never regained his standing. Arnold himself pushed forward, after reaching the Chaudiére, to send back cattle and other supplies to his famished followers. When the men received them, they fell upon them like wolves, and gorged themselves so that many sickened and some died.[2]

Canada reached.

On the 4th of November the straggling band reached the first house in Canada. It was a month since they had left the last house in Maine. Their progress now was comparatively easy, and it was perhaps owing to the exhausted condition of the men that the last thirty miles occupied ten days. Yet that delay may be regarded as causing the failure of the expedition. On the 5th of November, when Arnold, with a portion of his army, was at St. Mary's, thirty miles from Quebec, a vessel from Newfoundland reached that place, carrying a hundred men, chiefly carpenters. They found

Quebec reenforced.

[1] *Senter's Journal*, p. 21.

[2] The details of this march, which long left its frightful memory in the minds of men, are preserved in several narratives of members of the expedition, chiefly those of John Joseph Henry (Albany, 1877); Joseph Ware, in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, April, 1852; Isaac Senter, *Bulletin of Penn. Hist. Soc.*, 1846; Return J. Meigs, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii., 2d series; James Melvin, *Franklin Club*, Philadelphia.

not a single soldier, we are told, in the city,[1] but immediately set to work repairing the defences and making platforms for the cannon. On the 12th Colonel Maclean arrived with a hundred and seventy men, enough to make a protracted defence. The next day Arnold brought his forces to the opposite bank of the river. It was intended that the expedition should surprise the town, and Washington had urged Arnold to use great precaution to prevent news being carried by sea from the Kennebec; but Arnold himself had unfortunately given intelligence of his movements, by a letter sent on the 13th of October to General Schuyler, which was intrusted to an Indian, who proved faithless. While at St. Mary's Arnold opened communication with General Montgomery, and the junction of the two armies now became a matter of the liveliest concern.

Arnold arrives before the city,

On the evening of the 13th of November, just as Montgomery had entered Montreal, Arnold began, under cover of darkness, to transport his troops across the St. Lawrence, and again at daybreak the sentinels on the walls of Quebec looked out upon an army on the Plains of Abraham. Arnold had followed precisely the path which Wolfe had taken, and, as Wolfe had done, offered battle with three fourths of his entire force, — five hundred and fifty men. But Lieutenant-governor Cramahé, in command, having perhaps Montcalm's misfortune in mind, did not accept the challenge. Moreover, Arnold's hope was, that the appearance of an American army would be a signal for a revolt within the city, and that the apprehension of it would be a check upon the commander of the town. The Americans shouted triumphantly, but the walls of Quebec did not fall flat, though some of the people within responded. A few harmless shots were fired, and a formal demand was made for surrender. Arnold had neither the means to make a breach in the walls, nor the force to storm them, and he could only invest the place. But his own position was perilous. Carleton had escaped from Montreal, and was on his way to Quebec. The garrison had been reënforced, and Arnold learned that he was shortly to be attacked. Accordingly, he soon broke camp and withdrew to Point aux Trembles to await Montgomery. Montgomery arrived on the 1st of December and assumed command. On the 5th the army, now three thousand men, with six field-pieces and five light mortars, encamped before Quebec.

Occupies the Heights of Abraham,

But retreats.

The ground was frozen to the depth of many feet, and buried deep in snow. To construct earthworks was practically impossible; gabions and fascines, therefore, were set up and filled with snow, over which

[1] Allen's account of Arnold's expedition, in *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 403.

water was poured and an ice-battery formed, glittering and formidable to the eye, but in reality brittle and easily destroyed. At the first cannonading from the walls it broke in pieces. Three weeks wore by, during which Montgomery begged for reënforcements, but Schuyler was powerless to raise them; the men were growing exceedingly restless and mutinous, and there was no sign of any weakening of the town. At Christmas an immediate attack was decided upon, to take place the first stormy night. One column, led by Arnold, was to advance by the low ground between the St. Charles and the Heights of Abraham, and penetrate the lower town at a point where a gate communicated with the upper town, unprotected by any ditch or drawbridge. Another column, led by Montgomery, was to advance between the St. Lawrence and the rocky heights of Cape Diamond, push into the lower town, and take advantage there of an easy communication with the upper town. It was expected that once in possession of the lower town, the merchants within the city would compel Carleton to give up the place to prevent further destruction of property. Aaron Burr, eager to take a conspicuous part in the attack, headed a forlorn hope which was to scale the Cape Diamond bastion, and he drilled his men and prepared his ladders with great care.

The night of the 30th of December, chosen for the assault, was, as the assailants hoped it would be, dark and stormy. While Colonel Livingston and Major Brown made a feint on the upper town to distract the garrison, Montgomery and Arnold were to advance upon the points selected for assault. Montgomery's column, taking the road along the river bank, made its way over blocks of ice and through the heavy drifts of snow, till it reached the first barricades under Cape Diamond. These were passed without difficulty; but beyond was a block-house, pierced for muskets, and defended by two small field-pieces. The enemy had fled after the first ineffectual fire; but as Montgomery advanced at the head of his men, exhorting them to follow, with the words, "Push on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!" a shot from the block-house struck and killed him instantly. His aid, Captain Cheeseman, Captain M'Pherson, and two privates were killed by the same discharge; the advance was checked, and then fell back in confusion and flight.

Arnold's division, almost at the same moment, had advanced in single file, along a narrow path between the precipice and the shore of St. Charles Bay, the men covering their guns under their coats from the driving storm. The town was now awake; bells were ringing; an uproar of confusion filled the air, from the rapid firing from batteries and barricades. The darkness and the storm favored the assailants, who pushed on rapidly past isolated houses to the Palace

Gate. At the first barricade Arnold was wounded and carried to the rear. The command devolved upon Captain Daniel Morgan, who, at the head of his Virginia riflemen, scaled the barricade with ladders, Morgan himself being the first to mount. As his head appeared above the palisades a discharge knocked him down, the powder burn-



Attack on Quebec. — Death of Montgomery.

ing his face, one ball passing through his hat and another through his hair at the side of his head. He mounted again, calling to his men to follow, and the barricade was carried, and the enemy driven to the houses on both sides of the narrow streets. In these the fight continued, at intervals, for hours, and had Morgan's men been properly seconded, the town might have been taken. But no reënforcements came. The advance party were cooped up between the two barricades,

where they made a desperate but unequal fight, seeking in their turn protection in the houses. From the Palace Gate a sortie had been made, and Captain Dearborn, with a column of two hundred men, had been taken prisoner. Morgan tried to cut his way back. He had lost probably not less than sixty men — among them Captain Hendricks of the Pennsylvania riflemen, Humphreys, Morgan's first lieutenant, and Lieutenant Cooper of Connecticut. The men were discouraged; further resistance was seen to be futile, and the whole party, four hundred and twenty-six in number, surrendered. The remainder of Arnold's party, who were in the rear as a reserve, retreated to camp.[1]

The victorious Englishmen found the body of Montgomery and gave it a soldier's burial within the city. Forty-two years afterwards it was removed to New York with distinguished honors, and placed beneath a monument in front of St. Paul's Church. As the boat bearing it passed slowly down the Hudson, the aged widow sat alone upon the porch of her house at Rhinebeck, watching the mournful pageant.[2]

The command of the wrecked army fell now upon Arnold, who mustered his forces and disposed them for a blockade, hoping meanwhile that Schuyler, to whom he dispatched a messenger, would reënforce the little army. Schuyler earnestly besought Congress to send forward troops, and in the course of the winter about 3,000 were sent to his relief. Carleton made no attempt to drive Arnold away. He could not afford to risk the chances of a battle, and he knew that when spring opened he should receive help from England. The Canadians continued their neutrality, and though a few engaged on either side, so that families were divided against one another, there was a general loss of confidence in the American cause. Congress

[1] Major-general Sir James Carmichael Smyth, in his *Precis of the Wars in Canada*, characterizes the enterprise as soldier-like, but thinks Montgomery should have reversed his plan, making the real assaults upon the points which were selected for the feint, and false attacks only on the lower town. "There was no necessity upon the present occasion to move, with narrow columns, into confined streets and lanes, to become masters of the lower town; having subsequently the upper town, separated from the lower town by a line-wall with flanks in it, to acquire. It would surely have been better policy to have assaulted the upper town at once, and to have endeavored to escalade, at the same moment, several of the bastions. . . . . In endeavoring to penetrate by the lower town, he required to be successful in two operations. Had he determined to assault the upper town, he would only have had to have escaladed a wall of eighteen feet high, and the place was his." — p. 116.

[2] "At length," she wrote, "they came by, with all that remained of a beloved husband, who left me in the bloom of manhood, a perfect being. Alas! how did he return? However gratifying to my heart, yet to my feelings every pang I felt was renewed. The pomp with which it was conducted added to my woe; when the steamboat passed with slow and solemn movement, stopping before my house, the troops under arms, the dead march from the muffled drum, the mournful music, the splendid coffin canopied with crape and crowned with plumes, you may conceive my anguish. I cannot describe it." — *Biographical Notes concerning General Richard Montgomery*, p. 129.

was anxious to attach the provinces, and still believed it possible to do politically what had not yet been done by the sword. Additional proclamations were sent forward, and a commission consisting of Franklin, Chase, and Carroll, to which was added Carroll's brother, a Jesuit priest, afterward Archbishop of Baltimore, was appointed to visit Canada and organize if possible a political union. Scarcely had they reached Montreal when news was brought of the arrival of a British fleet at Quebec, and Franklin hastened back to Philadelphia, at the instance of his colleagues, to urge the imperative need of immediate reënforcements.

In March Arnold was displaced by General Wooster, who arrived with fresh troops. He remained in command about two months, but could make, though he attempted it, no impression upon the fortifications of Quebec. Of his courage and high character there was no question, but he wanted military experience. He was, perhaps, too old to learn, and his conduct of affairs had aroused much dissatisfaction and criticism. He was accused of partiality to the troops from his own State — Connecticut — but so bitter were sectional jealousies, both in Congress and in the army, that such an accusation was always sure to be made wherever enmity existed, and was certain to be accepted, no matter how unfounded. The difficulties, moreover, with which Wooster had to contend, his successors found equally insurmountable till Canada was at length abandoned.

When Major-general Thomas, who superseded Wooster, reached the army early in May, and found that he could hardly bring into the field a thousand men, he determined to retreat. Even this he was not permitted to do unmolested; the garrison of Quebec had been largely reënforced, and Carleton attacked the American position, routed Thomas's force, and captured a hundred prisoners and most of the stores and provisions. He retreated first to Descham Vault and then to the Sorel — a wretched march of a disorganized, disheartened, half-starved, and rapidly decreasing force. Their miseries were aggravated by small-pox, brought into the camp by a girl who had been a hospital nurse, and at the mouth of the Sorel, on the 2d of June, General Thomas died of it.

The British were equally successful at other points. Major Butterfield, with nearly four hundred men, held a fortified post at a place called the Cedars, on the St. Lawrence, about forty miles above Montreal. This was captured on the 18th of May by Captain Foster with a detachment of regulars and Canadians, and a large body of Indians. The next day Major Sherburne, on his way to relieve Butterfield, was attacked in the woods by a part of Foster's force, and was compelled to surrender. Arnold, who followed a few days later, was unsuccess-

ful in an attempt to dislodge the enemy from their strong position at Vaudreuil and Perrot Island.

Brigadier-General John Sullivan succeeded Thomas and arrived at Sorel early in June. Ignorant of the condition of the army, he was over-confident, and wrote to Washington that he could "put a new face upon affairs here." In the interval of four days between Thomas's death and Sullivan's arrival General Thompson was in command, and had ordered a forward movement to Three Rivers. Sullivan approved it, and putting the expedition under the command of Thompson, ordered him with two thousand men, under Colonels Wayne, Maxwell, and Irvine, to join Colonel St. Clair, who was already at Nicolet. On the evening of the 7th the combined forces crossed the river at Point Du Lac, and found themselves in the morning on the beach, confronted by Fraser, with artillery and a force three times their own, exposed to the fire of the ships in the river, and their advance impossible. One hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and the rest regained their boats. Sullivan resumed the retreat which Thomas had begun, falling back upon Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The Canada campaign was at an end in June, the British holding Isle aux Noïx as their advanced post.



Monument to Montgomery in St. Paul's Churchyard, New York.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

PARLIAMENT SUPPORTS THE KING. — EFFORTS TO INCREASE THE BRITISH FORCES. — EMPLOYMENT OF MERCENARIES. — MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF NEW YORK CITY. — THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF NEW YORK AND THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY. — THE SONS OF LIBERTY. — EXPLOIT OF MARINUS WILLETT. — ZEAL OF ISAAC SEARS. — LEE TAKES COMMAND. — FORTIFICATIONS OF BROOKLYN AND NEW YORK. — LORD STIRLING. — THE SOUTHERN EXPEDITION. — BATTLE OF MOORE'S CREEK BRIDGE. — ARRIVAL OF PARKER'S FLEET. — SOUTH CAROLINA ADOPTS A TEMPORARY CONSTITUTION. — THE BRITISH ATTACK THE DEFENCES OF CHARLESTON, AND ARE REPULSED.

THE ministerial plan of operations in America had been gradually maturing since the reception of the news of the Battle of Bunker Hill, which had touched the pride of the nation at the most sensitive point. Parliament, in the autumn of 1775, voted the King and Ministry all the men and material they called for. It mattered little that the friends of America in that body again raised their voices for concession and conciliation. The vigorous appeals and arguments of Burke, Fox, Barré, Wilkes, and Conway in favor of colonial rights, still found unwilling ears, or were listened to only as the vindictive tirades of the "opposition." The ministerial party blindly clung to the policy of coercion first and concession afterwards, and, in their address to the King, expressed the hope that they should be able, "by the blessing of God," to put such means into his Majesty's hands as would soon defeat and suppress the rebellion, and enable him to accomplish his "gracious wish of reëstablishing order, tranquillity, and happiness" throughout his empire. The disorders in America, the King said in his speech, "must be put down by the most decisive exertions." Wisdom and clemency, he told the Commons, alike demanded this course.[1]

Parliament supports the King.

The army to be sent for the subjection of the colonies was to be increased to nearly forty thousand men, supported by a formidable fleet, manned by over twenty-two thousand seamen. If the parliamentary majority which sustained the ministerial policy

Recruiting in England.

[1] King's speech at the opening of Parliament, October 26, 1775.

had reflected the feeling of the nation at large, there would have been no difficulty in obtaining the additional troops required. But the calls met with a feeble response. The necessary complement at home to fill the old and depleted regiments could not be secured; and the government, even before it resolved on extreme measures, found itself forced to draw upon its garrisons in the West Indies, Ireland, and Gibraltar. The King, as Elector of Hanover, could do as he pleased with Hanoverian troops, and by putting these in places garrisoned by English soldiers, he was able to add about twenty-three hundred men to the army in America. The opposition in the House of Commons seized upon the evident lack of popular sympathy with the King's measures. The Ministry, compelled to find an explanation, replied that the general prosperity among all classes, and the large numbers enrolled in the militia, who could not be called upon for foreign service, was a sufficient explanation of this apparent apathy.[1] It was an excuse, however, rather than an explanation, and one in which, probably, they did not themselves believe; it certainly was not satisfactory to those statesmen who were opposed to the war.[2]

Holland refuses to aid England.

The King cared nothing for English sympathy, and was equally indifferent as to whether the war was carried on with English or with foreign soldiers. It was a question of pounds and thalers, not of flesh and blood. Soldiers could be bought at a fixed price per head, and, while that was so, it was the English treasury, not the English people, that need be consulted. George, from his relations to Holland, had no doubt of her friendly aid. In an autograph letter to the States General, he asked for permission to employ their Scotch brigade. He was refused. "Our troops," said the Baron van der Capellen, "would be employed toward suppressing what some please to call a rebellion in the American Colonies; for which purpose I would rather see janissaries hired than soldiers of a free state. Such a measure must appear superlatively detestable to me, who think the Americans worthy of every man's esteem, and look on them as a brave people, defending, in a becoming, manly, and religious manner, those rights which as men they derive from God, not from the legislature of Great Britain."

The ministers, with hardly less doubt of a favorable answer, turned to Russia. The Eastern question of that day had brought the Empire under obligations to Great Britain for aid against the Turks. In re-

[1] Speech in Parliament, November 3, 1775, by Lord Barrington, of the War Office.

[2] In the early part of 1775, Lord Camden expressed the belief, founded on observation, that the merchants, tradesmen, and common people were generally opposed to a war, while the landed interest supported the government. At the opening of the campaign of 1776, the King probably had a stronger support than Camden allowed him the year before. But the war, nevertheless, was not popular.

turn, Catherine would now, perhaps, have helped the English King with twenty thousand troops, but for the interference, both open and secret, of the other powers. For more than a dozen years France had been anxiously watching the growing alienation between Great Britain and her American colonies. De Font-

No help from Russia, France, or Prussia.



British and Hessian Soldiers.

leroy and De Kalb had been sent, after the French war, to travel in America, to observe her resources, and study the causes of dissension which even at that time had begun to show themselves; and now, when hostilities had actually broken out, so far as France had influence with other European powers, it was sure to be exercised, directly or indirectly, in favor of the revolting colonies. Nothing could be expected from Prussia. Said Frederick to a party of Englishmen: "If you intend conciliation, some of your measures are too rough; and if subjection, too gentle. In short, I do not understand these matters; I have no colonies. I hope you will extricate yourselves advantageously; but I own the affair seems rather perplexing." And as to European sentiment generally, John Moore, an English physician,

travelling through the principal cities in 1775, wrote from Vienna:

European opinion.

"At present, the inhabitants of the Continent seem as impatient as those of Great Britain for news from the other side of the Atlantic; but with this difference, that here they are all of one mind, — all praying for success to the Americans, and rejoicing in every piece of bad fortune which happens to our army."[1]

Aid from the petty German States.

But there were no large political considerations to influence the decisions of the petty German princes of Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Hanau, and others, when England asked for their assistance. It was simply a question of the purchase of so much war material, and negotiations depended upon nothing but price, and the skill of buyer and seller. As early as the summer of 1775, Sir Joseph Yorke, who had been instructed to look into the condition of these markets, reported that men enough could be had if the price could be agreed upon. In due time, when it was determined that the most vigorous measures should be taken for the campaign of 1776, Colonel William Fawcett was sent to conclude with these needy princes the purchase of their subjects, to carry on a foreign war for the subjection of a free people. There was little or no voluntary service, except among officers; men were compelled to enlist, and a stipulated price per head was paid by England to the potentates who claimed the right to dispose of their people as suited their own purposes.

Even George III. had grace enough to feel some compunction at a transaction disgraceful to the England of the eighteenth century. "To give," said the King, — when offers were made to the English agent to open recruiting offices, — "German officers authority to raise recruits for me, is, in plain English, neither more nor less than to become a man-stealer, which I cannot look upon as a very honorable occupation." But the offices were opened, the men were forced to enlist, and the princes were paid by England. The Duke of Brunswick, — who was surrounded by mistresses, who gave the manager of his opera an annual salary of thirty thousand thalers, and his librarian, Lessing, three hundred, — sent off his quota of men with insufficient clothing, without overcoats, with no supply of shoes and stockings; and their commander, Baron Riedesel, was compelled to borrow in England five thousand pounds to meet their most common wants.[2] The first division of these German troops sailed from England for Quebec in April, 1776. Others followed, in the course of the summer and autumn, for New York.[3] Months before the evacuation of Boston, it

[1] *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany.* By John Moore, M. D. (London, 1786.) Letter 96.

[2] See *The German Element in the War of Independence.* By George Washington Greene.

[3] The whole number of German troops sent to America is thus given by Dr. Kapp, after a careful collation with the statements in the State Paper office in London: —

had become clear that the base of future operations must be at some other point along the coast. To increase the army there, and attempt to break up the siege, promised no gain which would compensate for the loss that must inevitably follow. Moreover, the rebellion was gathering force; and it was evident that it had already assumed dimensions so formidable that it was no longer possible to crush it by a single blow at a single point, as was at first supposed might be done.[1]

New York as a base of operations.

It was determined, therefore, that the central point of military movements for 1776 must be New York. Here was an unequalled harbor, with the Sound on one side and the Hudson on the other, — both strategic lines for the British, who had command of the sea. On land the army could control New York and the Jerseys, and break up all concert of action between New England and the more southern provinces. This was the English view of the situation, and it was so obvious that Washington assumed New York to be Howe's objective point on evacuating Boston, and took his own measures accordingly.

The New York Provincial Congress and the Committee of Safety.

In New York, as in some other colonies, the functions of the Provincial Congress had devolved upon a Committee of Safety of a hundred members. There were Tories upon this committee; or rather, — to speak with entire accuracy, — there were conservative members who afterwards became Tories. Things had gone very far before that hard and fast line was drawn which made the impassable barrier between Whig and Tory. To this party belonged many of the best and the wisest of the colonists. John Adams put them at about one third of the whole people. Their names are often found attached to those earlier protests and remonstrances with which it was hoped to avert the despotic purposes of the King and his ministers. They held to the hope of conciliation and compromise, long after their neighbors had seen that there was no choice but absolute submission or resistance to the death. There were

Brunswick	5,723	Waldeck	1,225
Hesse-Cassel . . .	16,992	Anspach	1,644
Hesse-Hanau . . .	2,422	Anhalt-Zerbst . . .	1,100
		Total	29,166

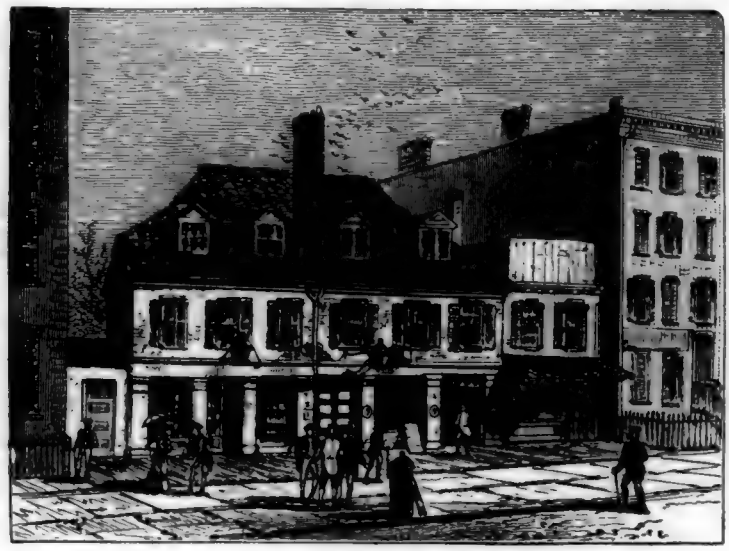
Of these, 17,313 returned home, leaving 11,853 to be accounted for.

[1] A change of base was talked of as early as July, 1775, as appears from what Burgoyne wrote to Lord Rochford, Secretary for the colonies: "General Gage seems to be not disinclined to an idea of evacuating Boston, if he can make himself master of New York, and of taking up his winter quarters there; and there is much solid reason in favor of it. The post, in a military view, is much more important, and more proper to begin the operations of next year's campaign. In political consideration, yet more might be said for it, and in regard to general supply, the neighborhood of Long Island, and other adjacent Islands, would afford some assistance that we want here." — Fonblanque's *Burgoyne*, p. 181.

many of this class in New York; some of them belonged to the Committee of One Hundred, and they took advantage of their position to aid the royal cause on the plea of preserving the peace.

The Sons of Liberty.

But there was a committee within the Committee, composed of that class of men — the "Sons of Liberty" — who had little faith in Prince or Parliament, who had a strong belief in the inherent right of self-government, and were quite ready to stake everything upon that issue; who were quick to see and ready to resent any encroachment of arbitrary power. If the One Hundred were too cautious, the smaller number were always ready for any emergency; if these sometimes were regardless of a wise prudence, and their actions tended to precipitate a contest without sufficient preparation, the larger number by their very inertness staved off catastrophe. If one party hastened slowly, there was no lack of watchfulness in the other, no abatement of activity to keep up the movement of steady and uncompromising resistance to everything that threatened the popular cause.

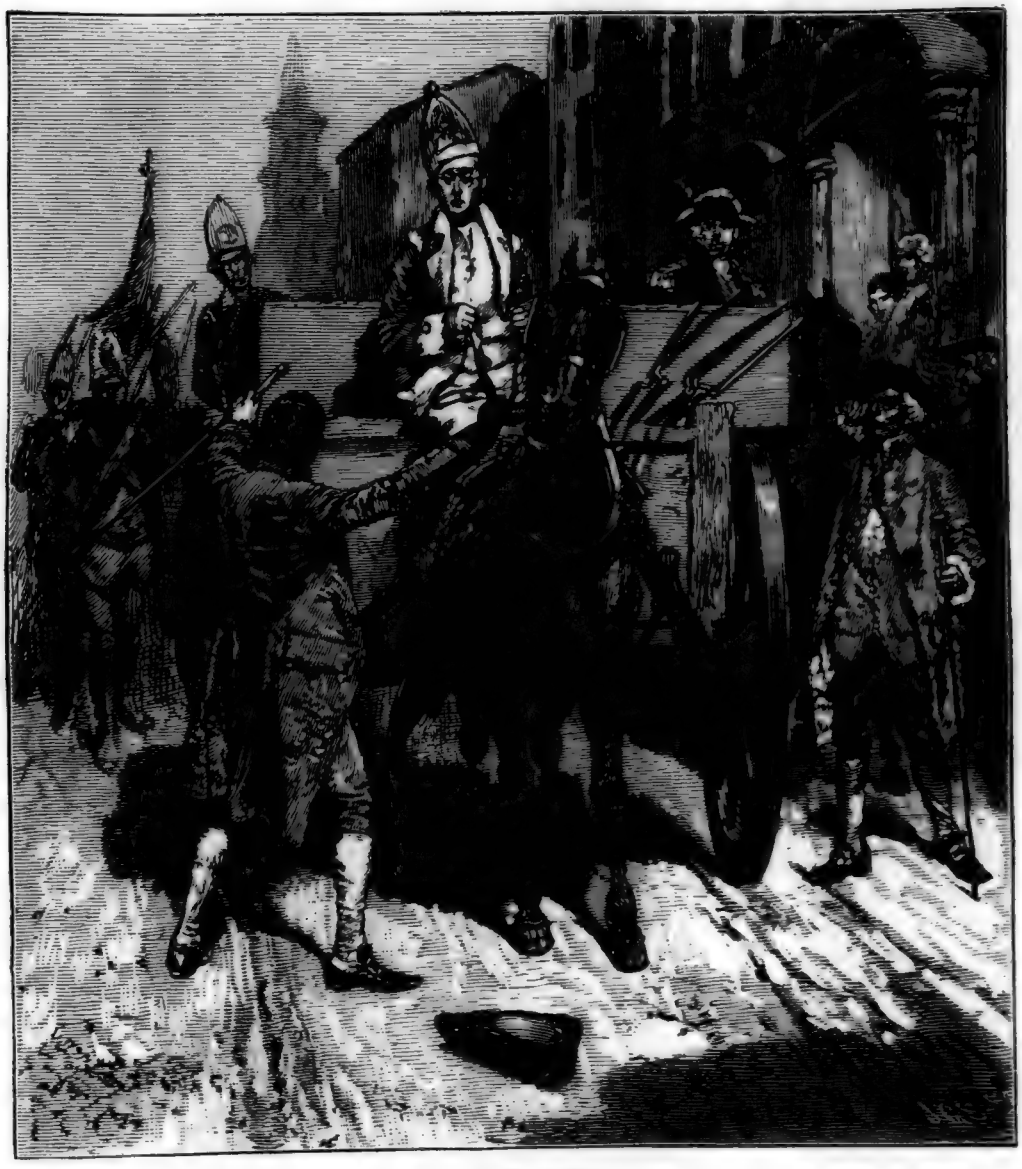


Burns's Coffee-house, Broadway, opposite Bowling Green. Headquarters of the Sons of Liberty.

New York prepares for war.

When the news of the engagements at Lexington and Concord reached New York, immediate steps were taken to prepare for war, if war was to come. A public meeting assembled in the City Hall, and all the arms and munitions in the arsenal, which was a part of that building, were secured. A company, led by John Lamb and Isaac Sears, two of the most active of the "Sons of Liberty," arrested all the British vessels in port about to sail for Boston; a vessel loaded with rum, to which the Collector had refused a permit, because the rum was supposed to be for the use of the insurgents, was taken possession of, and her cargo discharged; the keys of the custom-house were demanded of the Collector, and the building closed. A military company was formed, the arms taken from the arsenal were put into their hands, cannon were collected, and measures promptly but quietly taken to put the city in a state of defence. The imperative need was arms and munitions of war. At

Turtle Bay, on the East River, was a deposit of military stores belonging to the King. Lamb, with some of his associates, approached it by night from the river, surprised the guard, and carried off everything of value. So, when the British garrison were ordered to join the army in Boston, they were not permitted to take with them any



Marinus Willett's Exploit.

arms except those they carried in their hands. It was agreed that they should embark unmolested, and this was one of those acts of prudence, on the part of the Committee of One Hundred, of which their more ardent compatriots did not approve. The intention undoubtedly was, to avoid a collision, which, as General Wooster was already in camp outside of New York with an army of volunteers from Connecticut, might have been easily provoked. It was believed,

on the one hand, that the whole garrison could have been taken prisoners; on the other, it was thought best not to run the risk of a bombardment of the town by the naval vessels in the harbor. The decision of the Committee was acquiesced in, but the acquiescence went only to the letter of the agreement. As the troops marched at noon down Broad Street, preceded by five carts loaded with arms, they were met at the corner of Beaver Street by Marinus Willett, who boldly seized the first horse by the head and brought the whole line to a halt. A crowd instantly gathered, among them the Mayor, Whitehead Hicks, and Gouverneur Morris. The commanding officer demanded the reason of this interruption. Willett answered that permission was given only that the troops should embark unmolested, not that they should take away arms. Hicks and Morris expostulated. "You are right!" shouted John Morin Scott, an eminent Son of Liberty. Willett jumped upon the cart, and declared the arms should not be taken to be used against their "Bretheren in Massechusettes." If the soldiers, he said, desired to "Join the Bloody business which was transacting near Boston, we were ready to meet them in the Sanguin field," but if any of them "felt a repugnance to the unnatural work," and would leave the ranks, they should be protected. He then led the first cart into Beaver Street out of the line of march, and the rest followed, the officers making no attempt to stop him, and no reply to his appeal. Only one of the soldiers, however, accepted his invitation to desert, and marched off with the carts, cheered and protected by the crowd.[1]

Willett's exploit.

A few weeks later the Continental Congress made a requisition upon New York for cannon, to be placed at several points on the Hudson for the defence of the course of that river. The Provincial Congress ordered the Battery to be dismantled, and the enterprise was entrusted to Captain Lamb with a military company, and Sears at the head of a band of volunteers. The English line-of-battle-ship *Asia* lay at anchor not far distant; she sent a boat ashore, and in an encounter between her crew and the men at the Battery, several of the sailors were wounded, and one was killed. The *Asia* opened fire upon the fort, but all the mounted guns were nevertheless removed.[2]

The cannon removed from the Battery.

The situation grew every month, almost every week, more critical.

[1] *Marinus Willett's Narrative.* In a volume of original papers published by the Mercantile Library Association, of New York, under the title: *New York City During the Revolution*, with a valuable introduction by Henry B. Dawson.

[2] Six months afterwards General Lee removed the remaining guns which were not mounted, from the fort, without opposition from the ships. "Indeed," he says, in a letter to the President of Congress, "I even consider their menaces to fire upon the town as idle gasconade." — *Lee Papers*, vol. i., *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*

Between Whigs and Tories, the difference was irremediable; neither could allow that one might be mistaken without being wicked; and as both held the opinions of the other side to be felonious, persecution was inevitable wherever one side was stronger than the other. The patriots were the stronger in and about New York; but the Tories were strong enough to make a determined fight, hoping to gain the ascendency if sufficiently reënforced from England. "Rivington's New York Gazetteer" was their mouth-piece, and was bold and aggressive. It was determined to suppress it, and

The feeling between Whigs and Tories.


THURSDAY Nov. 23, 1775. [Nº 136]

RIVINGTON's

NEW-YORK GAZETTEER;

OR, THE

Connecticut, Hudson's River, New-Jersey, and Quebec

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

PRINTED at his OPEN and UNINFLUENCED PRESS fronting HANOVER-SQUARE.

Head of Rivington's Gazetteer.

for that purpose Isaac Sears, who had removed to New Haven, visited New York at the head of more than a hundred men. On the way they burned a sloop at Mamaroneck. Entering the city, they rode in perfect order down Broadway and Wall Street, at the foot of which was Rivington's office. This they completely sacked, carrying away the type to cast into bullets, and offered to give Rivington, in return, an order on Lord Dunmore, of Virginia, for a new supply, he having seized and confiscated a printing-office in Norfolk which belonged to a Whig.

Destruction of "Rivington's Gazetteer."

Sears was never so happy as when suppressing Tories, several of whom he captured on this expedition, and took back with him to New Haven. Some months later Lee made him an Adjutant-general, with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. "He is," he wrote to Washington, "a creature of much spirit and publick virtue. and ought to have his back clapped." Sears's first duty in his new office was to suppress the Tories of Long Island. In a report to Lee, he wrote: "I arrived at Newtown, and tendered the oath to four of the grate Tories, which they swallowed as hard as if it was a four pound shot that they ware trying to git down." This was the "iron-clad" oath which Lee had forced upon the Tories of New Haven.

Isaac Sears.

When Lee was ordered by Washington to take command at New York, the Committee of Safety were greatly alarmed lest his appearance should provoke Tryon — who had fled to one of the men-of-war in the harbor — to put in execution his threat to bombard the town. The Committee pleaded the defenceless

Lee takes command at New York.

condition of the place, and especially their want of powder; but the more ardent patriots, who, by such actions as we have just related, had kept up the enthusiasm of the people, welcomed the news of Lee's coming. Lee himself wrote the Committee that they might be "perfectly easy." "If," he said, "the ships of war are quiet, I shall be quiet; but I declare solemnly that if they make a pretext of my presence to fire on the town, the first house set in flames by their guns shall be the funeral pile of some of their best friends." He should only bring into the city enough men to protect it; but "If Mr. Tryon and the Captains of the ships of war are to prescribe what numbers are, and what numbers are not, to enter the town, ... the condition is too humiliating for freemen to put up with."



General Charles Lee.[1]

Fortifying New York.

But the ample bay, the two navigable rivers, and the waters of the Sound beyond, were important features in the question of defence. Clearly, whoever commanded the sea had an important advantage, for New York could be surrounded by a fleet. The width of the North River appeared, to Lee at least, to render its obstruction to the passage of ships impossible; and on the other side, the Sound was open to them as far as Hell Gate. A hostile squadron could thus take up a position on the flanks and in the rear of Manhattan Island, and with the assistance of land forces, compel the evacuation of the town. The General saw this at a glance, and so reported to Washington; but at the same time he believed the position offered an opportunity for delaying and embarrassing an

[1] This picture, reproduced in Moore's *Treason of Charles Lee* (from which we copy it), was originally engraved for a work written by Dr. Thomas Girdlestone, to prove that Lee was the author of the Junius Letters. It is from a likeness taken when Lee returned from Poland, in his uniform as aid-de-camp to King Stanislaus. Girdlestone says: "Though designed as a caricature, it was allowed, by all who knew General Lee, to be the only successful delineation, either of his countenance or person."

enemy; that if it could not be converted into a permanent military base for the Americans, it could be made a costly capture for the British; and on this theory he proceeded to construct a system of defences, to turn New York into what he termed "a disputable field of battle."

He proposed first to make it secure, at least against a direct attack in front, presenting as bold a face toward the sea as the situation admitted. The salient point he judged to be the present Columbia Heights on the Brooklyn side of the East River, for the reason that it commanded the city and the river. There he laid out an intrenched camp with strong redoubts, one of which was thrown up on the edge of the bluff, at the foot of the present Clark Street, and nearly opposite a point on the New York side between Fulton and Wall Street ferries, where its guns could sweep the channel or bombard New York, should the enemy succeed in landing within the town limits. This work was named Fort Stirling, and was the most important in Lee's plan. Several batteries were erected on the New York side of the river, from the ship-yards to Whitehall Slip, which, in conjunction with Fort Stirling, were expected to make the passage of men-of-war along that channel a hazardous venture. To prevent their coming down the Sound, a fort was built by Colonel Drake's Westchester County militiamen, at Horn's Hook, opposite Hell Gate.

Works on Brooklyn Heights.

And in New York.

For the protection of the west side of the city, nothing was attempted beyond the erection of works at various points below Canal Street, to keep the ships out of the river. No attempt was made to fortify the Jersey side.

At Fort George and the Grand Battery at the foot of Broadway the works were strengthened; but the General had little confidence in their ability to withstand a vigorous bombardment. That the enemy, however, might not obtain a foothold there, he tore down the rear of Fort George, threw up a parallel across Broadway, at Bowling Green, to command its interior, and had the streets in the vicinity barricaded. In a word, he sought to turn New York into a fortified military camp.

The work had only been begun, when, on the 6th of March, Congress divided the southern and middle colonies into two military departments, and transferred Lee to the command of the former, leaving Lord Stirling to carry out the plan his predecessor had adopted. Nothing was lost by the change, for the new commander hurried on the work with the utmost energy. Washington's orders, now that he saw the siege of Boston near its end, were imperative that no time should be lost in preparing for what he

Lord Stirling takes command.

knew the spring would bring. Stirling[1] recruited troops on every side, and ordered out all the male inhabitants that had remained in town, black and white alike, to dig on the fortifications. The slaves were to work every day. On the Brooklyn side the scattered residents were directed to report with spades, hoes, and pickaxes, to Colonel Ward, whose Connecticut regiment had been stationed there. The troops under Stirling at this point consisted, about the middle of March, of the two Connecticut regiments that Lee brought with him, New York militia from Westchester, Orange, and Dutchess counties, under Colonels Drake, Swartwout, and Van Ness, Stirling's New Jersey Continentals, and other small detachments, which, with the two city "independent" battalions, made up an irregular force of about four thousand men. The city military companies were composed of citizens of means and influence, under Colonels John Lasher and William Heyer, and in time of peace attracted attention by their varied and showy uniforms. Many of them were now found true to the colonies, and remained in the ranks. One of their number, — afterwards Major, — Nicholas Fish, tells us of their working on the redoubts, though "it did not agree well with the tender hands and delicate textures of many," and doing their part with "amazing agility and neatness."



Lord Stirling.

The joyful news of the success at Boston reached the busy garrison while matters were in this condition. Washington did not lose a moment, after Howe's evacuation, in hurrying the New England army to New York. The Pennsylvania and Virginia riflemen had already been sent on, when Generals Heath, Sullivan, Spencer, and Greene reached the city with their forces — twenty-two regiments — at intervals during April. The artillery was under Knox, and Putnam took the chief command till the arrival of Washington. Colonel Rufus Putnam, the chief engi-

Washington hurries his forces to New York.

[1] This officer, who henceforth was to be identified with the fortunes of Washington's army to the close of the war, was a native of New York, became afterwards a resident of New Jersey, and claimed the title to an earldom through his Scotch descent. His name was William Alexander.

neer, was also sent, with instructions to stop on his way at Providence and Newport, and lay out such further defences as might be required at either place. Last of all followed the Commander-in-chief, who left Cambridge on April 4th, passed through Providence, and arrived at New York on the 13th. Here he fixed his headquarters temporarily at a house in Pearl Street, at the foot of Cedar Street.

Washington arrives in the city.

If the town had been like a busy camp in February and early March, it was now, with its great garrison, altogether given over to the hurry of military preparation. Families hastened into the country; often, in their fear, leaving the city in the worst of weather, and abandoning their dwellings to the soldiery. As early as April 9th, Major Fish was impressed with the change that had already occurred, and wrote to a friend that the society of the town had been abandoned by "most of its members, especially the fair;" the barricading of the streets, and other military matters were, he said, his "current employment." Some of the troops were quartered in houses at the foot of Broadway, and made sad havoc with their interiors, to the great grief and loss of their Tory owners. The few merchants who remained raised their goods to an enormous price. Rum, sugar, and cotton, went up immoderately; some articles could not be had at all. One writer notes that there was quite a panic about "pins." In every way this lately flourishing centre of colonial trade suffered the evils of a military occupation. One Jacob Harsin told the whole story when he added, in a postscript to a letter to a friend, "We are now a City of Waar."

The city as a military camp.



Israel Putnam.

While there was such strained activity here at the central point, the British plans had other ends in view than the capture of the metropolis, and in one quarter at least these plans were already working. The expedition to the southern colonies was the King's favorite project. Dunmore and Martin, the royal gov-

The Southern expedition.

ernors of Virginia and North Carolina, had made such sanguine representations of the ease with which both colonies could be brought to submission, that great things were hoped for in that quarter the moment the Governors were provided with a small force to back their authority. The seven regiments sent for this purpose had been selected by the King himself. They were led by Earl Cornwallis, and the fleet was commanded by Admiral Peter Parker; but Clinton, who, as we have seen, had been detached from the force at Boston, met them near Wilmington and assumed the general command. The work done — for it was believed it would be short, — the generals had orders to return north, and Cornwallis was to go at once to Canada.

Dunmore and Martin misunderstood the popular sentiment of their colonies. Dunmore had already exasperated the Virginians with his threats, and forays, and attempts to incite insurrection among the slaves. Martin, in North Carolina, issued a proclamation on the 10th of January denouncing the "daring, horrid, and unnatural rebellion" existing in the province, and calling upon all faithful subjects to erect his Majesty's standard and unite in its support. He was sure of gathering a large force of loyalists, and it was this that determined the destination, in the first instance, of Cornwallis's expedition. The settlers along the upper part of Cape Fear River, round about Cross Creek (the present Fayetteville), were chiefly Highlanders, who had emigrated from Scotland after the defeat of the Pretender, at Culloden, thirty years before; and were now, out of gratitude and by an oath of allegiance, bound to take up the King's cause in America. Among their leaders were the McDonalds, the McLeods, and the Stuarts, and to them Martin issued commissions with authority and orders to muster their men at Brunswick on the 15th of February, and then march to the coast to coöperate with Clinton and Cornwallis. Donald McDonald, as colonel, quickly gathered a force fifteen hundred strong, mostly Scotchmen and old "regulators," and prepared to carry out Martin's instructions. But the Governor's January proclamation also had another response. The Highlanders and the disaffected were no more prompt to obey, than the patriotic party were to disobey it. The resolute and conscientious Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the back counties, and the majority of the inhabitants along the coast, took up arms, but it was against the King; Martin, frightened from his headquarters at Newbern, was compelled to issue his commands from on board the sloop-of-war *Scorpion*, anchored off Wilmington.

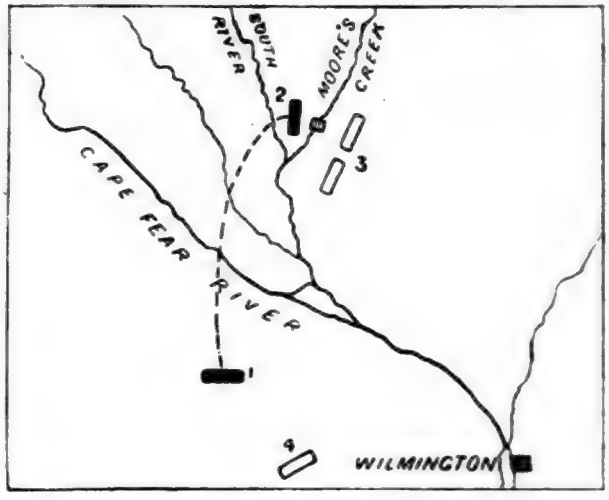
The militia rise.

When the mustering of McDonald's clans and "banditti" was heard of, the provincial militia were called out, to prevent them from reaching the Governor. Brigadier-general James Moore, of New Hanover, with his regiment of five hundred State

troops, and some others, marched to Rockfish Bridge, within seven miles of the Scotchmen's camp at Fayetteville. On the 19th he was joined by Colonel Lillington with Wilmington minute-men, Colonel Kenon with Duplin volunteers, and Colonel Ashe with independent rangers. Among these soldiers were "men of the first fortunes" in the State, who, to encourage others, "footed it the whole time."[1] Moore's force was still one or two hundred less than McDonald's. On the 20th, the latter moved within four miles of Moore, and gave him until noon of the next day to join the royal standard. Moore returned the Highlander's consideration by allowing him exactly the same time to lay down his arms and be received as a friend and countryman of America. Otherwise, he should be treated as an enemy.

That night McDonald gave the Americans the slip, and, passing them by a rapid march, headed for the coast. Moore instantly sent expresses in all directions for troops to gather at certain points to intercept the Scotchmen. Colonel Richard Caswell, a trusted citizen of Lenoir County, was coming up with eight hundred militia from Newbern; and to him word was sent to find and "by every means in his power distress, harass, and obstruct" the enemy on their way, while Colonel Lillington made a forced march to Widow Moore's Creek Bridge, twenty-five miles above Wilmington, near the South River, across which McDonald would have to move. All these detachments, directed by General Moore, made extraordinary exertions to overtake the enemy. Lillington reached the bridge on the 26th, some hours before the loyalists, and was joined in the afternoon by Caswell, who took command, tore up the planks, and erected a breastwork across the road on the lower side. The loyalists came on early the next morning. McDonald, their chief, who had fought at Culloden, had been taken ill and remained in his tent, leaving the command to Colonel McLeod, a veteran of the same field. In the ranks were the husband and son of Flora McDonald, who had won the affection of these people by helping Charles Edward, the Pretender, to escape in disguise, and who

McDonald eludes them.



Moore's Creek Bridge.

1, 2, positions of the Loyalists; 3, 4, positions of the Americans.

[1] Letter in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. v., p. 959.

now, an emigrant to North Carolina, stood faithful to King George in return for her pardon.

The fight at Moore's Creek Bridge.

When the enemy reached the bridge to attack, Caswell's post on the opposite side appeared to them to be abandoned. McLeod, with Captain Campbell following, charged across the still standing timbers, and, with part of the force, rushed within thirty paces of the American intrenchment, when Caswell's and Lillington's men rose from their cover and delivered a terribly destructive fire, killing the two leaders, and wounding or killing nearly forty others. Twenty balls pierced McLeod, who had almost reached the breastwork. "In a very few minutes," as Moore reported, "their whole army was put to the flight," and numbers were captured, among whom was McDonald. The victory was complete. Eight hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, disarmed, and discharged, and fifteen hundred excellent rifles were secured, besides a box of money and chests of medicines. Colonel Moore reached the ground at the close of the battle, and the united provincial force, which had but two men wounded in the action, slept that night on the field.

This affair determined the fate of Toryism in North Carolina, breaking Martin's power and blasting his hopes. Within two weeks, nearly ten thousand men were in arms in the State to resist the threatened invasion. For four years after, until Cornwallis reappeared in 1780, North Carolina enjoyed comparative quiet, and lent her aid to other colonies.

Parker's fleet arrives.

All this took place while Clinton was at Wilmington, and while the ships of the British expedition were one by one arriving there; but it was not until the 3d of May that Admiral Parker reached Cape Fear from Cork with the last of his fleet. The fifty-gun ship *Bristol*, with Cornwallis on board, had been eighty-one days on the voyage. Gales and calms delayed them. Finding what had happened in Martin's government, Cornwallis wrote to Germain: "I must still more lament the fatal delays that prevented the armament from arriving in time in this Province." Nothing remained but to make an attempt on Charleston, and thither the expedition sailed during the last days of May.

Preparations for war in South Carolina.

South Carolina stood ready to bear her share in the struggle. Her early sympathy with Massachusetts, and now with the common Continental cause, had culminated in the most active preparation for the defence of her own borders. Much had already been done. Colonel Christopher Gadsden had been appointed to command the first regiment on the Continental basis, and William Moultrie the second. William Thompson led a regiment of rangers or riflemen, all approved marksmen, the Colonel being the

best shot among them; and the militia were organized to be ready at the earliest call. The large disaffected part of the population was watched, and prevented from disturbing the measures for meeting the enemy at the sea. The militiamen on the North Carolina border were notified to march to the assistance of their sister colony on the first alarm; but now that the danger had passed in that quarter, North Carolina had already sent a regiment without waiting for the summons.

The safety of the colony depended in the present emergency upon the security of Charleston harbor. Without the coöperation of the men-of-war, Clinton would be powerless; and without the possession of the harbor the ships could not coöperate. To hold it from the enemy, accordingly, the military authorities of the State exerted their best energies. The defences begun in 1775 were pushed on rapidly. At the entrance to the harbor on the north side lay Sullivan's Island, a long, low, marshy, and wooded strip of land; and opposite, on the south side, James Island, much larger, was practically a part of the main coast. Here Gadsden was stationed, while Sullivan's Island was intrusted to Moultrie and Thompson. On the north side, nearer the city, at Haddrell's Point, Brigadier-general Armstrong, whom Congress had sent down from Pennsylvania, took command. The city itself was subjected to much the same treatment as New York. Along the water-front, batteries and breastworks were thrown up. Valuable storehouses were torn down at the docks, to give room for the play of the cannon; the streets were barricaded; the leaden weights of the windows of the churches and houses were moulded into bullets, and boats, wagons, and horses impressed. Lee arrived on the 4th of June to assume command, and was constantly active in providing further means of defence.

Defences for Charleston.

The point of greatest importance in the harbor defences was the fort which Colonel Moultrie and his men had been building on Sullivan's Island, where the channel ran nearest to the shore. This was Fort Sullivan, and in shape and size it resembled Fort George at the Battery in New York, — a square with four bastions, large enough to hold a thousand men. Night and day the soldiers and carpenters worked on it, and yet, says Moultrie, it was not nearly done when the enemy attacked. Only the two faces fronting the channel were complete, and on these thirty-one guns were mounted. But the best material was ready to their hands. The palmetto logs which entered largely into the construction of the work, with their tough and spongy fibre, were hardly less serviceable than a mail of iron, and there was plenty of sand to support them. The walls were sixteen feet thick, and the centre of the fort was a swamp.

The enemy made their appearance in the offing on the 31st of May. Though expected, the news startled Charleston. President Rutledge and his Council immediately sent expresses throughout the State to hasten the march of the militia to the coast. Citizens packed off their families into the country. Everybody went to work more vigorously on the defences, — slaves and masters alike. Lee showed distrust in the ability of Moultrie and his fort to keep back the fleet, and once he recommended abandonment of the post. At all events, he urged the immediate building of a bridge of boats between Sullivan's Island and the main. But Moultrie had no thought of turning back. One day, when Lee visited him, he took him aside and asked, "Colonel, do you think you can maintain this post?" "Yes, I think I can," was Moultrie's reply. When finally the ships came over the bar, his temper was again tested. "Well, Colonel," said Captain Lamperer, an old sailor, "what do you think of it now?" "I think we shall beat them." "Sir, when those ships come to lie alongside of your fort, they will knock it down in half an hour." "Then we will lie behind the ruins and prevent their men from landing," replied Moultrie.

The British fleet appears.

After long delay, the British advanced to the attack, on the morning of the 28th of June. The land forces had debarked on Long Island, lying north of Sullivan's but a short distance; and they were to attack Thompson first and then Moultrie, in the flank and rear, while the fleet should bombard the fort in front. Between ten and eleven o'clock the men-of-war sailed up the channel opposite to Moultrie's palmetto work, and the action opened. There were two fifty-gun ships, the *Bristol* and *Experiment;* the frigates *Actæon*, *Active*, *Solebay*, *Sphynx*, and *Syren*, of twenty-eight guns each; the mortar-ship *Thunder Bomb*, and two smaller vessels. Two hundred guns were here to be trained on the devoted post. The *Solebay* led the squadron, with the *Bristol*, flying Admiral Parker's pennant, third in line. As they approached within range, the Americans opened fire on the leading vessels, but no reply was made until the fleet had come to anchor close to the fort. The bombardment now began, and was sustained in "one continual blaze and roar." Deserters reported that Moultrie's first fire killed a man in the *Bristol's* tops, whereupon the Admiral ordered the tops to be cleared.[1] Shot poured against the side of the fort, but they sank into the logs, without splintering or dislodging them; the shells that fell within plunged mostly into the marsh or deep sand, and seldom exploded, so that the ships' fire proved less damaging than might have been inferred from the sound of the repeated and simultaneous discharges.

The attack.

[1] Gadsden to Moultrie. *Force.*



DEFENCE OF FORT SULLIVAN.

Moultrie's men withstood the ordeal with unfailing courage and discipline. The Colonel, who was suffering from the gout, smoked his pipe with his officers. Their guns were well aimed, and the balls tore through the ships with fatal effect. All through the long and hot afternoon the bombardment was kept up, and neither side showed signs of yielding. Once the flag of the fort, a blue banner with a silver crescent, bearing the word "Liberty," was shot away, but Sergeant William Jasper boldly leaped the parapet, and replaced it securely on the bastion in the hottest of the fire. Jasper's exploit. On the other hand the *Bristol's* cables were cut by the shot, and as she swung around, bringing her decks within range of the American guns, they poured in a deadly fire. The ship and her crew suffered terribly. Captain Morris was taken below, wounded in several places, and his arm shot away. Every man on the quarter deck was either killed or wounded, the Admiral standing alone at one time in the thickest of the shot. He escaped with his clothes torn and a slight wound. The *Experiment* suffered hardly less than the *Bristol*. "Mind the Commodore!" "Mind the fifty-gun ships!" was Moultrie's order; and their death-roll showed how effectively the artillerists did their work, these two ships alone suffering a loss of sixty-three killed and one hundred and forty-seven wounded. Three of the other ships attempted to take position westward of the fort, but all ran aground. The *Actæon* next morning was abandoned and burned. By seven in the evening, the ships' fire slackened, and at nine they slipped their cables and withdrew two miles from the Island. Clinton, with the land forces, had attempted to cross from Long Island to Sullivan's Island, but the fire from Thompson's battery, and the depth of the ford, frustrated his plans. The final repulse.

The victory was complete. Congratulations poured in upon Moultrie. His regiment was presented with a pair of beautiful banners. Lee, who had visited the fort during the engagement, and pointed some of the guns himself, wrote to Washington of Moultrie's men: "The cool courage they displayed astonished and enraptured me, for I do assure you, my dear General, I never experienced a hotter fire. Twelve full hours it was continued without intermission. The noble fellows who were mortally wounded, enjoined their brethren never to abandon the Standard of Liberty."[1] The garrison lost ten men killed, and twenty-nine wounded. From that day the fort was known as Fort Moultrie. The decisive character of this action convinced the British of the improbability of success in that quarter, and the expedition sailed for New York. The results.

[1] *The Lee Papers. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*

CHAPTER XIX.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF INDEPENDENCE. — PAINE'S "COMMON SENSE." — THE MENDON RESOLUTIONS. — THE SUFFOLK RESOLUTIONS. — THE CHESTER RESOLUTION. — THE MECKLENBURG RESOLUTIONS. — ACTION OF THE SEVERAL COLONIES, AND OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. — LEE'S RESOLUTIONS. — THE COMMITTEE TO DRAFT A DECLARATION OF REASONS. — INDEPENDENCE DECLARED. — JEFFERSON'S DECLARATION. — THE SLAVE-TRADE CLAUSE. — RECEPTION BY THE PEOPLE. — FORMATION OF THE STATE CONSTITUTIONS.



The Liberty Bell.

UP to the autumn of 1775, the growth of the feeling in favor of proclaiming independence had been very slow. But after the royal proclamation had severed all relations except those between a government and rebels who have

"traitorously levied war" against it, the sentiment spread through the country. As Hancock said, affairs were "hastening fast to a crisis." Views which a twelvemonth before would have been denounced as treasonable and dangerous, were now freely expressed in conversation, in letters, and in pamphlets that had a wide circulation. Franklin, who in March, 1775, personally assured Lord Chatham that, although he had travelled widely in America, he never had heard, "in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober," the least expression in favor of independence, wrote to a friend in Holland, at the close of the year, that American independence was likely to be declared before long. When Congress assembled in May, 1775, the Massachusetts delegates were suspected of leaning toward separation, which even the most active Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia were unprepared for, and they said to Adams on his arrival, "You must not utter the word independence, nor give the least hint or insinuation of the idea, either in Congress or in any private conversation; if you do, you are undone, for the idea is as unpopular in Pennsylvania, and all the Middle and Southern States, as the Stamp Act itself." Early in 1776 Adams wrote that scarcely a newspaper was issued which did not openly vindicate the opinions so recently denounced.

Growth of independence.



Thomas Paine.

The publication which had the widest influence at this juncture was undoubtedly Thomas Paine's "Common Sense." Paine was an Englishman, with literary tastes and ambition, who, at the age of thirty-seven, came to America in December, 1774, taught pupils in Philadelphia, and edited the "Pennsylvania Magazine." He was befriended by Dr. Benjamin Rush, and at his suggestion wrote, under that famous title, a pamphlet which presented a strong and original plea for independence. It appeared anonymously in January, 1776, and had a wide circulation. Everybody read it, and nearly everybody was influenced by it. "All men, whether in England or America," wrote Paine, "confess that a separation between

Paine's "Common Sense."

the countries will take place one time or other. To find out the very time, we need not go far, for the time hath found us. . . . . There is something absurd in supposing a continent perpetually governed by an island. . . . . Britain is the parent country, say some; then the more shame upon her conduct. . . . . A government of our own is our natural right. . . . . We have boasted the protection of Great Britain without considering that her motive was interest, not attachment; that she did not protect us from our enemies on our account, but from her enemies on her own account, — from those who had no quarrel with us on any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the same account."

The Mendon Resolutions.

The Colonial Declaration of Independence, which was soon to follow, was to some extent anticipated by the action of various towns and counties. The first of them all, probably, was the town of Mendon, Worcester County, Mass., which in 1773 adopted these resolutions: —

"*Resolved*, That all men have an equal right to life, liberty, and property. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That all just and lawful government must originate in the free consent of the people.

"*Resolved*, That a right to liberty and property (which are natural means of self-preservation) is absolutely inalienable, and can never lawfully be given up by ourselves or taken from us by others."[1]

Here are three of the fundamental propositions of the great Declaration, — that all men have an equal right to life and liberty;[2] that this right is inalienable; and that just government must originate in the free consent of the people. Following these were the Suffolk Resolutions, adopted by the delegates for Suffolk County, Massachusetts, in a meeting at Milton, September 6, 1774, bearing a similar resemblance to the Colonial Declaration, especially in the catalogue of grievances. Dr. (afterward General) Joseph Warren was chairman of the committee that reported them, and is believed to have been their author. The preamble declares that "the power but not the justice, the vengeance but not the wisdom of Great Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursue us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity," and that "if a boundless extent of continent, swarming with millions, will tamely submit to live, move, and have their being at the arbitrary will of a licentious ministry, they basely yield to voluntary slavery." It also recites some of the more flagrant

The Suffolk Resolutions.

[1] *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April 27, 1870.

[2] The addition of "the pursuit of happiness" is mere rhetoric, that idea being already included in "liberty."

causes of complaint, such as the mutilation of the charter, the presence of ships of war, military murders in the streets of Boston, and the law designed to shield the murderers. The first resolution acknowledges George III. as the rightful sovereign. The second declares it the indispensable duty of the colonists to preserve civil and religious liberty. The third denounces the Boston Port Bill and kindred acts, and the fourth declares that no obedience to those acts is due from this province. The fifth declares that, so long as the justices of the several courts hold their places by any other tenure than that which the charter and laws direct, no regard ought to be paid to them by the people; and the sixth pledges the county to support and bear harmless all officers who refuse to execute the orders of the courts, at the same time recommending that disputes between citizens be referred to arbitration. The seventh advises collectors of taxes to retain the public moneys till the civil government is placed on constitutional ground. The eighth denounces those who have accepted seats at the council board by virtue of a *mandamus* from the King, and calls upon them to resign, or be considered enemies of the province. The ninth expresses alarm at the new fortifications on Boston Neck. The tenth advises that all qualified citizens use the utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war, and meet for that purpose at least once a week. The eleventh declares a purpose to act merely on the defensive, so long as that is consistent with self-preservation, and assigns "affection to his Majesty" as the reason for this. The twelfth suggests that if any citizens who have been conspicuous in contending for violated rights are arrested, the unconstitutional office-holders should be seized as hostages. The thirteenth declares the necessity for a Provincial Congress; and the fourteenth promises respect and submission to the measures of the Colonial Congress for the restoration of civil and religious rights. The fifteenth counsels order, respect for the rights of property, and "a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince our enemies that, in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise and good, and the admiration of the brave and free, of every age and every country."[1] These resolutions were sent to the Continental Congress, which approved them on September 17, and resolved that the whole continent ought to support Massachusetts in resisting the unconstitutional change in her government, and that whoever accepted office under the altered state of affairs should be considered a public enemy.

The committee of Chester County, Pennsylvania, on May 31, 1775,

[1] The resolutions may be found in the appendix to Bradford's *History of Massachusetts*.

adopted a resolution asking the citizens to pledge themselves to "learn the military exercise," and that "we will, at all times, be in readiness to defend the lives, liberties, and properties of ourselves and fellow-countrymen, against all attempts to deprive us of them."[1] Other counties took similar action. On the 6th of June, 1775, the County of Cumberland, New York (now Southern Vermont), passed unanimously a series of resolutions, the first of which declared that the late revenue acts of the British Parliament were "unjust, illegal, and diametrically opposite to the Bill of Rights;" and the second "That we will resist and oppose the said Acts of Parliament, in conjunction with our brethren in America, at the expense of our lives and fortunes, to the last extremity, if our duty to God and our country require the same."[2]

The Chester Resolution.

On the 31st of May, 1775 (the very day that Chester County, Pennsylvania, passed its resolution), the committee of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, adopted a series somewhat similar to the Suffolk resolutions of the year before. The preamble founds this action upon "an address presented to his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament in February last," wherein "the American colonies are declared to be in a state of actual rebellion." From this circumstance the Committee say they "conceive that all laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the King and Parliament, are annulled and vacated, and the former civil constitution of these colonies for the present wholly suspended." The first resolution declares all commissions granted by the Crown to be void. The second declares that no legislative or executive power exists, except in the Provincial Congress of each province. The third to the fifteenth are devoted to a code of procedure for civil disputes and the collection of taxes. The sixteenth declares that "whatever person shall hereafter receive a commission from the Crown, or attempt to exercise any such commission heretofore received, shall be deemed an enemy to his country," and the seventeenth denounces as equally criminal any person who refuses obedience to the above rules. The eighteenth pronounces these rules to be in force till the Provincial Congress shall provide otherwise, "or the legislative body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America." The nineteenth provides for the arming of the county militia, and the twentieth for the purchase of powder, lead, and flints.[3] The resolutions bear the signature of Dr. Ephraim Brevard as Clerk of the Committee, and he is believed to have been their

The Mecklenburg Resolutions.

[1] Printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, vol. ii, p. 859.

[2] Force's *American Archives*. Fourth Series, vol. ii., p. 918.

[3] Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, p. 255.

author. As soon as they were adopted, they were read from the steps of the Court House in Charlottetown, and a copy was sent by special messenger to the Congress at Philadelphia. They were published in the "South Carolina Gazette" of June 13, 1775, and a copy sent to Earl Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies, by Governor Wright of Georgia, is still in the State Paper Office, London. In a note accompanying it, Governor Wright said: "By the enclosed paper your lordship will see the extraordinary resolves by the people in Charlottetown, Mecklenburg County; and I should not be surprised if the same should be done everywhere else." It required no great sagacity to surmise that the same would be done everywhere else, inasmuch as it had been done already in so many other places. One month later, Governor Martin, of North Carolina, writing from Fort Johnston to the Secretary, says: "The minutes of a council held at this place the other day, will make the impotence of Government here as apparent to your Lordship as anything I can set before you. . . . . The situation in which I find myself at present, is indeed, my lord, most despicable and mortifying. . . . . The resolves of the committee of Mecklenburg, which your Lordship will find in the enclosed newspaper, surpass all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of the continent have yet produced." The horrified Governor assigned this bad preëminence to the Mecklenburg resolutions, not because of their intrinsic character, for they were less audacious and forcible than some of the others quoted above, but because they were uttered in his own province, and in them he read his own deposition from power. They do not appear to have attracted any attention in Congress, or even to have been officially received there, — perhaps because similar ones (notably those of Suffolk County) had already been received and acted upon.[1]

[1] The Mecklenburg resolutions of May 31 had entirely passed from memory, when in 1819 the Raleigh, N. C., *Register* published a series of five which, according to an accompanying statement purporting to have been written at the time, were adopted by the people of that county on the *twentieth* day of May, 1775. Portions of these resolutions bore a striking likeness to the most familiar parts of the Colonial Declaration of Independence — so striking as to render it morally certain that one must have been taken from the other. This was especially true of the third: "That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of the Congress; to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual coöperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honour." The accompanying statement declared that a copy of the resolutions was sent to the North Carolina delegation in Congress, and the messenger on his return reported that they "were individually approved by the members, but it was deemed premature to lay them before the House." The original manuscript was said to have been burned on the 6th of April, 1800, but a copy had been sent to Dr. Hugh Williamson, who was writing a history of North Carolina, and another to General W. R. Davie. But Williamson does not mention them

Preparations for independence.

By the spring of 1776, the uppermost thought in men's minds, all over the country, had come to be independence of England, a more perfect union of the colonies, and the establishment of a local government for each. John Adams, in the previous November, had written a letter to Richard Henry Lee, in which he says: "It is a curious problem, what form of government is most readily and easily adopted by a colony upon a sudden emergency." In this, and in another letter, written the following January, he sketched a plan for the guidance of a people seeking "to get out of the old government into a new one." [1] The desire to read the second letter, — which was the more elaborate, — was so great, and the application for copies so frequent, that it was printed, but without the author's name, and its influence was felt both in and out of Congress.[2]

in his history, and the Davie copy was accompanied by a certificate, dated September 3, 1800, which expressly declared it to be compiled solely from memory, and that it "might not literally correspond with the original record." On the publication of this document in 1819, Jefferson pronounced it "a very unjustifiable quiz," and pointed out the weakness of its claim to authenticity. John Adams expressed surprise that he had never heard of it before, and wrote to William Bentley, August 21, 1819: "I was on social friendly terms with Caswell, Hooper, and Hewes (delegates from North Carolina in the Continental Congress), every moment of their existence in Congress; with Hooper, a Bostonian and a son of Harvard, intimate and familiar. Yet from neither of the three did the slightest hint of these Mecklenburg resolutions ever escape:" and to Jefferson he wrote: "You know that if I had possessed it I would have made the hall of Congress echo and reëcho with it fifteen months before your Declaration of Independence." Furthermore, it has been shown that in August, 1775, the members of the North Carolina Provincial Congress, including four of the reputed signers of the Declaration of May 20, subscribed their names to a test of loyalty to the British Crown. The controversy that arose upon this question caused the Legislature of North Carolina, in 1830, to appoint a committee to investigate it. In 1838 Peter Force, compiling his *American Archives*, came upon an abbreviated copy of the genuine resolutions of May 31, and in 1847 Dr. Joseph Johnson found the entire series in the *South Carolina Gazette*, while about the same time George Bancroft discovered the copy in the London State Paper Office. The probable explanation then becomes obvious, namely: that the compiler of the disputed series did remember the circumstance of certain resolutions having been passed, — though making an error of eleven days in the date, — and in attempting to reproduce them was influenced by an unconscious remembrance of the far more striking expressions of the Colonial Declaration of July 4, 1776. For a conclusive discussion of this whole subject, see an article by Dr. James C. Welling, in the *North American Review* for April, 1874.

[1] See Appendix to vol. ii. of Sparks's *Writings of Washington*, and vol. iv. of *Works of John Adams*.

[2] Among the Warren Papers, in the possession of Mr. Winslow Warren, of Boston, is a letter from John Adams to James Warren, the larger portion of which is devoted to "the rise and progress" of this pamphlet on the formation of State governments. It is interesting and valuable, as showing how much the earliest State constitutions were formed upon the suggestions made by Mr. Adams. The pamphlet referred to is in *Works of John Adams*, vol. iv., but this letter has never been published, and is much fuller than anything heretofore discovered in relation to a subject of so much interest in the life of Mr. Adams, and in the constitutional history of the States. Mr. Adams says: . . . . "Inclosed you have a little Pamphlet, the rise and progress of which you shall be told. Mr. Hooper and

On the 26th of March, the General Assembly of South Carolina, — the judges of her courts refusing to exercise their functions, — adopted a Constitution for the government of that Province. It was intended, however, only as a temporary measure, to "continue to the 21st of October next and no longer," or, — as its preamble recited — "until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained, an event which, though traduced and treated as rebels, we still earnestly desire." North Carolina next took up the question — on the 12th of April — and her action was restrained by no avowed expectation of possible conciliation. The Congress of that Province voted that her delegates "in the Continental Congress be empowered to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring independency, and forming foreign alliances," reserving at the same time, — in which her example was followed by other provinces, — the right "of forming a Constitution and laws for this colony."

Action of South Carolina.

Of North Carolina.

Rhode Island, a little later, went further. On the 4th of May she declared that as George III., regardless of the compact between him and his colonial subjects, was endeavoring to compel them "to submit to the most debasing and detestable tyranny," it therefore "becomes our highest duty to use every means which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable

Of Rhode Island.

Penn, of North Carolina, received from their friends in that Colony very pressing instances to return home and attend the Convention, and at the same time to bring with them every hint they could collect concerning government.

"Mr. Hooper applied to a certain Gentleman acquainted with the tenor of his letters, and requested that Gentleman to give him his sentiments upon the subject. Soon afterwards Mr. Penn applied to the same Gentleman, and acquainted him with the contents of his letters, and requested the same favor.

"The time was very short. However, the Gentleman thinking it an opportunity, providentially thrown in his way, of communicating some hints upon a subject which seems not to have been sufficiently considered in the Southern Colonies, and so of turning the thoughts of gentlemen that way, concluded to borrow a little time from his sleep, and accordingly wrote with his own hand a sketch, which he copied, giving the original to Mr. Hooper and the copy to Mr. Penn, which they carried with them to Carolina. Mr. Wythe, getting a sight of it, desired a copy, which the Gentleman made out from his memory as nearly as he could. Afterwards Mr. Sergeant, of New Jersey, requested another, which the Gentleman made out again from his memory, and in this he enlarged and amplified a good deal, and sent it to Princeton. After this, Colonel Lee requested the same favor, but the Gentleman, having written, amidst all his engagements, five copies — or, rather, five sketches, for no one of them was a copy of the other — which amounted to ten sheets of paper pretty full and in a fine hand, was quite weary of the office. To avoid the trouble of writing any more, he borrowed Mr. Wythe's copy, and lent it to Colonel Lee, who has put it under types and thrown it into the shape you see. It is a pity it had not been Mr. Sergeant's copy, for that is larger and more complete, perhaps more correct. This is very incorrect, and not truly printed. The design, however, is to mark out a path and put men upon thinking. I would not have this matter communicated."

rights and privileges, to oppose that power which is exercised only for our destruction." It was then enacted that the "Act, entitled 'An Act for the more effectually securing to his Majesty the allegiance of his subjects in this his colony and dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,' be, and the same is, hereby repealed;" and it was provided that in all commissions for officers, in all writs, and in all processes of law, "wherever the name and authority of the said King is made use of, the same shall be omitted, and in the room thereof, the name and authority of the Governor and Company of this colony shall be substituted;" that the courts of law be no longer entitled nor considered as the King's courts; and that no instrument in writing, of any nature or kind, whether public or private, shall in the date thereof, mention the year of the said King's reign." At the end of this session of the Assembly, the records which, says Arnold,[1] had always closed with the formula, "God save the King," ended now with the words, "God save the United Colonies." Thus the first colony to declare her absolute independence of the Crown was Rhode Island.

Of Massachusetts.

Massachusetts was not far behind, though her first official action, like that of South and North Carolina, was prospective rather than positive. On the 10th of May her House of Representatives called upon the people to assemble in town meetings and instruct their representatives "Whether, if the Honorable Congress should, for the safety of the said colonies, declare them independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, they, the said inhabitants, will solemnly engage, with their lives and fortunes, to support them in the measure." A month later, James Warren wrote to Elbridge Gerry that one half the members of the House had received affirmative instructions, and that probably all would have been so instructed had the resolution reached them sooner. "Thus, it appears to me," he adds, "the sentiments of our colony are more united on this great question than they ever were on any other; perhaps ninety-nine in a hundred would engage, with their lives and fortunes, to support Congress in the matter." One town only in the Commonwealth seemed to hesitate. The vote of the majority in Barnstable — the birthplace of James Otis — was in the negative; but the same record bears the protest of the minority, — headed by Joseph Otis, a younger brother of James, — and their protest was made more emphatic, and with added numbers, in a second public meeting the next day. Pittsfield undoubtedly represented the feeling of the whole province, in instructing its representative that he should "on no pretence, whatever, favor a union with Great Britain," and that he should use all

[1] *History of Rhode Island.*

his influence with the House to assure the Congress that this whole Province are waiting for the important moment which they in their great wisdom shall appoint for the declaration of Independence and a free Republick."

May, indeed, was a month of unusual agitation. Five days after Massachusetts had called upon her towns to sanction by formal vote the undoubted determination of the people, — eleven days after Rhode Island had declared herself an independent Commonwealth, — the Continental Congress, on the 15th, recommended to all the colonial assemblies to form such governments as should "best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general;" for, the preamble to the resolution declared, the people being excluded by Act of Parliament from the protection of the Crown, "it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said Crown shall be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government exerted under the authority of the people of the colonies." Action of the Continental Congress.

The country was ready for this final and conclusive step. Those colonies that had not already spoken, — directly, as Rhode Island, North Carolina, Massachusetts; indirectly, as South Carolina had done, — avowed, with a single exception, in the course of the next six weeks, their determination to unite in declaring their independence. The one exception was New York, whose Assembly hesitated on a technicality, giving at the same time constructive assent.

Virginia had not waited for the suggestion from the Continental Congress of the 15th of May. On that same day her Convention — which had displaced the Provincial Assembly — instructed the Virginia delegates in Congress to urge it "to declare the United Colonies free and independent States, absolved from allegiance to, or dependence upon the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain;" and at the same time a committee was appointed to prepare "a Declaration of Rights, and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people." Of Virginia.

On the 14th of June the Connecticut Assembly resolved unanimously that the delegates of that colony to the Provincial Congress, be instructed to propose to that body "to declare the United American Colonies free and independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King, and to give the assent of this colony to such declaration, when they shall judge it expedient and best." So, on the same day, the Delaware House of Representatives took up the congressional resolution of May 15, and gave it their unqualified and unanimous approval. Of Connecticut.

Of New Hampshire.

New Hampshire was one day only behind Connecticut. A joint committee of the Council and Assembly were appointed to draw up a declaration of opinion, which, on the 15th, was reported and unanimously adopted. It pronounced New Hampshire "free and independent of the Crown," and instructed its delegates in the Continental Congress to support a measure for the independence of the thirteen colonies, with the usual reservation of local government.

Of Pennsylvania.

Whatever immediate influence may have been exercised in Philadelphia itself by the presence of Congress, it was not sufficient to dispel the doubt as to the policy which the Province of Pennsylvania might insist upon maintaining. Religious convictions, with Friends, overruled all political considerations; with them no wrongs justified an appeal to the sword. The Proprietary interest was still of great weight, and these combined influences tempered the ardor of the most determined patriotism to that degree, at least, that moderation and caution guided and checked the popular movement. But they did not control it. When the advisory Resolution of Congress came before the Assembly, it was determined that the instructions given to their delegates the previous November should not be changed. "We strictly enjoin you," said those instructions, "that you, in behalf of this colony, dissent from and utterly reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our mother country, or a change of the form of this government." But to repeat this order was almost the final act of Proprietary rule in this Province. On the 20th a large meeting of the people of Philadelphia convened in the State-house yard. It declared that the government was no longer "competent to the exigencies of our affairs;" that "a Provincial Convention ought to be chosen by the people, for the express purpose of carrying the said resolve of Congress into execution;" and directed the committee of the city to call a conference of the committees of every county in the Province.

The Conference assembled on the 18th of June; on the 19th it resolved that the Resolution of Congress of the 15th of May was fully approved; that the present government of Pennsylvania was incompetent, and that a Provincial Convention be called to form a new one. On the 24th a committee, appointed for that purpose, reported a declaration which, after an explanatory preamble, declared that "We, the Deputies of the people of Pennsylvania, assembled in full Provincial Conference for forming a plan for executing the Resolve of Congress of the 15th of May last, for suppressing all authority in this Province derived from the Crown of Great Britain, and for

establishing a government upon the authority of the people only, now, in this publick manner, in behalf of ourselves, and with the approbation, consent, and authority of our constituents, unanimously declare our willingness to concur in a vote of the Congress declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, provided the forming the government and the regulation of the internal police of this Colony be always reserved to the people of the said Colony."



Congress Hall. — Room where the Declaration was signed.

On the 30th of May, Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, a son of Benjamin Franklin, issued a proclamation calling upon the Congress of that Province to meet on the 20th of the next month. That body, however, assembled on the 10th of June, full charged with zeal and courage in the common cause. On the 16th it declared that the Governor, in his proclamation, had "acted in direct contempt and violation of the Resolve of the Continental Congress of the 15th day of May," and that he had "discovered himself to be an enemy of the liberties of his country." Within a day or two he was arrested, and soon after sent to Connecticut, where, the House

Of New Jersey.

said, "he would be capable of doing less mischief than in New Jersey." On the 21st it was determined to form a new government in accordance with the recommendation of Congress; and two days afterward five delegates were chosen to represent the Province in the Continental Congress, with authority "to join with them in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain."

Of Maryland.

New York and Maryland moved more slowly than the other colonies; but it was rather from the tardy caution of legislative action than any want of popular enthusiasm. In both there was a strong Tory party. Maryland had first to rid herself of a royal and proprietary Governor. Early in April correspondence between the Ministry and Governor Eden had been intercepted, and more naturally than reasonably, — for he was the representative of the King, and the colonies, however good their cause, were in rebellion, — had aroused great indignation. General Lee, then in command of the Southern Department, wrote to Samuel Purviance, the Chairman of the Baltimore Committee, urging Eden's immediate arrest. "The sin and shame," he said, in his impulsive and dictatorial way, "be on my head. I will answer for all to the Congress." It was not, however, a question of sin and shame, but only of expediency, and wiser men than Lee thought that Eden at liberty in England would be much less likely to do harm than an imprisoned Governor in Maryland with a party behind him. The Convention advised him to depart, and in June he put himself out of reach, on board an English frigate. On the 9th of that month the Committee of Safety called upon the Convention to meet on the 20th, and that body resolved, when it came together, that the writs issued, in the name of the Proprietary, for a new election of members of the Assembly, should not be obeyed. It further resolved, on the 25th, "that the representatives of the colony in Congress, or a majority of them, or any three or more of them, be authorized and empowered to concur with the other United Colonies, or a majority of them, in declaring the United Colonies free and independent states."

Of New York.

On the 24th of May the New York Congress appointed a committee to consider and report upon the Congressional Resolution of the 15th. After several reports, the conclusion reached, on the 31st, was, that inasmuch as the existing Congress came into existence under the old government, which was dissolved by the hostile acts of the King, and by the abdication of Governor Tryon, the question of a new government must be decided by the people; and therefore there should be an election of a new Congress, to meet not later than the second Monday of the next July. The delegates in the Continental Congress, therefore, were left without instructions. What

In CONGRESS, *July* 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION

By the REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

In GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes neceſſary for one People to diſſolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the Powers of the Earth, the ſeperate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Reſpect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they ſhould declare the Cauſes which impel them to the ſeperation.

We hold theſe Truths to be ſelf-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among theſe are Life, Liberty, and the Purſuit of Happineſs.—That to ſecure theſe Rights, Governments are inſtituted among Men, deriving their juſt Powers from the Conſent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes deſtructive of theſe Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to aboliſh it, and to inſtitute new Government, laying its foundation on ſuch Principles, and organizing its Powers in ſuch Form, as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their Safety and Happineſs. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long eſtabliſhed ſhould not be changed for light and tranſient Cauſes; and accordingly all Experience hath ſhewn, that Mankind are more diſpoſed to ſuffer, while Evils are ſufferable, than to right themſelves by aboliſhing the Forms to which they are accuſtomed. But when a long Train of Abuſes and Uſurpations, purſuing invariably the ſame Object, evinces a Deſign to reduce them under abſolute Deſpotiſm, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off ſuch Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of theſe Colonies; and ſuch is now the Neceſſity which conſtrains them to alter their former Syſtems of Government. The Hiſtory of the preſent King of Great-Britain is a Hiſtory of repeated Injuries and Uſurpations, all having in direct Object the Eſtabliſhment of an abſolute Tyranny over theſe States. To prove this, let Facts be ſubmitted to a candid World.

He has refuſed his Aſſent to Laws, the moſt wholeſome and neceſſary for the public Good.

He has forbidden his Governors to paſs Laws of immediate and preſſing Importance, unleſs ſuſpended in their Operation till his Aſſent ſhould be obtained; and when ſo ſuſpended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refuſed to paſs other Laws for the Accommodation of large Diſtricts of People, unleſs thoſe People would relinquiſh the Right of Repreſentation in the Legiſlature, a Right ineſtimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legiſlative Bodies at Places unuſual, uncomfortable, and diſtant from the Depoſitory of their public Records, for the ſole Purpoſe of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Meaſures.

He has diſſolved Repreſentative Houſes repeatedly, for oppoſing with manly Firmneſs his Invaſions on the Rights of the People.

He has refuſed for a long Time, after ſuch Diſſolutions, to cauſe others to be elected; whereby the Legiſlative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercife; the State remaining in the mean time expoſed to all the Dangers of Invaſion from without, and Convulſions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of theſe States; for that Purpoſe obſtructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refuſing to paſs others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raiſing the Conditions of new Appropriations of Land.

He has obſtructed the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, by refuſing his Aſſent to Laws for eſtabliſhing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new Offices, and ſent hither Swarms of Officers to harraſs our People, and eat out their Subſtance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the Conſent of our Legiſlatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and ſuperior to the civil Power.

He has combined with others to ſubject us to a Juriſdiction foreign to our Conſtitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; given his Aſſent to their Acts of pretended Legiſlation:

For quartering large Bodies of armed Troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Puniſhment for any Murders which they ſhould commit on the Inhabitants of theſe States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For impoſing Taxes on us without our Conſent:

For depriving us, in many Caſes, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For tranſporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

For abolishing the free ſyſtem of Engliſh Laws in a neighbouring Province, eſtabliſhing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, ſo as to render it at once an Example and fit Inſtrument for introducing the ſame abſolute Rule into theſe Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our moſt valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For ſuſpending our own Legiſlatures, and declaring themſelves invested with Power to legiſlate for us in all Caſes whatſoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War againſt us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coaſts, burnt our Towns, and deſtroyed the Lives of our People.

He is at this Time, tranſporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Deſolation and Tyranny, already begun with Circumſtances of Cruelty and Perfidy ſcarcely paralleled in the moſt barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civiliſed Nation.

He has conſtrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms againſt their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themſelves by their Hands.

He has excited Domeſtic Inſurrections amongſt us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the mercileſs Indian Savages whoſe known Rule of Warfare, is an undiſtinguiſhed Deſtruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

In every Stage of theſe Oppreſſions we have petitioned for Redreſs, in the moſt humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been anſwered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whoſe Character is thus marked by every Act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

Nor have we been wanting in Attention to our Britiſh Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their legiſlature to extend an unwarrantable Juriſdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumſtances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Juſtice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to diſavow theſe Uſurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correſpondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Juſtice and of Conſanguinity. We muſt, therefore, acquieſce in the Neceſſity which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the reſt of Mankind, Enemies in War; in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Repreſentatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS aſſembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do in the Name and by the Authority of the good People of theſe Colonies, ſolemnly Publiſh and Declare, That theſe United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are abſolved from all Allegiance to the Britiſh Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be totally diſſolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, eſtabliſh Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of Right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our ſacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER *and in* BEHALF *of the* CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, *Preſident.*

ATTEST.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF THE BROADSIDE DISTRIBUTED THROUGH THE COUNTRY.

these instructions would be, when the people should manifest their wishes, there was no doubt, and the event justified the expectation.

Congress, meanwhile, was preparing for that last step which should trample out all hope and all possibility of any reconciliation. On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee, of the Virginia delegation, offered the three following resolutions, which John Adams seconded: —

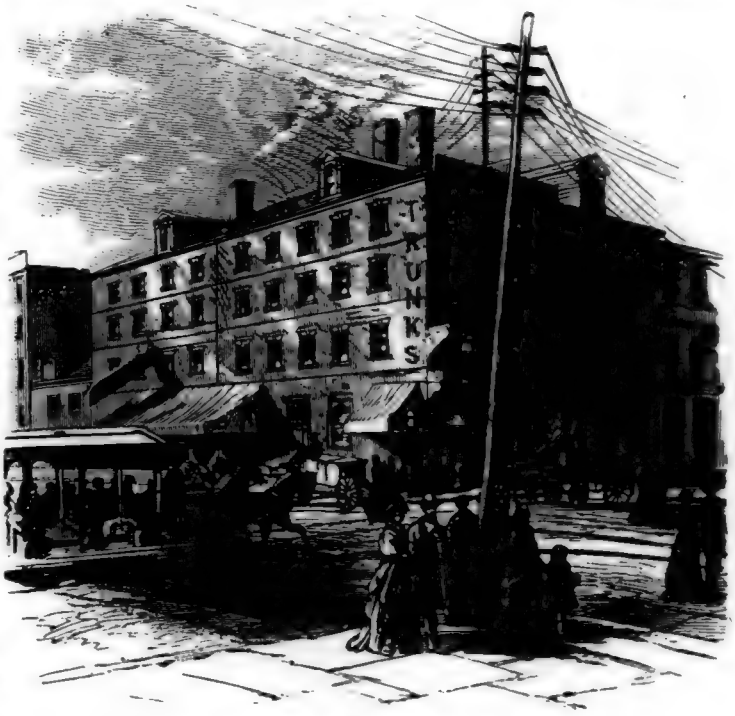
Lee's Resolutions in Congress.

"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

"That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

"That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation."

Action upon these resolutions was postponed to the next day, Saturday, and again, on that day, to Monday, the 10th. On Monday, it was voted in Committee of the Whole, that consideration of the first resolution be postponed to Monday, the 1st day of July; and in the meanwhile, that no time be lost, "in case the Congress agree thereto, that a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of the said first resolution." This committee was chosen the following day, the 11th of June, and its five members were, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and R. R. Livingston. On the 12th, committees were appointed to carry out the other two resolutions, that on a plan of confederation being made up by one member from each Province.



House in which the Declaration was written.

The Continental Congress and the Colonial Assemblies, under whatever name, marched together, deliberately and firmly, step by

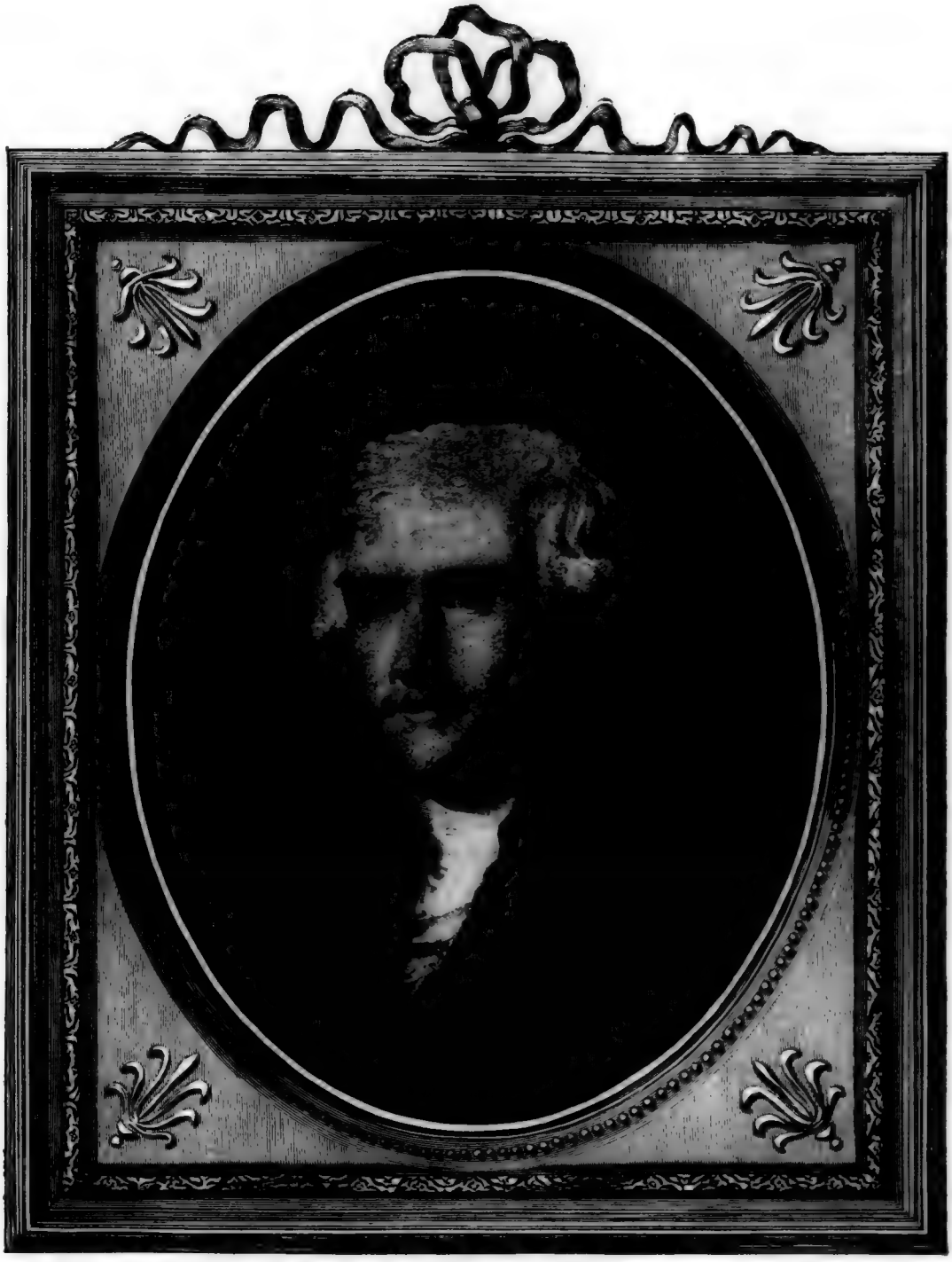
step. Neither hurried, neither hindered the other. The Congress waited while the colonies deliberated, and while all who had not already reached it, were coming to the same inevitable conclusion, Jefferson was at work upon the great Declaration. Congress moved with the dignity and formality becoming to the work before it. On Friday, the 28th of June, the Committee reported the first draft of the Declaration, which was read, and ordered to lie upon the table, and the House adjourned to Monday, the 1st of July, the day appointed three weeks before for its consideration. On Monday, after the dispatch of other business, the resolution relating to Independence was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and the House then resolved itself into Committee. When the House resumed its session, Mr. Harrison, from the Committee, reported a resolution, and on this being read, action upon it was postponed till the next day at the request of one of the colonies, — South Carolina. On the 2d the resolution was passed, — "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." Every colony voted in its favor, except New York, whose delegates, being still without instructions, did not vote at all.[1]

Independence declared.

Of the debates of these two days there is no record; but that on the first day, when the question was carried in Committee of the Whole, was the fuller and more conclusive. In a letter to Samuel Chase, John Adams said of it: "The debate took up most of the day, but it was an idle mispense of time, for nothing was said but what had been repeated and hackneyed in that room before a hundred times for six months past." But from other letters of his, and from contemporary writers, it is plain that the debate, however wearisome it may have been to himself, who bore the chief burden of the day, was of great importance. There were delegates who were opposed to the resolution, or hesitated to take the responsibility of voting for it, notwithstanding the instructions of those they represented. The new members from New Jersey were of the latter class and were anxious to hear what arguments could be advanced in its favor. To satisfy these, Mr. Adams was put forward, and he replied with great power to Mr. Dickenson, of Pennsylvania, who represented the cautious policy of a large party in that colony. Mr. Adams's

Debate on the Declaration of Reasons

[1] Henry Wisner was one of the delegates from New York, and Thomas McKean, a delegate from Delaware, declared, in several letters written at different times in subsequent years, that Wisner voted for independence. But as the vote was taken by colonies, his individual vote could not be counted if the rest of the delegation refrained from voting.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

(After a portrait by Stuart.)

speech convinced the New Jersey delegates, and probably carried, if it did not convince, others. All the members, in the end, signed the Declaration, but — wrote Mr. Adams many years afterward — in 1813, — "as far as I could penetrate the intricate, internal folding of their souls, I then believed, and have not since altered my opinion, that there were several who signed with regret, and several others with many doubts and much lukewarmness." It is an interesting fact, mentioned by him in the same letter, that although North Carolina was the first colony to instruct its members to vote for independence, a majority for the measure hung at one time upon the vote of Mr. Hewes, a delegate from that colony, who had voted against it. A member, one day, showed by documents from all the colonies, that public opinion was everywhere in favor of the measure, when Mr. Hewes "started suddenly upright, and lifting up both his hands to Heaven, as if he had been in a trance, cried out: 'It is done! and I will abide by it!'"

Of the event itself, Adams said in a letter to his wife: "But the day is past. The 2d day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore." Thus far, into the beginning of a second century, the event has been commemorated in precisely the way that Adams said it should be, but commemorated — like the Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth — on the wrong day. For, it will be observed, the resolution passed on the 2d day of July was the formal declaration of the independence of the colonies — the actual severance of all ties of allegiance to the British Crown; the Declaration adopted two days later — the 4th — was the declaration of the reasons for establishing an independent government.

This statement of reasons for the declaration of independence was not so easily agreed upon as the resolution to declare it. The committee, on the 3d, asked leave to sit again after a second day's debate. Changes had been made in Jefferson's original draft by his colleagues on the committee appointed for its preparation; still others were made by the House; but none were so important or so significant as the omission, in deference to the South, of the following passage relating to the slave trade: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another

The slave-trade clause omitted.

hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither.



Taking down the King's Statue.

This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished dye, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another."

But the great body of the document was left as



READING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IN PHILADELPHIA.

Jefferson had written it. Finally, late on the afternoon of July 4, it was approved and passed, and ordered to be printed. At the same time is was "resolved, that copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the Continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, and at the head of the army."[1]

The Declaration of Reasons adopted

It was not till the 8th that there was any public celebration in Philadelphia, perhaps because the printed copies of the Declaration were not ready earlier. The Committee of Safety ordered that the sheriff of Philadelphia should read, or cause it to be read and proclaimed on that day at 12 o'clock. At that hour the Committee of Safety and of Inspection, the officers of the city government, and many members of Congress, filed out in procession from the State House into the yard, where a great concourse of people gathered around the observatory, and the Declaration was read from its balcony by John Nixon, a member of the Committee of Safety. The day was given up to public festivity, and the great bell in the tower of the State House led the rejoicing peal of all the other bells of the city, to "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," in accordance with the legend inscribed thereon.

The Declaration promulgated.

Throughout the country, in the army and in town meetings, from time to time, as the Declaration was received, it was accepted with similar manifestations of jubilation, tending sometimes to acts of extravagance. As in Philadelphia the people tore down and burned all symbols of royal authority in public offices, so in New York a mob pulled down the gilded leaden equestrian statue of King George that stood in the Bowling Green. The head was taken off and placed in a wheelbarrow and wheeled to the Governor's house. There was so much excuse for this act, — that lead was greatly needed. Ladies at Litchfield, Conn., principally of Oliver Wolcott's family, moulded the remainder of the statue into forty-two thousand bullets, to be shot at the soldiers of the King.

Pulling down the King's statue.

Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina adopted State constitutions in 1776; New York, South Carolina, and Georgia, in 1777; Massachusetts in 1780, and New Hampshire in 1781. Connecticut and Rhode Island continued to use their royal charters as the fundamental law of the State, — the former till 1818, the latter till 1842. All of these State constitutions

[1] The romantic tradition that as soon as the adoption of the Declaration was decided upon, a little boy on the pavement clapped his hands and shouted "Ring! ring!" to the old sexton in the tower, who thereupon seized the tongue of the Liberty Bell and proclaimed the momentous tidings to a waiting crowd, and that the Secretary of Congress hastened to read the paper from the steps, seems to be without foundation.

have since undergone amendment, and several have been entirely remodelled. As first drawn and adopted, they contained articles which show that the young States, so boastful of their new fledged civil liberty, the principles of which they set forth with admirable force and clearness, had not yet fully comprehended the no less important necessity for religious liberty.

Adoption of State constitutions.

The Constitution of South Carolina provided that all persons and societies who acknowledged one God and a future state of rewards and punishments should be "freely tolerated," and that "the Christian religion shall be deemed, and is hereby constituted and declared to be, the established religion of this State." No church could be incorporated until its members had subscribed to five articles of belief specified in this Constitution; these were to the effect that there is one God, and a future state of rewards and punishments; that He is to be publicly worshipped; that the Christian religion is the true religion; that the Scriptures are divinely inspired, and that it is the duty of every man, being thereunto called by those that govern, to bear witness to the truth. In accordance with these provisions, it is further stipulated that a qualified voter must acknowledge the being of a God and a future state of rewards and punishments, and that "no person shall be capable of any place of honour, trust, or profit, under the authority of this State, who is not a member of some church of the established religion thereof."

The Constitution of New Jersey forbade the establishment of any one religious sect in preference to another, and provided that "no Protestant inhabitant shall be denied the enjoyment of any civil right merely on account of his religious principles," and that any person who professed "a belief in the faith of any Protestant sect" might be elected to office.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania required every member of the Legislature, before taking his seat, to declare his belief in the existence of a God who is "the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked," and that the Scriptures are "given by Divine Inspiration." The seventh section of the second chapter, solemnly considered and adopted with the rest, can scarcely be read in our day without exciting a smile. It provided that "the House of Representatives of the freemen of this commonwealth shall consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue, to be chosen by the freemen of every city and county of this commonwealth respectively." The thirty-second section prescribed a penalty for any elector "who shall receive any gift or reward for his vote, in meat, drink, monies, or otherwise;" and the thirty-sixth declared that "whenever an office, through increase of fees or otherwise, becomes so profitable as to occasion many to ap-

ply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the Legislature." The final section provided for the election, every seventh year, of a Council of Censors, whose duty should be, "to enquire whether the Constitution has been preserved inviolate in every part, and whether the legislative and executive branches of the government have performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves or exercised other or greater powers than they are intitled to by the Constitution."

The Constitution of New Hampshire provided that members of its Legislature must be "of the Protestant religion," and this clause was not formally repealed till 1877, though for many years it had been disregarded by common consent. The Constitution of Massachusetts provided, in its forty-first article, "that sumptuary laws against luxury, plays, etc., and extravagant expenses in dress, diet, and the like, suited to the circumstances of the commonwealth and the spirit of the Constitution, shall be established with all convenient speed." Juries were to consist of fifteen freeholders, the agreement of twelve of whom was sufficient for a verdict. Every minister or public teacher of religion was required to subscribe to the Constitution, and to read it once a year to his congregation.

CHAPTER XX.

LOSS OF LONG ISLAND AND NEW YORK.

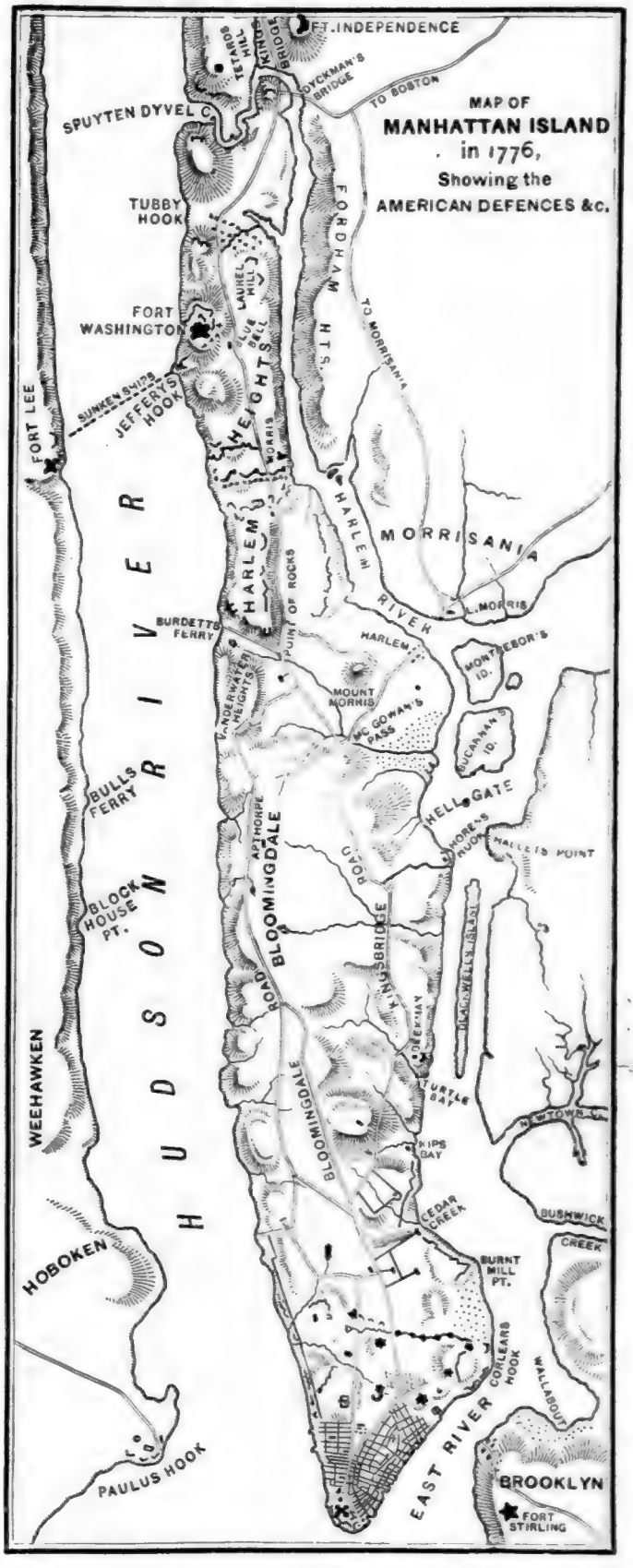
THE MILITARY SITUATION OF NEW YORK. — ARRIVAL OF THE ENEMY. — SUMMARY OF THE FORCES. — THE HOWES ATTEMPT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. — THE BRITISH CROSS THE BAY — DEFENCES OF BROOKLYN. — BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND — DETAILS OF THE ACTION. — THE LOSSES. — RETREAT OF THE AMERICANS. — THEY CROSS TO NEW YORK. — THE QUESTION OF DESTROYING THE CITY. — ENTRANCE OF THE ENEMY. — BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS. — NEW YORK OCCUPIED BY THE BRITISH. — A GREAT FIRE IN THE CITY. — EXECUTION OF NATHAN HALE. — HOWE'S SECOND ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE FOR PEACE. — BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS. — SURRENDER OF FORT WASHINGTON.

Lee pushes on the works at New York.

THE opinion held by Lee as to the impracticability of making New York absolutely defensible, does not appear to have been shared by Washington and many of his officers who came with the Boston army. New works were laid out by the engineers, and new points occupied. Washington clearly proposed to hold New York permanently. Lee's plan was judicious, so far as it went, and it was now enlarged. General Putnam, soon after his arrival, decided that Governor's Island, at the entrance to the East River, was a point of great importance. Should the enemy, he said, "get post there, it will not be possible to save the city, nor could we dislodge them without great loss." Taking a thousand men, he seized it on the night of the 8th of April, and immediately threw up breastworks to protect his party against attack from Tryon's ships. The point of Red Hook on Long Island, just below, was occupied at the same time, and in a few weeks Paulus Hook, on the Jersey side of the Hudson, nearly opposite Cortlandt Street, was also fortified. Should a fleet, therefore, attempt to sail up the East River, it was believed that the batteries at Red Hook, Governor's Island, and Fort Stirling, on Long Island, with those on the New York side, could damage it materially. Transports with troops, at all events, could not safely pass them. As a further defence, hulks were sunk later in the season, in the channel between Governor's Island and the Battery.

On the Hudson River, ten miles farther up, at what is now known as Fort Washington Point, the river narrowed between the towering

Palisades on the Jersey side, and the rugged heights of nearly equal elevation on Manhattan Island. Upon the Palisades a strong work was begun during the summer, at first known as Fort Constitution, and subsequently as Fort Lee; and on the New York side, where is now One Hundred and Eighty-third Street, stood the formidable work, Fort Washington. From these positions a plunging fire could be thrown upon vessels brought to a stop by hulks and *chevaux-de-frise* placed in the channel of the river. Three water-batteries were also built along the shore from Red Hook to Fort Lee. By the month of June, eighty pieces of cannon and mortars were mounted or ready to be mounted, bearing upon the bay and the two river channels.



To carry out the engineers' plans, the utmost diligence was necessary, for Howe's arrival was expected daily. Colonel Rufus Putnam, the engineer, relates how busily he

was employed from daylight in the morning until night, besides sometimes going in the night by water from New York to Fort Washington. The most exposed points were the first attended to; and large fatigue parties were sent every day to Governor's Island, Red Hook, the Battery, and other forts. Besides the water-batteries around the city, a chain of strong redoubts was extended just north of it, along the line of Grand Street. The largest was "Bayard's Hill Redoubt," near the corner of Centre Street. This hill was the highest in the vicinity, with a commanding range, and its summit, once covered with cedars, was cut away and leveled for the fortification. Several other elevations on the west side, as far up as Tenth Street, were also fortified. The city itself was literally converted into an intrenched camp. All the streets leading to the water were barricaded. The City Hall Park was surrounded with barriers.[1] Fort George and the Grand Battery were greatly strengthened from within. Works stood behind Trinity Church, around the old Hospital at Duane Street, at the ship-yards on the East River, and wherever a landing could easily be made.

Much work accomplished.

Fortifications in and around the city.

It was not until the closing days of June that the long expected enemy arrived. A thousand things had delayed them. They had to bring everything they needed — provisions and munitions. The first to arrive was the General himself, Sir William Howe, in advance of his Boston army, now on its way from Halifax. He reached Sandy Hook in the frigate *Greyhound* on the 25th of June, and was warmly welcomed by Governor Tryon and "many gentlemen, fast friends of government." The troops followed in one hundred and thirty ships, and were all in the bay by the 29th of June. Howe's first intention was, to land on Long Island; but learning that the Americans occupied strong positions there, the troops were debarked at Staten Island. "Will Hicks's Mansion House" was the General's head-

Arrival of the enemy.



Rose and Crown Tavern.

[1] See John Hills' *Chart of New York in* 1782.

quarters.[1] Then came Admiral Howe, Sir William's brother, with troops from England, and finally, on the 12th of August, the Hessians arrived.

These forces numbered altogether nearly thirty-two thousand men, of whom not quite twenty-five thousand were fit for service. This was six thousand more than Washington could show upon his rolls. There were four battalions of light infantry, the flower of Howe's army, under Brigadier-general Leslie, and four more of grenadiers, under Major-general Vaughan, which formed a part of the reserves under Cornwallis. Brigadier-general Cleaveland commanded the artillery, three brigades, with at least fifty field-pieces. The main body of infantry included twenty-seven regiments of the regular line, formed into eight brigades under Generals Robertson, Pigot, Jones, Grant, Smith, Agnew, Erskine, and Matthews. The command of the last named consisted of two battalions of the King's Guards, which held the right of the line. A few troops of dragoons and two or three companies of American loyalists completed the British forces. Second in command stood Lieutenant-general Clinton, and next in rank Lieutenant-general Earl Percy. Among Howe's aids were Captain John Montressor, an engineer, who had lived in New York, and owned the present Randall's Island; and Major Cuyler of the family of Albany loyalists of that name. There were also subordinate officers who distinguished themselves later in the war — Mawhood, who did good service at Princeton; Musgrave, who thwarted the American plans at Germantown; the brave Monckton, who fell at Monmouth; and the accomplished Webster, who ended his career with Cornwallis in the South.

Strength of their army.

Hardly, if at all, inferior to the English were the eight thousand Hessian "allies." De Heister, their General, was an old man, and a veteran of many European campaigns. The tedious passage of thirteen weeks from Spithead had sorely tried him, for he had run out of tobacco. As finally arranged on Staten Island, his command was divided into four brigades under Generals Von Stirn and Mirbach, and Colonels Donop and Lossberg. Donop had the famous Yagers, or sharpshooters, and the grenadiers under Mingerode, Block, and Linsingen. Among the Colonels, Rahl was one of the ablest commanders, up to the affair of Trenton, where his contempt for Washington's army brought death to himself and disaster to Howe. The private soldiers had many of them seen service. Most of them, no doubt, had come against their will, and some had actu-

The Hessian troops.

[1] So wrote a British officer on July 9, whose letter was published in the *London Chronicle*. Local tradition says, that the "Rose and Crown" tavern — a house lately standing on the Richmond Road, near New Dorp — was Howe's headquarters. Will Hicks may have been the inn-keeper.

ally been kidnapped. They were, however, good soldiers, and were soon dreaded and hated alike in the American army.[1]

Strength and condition of the American army.

The best that could be said for Washington's army was, that it contained good material. As a whole, it was little else than a posse of armed citizens, for the most part brave and determined men, but lacking effective organization and discipline, and most of them without experience.

This force was made up of the most diverse material. There were men and officers from ten of the thirteen States — from New Hampshire to Virginia, with no uniformity in arms, dress, discipline, or manners. Those known as the Continental regiments were enlisted in the first instance under the regulations of the Continental Congress, and served in its pay and under its authority. They corresponded to our modern "regulars," though at that date their term of service was only a year. They were mainly from New England, having reënlisted during the siege of Boston to serve through 1776. But there were two regiments from New York, and two from Pennsylvania, making not over twenty-five in all, and numbering less than nine thousand men. The forty-five other regiments and detachments were State troops, raised for the campaign under calls from Congress, and militia which in some of the States had been first organized under the Colonial governments. The soldiers represented all classes of society. Among officers and men were clergymen, lawyers, physicians, planters, merchants, farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, and laborers, mostly native Americans, of good English blood, with a sprinkling of Germans, Scots, and Irishmen. Most of them were indifferently equipped. The old flint-lock piece was the common arm; bayonets were scarce, and so also were uniforms. The two regiments which made perhaps the best appearance on parade were Smallwood's Marylanders and Haslet's Delawares. The Delaware men wore blue uniforms, looking not unlike the Hessians; those from Maryland were clothed in scarlet coats turned up with buff. The Pennsylvania and Maryland riflemen, on Washington's recommendation, wore long hunting-blouses and pantaloons, some in white, some in black, and still others in green. But the larger number of the troops were in citizen's clothes. The officers were distinguished by different colored sashes and cockades. Washington wore blue and buff, and was always neatly and often elegantly dressed.

The organization of the army changed with the coming and going

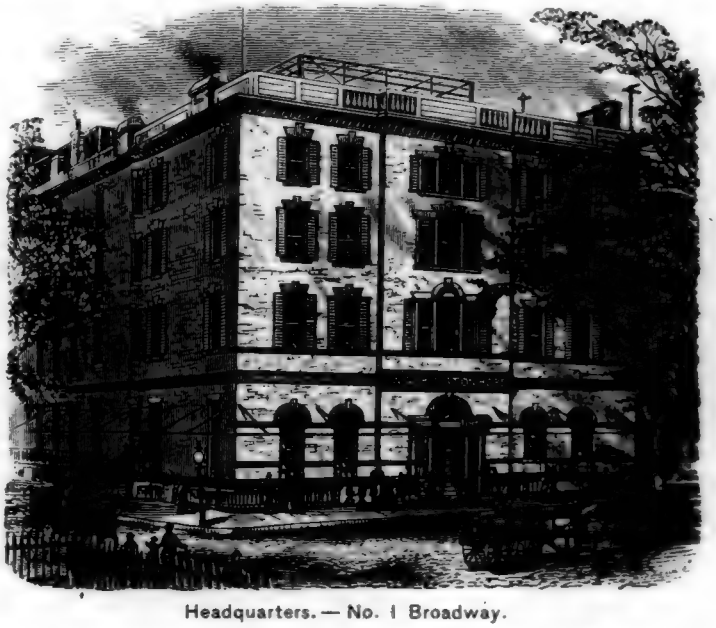
[1] Dunlap, the historian of New York, describes the Hessian as wearing "a towering brass-pointed cap; moustaches colored with the same material that colored his shoes, his hair plastered with tallow and flour, and tightly drawn into a long appendage reaching from the back of his head to his waist, and his blue uniform almost covered by the broad belts sustaining his cartouch-box, his brass-hilted sword, and his bayonet."

of troops during the campaign, but at the beginning of its active work in August, it consisted of eleven brigades in five divisions. Putnam's division included troops from New York under Brigadier-generals James Clinton and John Morin Scott, and from Massachusetts under Fellows. General Heath's division consisted mainly of New York and Pennsylvania men under Generals Mifflin and George Clinton; Spencer's division of two Connecticut brigades under Generals Parsons and Wadsworth; Sullivan's division of Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New York troops under Generals Stirling and McDougall; Greene's division of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Long Island men under Generals Nixon and Heard. General Oliver Wolcott had temporary command of a body of Connecticut militia, and the artillery regiment from Massachusetts was under Colonel Henry Knox, of Boston.

The division and general officers.

Washington's aids at this time were, Colonel William Grayson, of Virginia, Lieutenant-colonels Richard Cary, of Massachusetts, Samuel B. Webb, of Connecticut, and Tench Tilghman, of Philadelphia, who acted as a volunteer, but subsequently took rank as Lieutenant-colonel, and fought with his chief to the close of the war. Alexander Hamilton was captain of a New York artillery company, and his post was at the Battery. Aaron Burr, with the rank of Major, acted as aid to Putnam. Mercer, of Virginia, commanded the militia in New Jersey, and watched the enemy at Staten Island from that side. During most of the season the General's headquarters were at the Mortier House, overlooking the Hudson, just above the line of Houston Street, near Varick. In later days the place was better known as Richmond Hill, where Aaron Burr resided.[1]

Washington's aids.



Headquarters. — No. 1 Broadway.

Admiral Howe, and his brother, General Howe, who had been

[1] The old "town headquarters" were the Kennedy house, No. 1 Broadway, still standing, or perhaps one of the houses above it. There is some uncertainty in regard to this.

instructed to enter upon negotiations for peace, sent, on the 14th of July, a flag of truce up the bay, bearing a letter to the Commander-in-chief. Adjutant-general Reed and Lieutenant-colonel Webb were sent down in a boat to meet it, but observing the letter to be addressed to "George Washington, Esq.," they refused to receive it, Reed saying, "We have no person in our army with that address." After the boats had parted, the British officer, putting about again, asked by what title Washington was to be addressed. "You are sensible, sir," answered Reed, "of the rank of General Washington in our army," and the conference was ended.[1] On the 20th another flag of truce was sent up. The bearer, Colonel Patterson, Howe's Adjutant-general, was escorted to Colonel Knox's headquarters, now No. 1 Broadway, where Washington received him and listened to his proposals. The subject of exchanging prisoners was discussed; but Washington replied to the propositions for peace by pointing out the fact that Howe was not empowered to acknowledge American independence, and the Americans would treat for peace on no other basis. A subsequent interview between Lord Howe and a committee of Congress proved equally fruitless.

Attempted peace negotiations.

On the 22d of August the British troops were transferred from Staten Island to Gravesend Bay, on Long Island. Four frigates, with bomb-tenders, took their station close in shore, ready to protect the

[1] Immediately after the battle of Bunker Hill, Samuel B. Webb was appointed aid-de-camp to General Putnam, and on the 21st of June, 1776, then twenty-two years of age, he was appointed private secretary and aid-de-camp to General Washington, with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. From an original journal now in the possession of his son, General J. Watson Webb, we make the following extract, which gives the details of this incident: —

"*New York*, July 14, 1776. — A flag of truce from the fleet appeared, on which Colonel Reed and myself went down to meet it. About half way between Governor's and Staten Islands, Lieutenant Brown of the *Eagle* offered a letter from Lord Howe, directed, GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ.: which, on account of its direction, we refused to receive, and parted with the usual compliments.

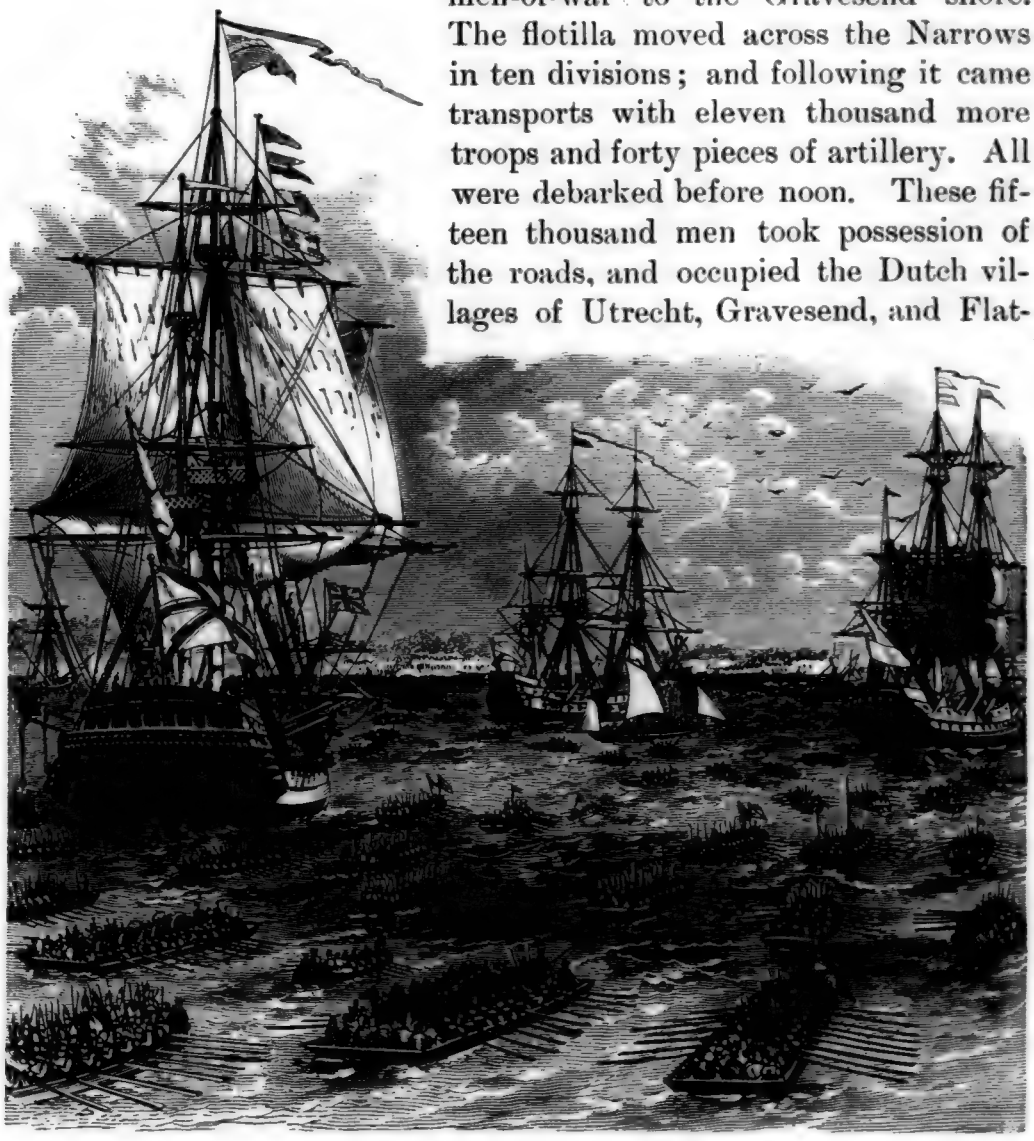
"*New York*, 17th July, 1776. — A flag from the enemy, with an answer from General Howe about the [letter] sent yesterday, directed George Washington, Esq., etc. — which was refused.

"*New York*, 19th July, 1776. — A flag appeared this morning, when Colonel Reed and myself went down. An aid-de-camp of General Howe met us, and said, as there appeared an insurmountable obstacle between the two Generals, by way of compounding, General Howe desired his Adjutant-general might be admitted to an interview with his Excellency, General Washington; on which, Colonel Reed, in the name of General Washington, consented, and pledged his honor for his being safely returned. The aid-de-camp said the Adjutant-general would meet us to-morrow forenoon.

"*New York*, 20th July, 1776. — At 12 o'clock we met the flag, took Lieutenant-colonel Patterson of the —— Regiment into our barge, and escorted him safe to town to Colonel Knox's quarters, where his Excellency, General Washington, attended by his suite and life guards, received and had an interview of about an hour with him. We then escorted him back in safety to his own barge. In going and coming, we passed in front of the guard battery, but did not blindfold him; — social and chatty all the way."

movement. When the ships were fairly in position, nearly ninety batteaux and flat-boats, filled with the best troops of the army, — the light infantry and grenadiers, four thousand strong, with gay uniforms and glittering arms, — pushed off from the Staten Island beach, and were rowed by sailors from the men-of-war to the Gravesend shore. The flotilla moved across the Narrows in ten divisions; and following it came transports with eleven thousand more troops and forty pieces of artillery. All were debarked before noon. These fifteen thousand men took possession of the roads, and occupied the Dutch villages of Utrecht, Gravesend, and Flat-

The enemy cross the bay.



Passage of the Troops to Long Island.

lands; while Cornwallis, with the reserves and Donop's Hessian yagers and grenadiers, drove back Hand's Pennsylvania riflemen, who had been patrolling this coast since May, and advanced as far as Flatbush.

The American plan of defence, in case of attack on this side, had been well matured. Greene, who was in command on Long Island, believed in earthworks, and his brigade of Varnum's and Hitchcock's

Rhode Islanders, Little's Massachusetts men, and Hand's riflemen, worked well here through the trying summer, and protected themselves with forts and intrenchments thrown up in what is now the heart of Brooklyn. The main line ran from Wallabout Bay, the present Navy Yard, on the left, to what was then known as the Gowanus Creek and marsh on the right. Its length was less than a mile and a half, and it included, at varying distances, five strong redoubts. That on the right, near the marsh, which extended up from Gowanus Bay as far as the line of the present Baltic Street, was named Fort Box, after the Brigade-major, Daniel Box, an old British soldier and capital drill-master; next stood Fort Greene, largest of all, south of the present Fulton Avenue, not far from Bond Street; then, on the left of the avenue, was the "Oblong Redoubt," and some distance farther along, Fort Putnam crowned the hill which has since been transformed into Washington Park. A little redoubt on its left completed the line in front; while the short flank to the Wallabout was protected by breastworks and abatis. Not more than twenty guns were mounted in the works, from one end to the other.[1]

General Greene and the Brooklyn defences.

Between the Brooklyn lines and the coast at Gravesend Bay runs a continuous ridge of hills, from the harbor, below the present Greenwood Cemetery, easterly through Jamaica to the end of the island. The cemetery and Prospect Park lie upon the crest and slopes of this ridge, which in 1776 was covered with thick woods and underbrush. From the other side of the hills to the sea stretched the broad, level plain on which stood the villages of Utrecht, Gravesend, Flatlands, and Flatbush, where the British had encamped after their landing. The distance from the ridge to the lines varied from a mile and a half to four miles, and west of Jamaica it was intersected by four roads, all joining the King's highway which led to the ferry. The highway itself crossed the hills four miles from the lines, half way to Jamaica; from it branched two roads to Flatbush, one through Bedford village; and down near the harbor ran the Gowanus road to the Narrows. Here was a strong natural barrier, which the enemy must penetrate from the plains below before reaching the Brooklyn works, and here Washington now purposed to hold the enemy in check as long as possible. He made the ridge his outer line of defence, and, as the enemy could advance in order only through the roads and passes, three of these were covered with strong guards, and the fourth — the distant Jamaica pass on the left — was watched by patrols.

Topography of the field.

[1] The Gowanus and Wallabout marshes set in so far that the land west towards New York became a peninsula. It was across the neck that Greene formed his defensive line.

On the announcement that the British had landed, six regiments from Stirling's, Scott's, and Wadsworth's brigades were ordered to cross at once from New York to reënforce the Brooklyn wing. The prevailing fever, which had deprived the army of the services of many of its officers, had most unfortunately prostrated General Greene; and at the moment when he could least be spared, it became necessary to relieve him and to give the command to General Sullivan. The change occurred on August 20, and four days later Sullivan was in turn relieved by General Putnam; but he remained with the Long Island forces as second in command.

Putnam and Sullivan in command on Long Island.

The battle opened on the road leading from the Narrows. Very early on the morning of the 27th, the American guards stationed beyond the Red Lion, or about half a mile west of the southwest corner of the present Greenwood Cemetery, were unexpectedly attacked by Grant's column. It was not yet daylight, and in the confusion of the moment the pickets retreated rapidly, leaving their commanding officer, Major Edward Burd, of Reading, Penn., a prisoner in the enemy's hands. Brigadier-general Parsons, who was the field-officer of the day, hurried down the road, rallied a few of the scattered guard, and waited until General Stirling, whom Putnam had ordered forward on the first alarm, could follow with reënforcements. Stirling was advancing with three regiments, a company of riflemen, and a battery of two guns.

The action begins.

Stirling marches to meet Grant.

The first step in the plan of defence, which was to hold the Gowanus road near the Red Lion, was lost by this flight of the guards. Stirling's duty was to check the enemy at the next most defensible point. This was on the ridge, afterward known as Wyckoff's Hill, which stretched up from the shore. Along the crest of this hill, about on the line now marked by Nineteenth or Twentieth Street, he placed his men. He had already sent forward Atlee, with his two hundred Pennsylvania musketeers, to skirmish with Grant's vanguard at a marsh half a mile in advance. Although his men had never before been under fire, their commander was a veteran of the old French war, and he so held them to their work that the advance of the enemy was delayed while Stirling formed his line from the water-side up the hill to its top. On the left of this line, Atlee drew up his men in good order when compelled to fall back.

It was nearly seven o'clock when Grant formed his line of battle within easy cannon-shot of Stirling. Near the road he massed his Fourth Brigade in two lines, and continued the Sixth in one line toward and probably within the limits of the present Cemetery of Greenwood. In addition, he had with him the Forty-second High-

landers, two companies of New York loyalists, and ten field-guns; against Stirling's seventeen hundred raw troops, he brought up fully six thousand veterans. Along the Gowanus road, against Stirling's right, he sent forward a body of light troops. From an orchard near by, and from behind hedges, these men opened a brisk fire, and a sharp fight followed between them and the American riflemen. The old Bennett farm-house, which remained for many years after the war at the corner of Twenty-first Street, bore the marks of cannon-balls and bullets received in this engagement, and near by were pointed out the graves of English soldiers who fell here.

Parsons and Atlee in Greenwood.

The advance upon the left, at the same time, threatened to overlap the American line, and Stirling at once ordered up Parsons with Huntington's and Atlee's men. Three times an assault was made by Grant's regiments; but Parsons held his position, probably on the spot now known as "Battle Hill" in Greenwood Cemetery. Among the killed were Lieutenant-colonel Parry, of Atlee's regiment, and Lieutenant-colonel Grant, of the Fortieth British foot.

Howe's flanking manœuvre.

But while Stirling was thus making a successful defence on the Narrows road, Howe and his flanking column — four brigades, the light infantry, grenadiers, guards, dragoons, and artillery, with thirty guns — were elsewhere in motion. With the advance rode Clinton; following him came Cornwallis, then Earl Percy, with Howe. The column had left Flatlands at nine o'clock, the night before, and, guided by Tories, marched east toward the hamlet of New Lots. Leaving the Jamaica road on their left, they struck across the country, and at about two o'clock in the morning reached Howard's Half-way House on the Jamaica road, a little east of the pass where it cut through the hills. Thence the road ran nearly straight through Bedford Village, four miles, to the Brooklyn lines.

The American plan of defence had not included the holding of the Jamaica pass by any considerable force, on account of its distance. On the night of the 26th, the patrol there consisted of five mounted officers from New York regiments. While they were looking out for the enemy beyond the pass, the British appeared across the fields in their rear, and all five were captured. Learning from these men that the pass was unguarded, they pushed through after a brief rest, and reached Bedford between eight and nine o'clock on the 27th, where they were as near as the American troops were to the Brooklyn works. The successful execution of this flank move decided the day.

He captures an important patrol,

An attack was now made upon the American outposts facing Flat-

bush, while a part of the column continued down towards Brooklyn. The extreme left of the outer line was watched by Miles's Pennsylvania battalion, and at the Bedford and Flatbush passes were Wylly's and Chester's Connecticut men, Hitchcock's Rhode Islanders, Little's Massachusetts, and Johnston's New Jersey men. A line of sentinels along the ridge through Prospect Park and Greenwood connected with Stirling. By some fatality, Miles did not observe that Howe had marched around him, until he was well in his rear. More than half his two battalions, therefore, fell into the enemy's hands. The other troops just named, finding themselves thus surprised on the left, turned to reach the Brooklyn camp before they should be intercepted. Sullivan, who had gone out to reconnoitre, was with them. As they retreated, many of them fought, and fought well. The enemy captured three guns on the Flatbush road, only by a desperate fight with the artillerymen. Sullivan with his men held out till noon, when the General was captured. Colonel Philip Johnston, of New Jersey, fell at the head of his regiment.

And surprises the American outposts.

Surrender of Sullivan and death of Colonel Johnston.

The Hessians had been ordered to remain passive, but prepared, until they should be assured of Howe's presence on the left. At the first sound of the conflict, they marched rapidly and with flying colors, from Flatbush, along the eastern section of the present Prospect Park. Spreading through the woods, they attacked and dispersed the broken detachments in retreat. Thus, at about ten o'clock, ten thousand British and four thousand Hessians were in pursuit of not quite three thousand Americans in rapid flight through the woods and over the hills just outside the Brooklyn lines. No assistance could be sent them, but much the greater number succeeded in getting within the works.

The Hessians move up.

Stirling, and Parsons on his left, were now the only officers with an organized force in the field. During all this rout and confusion in their rear, they still faced Grant in good order, till Stirling, hearing the noise of the battle behind him, and finding that no orders could reach him, fell back along the Gowanus road. But this was already in possession of Cornwallis, who held it at the Cortelyou House, near the upper end of the Gowanus marsh. Nothing remained for Stirling but to attempt to cross the marsh at the mouth of the creek. It was high water, and fording was difficult; nor could this be attempted in the presence of the enemy without great loss. He determined, therefore, to attack Cornwallis with a small force, while the rest of the command should wade or swim the creek. Taking half the Maryland battalion, he marched boldly upon the enemy, and charged them re-

Stirling forced to retreat.

Spirited conduct of the Marylanders.

peatedly. But before overwhelming numbers, success was out of the question; they retreated to the woods, and were all taken. Surrender of General Stirling. Stirling surrendered to the Hessian commander, De Heister. Parsons's and Atlee's men were also captured, though Parsons himself succeeded in hiding at night and escaping to camp at dawn next morning.

By two o'clock in the afternoon, the engagement was over. The losses. The enemy had captured between eight hundred and one thousand prisoners, at a loss to themselves of three hundred and sixty-seven officers and soldiers. The American loss in killed and wounded was probably less than three hundred.[1]

During the progress of the engagement Washington had crossed to Brooklyn, but could, of course, send no relief from the main lines while the British threatened them. To repair his losses he promptly sent for more troops, and on the morning of the 28th had nearly ten thousand men on the Long Island side. Siege of the Brooklyn works. The British advanced their intrenchments to within range of Fort Putnam by dawn of the 29th. The ground favored them, and in twenty-four hours more their superior artillery would be playing heavily on the Brooklyn works. Eighteen thousand troops were ready to storm them when the guns should be silenced, while in the rear of the American army was the East River, wider than now, by a thousand feet, at its narrowest part. But it rained almost constantly during the 28th and 29th; and beyond some smart skirmishing along the picket lines, nothing occurred. Washington, however, knew that every hour was full of danger, and he was almost constantly in the saddle, moving along the lines, giving orders, and cheering the men.

Late in the afternoon of the 29th, a council of the general officers met at Philip Livingston's mansion, and it was determined Council of war decides to retreat. to retreat from Long Island. Washington had already begun preparations by sending for all the boats that could be found anywhere on Manhattan Island, and by the exertions of Heath, Quartermaster Hughes, and Hutchinson's men from Salem, who rowed the boats down from Fort Washington, every variety of craft had been collected at the Brooklyn ferry by eight o'clock in the evening. Glover's men from Marblehead manned the sail and row-boats, and the retreat began.

For twelve hours, with interruptions that almost proved fatal, the troops were ferried across. The regiments, as they marched down to

[1] The question of the losses at this battle is discussed in *The Campaign of 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn*, recently issued by the Long Island Historical Society, p. 202. The total loss for the Americans is there put at about one thousand.

the ferry, did not understand the movement. General orders that afternoon had informed them that Mercer was expected from New Jersey with reënforcements. The sick had previously been sent to New York on the plea that they were an incumbrance, and that the quarters they occupied were needed for troops without shelter.

The troops cross at night to New York

During the early hours of the night the storm of wind and rain was violent, and the passage across the river exceedingly difficult. McDougall, who had the transportation in charge, once gave it up, and sent word to Washington that its accomplishment was not to be hoped for. Not finding the General, McDougall took no responsibility, but went on with the work as best he could. "But," adds the historian Gordon, "about eleven the wind died away, and soon after sprung up to southwest, and blew fresh, which rendered the sail-boats of use, and at the same time made the passage from the island to the city, direct, easy, and expeditious." [1]



Howe's Headquarters. — Beekman House.

For a covering party to occupy the works to the last, Washington had detached Mifflin with six regiments, with orders to remain until they were sent for. By some mistake, Scammell, one of Washington's aids, brought the order about two o'clock in the morning for the entire body to march to the ferry. The lines were accordingly deserted, and Mifflin's men well on their way to the ferry, when the Commander-in-chief came upon them in the darkness. "A dreadful mistake!" he exclaimed; and all were marched back again to their posts. Fortunately, the enemy were still unsuspicious. Still more fortunately, as Gordon writes, "Providence further interposed in favor of the retreating army, by sending a thick fog about two o'clock in the morning, which hung over Long Island, while on the New York side it was clear. Under cover of this

A dense fog assists the movement.

[1] Gordon obtained his particulars from Colonel Glover's letters, *Dr. Rodgers's Thanksgiving Sermon*, and persons who were present.

fog Mifflin's men finally, about sunrise, withdrew in order and crossed safely. Last of all followed the Commander-in-chief.

Shall New York be evacuated and burned?

There were three points to be settled immediately, consequent on this retreat from Long Island. Shall the defence of New York City be continued? If evacuated, shall it be burned? and, in that case, what position shall the American army take next? The slow movements of the British gave the generals and Congress two weeks to decide. The enemy moved to the site of the present Astoria, to Newtown, and along the East River, threatening to cross to Westchester County above. They could easily have bombarded the town from Brooklyn Heights, and from Governor's Island, of which they had taken possession on the 30th. But Howe refrained from destroying a place which he hoped soon to capture. Greene and some others, expecting that it would fall into the hands of the enemy, wished, for that reason, that it should be destroyed. Congress, to whom the question was referred, decided that no harm should be done to it, influenced by the same motive that governed Howe, — that its possession, at some future time, would be of far greater service than its destruction. Thus both parties agreed that it should remain uninjured.

Why New York was not destroyed.

Washington would have attempted the city's defence even now, had not his faith in the soldierly qualities of the majority of his troops been shaken by recent experiences. The militia were, as he said, "dismayed, intractable, and impatient of return," and after the retreat from Long Island large numbers went back to their homes in squads, in companies, almost by regiments. Discontent bred insubordination, and the wisdom, vigilance, and energy of Washington were taxed to the utmost to maintain the semblance of an army. The men were, no doubt, dispirited by the disasters of the last few days; but they were still more discouraged by privations and difficulties for which there seemed to be no remedy. They were, as General Scott frankly told the New York Congress, "badly paid and wretchedly fed." No wonder that many of them despaired of being either better paid or sufficiently fed, for the real difficulties of the situation were quite as apparent to them as they were to their superiors. Fresh recruits, however, came in to take the place of the home-sick men who left, and the improvement in the condition of the army, though slow, was steady. On the 2d of September, however, it numbered, according to official returns, less than twenty thousand men.

It was decided in a council of war on the 6th that the city should be held, contrary to the judgment of Washington, Greene, Putnam, and perhaps others. On the 10th, Congress voted to leave the question to the Commander-in-chief, who had, however, on the same day

made preparations for leaving, and two days later a council reversed the decision of the week before. The evacuation was to be made on the 15th, and the utmost activity prevailed on the two previous days. Howe was aware, of course, of this movement, and meant to prevent it. Several ships of war were moved up the North and East rivers, and the larger portion of the American army was posted at Harlem and King's Bridge to repel any attempt of the enemy to cross from Long Island in their rear. The troops left below were Colonel Silliman's brigade of Connecticut militia, and levies in the city, General Parsons's Connecticut and Massachusetts Continentals at Corlear's Hook, at the foot of Grand Street on the East River; General Scott's New York State brigade on the Stuyvesant estate, about Fourteenth Street on the river; General Wadsworth's

Position of the troops.



Jumel Mansion. — Washington's Headquarters.

Connecticut levies at Twenty-third Street; and at Thirty-fourth Street, at Kip's Bay, Colonel Douglas, with more Connecticut militia. All these troops lay behind lines thrown up along the river front to repel a landing, and on the 15th were to fall back with the rest of the army to Harlem Heights.

The five British men-of-war in the East River had anchored in Wallabout Bay, and behind Blackwell's Island, with flat-boats and transports. On Sunday morning, the 15th, they drew up in line close to the shore at Kip's Bay, opposite Douglas and his militiamen. About ten o'clock, these ships suddenly opened their broadsides on Douglas,

making a "thundering rattle," as a Hessian officer wrote, and drove the Americans in confusion from behind the low works, which could afford them but slight shelter. Under protection of this fire a body of light infantry and grenadiers, with Donop's Hessians, crossed from the mouth of Newtown Creek in eighty-four flat-boats. Landing without opposition just above Thirty-fourth Street, they chased the fugitives in disorderly flight over the fields to Murray Hill.

The landing at Kip's Bay.

Washington, who on the 14th had moved his headquarters to the mansion of Colonel Roger Morris, on Harlem Heights,[1] hastened, at the first sound of the cannonade, to the front. At Murray Hill, near the residence of Robert Murray, about the line of Thirty-sixth Street and Fourth Avenue, he attempted to arrest the retreat. It was impossible to rally the militia. Those from Massachusetts followed the example of Douglas's men, and the older troops of Parsons were carried away with them. Washington, Putnam, Parsons, and Fellows rode in among the men, doing their best to bring order out of this confusion and arrest their flight. The Commander-in-chief was worked up to the highest pitch of indignation. Gordon, the historian, heard that he drew his sword and threatened to run the fugitives through. Greene wrote that in his disgust and wrath he sought "death rather than life," and was among the last to leave the ground. Tilghman, Washington's aid, adds that he "laid his cane over many of the officers who showed their men the example of running." He drew his sword, snapped his pistols, brandished his cane, dashed his hat to the ground, and exclaimed, "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America!" But for one of his attendants seizing his horse's reins and turning him toward Harlem Heights, it is said the General would have fallen into the enemy's hands.

Washington's anger at the rout.

Putnam, hastening down to New York, gathered up Silliman's command, and by extraordinary exertions, assisted by Aaron Burr, his aid, marched up the west side of the island through the woods, and at dark reached Harlem Heights in safety. Howe was in close pursuit of this column, and there seems no good reason for doubting the story of his being delayed by Mrs. Murray. The General and his staff stopped at her door to ask how long since Putnam had passed, and was assured by that lady that he must be already beyond successful pursuit. She then urged the officers to dismount. The day was "insupportably hot," and the invitation of this charming Quaker lady and a not less charming daughter was irresist-

Putnam and his division escape.

[1] The present Jumel Mansion at One Hundred and Sixtieth Street, east of Tenth Avenue.

ible. "Mrs. Murray," says Thacher, in his military journal, "treated them with cake and wine, and they were induced to tarry two hours or more, Governor Tryon frequently joking her about her American friends." Those American friends, when Howe and his staff dismounted at her gate, were only ten minutes ahead.



Mrs. Murray and General Howe.

The American army rested at length on the broken ground and along the southern crest of Harlem Heights. Many of the men slept without shelter, in clothes drenched by a rain that fell at evening; cannon, baggage, stores, and provisions were lost, and lost through their own want of obedience, of discipline, and of courage. But the next morning, the 16th, a well fought action at the front put fresh spirit into both officers and men. A body of not quite one hundred and fifty rangers, from the Connecticut and other New England regiments, had recently been organized under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Knowlton, who did such brilliant service as the

captain of the Connecticut troops at the battle of Bunker Hill. His corps was intended for scouting duty along the enemy's front.

Battle of Harlem Heights.

Early on the morning of the 16th he cautiously approached the point on the Bloomingdale road where the enemy were supposed to have encamped on the previous evening. They were soon found, a little over a mile from the American lines. Their van, as usual, consisted of the light infantry brigade, and when Knowlton's party was discovered hovering in the woods in front of them, the second and third battalions were ordered out to chase the rebels back. Knowlton and his men received them with a discharge of eight or nine rounds from behind a stone fence, before their numbers compelled him to retreat. As they pressed him in front and flank, he drew back toward the Heights, the infantry following.

A report of the skirmish reached Washington, and he rode at once to that point. In a short time Knowlton and his rangers came in and reported that the detachment in pursuit was about double his own force, or three hundred strong. The ground favored an attempt at the capture of the whole party, and Washington gave his orders accordingly. Harlem Heights rose abruptly from the plain, with the extreme southern point reaching the present One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street east of Ninth Avenue. Opposite, not half a mile distant, were the Bloomingdale Heights, of lower elevation, and the vale between them, at the western end of which lies Manhattanville, was known in the army as the "hollow way." The British infantry had followed Knowlton to the edge of the Bloomingdale Heights, nearly opposite to the rocky point of Harlem Heights, where Washington was directing the movements. Halting there, their bugler sounded the "Tally-ho" of a fox-chase, and they sat

Plan of the engagement.

down to rest themselves. The plan of capture was, to make a diversion in their front, while a detachment should gain their rear and prevent retreat. This movement was entrusted to Knowlton's rangers reënforced by three companies of Weedon's Virginia regiment under Major Andrew Leitch. In front were chiefly Rhode Islanders from Nixon's brigade, under Lieutenant-colonel Crary; as these advanced, the British ran down from their position to a rail fence, and opened fire. Knowlton's flanking force, concealed by the bushes, made a detour around the enemy's right, but by some mistake they began their attack upon the flank of the infantry. Finding themselves in danger of being surrounded, the enemy gave way, and ran up the hill again, with the Americans in pursuit. The flight continued over the Bloomingdale Heights, through a piece of woods, and to a field beyond, where the infantry, being reënforced by the Forty-second Highlanders, made a stand.

To drive the regulars in the open field was a new experience for Washington's men, and this success would doubtless have been followed up but for the fall of the two brave leaders of the flanking party, Knowlton and Leitch, as they came up. "I do not care for my life," said Knowlton to the Captain on

Fall of Leitch and Knowlton.



Harlem Plains.

whom the command now devolved, "if we do but win the day;" and he ordered him to press forward.[1]

Washington immediately sent forward detachments from the Maryland brigade, and from Nixon's and Sargent's, which swelled the number engaged to over fifteen hundred. The British infantry being also reënforced by the Forty-second Highlanders, two field-pieces, and Donop's yagers, a sharp fight followed of an hour's duration, at a buckwheat field, east of the present Bloomingdale Asylum. Putnam, Greene, George Clinton, Reed, and members of Washington's staff, all joined in the affair, holding the men well up to their work, until the enemy, surprised to find such opposition, again retreated through an orchard towards Bloomingdale. The Americans pursued; but Washington feared an advance in force by the enemy, and sent Tilghman, his aid, to bring back the troops, who returned in high spirits.

The enemy driven over Bloomingdale Heights.

Knowlton was buried the next day, with military honors, near the

[1] Letter from the Captain, whose name is not given, in the *Connecticut Gazette*, September 27.

roadside, not far, it is supposed, from the intersection of Tenth Avenue and One Hundred and Forty-fifth Street. Leitch died on the 1st of October. Besides these two leaders the party lost two other officers — Captain Gleason, of Massachusetts, and Lieutenant Allen, of Rhode Island — and about seventy-five privates in killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was variously estimated, at the time; Howe reported that his loss was fourteen killed and seventy wounded. Coming so immediately upon the panic of the day before, the action was important in its influence upon the men. "This affair," Washington wrote to Congress, "I am in hopes, will be attended with many salutary consequences, as it seems to have greatly inspirited the whole of our troops." It was this, rather than any importance in the movement itself, that aroused the anxiety of the generals, and led so many of them to take part in it. "I suppose," wrote Adjutant-general Reed, "many persons will think it was rash and imprudent for so many officers of our rank to go into such an action, but it was really to animate the troops, who were quite dispirited, and would not go into danger unless their officers led the way." Despondency and discontent, however, still prevailed; many deserted, and those whose enlistments expired went home during the next four weeks, in which there was little to do except to strengthen the Heights.

Losses on either side.



Ruins of Trinity Church.

Yet there was no want of exciting events in this interval of cessation from fighting. The town was taken possession of by the hostile army, with much military display, and not a little rejoicing among the loyalists, who gave to Governor Tryon an enthusiastic welcome. These demonstrations were hardly over, when the calamity which both sides had hoped might be averted fell upon the town. On the 21st it was well-nigh destroyed by a fire, which, breaking out, from some unknown cause, at Whitehall Slip, swept through Stone, Beaver, and

New York occupied by the British.

A great fire.

Broad Streets, up Broadway to Barclay Street, and along the North River to King's College, which was saved with difficulty. Five hundred buildings, among them Trinity Church and the Lutheran Church, were destroyed. Several women and children, it was supposed, were burnt to death, and their shrieks, wrote the Moravian pastor, Shewkirk, "joined to the roaring of the flames, the crash of falling buildings, and the widespread ruin which everywhere appeared, formed a scene of horror great beyond description." There were no bells in the churches to give a timely alarm, these having been removed by order of the Provincial Congress; the fire-engines were out of order, and buckets were almost useless in arresting the progress of the flames. That there should be suspicions of incendiarism was inevitable. "Numbers of people," says the Moravian pastor, "were carried to jail on suspicion to have had a hand in the fire, and to have been on the rebels' side, — it is said about two hundred; however, on examination, the most men were as fast discharged."

Execution of Captain Nathan Hale.

In the excitement of the destruction of a large portion of the city, and the arrest of so many suspected rebel incendiaries, it is not likely that the hanging of a single spy in the neighborhood of the town attracted much attention. It is, nevertheless, the more marked incident of the two, both from the character of the man who suffered death, and as a precedent which no doubt influenced Washington when subsequently he was called upon to decide the fate of a spy. The morning after the fire, Captain Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, was hanged near the corner of East Broadway and Market Street. From the purest motives of patriotism he had volunteered to go within the British lines on Long Island, and obtain information, indispensable to the Commander-in-chief, of the disposition of the forces of the enemy. He was arrested on his return, and taken to Howe's headquarters, the Beekman mansion at Turtle Bay, on the East River. The papers found upon his person were the evidence of his purpose, which, indeed, he made no pretence of denying. No trial was granted him; it is said that he was not permitted to see a clergyman, or to have the use of a Bible in his last hours, and the provost martial to whom, after a single night's confinement, he was delivered up for death, destroyed the letters he had written to his mother and sisters. "I only regret," he said, as he was about to die, "that I have but one life to give for my country." His burial-place is unknown, and no monument has been erected to him by the nation in whose service he met an ignominious death. Like André, he was a gentleman of education and high character; if, by the laws of war, both equally merited the death, the risk of which they took, there is this marked difference in their fates, — that to André was given a fair

and impartial trial upon the evidence, and that his countrymen remembered, after the lapse of a century, to give his body a grave and his memory a monument among the most honored of England's dead.

A second attempt at reconciliation.

During this interval of comparative quiet, the attempt at reconciliation, with which Howe was in a certain degree intrusted, was renewed. General Sullivan, three days after his capture on Long Island, went on his parole to Congress at Philadelphia, bearing a message from the English Admiral that he desired to confer on the subject with some of their members in a private capacity. Congress declined to treat with him in any other way than as the representatives of America; but consented to send a committee to ascertain what powers he possessed as a civil commissioner. Franklin, Adams, and Rutledge met him on the 11th of September, at the Billop House, on Staten Island, opposite Amboy; but the conference only brought out the fact that Lord Howe had no authority to negotiate with the rebels as an independent people, and that the committee had no intention of treating with him on any other basis. Gordon reports that the latter managed the matter "with great dexterity, and maintained the dignity of Congress."



The Billop House.

It was not until the 12th of October that Howe was prepared to renew the offensive measures against Washington. The position of the American army at Harlem Heights was too strong to be assaulted in front, and the British commander was now compelled by the necessities of the situation, rather than of choice, to follow out his favorite tactics and again move on his opponent's flank and rear. Washington, on his part, had made such preparations that he was not for the third time to be taken by surprise. Howe decided now to do that which he might have done immediately after the battle of Long

Island, — to land in Westchester County, march across toward the Hudson, and cut the American communications. But instead of landing well along the coast, at a point where he could quickly seize the main roads in Washington's rear, his advance division, which started from New York on the 12th, and passed through Hell Gate in flat-boats under cover of a fog, stopped at Throg's Neck, six miles distant, which then had no strategical importance whatever. It was simply a projecting tongue of land, connected with the main land by a causeway, which the Americans had already obstructed and covered with works. Here the British wasted five days waiting for provisions and stores, and Washington improved the time by preparing for the next attempt upon his flank.

Howe lands in Westchester County.

This evident design on the Westchester roads prompted the calling of a council in the American camp on the 16th. It was decided that Harlem Heights would be untenable should Howe move upon them, and preparations, therefore, should be made to evacuate the whole of that position, with the exception of Fort Washington. That post, the council, persuaded chiefly by Greene's opinion of its importance and impregnability, decided to retain with a sufficient garrison. Accordingly, the Commander-in-chief gradually withdrew his troops along the hills west of the Bronx River, which runs through Westchester nearly parallel to the Hudson, and thus held the army well in hand to face the enemy wherever they appeared.

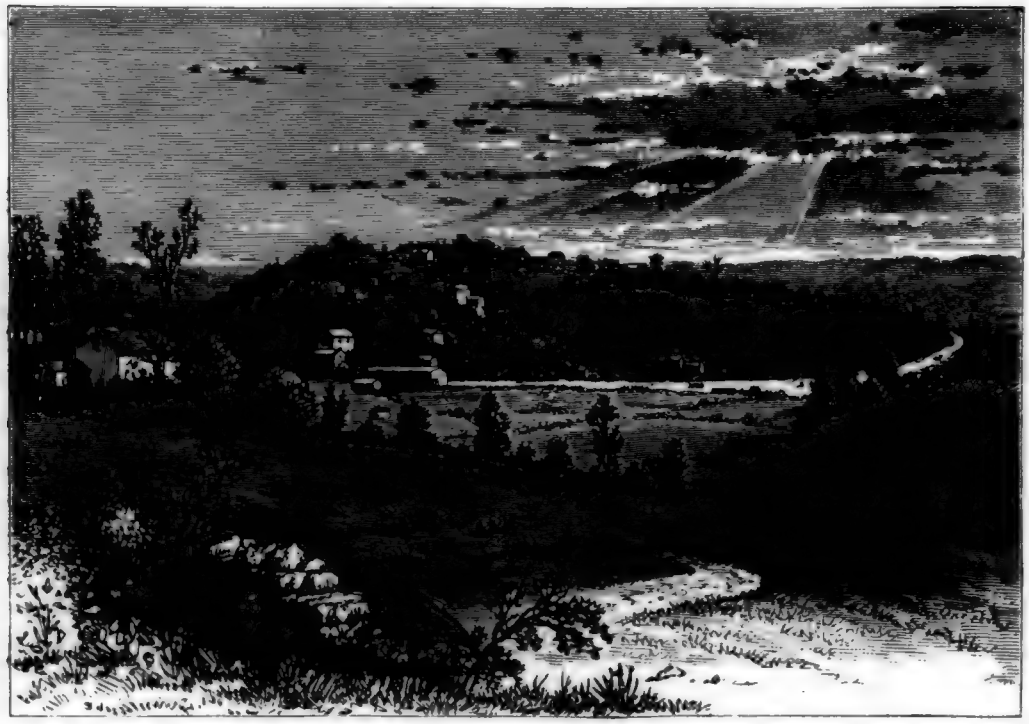
On the 18th Howe left the Neck, and debarked again at Pell's Point, a short distance below New Rochelle. Glover's brigade, consisting of Reed's, Shepherd's, and Bailey's Massachusetts men, opposed the light infantry from behind stone walls, with an effective fire, and then fell back slowly. The enemy advancing took post in the vicinity of New Rochelle, where they delayed again until the 22d, giving Washington ample time to place himself at White Plains, where he held the roads leading up the Hudson and to New England. If Howe's movement was merely to compel the evacuation of Harlem Heights, it was successful; if the intention was to hem in the whole American force south of White Plains, it was a signal failure. On the evening of the 27th the two armies were only four miles apart. Washington's line of works — part of the distance a double line — ran along hilly ground within the village of White Plains, in a southwesterly direction, the left resting on broken ground near a hollow and mill-pond, and the right on a curve of the Bronx, which protected flank and rear. Just across the Bronx rose Chatterton's Hill, a little in advance of the main line, and presenting a steep front. Behind the intrenchments lay the four divisions of the army, mustering about thir-

Marches towards New Rochelle

Battle of White Plains.

teen thousand men. Chatterton's Hill had not been fortified, and Colonel Putnam, the engineer, had gone out to it to mark a line of defence.

The British moved up from Scarsdale, and, driving in the outpost parties under Spencer, reached Washington's position about ten o'clock. They marched in two columns, — Clinton on the right, De Heister on the left, — in numbers about equal to the Americans, or, according to Stedman, "thirteen thousand effective men." The purpose seemed



Chatterton's Hill.

to be, at first, to attack in front, and a company of dragoons approached Heath on the left to reconnoitre, but were checked by a battery. Instead of attempting a direct assault, however, the enemy filed off to the left and extended their lines in the plain some distance in front of Chatterton's Hill. Here the main body halted, and the soldiers sat down on the ground, while a column four thousand strong proceeded to cross the Bronx and move up the hill. The design evidently was, to attempt the capture of that point as preliminary and necessary to subsequent movements. One body, under General Leslie and Colonel Donop, forded the stream in front, and Rahl, with part of his Hessians, crossed farther down. To cover the movement, fifteen or twenty pieces of artillery opened a rapid fire on the Americans opposite.

At the time of Howe's approach, Washington was riding in

company with Lee, Heath, and other officers, examining a stronger position for defence farther to the rear.[1] An orderly brought word of what might be expected, and the generals galloped back to their posts. Colonel Brooks's Massachusetts militia were sent to Chatterton's Hill, and Haslet, with his Delaware men, soon followed. These formed in good positions, the militia considerably to the right, where they were shortly reënforced by McDougall's brigade of Continentals, including his own, Ritzema's, Smallwood's, and Charles Webb's. Captain Alexander Hamilton brought up his two field-pieces. This disposition of the troops was hardly made along the brow of the steep declivity, when the enemy came on, clambering straight up the difficult ascent. The situation was not unlike that at Bunker Hill. Captain William Hull, of Webb's regiment, describes the scene as exceedingly imposing, with the entire British army in full view, and the attack in front, combined with the heavy cannonade, as an ordeal which, under the circumstances, might have tried the nerves of older soldiers. McDougall's men poured a hot fire into Leslie's ranks, before which they recoiled, and sought shelter. A second charge up the slope was met with an equally determined resistance, especially from Smallwood's and Ritzema's men in the centre. For fifteen minutes the enemy were held in check, when Rahl and his Hessians appearing on the American right, drove the militia from their posts. This break on the right made it impossible for McDougall to maintain his position, and he was compelled to retreat. As the fire in front increased, and Rahl was now on their flank, the Americans gave way, at first in some confusion; but a portion of them kept up a fire from behind trees and fences, and the whole force succeeded in retiring to the main line across the Bronx. The loss was about thirty prisoners and less than one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. The enemy's loss was nearly a hundred greater.

Attack on Chatterton's Hill.

In the course of the next two or three days, Washington removed his army to an impregnable position on the Northcastle Heights. It was useless to follow him, and Howe, after several days' delay, marched to the Hudson to the reduction of Fort Washington. All the evils of war were visited upon the people of the neighborhood; the British troops lived upon the country, and the court-house and a part of the village of White Plains were burnt by the Americans after the enemy left it.

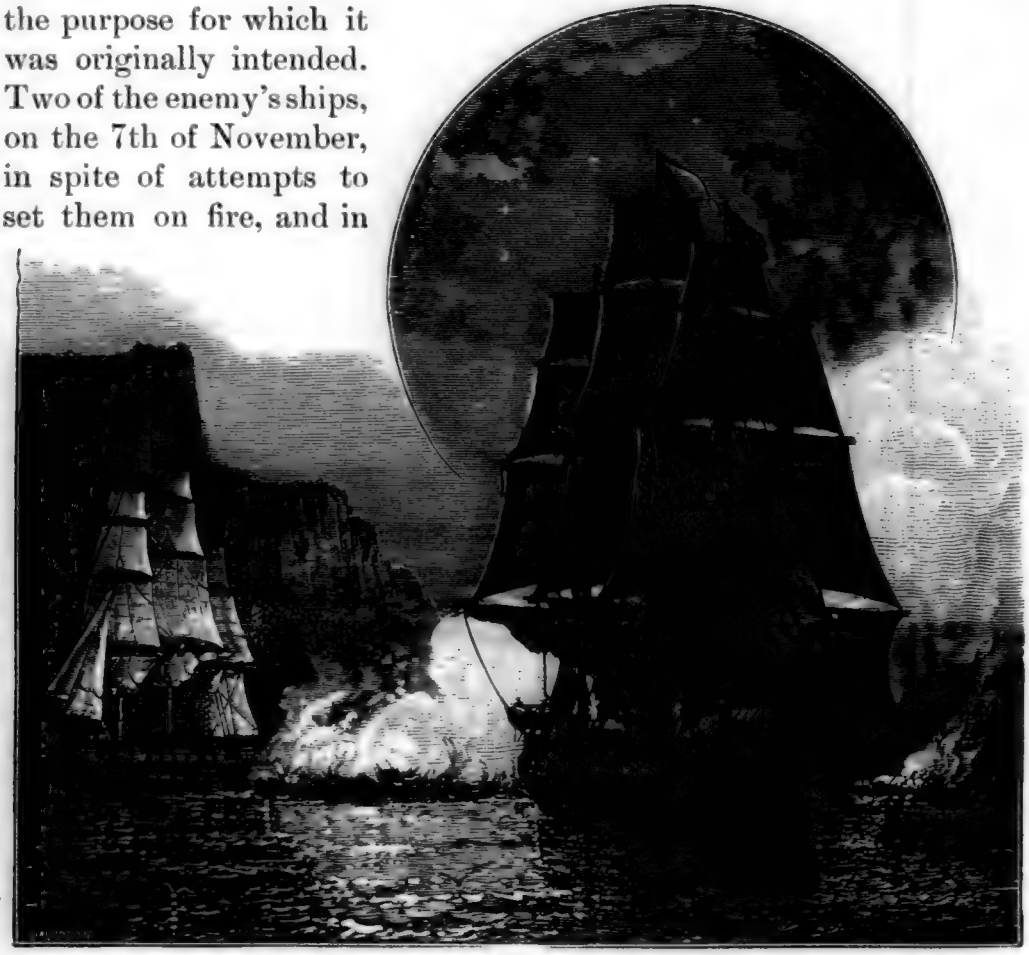
Washington takes position on Northcastle Heights.

Whether Fort Washington should, if possible, be held, was an anxious question, both in Congress and with the generals in the field. Congress wished to hold it at any cost, to guard the Hudson. Greene, who believed that Howe contemplated, as his

Fort Washington.

[1] Heath's *Memoirs*.

next move, a descent upon New Jersey, still urged that it be retained, to compel the enemy to leave part of their force in its vicinity, and thus distract their future operations. Washington was far more anxious as to the probable transfer of the campaign to New Jersey, and a move on Philadelphia. The fort, he thought, even if it should be possible to repulse such a force as Howe could place before it, had already ceased to serve the purpose for which it was originally intended. Two of the enemy's ships, on the 7th of November, in spite of attempts to set them on fire, and in



Ships passing Fort Washington.

defiance of the cannonading from the fort, had broken through the impediments placed in the channel, and ran up the river; and, only two nights before the final attack, thirty or forty flat-boats had passed up into Spuyten Duyvil Creek, unobserved from either shore. Washington accordingly wrote to Greene that, under the circumstances, he did not think it "prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington," but at the same time left it discretionary with him to give the necessary orders for its evacuation.

The commander of the fort was Colonel Robert Magaw, a lawyer of Philadelphia. He was regarded as a good officer, and had had

some experience as Major of Hand's riflemen at the siege of Boston. The twenty-seven hundred or more troops composing the garrison were chiefly Pennsylvanians. Rawling's Maryland riflemen and Bradley's Connecticut levies were together less than five hundred of the number. Howe demanded a surrender on the 15th, threatening that if he were compelled to take the fort by assault, the garrison should be put to the sword. Magaw replied that to propose such an alternative was unworthy an officer of the British nation, and that, for himself, he should defend the fort to the last extremity.

Colonel Magaw declines to surrender.

Washington had been absent for some days, with several of his



Washington, at Washington Heights.

principal officers, making preparations for any movement farther up the river and on the west side, to secure the important pass of the Highlands by sufficient fortifications. On his return to Fort Lee, on the Jersey side, nearly opposite Fort Washington, he was surprised to find that this post was still occupied. On the 16th, he crossed the

river with the purpose of coming to a final and positive decision, upon the spot, of the question of defence or evacuation. But it was already decided. Howe had begun the attack, retreat was impossible, and the garrison had no choice but defence or surrender. "As the disposition was made," wrote Greene, "and the enemy advancing, we durst not attempt any new disposition; indeed, we saw nothing amiss. We all urged his Excellency to come off. I offered to stay. General Putnam did the same, and so did General Mercer; but his Excellency thought it best for us all to come off together, which we did, about half an hour before the enemy surrounded the fort."

Howe's line of attack.

The British directed their attack from three sides, under cover of a furious cannonade from Fordham Heights on the east bank of the Harlem. Magaw had stationed his men in the outer lines, some distance above and below the fort. Lieutenant-colonel Cadwallader, with Shee's Pennsylvanians, commanded at the lowest of the triple line of works across the island. Towards King's Bridge, on the high ground near Inwood, Rawling and his Marylanders were posted. On his right, Colonel Baxter's Pennsylvania Rifles occupied Laurel Hill on the Harlem, near where Tenth Avenue terminates. The rocky and precipitous side of the river, north and south of the present High Bridge, was watched by small parties. The distance on this defensive line, between Cadwallader below and Rawling and Baxter above, was two and a half miles.

The enemy advanced in three columns. One came up from Bloomingdale and Harlem Plains, led by Lord Percy, who was accompanied by Howe. Knyphausen moved down the road from King's Bridge, and with him marched Rahl and his men, only a little nearer the Hudson. The third force, under General Matthews, supported by Cornwallis, appeared in boats on the upper Harlem, heading toward Baxter. The fighting began everywhere nearly at the same time, Percy leading off. He attacked Cadwallader, and carried a small redoubt; but as Cadwallader had the middle and a much stronger line to fall back to, and could probably hold Percy well in check, Howe ordered a body of Highlanders, led by Lieutenant-colonel Sterling, to move up in boats, and land above Cadwallader. Magaw, observing this movement, sent out an opposing force; but the Highlanders clambered up the hill-side in spite of the destructive fire that tore through their ranks, and, reaching the top, took a hundred and fifty prisoners, besides compelling Cadwallader to beat an immediate retreat to the fort. On the north side, the Hessian columns met in Rawling and his riflemen a stubborn enemy. The woods resounded with the shouts and volleys from either side, until the Americans were pushed back by sheer weight of numbers. Baxter fell on Laurel Hill, where

Matthews attacked him, and the entire American force was soon huddled within the fort. Knyphausen then demanded an immediate surrender. Further resistance would only be to incur great loss of life in a work now crowded with nearly three thousand men. Magaw, therefore, surrendered on honorable terms. The capture cost the enemy nearly five hundred men in killed and wounded. The American loss beyond prisoners was hardly a third of this number.

Surrender of the Fort.

New York City and Island, from the Battery to King's Bridge, were now in the possession of the British. Two days afterward Cornwallis passed up the river, and at a point nearly opposite Yonkers, landed with six thousand men. Fort Lee could be held no longer in the presence of such a force; it was, therefore, abandoned, and the American army withdrew to the other side of the Hackensack River. Howe considered the reduction of these two forts of vital importance, as they commanded the entrance to the Hudson, or, at least, made it perilous for the passage of English ships; and so long as Fort Washington was held by the Americans, the communication of New York with the open country beyond could never be safe and uninterrupted. His objective point in the campaign, therefore, was so far gained. His reasons for reducing Fort Washington, were, on the other hand, precisely the reasons which Greene, and those who agreed with him, had urged for its defence. The real difference of opinion among the American generals, was not so much whether it was desirable, but whether it was possible to maintain that position. If it could be done, it ought to be done; if it could not, then the attempt to do it only involved a loss of life and munitions. The further question — whether its voluntary abandonment without fighting, or its surrender after an unsuccessful defence, would have the more dispiriting effect upon the army and the country — was a question that, however important, could not be permitted to govern the final decision. There could be no doubt that the loss of the fort was most serious; it is equally certain that in the existing state of things, the loss, and the method of losing it, were governed by the inevitable necessities of the case. Washington was not strong enough to hold it, nor had he authority sufficient to compel its evacuation without a fight, decided as his own judgment was, that that was the wiser thing to do. Congress hampered him; and affairs had not yet reached that point where he could demand implicit obedience from his Major-generals, instead of suggesting measures in which he asked their coöperation. That time came the sooner, probably, that he was not in haste to assert and assume the power that should properly belong to the Commander-in-chief.

Evacuation of Fort Lee.

Washington's position.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE NEW JERSEY CAMPAIGN.

CONDITION OF THE ARMY. — RETREAT THROUGH NEW JERSEY. — HOWE'S PROCLAMATION OF AMNESTY. — WASHINGTON CROSSES THE DELAWARE. — CONDUCT OF GENERAL LEE. — HIS CAPTURE. — OUTRAGES BY THE FOREIGN TROOPS. — THE HESSIANS SURPRISED AND CAPTURED AT TRENTON. — WASHINGTON RECROSSES THE DELAWARE. — BATTLE OF PRINCETON. — WINTER QUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN. — RESULTS OF THE CAMPAIGN. — SUFFERINGS OF AMERICAN PRISONERS IN THE HANDS OF THE BRITISH. — THE QUESTION OF EXCHANGE. — WASHINGTON'S POSITION.

LITTLE doubt remained in Washington's mind that the British would follow up their successes about New York by an immediate move upon Philadelphia. This was the opinion of the council of war at White Plains when Howe relinquished further operations in Westchester County. Washington, therefore, left Lee at Northcastle, and Heath in the Highlands, taking Putnam, Greene, Stirling, and Mercer with him southward. Something over four thousand men composed his entire force, and many of these were to leave in December.

Washington apprehends a move on Philadelphia.

Washington wrote to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, to be prepared for the invasion of his province. He suggested that the militia be in readiness for instant service, and recommended the people, in the strongest terms, to remove their "stock, grain, effects, and carriages," for the enemy in their progress would leave them nothing. "They have treated all here," he wrote from Westchester, "without discrimination; the distinction of Whig and Tory has been lost in one general scene of ravage and desolation." What could not be removed, he advised, should be burned "without the least hesitation."

The condition of his army still gave him great anxiety. By the 1st of December he would have only about two thousand Continentals on the Jersey side, to oppose Howe's entire force. The several legislatures were exceedingly slow in raising their additional quotas, and Congress still adhered to the policy of short enlistments.

Condition of his army.

The first necessity now was reënforcements. Adjutant-general Reed

was sent to appeal to the New Jersey Legislature for help, and Mifflin was despatched on a like errand to Congress at Philadelphia. Being a popular and able speaker, he addressed meetings in that city, roused the war spirit afresh, and by the middle of December had contributed much toward raising new troops in both town and country. The Philadelphia "associators," or home-guards, turned out in large numbers. General Schuyler sent down from the Northern Department seven eastern regiments under Gates and St. Clair.

The enemy had renewed operations only four days after the capture of Fort Washington, and Fort Lee was evacuated so hastily by the Americans that the kettles were on the fire, and a thousand bar-



View of Fort Lee.

rels of flour, three hundred tents, and a number of mounted cannon fell into the hands of Cornwallis. As Washington reached Hackensack bridge, the British van appeared in sight on the road above. By the 22d the whole American army had fallen back to Newark. On the 28th, as Washington was leaving Newark at one end of the town, Cornwallis entered at the other.

Northern New Jersey was thrown into a panic at this invasion. Taking advantage of the alarm, the two Howes, as Peace Commissioners, issued a proclamation on the 30th, in which they offered pardon to all who had taken up arms against the King, if they returned quietly to their homes, the offer holding good for sixty days. Many in New Jersey and Pennsylvania accepted

A proclamation of amnesty.

it. Among these was Joseph Galloway, of Philadelphia, a member of the first Continental Congress.[1]

From Newark Washington fell back to Brunswick on the Raritan. Most of the flying camp, Jerseymen and Pennsylvanians, went home, their term of enlistment having expired. The British came on through Elizabethtown, Uniontown, Woodbridge, and other places, impressing cattle, horses, and wagons. On December 1st, Washington retreated by a night march to Princeton, where he left Stirling and Stephen, of Virginia, to watch the enemy, while he moved to Trenton with the other half of his force to transfer stores and baggage across the Delaware. Howe unaccountably ordered Cornwallis to halt at Brunswick. In the lull of the pursuit, Washington urged Congress to raise a permanent army and "have nothing to do with militia except in cases of extraordinary exigency." That he might, in case of necessity, make a safe retreat into Pennsylvania, he had boats in readiness at Trenton, and to prevent pursuit he ordered every sort of craft removed from the Jersey side for seventy miles up and down the Delaware. He gave special orders that the Durham produce-scows should be secured, as any one of them was large enough to transport a whole regiment. Cornwallis. on the 8th, suddenly pushed on again, and nearly surprised Stirling, while the entire American force, less than three thousand, crossed the Delaware as the British were marching into Trenton. Stedman, who was in Howe's army, criticises the easy pace of the pursuit. To him it seemed as if Howe "had calculated with the greatest accuracy the exact time necessary for his enemy to make his escape."

Washington reaches the Delaware,

and crosses it.

As the two armies moved southward, the panic in Jersey and Pennsylvania increased. Congress thought it unsafe to remain in Philadelphia, and adjourned early in December to meet at Baltimore. Oliver Wolcott, a delegate from Connecticut, wrote that "it was judged that the Council of America ought not to sit in a Place liable to be interrupted by the rude Disorder of Arms." Putnam and Mifflin were ordered there to put that city in a state of defence.

A panic.

As Washington fell back slowly through New Jersey, warily watching every movement of the enemy, he had repeatedly and urgently ordered Lee to join him with his whole force. But that General chose to construe those orders as conditional, and not imperative. This was in accordance with his settled purpose to acquire a

Lee's conduct.

[1] Howe subsequently made him superintendent of the post at that city, but he appears at the close of the war as a witness in England against the British General who had pardoned him, who was accused of conducting a very sluggish campaign in the Jerseys.

separate command; more than this, — as he had hoped the year before that the supreme command would be bestowed upon him, so he still hoped, undoubtedly, that he might supersede Washington. He assumed to instruct the New England Governors, and even Congress, upon the construction of the army, and the measures which should be adopted for the conduct of military affairs. In November he wrote to the President of the Massachusetts Council, James Bowdoin, that "before the unfortunate affair of Fort Washington, he was of opinion that the two armies — that on the east and that on the west side of North River — must rest each on its own bottom; that the idea of detaching . . . . from one side to the other was chimerical; but to harbor such a thought in our present circumstances is absolute insanity." When Washington ordered him to move, he saw fit to act upon his own judgment rather than to obey the orders of his superior, and directed General Heath to cross the river and join the main army, instead of himself. Heath refused to obey, properly conceiving that his movements were to be governed by the Commander-in-chief. "The Commander-in-chief," was Lee's reply, "is now separated from us; I, of course, command on this side the water: for the future I will and must be obeyed." When, at last, he leisurely took up his line of march to join the main army, where the aid of his troops was so imperatively needed, he wrote that he was "in hopes to reconquer the Jerseys, which were really in the hands of the enemy before my arrival." In a letter to General Gates, two days later, he says, "*Entre nous*, a certain great man is most damnably deficient. He has thrown me into a situation where I have my choice of difficulties — if I stay in this Province, I risk myself and Army, and if I do not stay, the Province is lost forever — . . . . I must act with the greatest circumspection — . . . . as to what relates to yourself, if you think you can be in time to aid the General, I would have you by all means go." Even Gates, he thought, should be governed by his own discretion, rather than obey positive orders; and while he hesitated whether he should stay or not stay in Jersey, Washington had four times written him within ten days — "hasten your march as much as possible, or your arrival may be too late to answer any valuable purpose:" — "the sooner you join me with your division, the sooner the service will be benefited:" — "march and join me with all your whole force with all possible expedition:" — "push on with every possible succor you can bring." [1]

On his march through Jersey he compelled the inhabitants to furnish his men with clothing, of which they were, like all the army,

[1] See *Treason of Major-general Charles Lee*, by George H. Moore. *Lee Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1872.

greatly in need, promising that the public should pay for it.[1] He did not cross the Hudson until the 3d of December, sixteen days after he was directed to march. On the 12th he was no farther than Vealtown, and on the next day was taken prisoner. The previous evening, he had pushed on with his staff and about a dozen guards to Baskingridge, and put up at a tavern. "A rascally Tory," according to one account, noticed Lee's exposed position, and

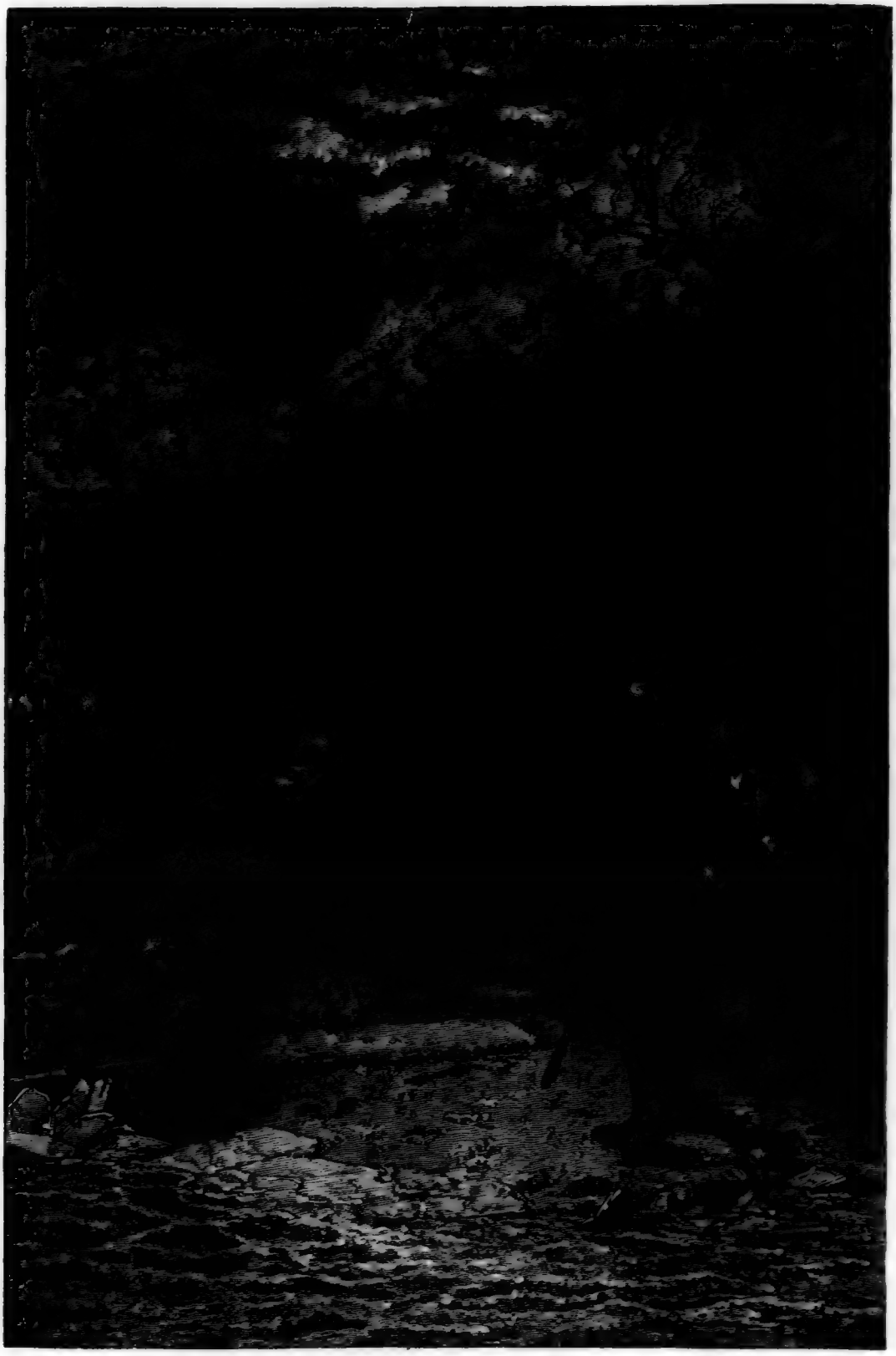
Lee captured.



Capture of General Lee.

galloping away at high speed, gave the information that night to a British scouting-party under Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, twenty miles distant. Harcourt arrived at Baskingridge, with fifty of his dragoons, about ten o'clock on the morning of the 13th. Lee had

[1] This order, recently discovered, directs Colonel Chester and a party to proceed to Harrington township and collect all the serviceable horses and spare blankets they can find, leaving "a sufficient number to cover the people;" and they are to gather shoes and great coats, "to serve as Watch Coats." "The people from whom they are taken," continues the order, "are not to be insulted either by language or actions, but told that the urgent necessity of the troops obliges us to this measure, — that, unless we adopt it, their liberties must perish."



THE CROSSING OF THE DELAWARE.

sent for his horses, was about to mount, and would have been gone in ten minutes. The dragoons approached cautiously and surrounded the house. Some resistance was made, and a shot cut off the ribbon of Colonel Harcourt's queue. In the attempt to escape, several of the Americans were wounded, and two were killed. Captain Bradford, Lee's aid, evaded the enemy by changing his clothes, and Major Wilkinson hid in safety behind a door. Lee was placed on horseback, bound hand and foot, and hurried off beyond successful pursuit.

The command of his troops fell to Sullivan, who lost no time in obeying the orders Lee had so long disregarded, and reported at headquarters on the 20th. The strictest watch was now kept upon the enemy across the river; scouts were sent to ascertain their position and movements, and particularly whether they were building boats. The critical state of affairs urged Washington to aggressive measures. Bold as any attempt whatever on the enemy might seem, the situation demanded it. Something must be done to offset Howe's sweeping progress; something to cheer the troops; something to assure the country that the army, at least, had not despaired of the cause, and only required vigorous support at home to crown it with success. Washington appears to have contemplated a move of this nature as early as the 14th, when he wrote to Governor Trumbull of the effect "a lucky blow" might have in rousing the spirits of the people, which he knew were quite sunk by late misfortunes. The favorable opportunity soon offered. On the 23d of December he wrote: "Christmas-day at night, one hour before day, is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton."

A plan to surprise Trenton.

Confident in their strength, and believing that the end of the rebellion was near, the British distributed their forces in New Jersey at different points until the freezing of the Delaware should enable them to cross into Pennsylvania and continue their march to Philadelphia. They spread themselves over as much territory as possible, to afford the loyal portion of the inhabitants "protection," as well as to keep recruits from joining the American army. At Brunswick, they collected stores and provisions, guarded by cannon and six or eight hundred men; at Cranberry a camp for Tory recruits was established. Cornwallis fixed his headquarters at Princeton. Donop with two thousand Hessians commanded in Burlington County, where a scout found his men "scattered through all the farmers' houses, — eight, ten, twelve, and fifteen in a house, — and rambling over the whole country;" Rahl, with twelve hundred more, occupied Trenton. The people everywhere were given over to plunder.[1] The British posts were hardly within easy supporting dis-

Disposition of the British forces.

[1] A letter bearing date December 12, 1776, gives a vivid picture of the conduct of these

tance of each other; indeed, Rahl, at Trenton, to show his contempt for the Continentals, would have no supports, and refused to throw up a single defensive work. Cornwallis, even, was so far convinced that the campaign was over, that he had obtained leave of absence to return to England, and had gone from Princeton to New York, leaving Grant in command in lower Jersey. That officer, equally unsuspecting, assured Donop, on the edge of the river, that while he and Rahl should be on the watch, there was nothing to apprehend from the rebels.

Ascertaining the exact position of the enemy, Washington determined to cross the Delaware at night above and below Trenton, fall upon Rahl and his Hessians, surround and capture them, and recross before he could be overtaken. The plan required the coöperation of all the troops that could be mustered. To engage Donop's attention below Trenton, a body of militia, under Colonel Griffin, from Philadelphia, skirmished at Burlington and Mount Holly, and succeeded so far as to draw off part of his force eighteen miles southeast of Rahl. General John Cadwallader was directed to cross at Bristol with a force of Pennsylvanians,[1] and General Ewing had been ordered to

foreign troops, and suggests anew the question whether there can be any such thing as civilized warfare. The writer says the progress of the British and Hessian troops through New Jersey was attended with such scenes of desolation and outrage as would disgrace the most barbarous nations; and he cites half a dozen incidents which he declares well authenticated. William Smith, of Smith's farm, near Woodbridge, hearing the cries of his daughter, rushed into the room and found a Hessian officer attempting to ravish her. "In an agony of rage and resentment, he instantly killed him; but the officer's party soon came upon him, and he now lies mortally wounded at his ruined, plundered dwelling." They entered the house of Samuel Stout, Esq., in Hopewell, and destroyed his deeds, papers, furniture, and effects of every kind, except what they plundered. They took away every horse, and left his house and farm in ruins, "injuring him to the value of two thousand pounds in less than three hours." Old Mr. Philips, his neighbor, they pillaged in the same manner, and then cruelly beat him. "On Wednesday last," says this writer, "three women came down to the Jersey shore in great distress; a party of the American Army went and brought them off, when it appeared that they all had been very much abused, and the youngest of them, a girl about fifteen years of age, had been ravished that morning by a British officer." Sixteen young women in Hopewell, flying from the enemy, took refuge on the mountain near Ralph Hart's; but information being given of their retreat, they were soon carried down into the British camp, "where they have been kept ever since." The settlements of Maidenhead and Hopewell were broken up; "no age nor sex have been spared; the houses are stripped of every article of furniture, and what is not portable is entirely destroyed. The stock of cattle and sheep are drove off; every article of clothing and house-linen seized and carried away. Scarce a soldier in the Army but what has a horse loaded with plunder. Hundreds of families are reduced from comfort and affluence to poverty and ruin, left at this inclement season to wander through woods without house or clothing." — Force's *Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. iii., p. 1188.

[1] Adjutant-general Reed was sent by Washington to Cadwallader to coöperate with and aid him in the proposed movements across the Delaware. Some years after the peace, a controversy sprang up between Reed and Cadwallader, which was embittered by, if it did not originate in, political differences, and has been kept alive in the present century in more than one history of the Revolutionary period. The essential point of this controversy is

make a similar attempt opposite Trenton. The Commander-in-chief proposed to lead the main column himself from McConkey's Ferry, nine miles up the river. The movement was to begin on Christmas night, and every preparation was made to insure success.

But the condition of the river threatened to defeat this bold design. When Cadwallader attempted to cross from Bristol he found the ice so piled up on the Jersey shore as to prevent the landing of artillery. He could do nothing, and relinquished the attempt in despair. Ewing was equally unsuccessful. These two coöperating parties, who were to have cut off communication between Rahl and Donop, being thus effectually baffled, the chances of the success of the main force were proportionately lessened. Washington determined, nevertheless, to push on at all hazards, though without support. He could at least trust the troops under his immediate command. The best general officers then in the service were to go with them; — Greene, who had shared his chief's hopes and anxieties through the cam-

a charge against Reed of meditating a treacherous abandonment of the cause of his country, and a determination to go over to the enemy. Evidence as to the alleged words and acts of the Adjutant-general, while at Bristol, were gathered together and have been repeatedly published to substantiate the charge, and he and his friends — particularly his grandson, the late William B. Reed — have been called upon to prove a negative. For the discussion of this question we have neither space nor inclination. At the same time, we do not hesitate to say that the difficult task of proving a negative was never, perhaps, more completely accomplished, were it not that no evidence could be given to offset the direct, positive, and unbiassed testimony found, a few years ago, in the manuscript journal of the Hessian Colonel Donop, or one of his staff. In this it was charged that Reed had "received a protection," and "had declared that he did not intend any longer to serve," — that is, in the American army. It is true, that Mr. W. B. Reed, having got sight of the original Hessian journal, showed that this, which was made to appear as the assertion of a fact by a mutilation of the journal, was, in reality, the assertion of a rumor only, and one among others so confused that the writer of the journal "would not listen any more to them." But before this was made to appear, the first published extract had done its work, and had been accepted as an absolute confirmation of the original charge of disloyalty made against Reed by Cadwallader.

But even with this satisfactory discovery of the grandson that the alleged assertion of a fact was the assertion only of a rumor, the existence of such a rumor, recorded in a contemporary Hessian journal, while it could not prove the charge against his grandfather to be true, was, at least, very damaging collateral evidence of the truth of that charge. By a fortunate incident, however, it appears, at last, that even the rumor reported by the Hessian was a blunder, and that it referred, without doubt, not to Adjutant-general Reed, but to another officer with a similar name. In 1876, William S. Stryker, Adjutant-general of New Jersey, found in the archives of his office a report of Colonel Donop, made to the British Major-general Grant, on December 21, 1776, in which he says that Colonel Reed had received a protection, and declared to General Mifflin that he would serve no longer, whereupon he was carried off a prisoner by Mifflin. Donop knew no English; the commander at the time and place referred to was Colonel Griffin — not Mifflin; the Colonel Reed, then and there arrested, was not Joseph Reed, Washington's Adjutant-general, but Colonel Charles Read, of the Burlington militia, who, the Memorandum Book of the Philadelphia Council of Safety shows, was still in custody a month later in that city, "taken in New Jersey." With this discovery of Adjutant-general Stryker, the whole case against Joseph Reed may, in legal phrase, be put out of court.

paign; Stirling and Sullivan, both good soldiers; Stephen, who had been with Washington in the French war; Mercer, rising in reputation; St. Clair from the Northern Department; Knox, Hand, and Glover, Poor, Stark, and Patterson, soon to be Brigadier-generals. Gates was offered the command of one of the parties farther down the river, but he preferred to gallop off to Philadelphia to discuss some question of rank before Congress. Twenty-four hundred men composed the expedition, nearly all of whom had seen service — at Bunker Hill, in Canada, on Long Island, at Harlem Heights, and at White Plains; men from every province, from New Hampshire to Virginia.

The general officers.

The swift current of the river was filled with cakes of floating ice. A driving storm of snow and sleet pelted the half-clad troops, benumbed them with cold, and threatened to render both guns and ammunition useless. But officers and men alike were insensible to these difficulties; they knew they had everything to win, that failure would be no disgrace, defeat a less misfortune than to go back, and that victory would be hailed with enthusiasm by the whole country. As they entered the boats, they were inspirited by the calm and resolute bearing of their chief. Knox shouted his orders in a voice whose loud and cheerful tones encouraged the troops; and none doubted of the safe passage of the river, when Glover, with his Massachusetts fishermen, — as good sailors as they were soldiers, — stepped forward to man the oars.

The difficulties.

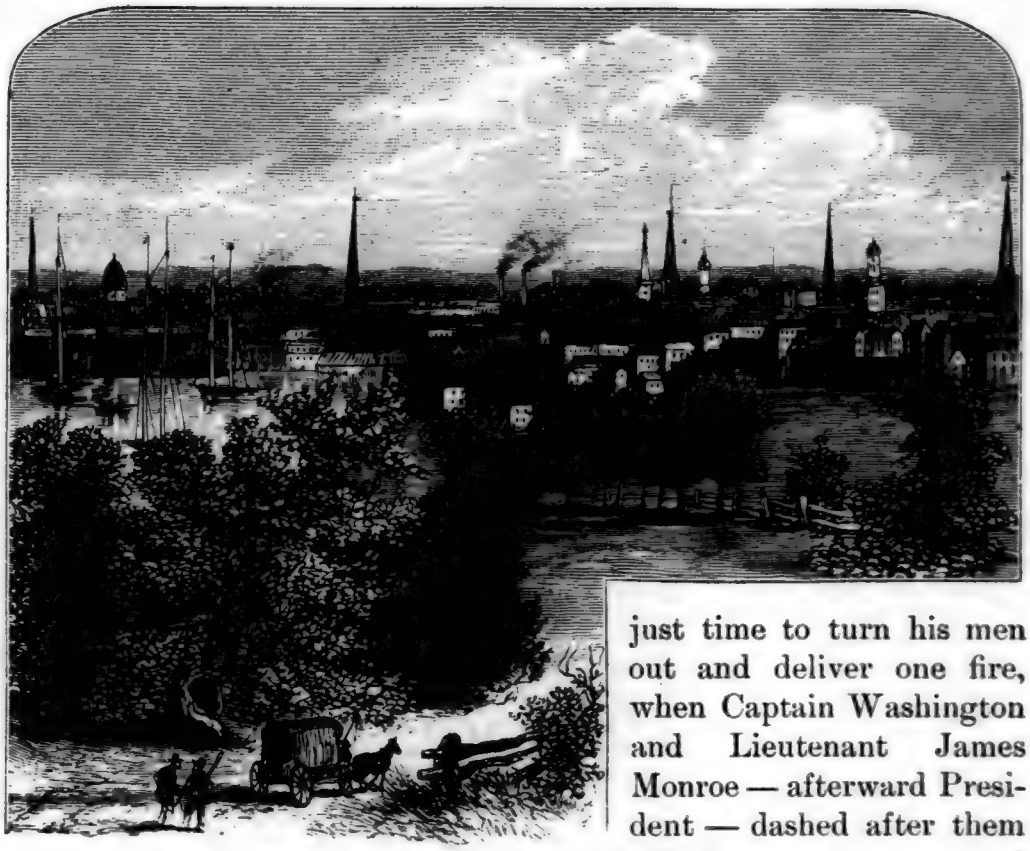
It was four o'clock in the morning before troops and cannon were all safe on the Jersey side, when, by the original plan, they should have been there by midnight. "This," says Washington, "made me despair of surprising the town, as I well knew we could not reach it before the day was fairly broke; but, as I was certain there was no making a retreat without being discovered and harassed on repassing the river, I determined to push on at all events." Despite the slippery road which made quick marching difficult at first, and although many of the men were almost barefoot, the column moved on in good order, without a murmur, and in profound silence. But they were nearly all hardened troops, and could march well; the Eastern regiments, under St. Clair, had just come down from Ticonderoga, four hundred miles distant; the troops under Lee and Sullivan had been on the road three weeks, and the rest had found rapid travelling their only safety in the Jersey retreat. Only those had remained behind who were too foot-sore or too destitute of clothing to leave their quarters.

When Birmingham village was reached, the force divided; one column, under Greene, taking the Scotch or upper road; the other,

under Sullivan, following the parallel river road a mile to the south. With Greene, were Stephen's, Mercer's, Stirling's, and De Fermoy's [1] brigades, in advance; with Sullivan, Glover's, Sargent's, and St. Clair's followed. Washington took the upper road with Greene. The march now was easier and swifter, as they had turned their backs to the storm. Then the discovery was made that the priming for the muskets had become in many cases too wet to use. Sullivan promptly reported this to Washington; Washington replied that they must fight with fixed bayonets.

The Hessians surprised.

At eight o'clock precisely, Greene's advance guard, headed by Captain William Washington, of Virginia, and guided by David Lanning, of Trenton, came upon the enemy's outposts on the skirts of the town. The young Hessian lieutenant in charge had



View of Trenton.

just time to turn his men out and deliver one fire, when Captain Washington and Lieutenant James Monroe — afterward President — dashed after them with the American van, and followed the Hessian pickets rapidly into Trenton. Three minutes later, firing was heard on the lower road, and Washington was assured that Sullivan's wing was up and at work. Stark's New Hampshire men led the advance there, and had fallen upon the enemy with a shout and a rush. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, the

[1] A French officer, lately commissioned a brigadier by Congress. His regiments were Hand's riflemen and Hausegger's German battalion from Pennsylvania.

surprise was complete. Both American columns moved straight on in support of their advance parties. Two streets running through the town (then King and Queen, now Warren and Greene) converged where the upper road entered. At this junction, Captain Forest planted six guns, and Washington in person directed their fire down King Street, in which the Hessians were attempting to form. The street was quickly cleared. The enemy then brought two field-pieces to reply to Forest, but the column under young Washington and Monroe charged on the gunners, drove them off, and disabled the guns, both officers receiving slight wounds. No chance was given the enemy to rally.

Many of the Hessian officers had been engaged through the night in Christmas festivities, and among them Rahl. He was not, probably, in a condition to meet an emergency, and the suddenness of the attack helped to bewilder him. His orders were wild and confused, though he boldly faced the situation. But the American fire was so close and severe from behind houses, fences, and other points of vantage, that the Hessians, brave and veteran soldiers as they were, fled like raw recruits for their lives. A part attempted to break through to Princeton; but Hand's riflemen took post on the left, and checked them in that quarter. Sullivan's attack was as well sustained as Greene's, and a party of British troopers and yagers, instead of falling back fighting, retreated in haste across the bridge over the Assanpink Creek, which runs through the eastern part of Trenton, and made their way towards Donop's camp. But Sullivan's men held the bridge, and when one of Rahl's regiments attempted to escape over it, they were compelled to surrender. The whole force, now surrounded and thrown into confusion, were soon compelled to lay down their arms. They had been driven back to a field east of the town, where Rahl fell, mortally wounded. Supported by two sergeants, he gave up his sword to Washington.

They surrender.

The Americans took nine hundred and fifty prisoners, six guns, and many small arms and trophies, besides killing seventeen and wounding nearly eighty of the enemy. Their own loss was two killed and four wounded. Washington recrossed the Delaware that evening with all his prisoners, and the next morning warmly thanked his troops for their steady and brave conduct.[1]

[1] Captain William Hull, of Webb's Continentals, who distinguished himself subsequently during the war, wrote, January 1, 1777, of the action at Trenton: "The Resolution and Bravery of our Men, their Order and regularity, gave me the highest sensation of Pleasure. Genl. Washington highly congratulated the Men on next day in Genl. Orders, and with Pleasure observed that he had been in many Actions before, but always perceived some misbehaviour in some individuals, but in that action he saw none. . . . . What can't men do when engaged in so noble a cause?" — Mrs. Bonney's *Legacy of Historical Gleanings*, vol. i., p. 57.

When Donop, at Burlington, heard of what had happened, he at once abandoned lower New Jersey, and Cornwallis went back to Princeton. A party of British hurried down to reconnoitre, but only to find Trenton empty of both Hessians and Americans. Washington crossed the river again on the 30th, and mustered his whole force in the neighborhood of Trenton. The New England regiments, whose term of service expired with the close of the year, were persuaded to remain six weeks longer, and these, with a considerable number of Pennsylvania militia, recruited mainly in Philadelphia, increased the army to about six thousand men.[1] Early on New Year's morning, Robert Morris, the wealthy and patriotic Philadelphian to whom Washington had applied for money to pay the troops, was busy borrowing funds from his friends. He raised fifty thousand dollars in specie, and sent it to camp. On the same date, Washington wrote to Congress: "We are devising such means as I hope, if they succeed, will add as much, or more, to the distress of the enemy than their defeat at Trenton." But his plans were largely contingent on the movements of the enemy, and these were speedily developed.

Morris raises money for the troops

Hearing that Washington had again crossed the Delaware, Cornwallis prepared to meet him and blot out the Trenton disgrace. Concentrating all his available force at Princeton, — seven thousand men, British, Highlanders, Hessians, and Waldeckers, — he marched on the 2d of January, 1777. De Fermoy, with Hand's and Hausegger's regiments, was sent to check this advance. Hand's men, as usual, behaved well; but Colonel Hausegger was made prisoner, and is said to have proved himself a traitor by a voluntary surrender. Some other troops under Greene also harassed Cornwallis on his march, and prevented his reaching Trenton until evening. Washington, meanwhile, drew up his army on the east bank of the Assanpink Creek, covered the crossing at the bridge with artillery, and guarded all the fords above. The enemy came on, driving back the advance, and passing through Trenton, were on the point of storming the Assanpink Bridge, when thirty pieces of cannon opened upon them, as Knox said, "with great vociferation and some execution," and compelled them to withdraw out of range.

Washington across the Delaware again.

[1] There were "bounty-jumpers" in those days. In a general order, issued from his headquarters at Morristown in February, 1777, Washington called attention to the "frauds and abuses committed of late by sundry soldiers, who, after enlisting in one regiment and receiving the bounty allowed by Congress, have deserted, enlisted in others, and received new bounties." The Commander-in-chief, who was a strict disciplinarian and never inclined to be merciful to wrong-doers, proceeded to declare that "this offence is of the most enormous and flagrant nature, and not admitting of the least palliation or excuse; whoever are convicted thereof, and sentenced to die, may consider their execution certain and inevitable."

Hardly had the two armies posted their pickets and lighted their fires along either bank of the Assanpink, when Washington called a council of his officers to discuss their position. Obviously it was critical. The Delaware was between him and Pennsylvania, and filled with floating ice. Its passage in the presence of the enemy, at any point below Trenton, was out of the question. Retreat in that direction was impossible. To cut his way back to McConkey's Ferry, or beyond, would undoubtedly have involved the ruin of his army, and that, he knew, would be the end of the war then and there. He might be able to hold the Assanpink front against Cornwallis, but the stream above could be crossed, and his right flank turned. If he foresaw — as it is to be assumed he did — the possibility, or even the probability of placing the army in so hazardous a position, he voluntarily encountered a great risk by the return to New Jersey. It was to assume the offensive with his eyes open to the possible consequences.

From Princeton to Trenton the main highway ran nearly in a straight course through the village of Maidenhead, and it was along this that Cornwallis had advanced. There was still another and less travelled route between the two places, known as the Quaker road, which followed a roundabout line east of the Assanpink. By this road, the distance to Princeton from Washington's camp was about seventeen miles. It was proposed at the council to take this unfrequented route, make a night march to Princeton, reverse the situation, and find a safer position beyond. The feasibility of this "most extra manœuvre," as Knox describes it, was demonstrated, all the generals approved it, and orders were issued to carry it out immediately with great secrecy and precaution.[1]

On the march for Princeton.

About one o'clock at night the march was begun. St. Clair directed the details of preparation. The baggage was first sent to Burlington, for no encumbrance on the road could be permitted. Along the front appearances were maintained as of an army quiet in its encampment. A party left behind relieved the guards as usual through the night, and fence-rails and dry wood were piled on the camp-fires along the bank of the Assanpink, about which the pickets gathered closely as the cold increased. Others were at work with picks and shovels on a breastwork near the bridge.

[1] In his brief narrative reviewing his military career, General St. Clair claims the credit of having proposed this move to the Council. "The General," he says, "summoned a Council of the general officers at my quarters, and after stating the difficulties in his way, the probability of defeat, and the consequence that would necessarily result if it happened, desired advice. I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of turning the left of the enemy in the night, gaining a march upon him, and proceeding with all possible expedition to Brunswick. General Mercer immediately fell in with it, and very forcibly pointed out both its practicability and the advantages that would necessarily result from it, and General Washington highly approved it; nor was there one dissenting voice in the Council."

So far as the pickets of the enemy could see, or conjecture, the Americans were resting quietly in their camp all the night through, while the troops, ignorant of their destination, were quietly set in motion along the Quaker road toward Princeton. The ground, which had been muddy during the day, was hard from a sudden frost, and the artillery was moved without difficulty. As the men pushed on, in silence and perfect order, though sometimes stumbling over rocks and stumps, and shivering in the keen northwest wind, they discussed among themselves what the General meant to do.[1] All night the pickets piled high the fires in front of the deserted camp, and when morning broke they also stole quietly away on the line of march.



The Stolen March.

St. Clair's brigade of New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops moved at the head of the column. Captain Isaac Sherman, of Connecticut, son of that Roger Sherman who signed the Declaration of Independence, led the advance guard.[2] In the van, also, were Captain Thomas Rodney with an independent company from Delaware and the "Red Feather company of Philadelphia Light Infantry," which alone of all the troops pretended to be in uniform. The column moved on all night "in the most cool and determined order," though once the cry was raised in the rear that the Hessians were upon them, and

[1] *Journal of Captain Thomas Rodney, of Delaware.*

[2] Wilkinson's *Memoirs.*

some of the militia took fright and fled toward Burlington. Washington, as usual, kept with the van. The only cavalry that he could use for guards, couriers, and patrols was a company of twenty-one "gentlemen of fortune" from Philadelphia, who volunteered their services and paid their own way.

At Princeton.

It was a little after daybreak when the troops neared Princeton. The morning was bright, serene, and extremely cold. Washington's plan was to leave the main column with Sullivan's division in advance, wheel to the right and surprise the town on the flank, while Mercer should keep straight on, at the same time detaching a party to break down the bridge over Stony Creek on the main road, to retard the enemy's pursuit from Trenton. Thus at sunrise on the morning of January 3d, the situation was directly the reverse of what it had been on the previous morning. Cornwallis was at Trenton, Washington at Princeton. Cornwallis was outgeneralled, and the American army once more saved from threatened ruin.

Some serious work, however, remained to be done before the success of the manœuvre was completely assured. Three British regiments, — the 17th, 40th, and 55th, — with three companies of dragoons, had been left at Princeton as a rear guard. Two of them had been ordered to join Cornwallis, and before sunrise this morning they were on the road, — the 17th, under Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, and the dragoons twenty minutes in advance of him. After crossing Stony Creek, a mile below the town, Mawhood discovered the Americans on the Quaker road half a mile to his left. Unable to account for their appearance there, he nevertheless promptly faced about and recrossed the creek to reconnoitre, and, if necessary, show fight. "You may judge of the surprise of the British," says Knox, "when they saw such a large column marching up. They could not possibly suppose it was our army, for that, they took for granted, was cooped up near Trenton. They could not possibly suppose it was their own army returning by a back road; in short, I believe they were as much astonished as if an army had dropped perpendicularly upon them."

Mawhood, believing that some advantage could be gained by attacking and delaying the Americans, hastened to take position just off the road, on a hill near the house and barns of a Quaker named Clark. It so happened that Mercer, with a small Continental brigade composed of the remnants of Smallwood's and Haslet's regiments, and a detachment of Virginians under Captain Fleming, about three hundred in all, on seeing the British returning, aimed for the same point, reached it first, and formed behind a fence. As the enemy came up, Mercer's men poured a volley into their ranks, which was immediately returned. Major Wilkinson, of St.

Battle of Princeton.

Clair's staff, recollected that the smoke from the discharge of the two lines mingled as it rose and went up "in one beautiful cloud." Mawhood, riding on a little brown pony, with two favorite spaniels bounding in front of him,[1] directed the movements of his small force, which he held under thorough discipline and now brought to the field in the best fighting condition. Preserving its line, the Seventeenth followed up its fire with one of those irresistible charges for which the British regular has been famous since the days of Marlborough in Europe and Wolfe in America. Despite the efforts of their officers to keep them to their ground, Mercer's men, who had but few bayonets, took to flight. General Mercer himself was unhorsed at the outset and, refusing to surrender, struck out with his sword, only to be bayoneted on all sides and left for dead. The brave Colonel Haslet, of the Delawares, while endeavoring to rally his men, Colonel Potter, Captain Fleming, Captain Neal of the artillery, and other officers, were also killed. General Cadwallader's militia brigade, which had been sent to support Mercer, then gave way before Mawhood.

But fortunately, Captain Moulder's volunteer artillery from Philadelphia, and Captain Rodney's men, firing under cover of the barns and stacks of hay in the vicinity, temporarily checked the enemy and enabled Washington, who was now at the front, to take measures against further disaster. He sent word to Nixon's brigade of the New England Continentals, then commanded by Colonel Daniel Hitchcock, of Providence, to come up on the enemy's right, while Hand's veteran riflemen threatened their left. The Commander-in-chief then rode in among Mercer's and Cadwallader's routed troops, regardless of personal danger, and succeeded, with others, in re-forming the greater part of them, and again drew them up in front of the British. Both sides opened fire. Hitchcock, Hand, and Cadwallader pushed on, and Mawhood, finding himself in danger of being surrounded, was compelled to retreat. His men had thus far fought bravely, but now they sought safety in flight, and throwing down their arms, scattered down the road, up the creek, and over the fields, pursued by the shouting Americans. The danger was over. The army moved on to Princeton and drove the other British regiments, who had posted themselves in the College building, out of the town. The exhausted troops encamped that night at Somerset Court House, fifteen miles beyond. The intention of making a push for Brunswick, where Washington had hoped to capture the British stores, had to be abandoned,

[1] Wilkinson's *Memoirs*. Wilkinson was St. Clair's Brigade-major, afterward General-in-chief of the American army, and gives many particulars in his account of the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

for the men, "having been without rest, rum, or provisions for two nights and days, were unequal to the task of marching seventeen miles farther."[1]

The losses.

In the fighting of this day, the British lost over sixty killed, and many wounded, besides two hundred and fifty prisoners. The American loss was about thirty killed, and a proportionate number of wounded; but among them was the gallant Mercer, who died a day or two later, and Haslet, whose services had been valuable from the beginning of the campaign. Hitchcock, who was thanked by Washington in person for his conduct in the battle, died ten days later from the hardships of the campaign.

When Cornwallis discovered that the enemy was beyond pursuit, he at once marched his troops to Princeton, and entered the place an hour after the Americans had left. They came on, it was said, "in a most infernal sweat — running, puffing, and blowing, and swearing at being so outwitted."[2] Washington, however, could not be overtaken. On the 6th, the army reached Morristown, and

Winter quarters at Morristown.

preparations were immediately made to go into winter quarters. The campaign was virtually over for that winter, though Heath and Lincoln made a demonstration toward New York a few days later, and summoned Fort Independence to surrender. The movement served, perhaps, to alarm Howe for the safety of New York, but was otherwise so far from answering the purpose intended, that the generals in command were rebuked for its failure. They permitted themselves to be driven from the investment of the fort by a sortie of the garrison. "Your summons," wrote Washington to Heath, "as you did not attempt to fulfil your threats, was not only idle, but farcical, and will not fail of turning the laugh exceedingly upon us."

Results of the campaign.

With the general result of the campaign, however, the Commander-in-chief had every reason to be satisfied, as the country had every reason to be satisfied with the Commander-in-chief. The wisdom of trusting him with almost irresponsible power was made manifest, as it became plainer every day that he knew how to use and would not abuse supreme authority. In about six months he had completely changed the aspect of affairs. Successive disasters — the loss of Long Island, the evacuation of New York, the surrender of Fort Washington, the retreat through New Jersey to the banks of

[1] Captain Rodney, mentioned above, was from Dover, Delaware, and was a brother of Hon. Cæsar Rodney, delegate in Congress from that State. Writing on the evening of the fight, he says of Princeton: "This is a very pretty little town on the York road twelve miles from Trenton; the houses are built of brick, and are very elegant, especially the College, which has 52 rooms in it; but the whole town has been ravaged and ruined by the enemy."

[2] Knox, in letter of January 7, 1777.

the Delaware, the apparently impending fall of Philadelphia — had made the most sanguine almost despair of the war. But the main army was now safely and firmly seated in the very heart of New Jersey; anxiety for New York had compelled Howe to abandon, at least for the present, his designs upon Philadelphia; Brunswick and Amboy were the only towns that he could really call his own in all that province, which, a little while before, he and his troops believed they could overrun at will; he had been outgeneralled by the rebel chief whom he affected to despise, and his veteran, disciplined, and well appointed troops had been out-fought by raw militia, just taken from the plough and the workshop, and about to return there, half-starved, half-clothed, almost shoeless in the winter weather, almost without any of the ordinary appliances of the camp, short of ammunition, short of arms, — short of everything but an invincible determination to fight to the end, and an intelligent understanding of what they were fighting for. Trenton and Princeton had shown that at the head of such an army was a great soldier, one who knew how to wait, who could never be hurried, who could never be put to fear; with the mental resources of foresight, of combination, and of concentration that make military genius. The English Ministry and European statesmen recognized in the New Jersey campaign the character of the American Revolution and the certain coming of a new nation.



Old Sugar-House, Liberty Street.

Meanwhile the penalties of war were exacted in full measure. The sufferings of the American soldiers who had fallen into the hands of the British, and were held as prisoners in New York, were notorious at the time, and have long been famous in the annals of cruelty, — Sufferings of prisoners.

> "Since man first pent his fellow men
> Like brutes within an iron den."

A writer in the New London "Gazette" gave an account of their treatment, writing it down from the recitals of some of the prisoners

themselves. As soon as they were taken, they were robbed of their baggage, money, and clothes. Some of them were put on board the prison-ships and thrust down into the hold, where they were so crowded together that they were in a constant perspiration; and from here they were suddenly transferred to some of the churches in New York, where, without any covering or a spark of fire, they suffered from the other extreme of temperature, "and the consequence was, that they took such colds as brought on the most fatal diseases, and swept them off almost beyond conception." The food that was given them for three days was scarcely enough for one day, "and in some instances they went for three days without a single mouthful of food of any kind." "For the bread," says this writer, "some of it was made out of the bran which they brought over to feed their light-horse; and the rest of it was so mouldy, and the pork was so damnified, being soaked in bilge-water in the transportation from Europe, that they were not fit to be eaten by human creatures." Sick and well were thrust in together in the churches, than which no buildings could be more unfit for the confinement of men who must eat and sleep there; and "many lay for six, seven, or eight days in all the filth of nature and of the dysentery, till death, more kind than the Britons, put an end to their misery." It was said that the English officers were continually cursing the prisoners as rebels, and threatening to execute them as such, and that at one time they ordered each man to choose his halter, out of a parcel offered, wherewith to be hanged. And many of them were hanged, the executions taking place at night on a permanent gallows in what is now Chambers Street, New York. Out of about five thousand prisoners, fifteen hundred died in captivity, and many others scarcely survived to reach their homes when they were released.

The buildings used for prisons in New York were Van Cortlandt's sugar-house, at the northwest corner of Trinity church-yard; Rhinelander's sugar-house, corner of William and Duane Streets; another sugar-house in Liberty Street, a short distance east of the old Post Office; the North Dutch Church, still standing in William Street; the Middle Dutch Church, of late years the Post Office, at the corner of Liberty and Nassau Streets; the Brick Church, formerly at the head of Nassau Street; the New Jail, now the Hall of Records in City Hall Park; and the New Bridewell, in the same park, which has been demolished. Eight hundred prisoners were packed into the North Dutch Church.

The prison-ships were mainly devoted to the confinement of American sailors. The principal ones were the *Good Hope*, anchored in the North River, and the *Scorpion*, the *Falmouth*, the *Stromboli*, the

Hunter, and afterward the *Jersey*, anchored in Wallabout Bay, the present site of Brooklyn Navy-yard. As the agreement concerning prisoners only provided for exchanges in kind, those on the prison-ships were left much longer in confinement than the other captives of war, since they were mostly privateers, and the privateering vessels were accustomed to parole their prisoners instead of bringing them into port, — the Americans thus being left without sailors to exchange for sailors. At one time the British authorities offered to exchange these seamen for soldiers; but the Americans refused, as that would only fill up the ranks of the enemy, with no corresponding benefit to their own. The *Jersey* was an old sixty-four-gun ship, dismantled, and moored about twenty rods from shore. Her port-holes were closed up, and two tiers of holes twenty inches square, barred with iron, were cut in her sides. For a long time the average number of prisoners on board was one thousand. Their allowance of rations was two thirds the quantity issued to British seamen, but with no fresh vegetables of any kind. The rations were mostly cooked in an immense boiler called "the Great Copper," the meat being boiled in sea-water, which corroded the copper and rendered the food poisonous. There was some relief, however, for those of the prisoners who happened to possess any money. An old woman known as "Dame Grant" came alongside on alternate days, in a boat rowed by two boys, and sold fresh bread, vegetables, and other dainties, prudently requiring that the cash be placed in her hand before the goods were delivered. The prisoners had no means of washing their linen, except by dipping it in sea-water and then laying it on the deck and treading on it. No light or fire was furnished, and every night there was a struggle for the places nearest to the small, grated openings. The prisoners lost almost every feeling of humanity for one another; and the principal anxiety of the volunteer nurses seemed to be to claim their perquisites by robbing the dead and dying of their clothing. "Death has no relish for such skeleton carcasses as we are,"

Prison-ships.

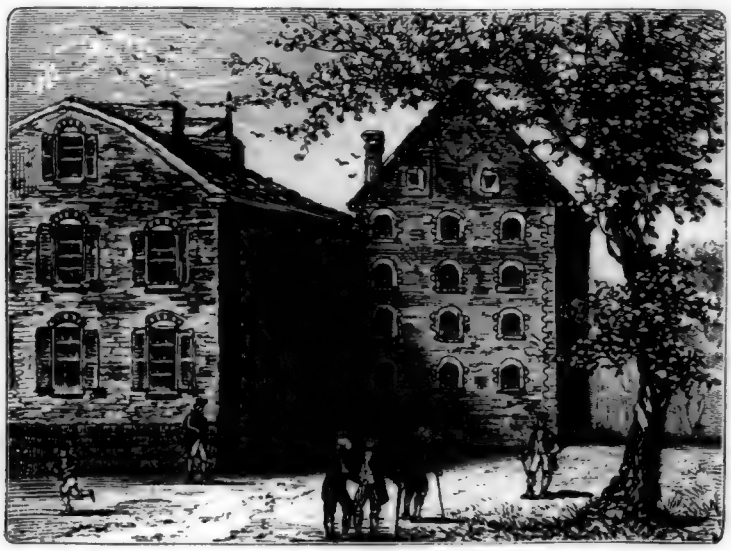


Middle Dutch Church.

said an emaciated prisoner to Captain Dring, as he went on board; "but he will now have a feast upon you fresh-comers." The Captain, finding there were several cases of small-pox on board, at once inoculated himself, using a common brass pin for a lancet. The Rev. Thomas Andros, who was confined on the *Jersey*, says an armed guard was necessary in the well-room, to compel the prisoners to work the pumps enough to keep the hulk from sinking, and they would not use the buckets, brushes, and vinegar which were furnished for the cleansing of the ship. The highest privilege that any prisoner could aspire to was to go ashore as one of a burying-party. General Johnson, who lived near Wallabout Bay, estimated the number of deaths on the prison-ships anchored there at eleven thousand five hundred. No estimate puts it lower than ten thousand.[1]

The question of exchange.

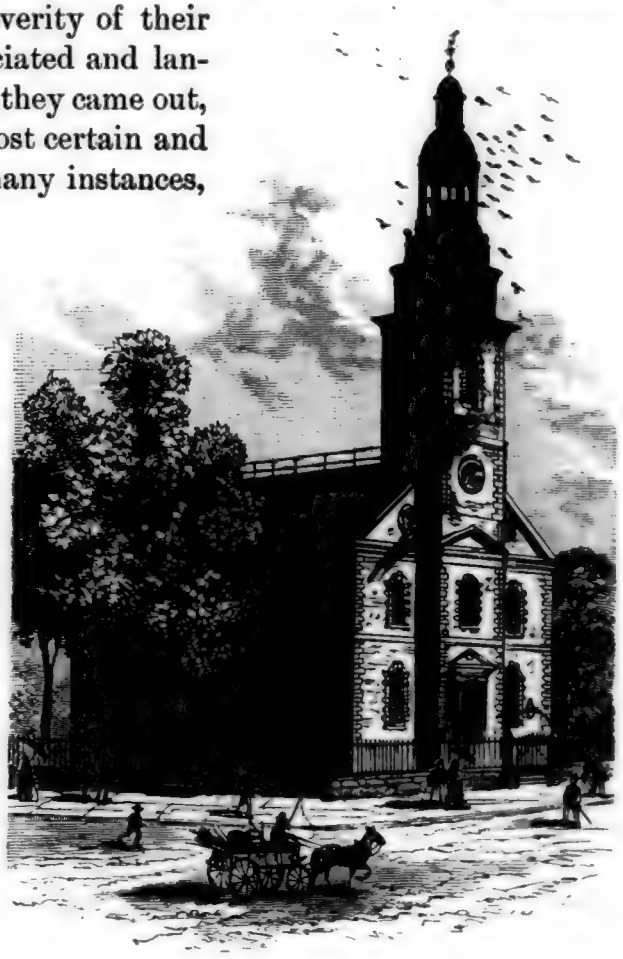
Finally a cartel for a general exchange was agreed upon, and was at once carried out by Howe, who had everything to gain and nothing to lose by it. He gave up men so broken down by close confinement, short rations, and barbarous treatment, that they could be of little further use as soldiers, and expected to receive in return an equal number of well-fed red-coats and Hessians who could resume their places in his army at once. In no other way could he get recruits for that army, except by bringing them three thousand miles across the sea. A writer of the time, in a letter dated Morristown, January, 1777, remarked that General Howe had "discharged all the privates who were prisoners in New-York: one half he sent to the World of Spirits for want of food; the other he hath sent to warn their countrymen of the danger of falling into his hands, and to convince them, by ocular demonstration, that it is infinitely better to be slain in battle than to be taken prisoners by British brutes."



Rhinelander's Sugar-House

[1] See *Recollections of the Jersey Prison-ship*. From the original manuscript of Captain Thomas Dring. Third edition, edited by Henry B. Dawson. 1865. The Americans also had a prison-ship, the *Retaliation*, moored near New London, Conn., for captured British sailors. But it was never crowded, and presented no such scene of wretchedness.

In April, 1777, General Howe demanded of Washington a return for a considerable number of officers and twenty-two hundred privates whom he had released and sent within the American lines. Washington refused to make the return by releasing an equal number of British prisoners; his argument in support of this refusal being, that though the enemy had kept the letter of the contract, they had deliberately violated its spirit and nullified its purpose. He would not hold himself bound, he told Howe, "either by the spirit of the agreement or by the principles of justice, to account for those prisoners who, from the rigor and severity of their treatment, were in so emaciated and languishing a state at the time they came out, as to render their death almost certain and inevitable, and which, in many instances, happened while they were returning to their homes, and in many others after their arrival." The American commander proceeded at considerable length to lay down the principles applicable to the case, and to charge Lord Howe in the most direct manner with purposely disabling the prisoners in his hands. "The object of every cartel or similar agreement," he said, "is the benefit of the prisoners themselves and that of the contending powers. On this footing, it equally exacts that they should be well treated as that they should be exchanged; the reverse is therefore an evident infraction, and ought to subject the party on whom it is chargeable to all the damage and ill consequences resulting from it. Nor can it be expected that those unfitted for future service by acts of severity, in direct violation of a compact, are proper subjects for an exchange. In such a case, to return others not in the same predicament, would be to give without receiving an equivalent, and would afford the greatest encouragement to cruelty and inhumanity." The circumstances that called for an



North Dutch Church.

application of these principles were as forcibly stated as the principles themselves. Washington declared that he was "compelled to consider it a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners whilst in your possession, the privates at least, was such as could not be justified. This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out; their appearance sanctified the assertion; and melancholy experience, in the speedy death of a large part of them, stamped it with infallible certainty." He proclaimed his purpose to retain and care for these released prisoners, as an act of humanity, but not to consider them exchanged, and not to return for them an equal number of able-bodied British soldiers.

Howe admitted the justice of the principles laid down, but denied that they were applicable to him. He claimed that the prisoners had been supplied with the same food, in quantity and quality, that was issued to the King's troops not on service; that the sick had been received into British hospitals, and that he was entirely at a loss to account for the great mortality among them. After an interval of nearly two months (June 10, 1777) Washington sent him a long rejoinder, going over the ground with great particularity and specifying the methods and means of ill-treatment which had been pursued. He closed by declaring that he would not recede from his position on the question, but was extremely anxious for a general exchange on equitable principles.



The Chew House at Germantown.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN PENNSYLVANIA.

THE NEW ARMY. — FRENCH ASSISTANCE. — THE BEAUMARCHAIS TRANSACTIONS. — SYMPATHY OF THE FRENCH COURT. — SPAIN'S ATTITUDE. — OPENING SKIRMISHES OF THE CAMPAIGN IN NEW JERSEY. — BURNING OF DANBURY, CONNECTICUT. — MEIGS'S SAG HARBOR EXPEDITION. — GENERAL HOWE SAILS FROM NEW YORK. — APPEARS IN THE DELAWARE, AND THEN IN THE CHESAPEAKE. — WASHINGTON MARCHES TO MEET HIM. — BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE. — DEFEAT OF THE AMERICANS. — WAYNE SURPRISED AT PAOLI. — PHILADELPHIA OCCUPIED BY THE BRITISH. — BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN. — A VICTORY LOST.

THE work of the winter, after the troops were placed in winter quarters at Morristown, was the formation of a new army in preparation for a new campaign. Congress had decided in August, 1776, that eighty-eight battalions be raised, to take the place of the regiments in the field upon the expiration of their terms of service, and that they should be apportioned to the several States in accordance with their relative populations. The appointment of officers, except the Generals, was given to the State Assemblies, but the commissions issued from Congress. The power of removal and appointment of all officers below the Generals was, however, subsequently given to Washington. To raise this army and put it into the field, was an exceedingly slow, vexatious, and laborious process. Even in March, Washington had not four thousand men on his muster rolls.

A new army raised.

Indeed, the whole number of men called for by Congress was never recruited by the States. The strain upon the population was severe, and the question of length of service was a difficult one to deal with. On the one side, it was contended that an effective and well-disciplined army could never be organized

The difficulty with enlistments.

with men whose terms would expire in a year; on the other, it was declared that the northern farmers and mechanics would enlist with alacrity for that length of time, and keep the army full, but could not be induced to leave their farms and workshops for a period so long that it was practically their ruin. The difference of opinion marked the difference between North and South. The Northerner, with his quick intelligence and active habits, required but little time to become a good soldier; and he was not willing to sacrifice all that he had acquired, or all his hopes for the future, by a long enlistment, though he might make repeated short ones. The social condition of the South, on the other hand, produced men whose lack of education, and whose smaller intelligence, required long and severe training, and to whom a long term of service was little or no sacrifice, for their stake in society was small, as they left neither farms nor workshops behind them. It was only one of those questions which, growing out of disparity of race and social conditions, and the consequent difference of civilization, have always, from the first moment of the political union of the States, made that union precarious. But when the summer campaign fairly began, Washington had under his immediate command seven thousand three hundred Continentals. The army south of the Hudson was divided into ten brigades, under Generals Conway, De Haas, Berre, Maxwell, Muhlenberg, Scott, Smallwood, Wayne, Weedon, and Woodford.



Door of Washington's Headquarters at Morristown.

From the first outbreak of hostilities in 1775, to the opening of the campaign of this year, the difficulty of procuring munitions of war was quite as serious as that of procuring men to use them. The supply of gunpowder depended partly upon what could be picked up in the West Indies and on the coast of Africa, and partly upon the capture of English vessels by the privateers. But so limited and uncertain was this resource, that powder-mills were established in several places; every possible encouragement was given to the domestic production of saltpetre, and the thrifty farmer turned his barn-yard into a laboratory. Arms, at first, were equally scarce, till the government provided for that want, in part, by establishing manufactories in Massachusetts at Springfield, and in Pennsylvania at Lancaster. But for the relief of this dire poverty in all that made the continuance of war possible, the reliance was largely upon the friendly, though secret, aid of France. In the spring of 1776, Beaumarchais, an agent of Vergennes, proposed to Arthur Lee, then in London, to provide arms, ammunition, and even money, for the use of the Americans. The negotiations were, of course, without any apparent sanction of the French government, as they were in violation of its treaty obligations to Great Britain; but the arrangement was finally concluded with Silas Deane, at Paris. Beaumarchais fulfilled his engagements under the commercial style and name of Roderique Hortales & Co. Large supplies of powder, cannon, and field equipage were shipped from France in spite of the protestations of the English minister in Paris. The French government, in reply, regretted that any of its subjects should be so regardless of treaty obligations, denied all responsibility for such illegal acts, pretended to interfere, but let the ships slip out to sea without hindrance.

Scarcity of munitions.

Aid from France.

But in January, 1777, France took a more positive position, when the Commissioners — Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, whom Congress sent to Europe — asked the King to recognize the independence of the United States. This decisive step the King was not prepared to take; but, he said, in his reply to the Commissioners — "to prove his good wishes towards the United States, he had ordered two millions of livres to be paid to them by quarterly payments, which should be augmented as the state of his finances would permit." At the same time the commissioners were to be at liberty to make purchases of military stores and forward them as private merchandise. A year was yet to pass before France was quite ready to avow publicly the sympathy which her people felt in the cause of the Americans, by the recognition of the new Republic, though Vergennes had shown for a dozen years his anxiety that the old enemy of France should be crippled by the loss of her colonies.

An effort was made to enlist Spain on the side of America. Lee started for Madrid in February, but the Spanish Court would not admit him to an interview. Yet it secretly joined with France in aiding the colonists to the extent of a million livres. This course was dictated purely by policy. Spain desired to be on good terms with France; but the independence of the English colonies in America she dreaded rather as a mischievous example for her own, than approved of it as a struggle for the liberties of a people which should command her respect and sympathy.

Spain's attitude.

Frederick of Prussia was too closely bound to England to encourage openly the revolt of any portion of her subjects. But he was not wanting in frankness of speech. He spoke of Parliament as acting "like an infuriated fool in the American business." "I like those brave fellows," he said of the American soldiers; "and cannot help secretly hoping for their success." He exacted the payment of an impost duty on the German legionaries, hired by England, when they passed through his dominions to a port of embarkation, for, he said, "they are cattle exported for foreign shambles." If England cared for the approbation of Europe in her efforts to subjugate America, she found little anywhere except among the petty princes whose soldiers she purchased.

Frederick's opinion.

At Morristown, N. J., Washington's headquarters were at the Freeman Tavern, a house which is still standing. The town, from its elevated position, could be easily defended, and was a convenient point from which to observe the movements of the enemy during the winter. The army, reduced to a mere handful, took up quarters in log huts, and at intervals engaged in skirmishes with the English, who had drawn in their posts close to Staten Island and New York.

Morristown.

A party of New Jersey militia, under Colonel Oliver Spencer, attacked an equal number of Waldeckers at Springfield on the 5th of January, two days after the battle of Princeton, and routed them, taking thirty-nine prisoners. On the 20th, General Philemon Dickinson, of Trenton, at the head of three hundred New Jersey militiamen, with two independent companies of Continentals, raised under Captains Ransom and Durkee in the Wyoming Valley, defeated an English foraging party sent out from New Brunswick to seize the flour in a mill near Somerset Court House. The enemy had loaded their plunder in wagons, and were about to carry it off, when Dickinson's men waded Millstone Creek, waist-deep, and fell upon the foragers with so much spirit that he compelled them to fly, leaving wagons and flour behind them.

Skirmishes in New Jersey.

Later in the spring, the British also organized raids against points

where American stores had been collected. Peekskill, on the Hudson, was a general depot for cattle, provisions, and other supplies for the troops. Here General McDougall was posted, with less than three hundred effective men. On the 22d of March the enemy appeared off the town with a fleet of ten sail, from which a body of five hundred regulars, under Colonel Bird, landed to attack McDougall. That officer, fortunately, had been apprised of Bird's approach in time to withdraw the garrison and a considerable part of the stores. The English destroyed all that remained, and burned two or three houses. Some skirmishing occurred on their retreat, in which they lost nine killed, and the Americans one.

Raids of the English.

A far more destructive incursion was that of April 26th, into Connecticut, under Ex-governor Tryon. With two thousand men, Tryon, who had been made a Major-general of provincials, sailed down the Sound from New York, and on the 25th, late in the evening, debarked his force on the east bank of the Saugatuck River. The distance from this point to Danbury was about twenty miles. Tryon, keeping on the east side of the Saugatuck, marched with but slight opposition toward Danbury, where he arrived at two o'clock the next day.

Danbury burned.

The neighboring country was speedily alarmed, and General G. S. Silliman, of Fairfield, started in pursuit with five hundred militia. Major-general Wooster, of the State troops, Brigadier-general Arnold, Lieutenant-colonel Oswald, of the artillery, and other officers, were at New Haven, sixty miles distant, and they rode with all speed toward Danbury. A heavy rain on the afternoon of the 26th prevented any considerable numbers of the militia from reaching the village of Bethel, two miles southeast of Danbury, until near midnight. The American plan was, to intercept the enemy as they returned to their vessels in the morning.

Tryon rapidly accomplished the object of his expedition, destroying over sixteen hundred tents — a loss the Americans could ill sustain — and other stores, and after burning all the buildings belonging to rebels, set out on his return. Finding the militia in force on the road by which he had come, he turned westerly toward Ridgefield, intending to reach his ships by another route. Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman divided their forces to meet this movement. By a forced march, Arnold reached Ridgefield before noon on the 27th, in advance of Tryon. Wooster was in pursuit with a small body. If his courage had ever been doubted before, he proved it now. Urging his men to



Wooster's Signature.

follow him to the attack of the enemy, he fell, mortally wounded, and was carried from the field upon his sash.

Arnold's bravery.

At Ridgefield, Arnold attempted, with his usual daring, to check the enemy, but could effect nothing with his small handful of men. Here he had a horse shot under him, and the tradition is, that while he was struggling to release his feet from the stirrups, a Tory from New Fairfield, named Coon, advanced and called to him, "Surrender!" "Not yet," returned Arnold, who at that moment, having extricated himself, drew a pistol, shot the Tory, and dashed into the woods amid a shower of bullets. He presently reappeared and renewed the attack.

Unable to check the retreat of the enemy, the militia gathered at Saugatuck Bridge on the morning of the 28th, where Arnold, Silliman, and Colonel Huntington, with a small party of Continentals, prepared to make a final stand. Lieutenant-colonel Oswald and Colonel Lamb, of the artillery, had guns posted advantageously; but the enemy crossed the stream above, and passing down the east side before they could be attacked, reached Compo and their vessels. Their loss was forty killed, and many wounded; on the other side eighty were wounded, and twenty killed, among them Dr. David Atwater of New Haven, and Lieutenant-colonel Gold.

Meigs's expedition to Sag Harbor.

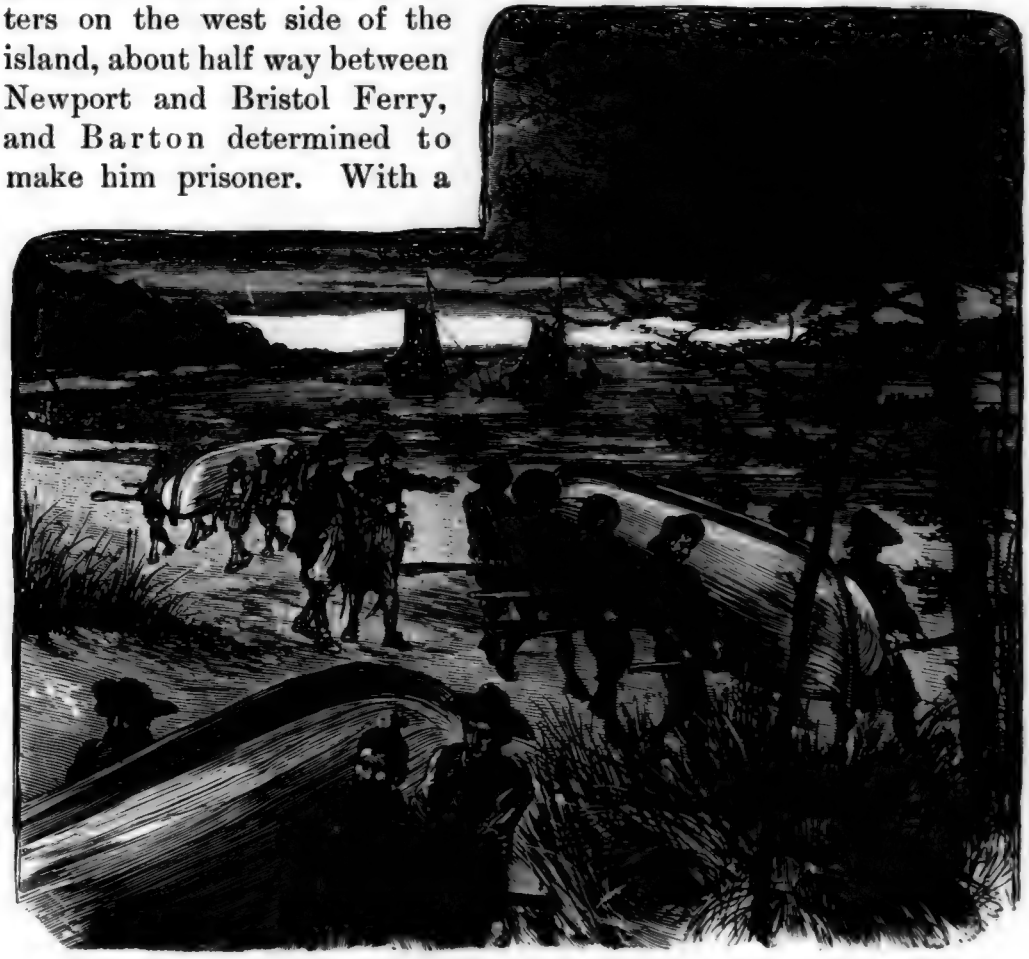
Other marauding expeditions followed this, on both sides. On the 21st of May, Colonel Return J. Meigs, of Parsons's brigade, then at New Haven, embarked a detachment in thirteen whale-boats for a descent on Long Island; a gale compelled them to put in at Guilford, but on the 23d, reëmbarking with one hundred and seventy men, he crossed the Sound under convoy of two armed sloops, and landed at Southold, on the northern shore of Long Island, at six o'clock P. M. Finding that the enemy's troops at that point had marched for New York two days before, the Colonel determined to surprise the detachment guarding stores at Sag Harbor, fifteen miles distant, on the south side of the island.

Taking one hundred and thirty men, and eleven boats, which were carried across the strip of land to the broad bay on the other shore, he reached a point four miles from Sag Harbor about midnight. Concealing his boats in the woods, he led his men, with bayonets fixed, to the assault of the barracks of the enemy — who were chiefly American loyalists. The attack was made at five different points at the same moment; at the first alarm an armed schooner, carrying seventy men and twelve guns, lying within a hundred and fifty yards of the shore, opened a brisk fire of grape and round shot. The action continued for nearly an hour, but Meigs succeeded in capturing the whole of the Tory guards, in burning twelve brigs and sloops, one of them armed

with twelve guns, and in destroying more than a hundred tons of hay, large quantities of grain, ten hogsheads of rum, and other stores. Before night he was in his quarters again at New Haven, without having lost a man. For this exploit Congress voted him a sword, with an assurance of its high sense of "the prudence, activity, enterprise, and valor," displayed in the expedition.

But the destruction or capture of military stores was not always the object of these raids. On the night of July 20, Lieutenant-colonel William Barton, of the Rhode Island militia, entered upon an adventure of another character, for which the commander also was presented a sword by Congress. The British Major-general Prescott was in quarters on the west side of the island, about half way between Newport and Bristol Ferry, and Barton determined to make him prisoner. With a

Colonel Barton captures General Prescott.



Meigs's Expedition to Sag Harbor.

party of forty men in five whale-boats he pulled through the British fleet without being discovered, landing in the night about a mile from the house where Prescott lodged. The surprise was complete; the English General was not even awakened till a negro with Barton came head foremost, as the easiest way of forcing it, through a panel

of the door into the bedchamber. The capture of Prescott was considered as an offset to that of Lee, and Washington, as well as Congress, hoped that they might be exchanged for each other.[1]

Lee's treason.

That Lee should be restored to the army was considered at that time, by most people, desirable — by many, as absolutely necessary; yet it was four months before, in March, 1777, that he, the second Major-general in the American army, had voluntarily drawn up that plan of a campaign for the Howes by which, he believed, Washington and his army could be isolated, and the Middle States cut off from all aid from the North and from each other, and then, one by one, reduced to submission, so that, as he said, "I will venture to assert with the penalty of my life, if the plan is fully adopted, and no accidents (such as a rupture between the powers of Europe) intervene, that in less than two months from the date of the proclamation [of pardon] not a spark of this desolating war remains unextinguished in any part of the Continent." "The country," he said, "has no chance of obtaining the end she proposes to herself;" to continue the war was to waste blood and treasure on both sides; he put it upon his conscience "to bring matters to a conclusion in the most compendious manner and consequently the least expensive to both parties." And the conclusion he proposed was, the subjugation of the people who were struggling for their liberties, who had lavished upon him their confidence and regard, and whose cause he meant to betray by giving to their enemies the benefit of his assumed knowledge of how that cause could be most easily and most speedily ruined. His conduct was none the less base, that, unlike Arnold, the enemy did not think him worth heeding or buying.[2]

Washington breaks camp.

The summer months had come before Howe developed his proposed operations, which Lee had hoped to influence. To watch him more closely and be in a position to follow his movements rapidly, Washington, on the 28th of May, broke camp at Morristown and marched a short distance southeast to Middlebrook, on the Raritan, ten miles from New Brunswick. His force now numbered seven thousand Continentals. The English General made no

[1] Congress bestowed upon Barton, besides the usual honor of a sword, a tract of land in Vermont. He was distinguished for his services later in the war, and attained to the rank of colonel. When Rhode Island adopted the Federal Constitution Colonel Barton was the special messenger sent to announce the fact to Congress. Later in life he was unfortunate, and was imprisoned for debt growing out of some irregularity in the transfer of a portion of his land in Vermont. Lafayette, on his visit to the United States in 1825, heard of the unhappy fate that had befallen the veteran, with whose services he was probably familiar, paid the claim against him, and he was released.

[2] The remarkable document in which Lee set forth his plan of a campaign for the Howes, was discovered by George H. Moore about twenty years since, and published in full and in fac-simile in his *Treason of Major-general Charles Lee.*

move until the 12th of June, when he pushed out Cornwallis to surprise Sullivan at Princeton. Failing to overtake Sullivan, who fell back to Flemington, or to disturb Washington in his strong position at Middlebrook, Howe retired toward Staten Island Sound, and the Americans advanced to Quibbletown (the present New Market) with Stirling's division in the front at Metuchen. Finding Washington at some distance from his old and well fortified camp, the English General, on the 26th of July, again moved out in force to bring him to action or get in his rear; but Washington thwarted both plans by a timely retreat to his former ground. Cornwallis, however, encountered Stirling, and took from him three cannon and about two hundred prisoners. On the 30th the English again withdrew, this time crossing in a body to Staten Island.

Howe's manœuvres.

Crosses to Staten Island.

From this moment, for six weeks, the movements of the enemy were veiled in so much secrecy that Washington at times was totally at a loss where to post himself most advantageously. His anxiety was partly dispelled when, on July 23d, Howe set sail from New York with about eighteen thousand men, leaving six thousand in the city under Clinton. His destination was concealed, but on the 30th the fleet appeared in the Delaware, and Washington quickly put his army in motion. But Howe, finding the Delaware so obstructed that he could make no landing above Christiana Creek, again put to sea. Washington had encamped on the Neshaminy Creek, about twenty miles north of Philadelphia, in the vicinity of the present village of Hartsville, where, for two weeks, he awaited events in great anxiety.[1] To venture far

Sails from New York.



Washington's Headquarters at Hartsville.

[1] Washington made his headquarters here at the two-story dwelling still standing on property owned by the heirs of William Bothwell. At the time of the Revolution it was one of the best finished houses in the neighborhood. — W. J. Buck in *Penn. Mag.*, i. 275.

from Philadelphia would have been hazardous, and yet if the enemy should sail to New England, and a junction be made there with Burgoyne, they would gain valuable time and be many days' march in advance of the American army. Greene wrote that Howe's movements were so strange they "exceeded all conjecture." When ten days had passed without tidings from the fleet, and Washington was persuaded that Howe's objective point was not Philadelphia, he called a council of war. The unanimous opinion of this body was, that as the enemy had in all probability sailed for Charleston, and would arrive there long before any succor could reach the place, it would be advisable to make a retrograde movement toward the Hudson. There the army would be in a position to threaten New York or resist Burgoyne, if he should succeed in defeating Gates and move southward.



Lafayette's Statue, Union Square, New York.

But fortunately before there was time to carry out this intention tidings arrived that the British fleet had been seen off the capes of the Chesapeake. This intelligence was confirmed the next day by a despatch from one William Bardly, dated the afternoon of August 21st, announcing that one hundred ships had anchored off the river Patapsco, and that their number was continually increasing. As the tide was running a strong ebb at that hour, Bardly was unable to report whether the enemy would land at Baltimore or farther up the bay.[1] The despatch did good service; it was evident that Howe had not relinquished his designs upon Philadelphia, and orders were immediately given to break camp and move to meet the enemy. While the soldiers were busy with their preparations, the cheering news of Stark's victory at Bennington was brought to them.

Appears in the Chesapeake.

[1] Manuscript letter in *Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc.*

At the camp on the Neshaminy, Washington's army was joined by several of those foreign officers who subsequently rendered efficient and distinguished service to the American cause. Lafayette, a young Frenchman, of noble descent, then twenty years of age, first learned of the war in America and its character while stationed at Metz as a captain of dragoons, and he determined to offer it his personal aid. As Franklin was unable to provide a vessel to transport him to the American coast, he purchased one on his own account, not without opposition both from his friends and at court. He secretly set sail from the Spanish port of Passage, early in 1777, and arrived at Georgetown, S. C., in April. With him were twelve other officers, among them Baron John De Kalb. Congress at first declined to commission Lafayette, on his arrival at Philadelphia; but when he explained that he came as a volunteer, and wished to serve in the army without pay, that body, on the 31st of July, gave him the honorary rank of Major-general. He immediately reported to Washington, and was made a member of his military family.

Lafayette joins Washington.

De Kalb was by birth a German, but held rank in the French army. Some years before the war — as we have elsewhere mentioned — he, as well as a M. de Fontleroy, had travelled through the American Colonies, by direction of the French minister Choiseul, to learn the character and resources of the people, the extent of the disaffection to the mother country, and the probabilities of success in case of a revolt. De Kalb executed his commission with ability, and had since watched with deep interest the progress of revolution in America. In September Congress gave him also a commission as Major-general. He remained with Washington till he was detached in 1780 to serve in the southern campaign, where he fell on the field of battle.

De Kalb.

Washington marched his army in good order through Philadelphia on the 22d of August, and proceeded to Wilmington. On the 28th, Howe reached the head of the Elk, fifty-four miles from Philadelphia, and on the 10th of September, after skirmishing with General Maxwell's advance corps, concentrated his force at Kennett Square, six or seven miles south of the Brandywine River. Here Washington determined to oppose his farther progress.

Howe at Kennett Square.

Howe's position on the right bank of the Brandywine was excellent for defence. By commanding the principal fords, he left his antagonist the choice of assaulting him at a disadvantage in front, or marching circuitously to the right. The crossing on the line of the main road to Philadelphia was known as Chads's Ford. Brenton's, Jones's, and Wistar's fords were above, at intervals of three or four miles, and a few miles beyond, where the river forked, there were

Battle of Brandywine.

fords on each branch. The American army lay mainly opposite the middle fords, — a position selected by Greene. At Chad's, Wayne was posted with his division and artillery. Greene's was some distance to his right, and still farther on were Stephen's, Stirling's, and Sullivan's divisions, forming the right wing of the army, commanded by Sullivan, the senior Major-general on the field. This main line stretched along the thickly wooded bank of the river for three miles, and the farthest crossings on the right, which it did not cover, Sullivan was instructed to watch.

Early on the morning of the 11th, the English flanking division, under Howe and Cornwallis, marched for the upper crossings at the forks of the river, with the intention of moving down upon Sullivan on the other side and turning his flank. Although conducted in broad daylight, and occupying nearly eight hours in its execution, the manœuvre was successful. The Americans were distracted by conflicting intelligence, — or rather failed to assure themselves of the enemy's position. To ascertain what Howe was about, Colonel Theodoric Bland, under Washington's instructions, crossed the Brandywine at Jones's Ford. He sent word back to Sullivan and the Commander-in-chief that Cornwallis was certainly aiming for the upper fords — intelligence which was confirmed by a later courier. Washington immediately decided to cross the river with his own force, and attack the division of the enemy under Grant and Knyphausen opposite Chad's Ford. Sullivan and Greene were sent to engage Howe's flanking column. This bold move on the part of Washington promised success, and a part of the troops had already forded the river, when Major Spear, who had gone in the direction of the Brandywine forks, reported to Sullivan that there were no signs of the enemy in that quarter. Sullivan accordingly, on his own responsibility, halted his column and sent word to Washington at Chad's Ford, three or four miles away, that the first report of Howe's flanking movement must be erroneous, since nothing had been seen of it by the scouts who had just come in from the right. Surprised at this, as he believed the first reports to be true, the Commander-in-chief, nevertheless, decided to abandon his proposed attack upon Grant and Knyphausen on the other side of the river.

Howe's flank movement.

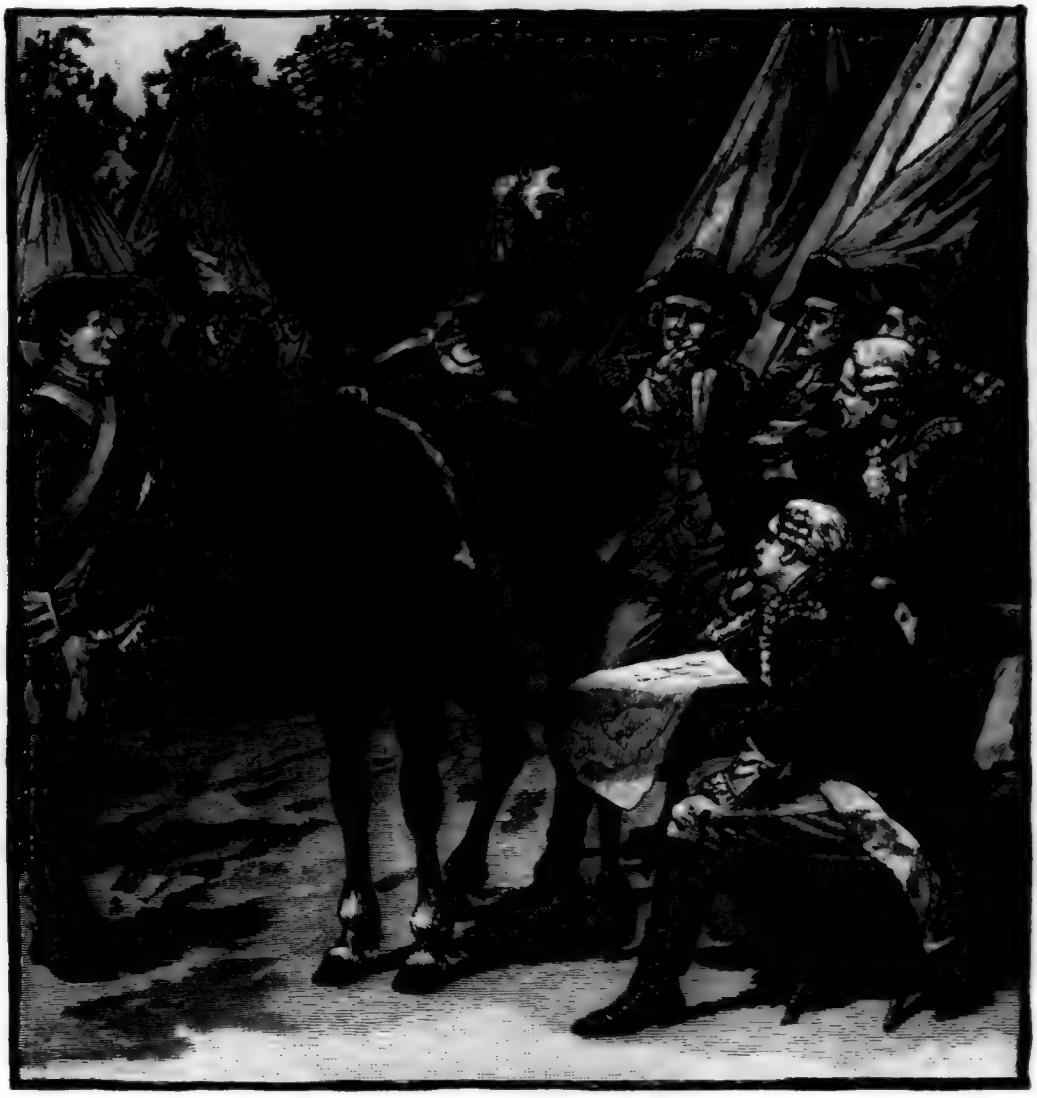
At about one o'clock in the afternoon, however, 'Squire Thomas Cheney, of Thornbury township, galloped into Sullivan's camp with a report that the English had crossed the forks of the Brandywine and were nearing Birmingham meeting-house, on Sullivan's right. To make sure that his information reached headquarters, Cheney rode on and informed Washington of the enemy's approach. Washington hesitated for a moment to accept tidings



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

(After a contemporary portrait, 1789.)

so directly in conflict with Sullivan's latest report. "If you doubt my word," said Cheney promptly, "put me under guard until you can ask Anthony Wayne or Persie Frazer if I am a man to be believed;" and then turning to some of the General's staff, who were less inclined to believe him than their chief, he indignantly exclaimed: "I



'Squire Cheney bringing the News.

would have you to know that I have this day's work as much at heart as e'er a blood of you!"[1]

Cheney's report, however, was presently confirmed by direct intelligence from the right, and Washington set his troops in motion to meet the enemy. Sullivan, when fully assured of the presence of the British at Birmingham meeting-house, ordered the right wing, consisting of Stirling's, Stephen's and his own divisions, to take up a

[1] Historical Address by J. Smith Futhey, *Penn. Mag. of Hist.*, vol. i., p. 293.

position across the line of the enemy's march. In the hurry and excitement of the movement, Sullivan's division, while manœuvering to get into the general line on the left, was attacked, and, after a brief struggle, forced to retreat. The divisions under Stirling and Stephen offered better resistance; but the defection on the right confused the entire line, and in spite of Sullivan's personal efforts and the brave stand made by Conway's brigade, the whole front was forced back by Howe's vigorous assault.

To recover this reverse, Washington hurried Greene's division to the support of the right wing. But after a forced march of four miles across the country, it could do no more than cover the retreat. Weedon's Virginia brigade succeeded in checking the enemy until dark; and the entire column under Sullivan kept on toward Chester. Wayne, in the mean time, had been attacked by Knyphausen and Grant at Chads's Ford, and forced back with the loss of some cannon.

In this action Lafayette distinguished himself, and received a wound in the leg which confined him to his quarters for two months.[1] The American loss was nearly three hundred killed, five hundred wounded, and ten field-pieces. The English lost something less than six hundred in killed and wounded.

The retreat.

The worn and broken columns of the American army found rest that night at Chester, and on the following day retreated toward Philadelphia and Germantown. On the 15th of September, it crossed the Schuylkill, and on the 16th drew up in position near Goshen meeting-house, on the Lancaster road. Howe advanced, and skirmishing opened, with Wayne in the American advance. A stubborn pitched battle appeared to be imminent, when a storm of extraordinary violence set in and compelled the cessation of all field movements. The rain so damaged the arms and cartridges that Washington retired to French Creek, in Warwick township, to repair damages, but detached Wayne, with fifteen hundred men and four field-pieces, to threaten and harass the enemy's flank and rear whenever opportunity offered.

Wayne's movement.

On the 19th, Wayne was at Paoli, and in the forenoon was able to approach within half a mile of Howe's encampment without being observed. He reported to Washington that the enemy were then quiet, "washing and cooking," too compactly massed to be openly attacked by his small force, but in a position to be struck a heavy blow if the Commander-in-chief should come to his aid with the whole army. Howe, he learned, was about to take up his line of march, and though his pickets and patrols were thrown well forward,

[1] The U. S. frigate in which Lafayette returned to France at the close of his visit to this country in 1825, was appropriately named the *Brandywine*.

Wayne hoped that by a skilful and rapid movement, the next night, he might surprise the enemy and do some damage. "Here we are, and there they go!" was the watchword in Wayne's camp that night, where it was believed that Howe was completely ignorant of the movement against him. But some vigilant Tories were keeping the British General exactly informed of Wayne's position and his probable purpose, and he, on his part also, had a surprise in store for his opponent.

General Grey was sent out, with three regiments of infantry and some dragoons, toward Paoli, under Tory guides. The men were ordered not to fire a gun, but depend altogether upon the bayonet. About midnight, two hours before the time fixed by Wayne for his own movement, the British had silently approached, and surprised his pickets, killing some and driving the rest upon the main body. Wayne instantly ordered his men under arms, but before they could form, the enemy rushed upon the camp, cutting down and bayonetting the men, now thrown into utter confusion. Then followed, wrote an English officer who was present, "a dreadful scene of havoc." The Americans were easily distinguished by the light of the camp-fires, as they fell into line. It offered to Grey's men an advantage which quickened their movements. The charge was furious, and all Wayne's efforts to rally his men were useless. They were driven through the woods for two miles, and nearly one hundred and seventy were killed. It was the chance of war that one side did what the other hoped to do, but the action, nevertheless, is recorded as the "Paoli Massacre."

The steady advance of the English upon Philadelphia threw that city into great panic. It was one o'clock at night on the 19th, when Aid-de-camp Alexander Hamilton rode into town with a message from Washington to Congress that the enemy had crossed the Schuylkill, and could be in the town in a few hours. The members were roused in their beds and told of their danger. Naturally they stood not upon the order of their going. One sedate delegate, according to a diary of the time, rode off bare-back. Congress had already adjourned to Lancaster.

Philadelphia alarmed

Late as it was, the news spread rapidly. Thomas Paine, then secretary of one of the committees of Congress, describes the fright and confusion into which the town was thrown. "It was a beautiful, still, moonlight morning," he wrote to Franklin, "and the streets as full of men, women, and children as on a market-day." Some moved away at once, but a considerable portion of the inhabitants, especially the Tories and the non-combatant Friends, many of whom were Tories, remained in their homes. The excitement and terror were greatly

increased by the fear that the town would be set on fire, as was done, whether accidentally or purposely, in New York, the year before. For several nights the streets were patrolled to guard against this possible danger.

Howe occupies the city.

Howe marched leisurely down from Swede's Ford, and did not occupy the city until the forenoon of the 26th. On the evening before, he assured the inhabitants that those who remained peaceably at their homes should not be molested in person or property. In the forenoon Cornwallis, with his division of English and German troops, entered the city. The Tory citizens received them with loud cheers, as they marched down Second Street, in gay uniforms and brilliant array, to their allotted quarters at the Alms House and the State House. For his own residence, Howe first occupied the house of General Cadwallader, on Second Street, below Spruce, and afterwards the mansion on Market Street where Washington lived during his Presidency.



Howe's Headquarters. — Cadwallader's House.

From two intercepted letters it was learned, a few days later, that Howe had sent down a small detachment to reduce the American forts on the Delaware. It took little from his strength, but when added to the several battalions under Cornwallis in Philadelphia, four miles from the main camp, the decrease in Howe's force was sufficient to invite an attack from a watchful opponent. Washington determined to seize the opportunity.

Howe's army was encamped in nearly a straight line from the Schuylkill, across the main street of Germantown, to a point called Luken's Mill, near the old York road. There were four approaches to this line of the enemy: the Manatawny road near the river ran in on their extreme left; the Reading road, or Germantown Street, pierced the centre; the Lime-kiln road at Luken's Mill was at the right,

and the York road, still farther to the right, was guarded by patrols and Simcoe's Rangers. Washington's plan was to advance on all these four roads, and engage the enemy along the whole line at the same moment. His orders were, that the attack should be made everywhere at "precisely five o'clock" on the morning of the 4th of October. That such accuracy in the movements of four separate columns would be observed in the then condition and discipline of the American troops, was hardly to be expected; but if the plan should be only partially carried out, it promised success. The main reliance was on the two central columns of Continental troops. That which was to move direct upon Germantown, along the Reading road, was under Sullivan's command, and was composed of his own and Wayne's divisions, and of Conway's brigade on the flank. The column next to the left, marching by a longer route along the Lime-kiln road, was under Greene, and included his own and Stephen's divisions, flanked by McDougall's brigade. These two bodies numbered about nine thousand good troops, inclusive of Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, which formed a *corps de reserve* under General Stirling. The remaining two columns on the right and left were militia, without artillery, commanded respectively by Generals Armstrong and Smallwood. Armstrong was ordered to move down the Manatawny road by Van Deering's mills, to turn the enemy's left, while Smallwood and Forman, with Maryland and New Jersey militiamen, were to attempt to turn the right. Washington's purpose was to take the English off their guard in front and flank, and by a determined attack, break and rout their line before reënforcements could arrive from Philadelphia.

About eight o'clock on the evening of the 3d, the army left its encampment on Metuchen Hill, and, marching all night, reached the points aimed at about daybreak on the 4th. Sullivan's attack. Sullivan's column, having the shortest and easiest route, reached Chestnut Hill, where lay the centre of Howe's main line, and advanced to the attack before the other columns arrived. The enemy's pickets were posted on this road at Mount Airy, a mile or more below Chestnut Hill. On Mount Pleasant, a short distance farther, lay their supports, which consisted of the Second Light Infantry Battalion. Nearly half-way between them and the main line, Colonel Musgrave's Fortieth Regiment was stationed, opposite the stone mansion known by the name of its late occupant, as the "Chew house."

The night had been dark, and the morning broke in clouds and mist. The precautions taken by the Americans against giving an alarm on the march had succeeded, and they were on the outposts of the enemy before their approach was known. The American advance guard, under Captain McLane, of Delaware, charged upon the pickets

at Mount Airy without firing, killed the sentries, and drove the others back to the light infantry. Sullivan detached a Maryland and a Pennsylvania regiment to follow rapidly in support, and then formed his division in line on the right of the road. The British infantry held their ground for a few minutes, but gave way before superior numbers. Wayne's division then came up, and Sullivan formed it on the left of the road, while Conway's brigade was transferred to the right of both divisions. Thus aligned, Sullivan's and Wayne's troops pushed forward on both sides of the road, driving before them both the infantry and the Fortieth Regiment, which had come to their relief. Wayne's men rushed eagerly after the Second Infantry, and sought to revenge, at the point of the bayonet,[1] the bloody work of that battalion at the "Paoli Massacre."

Howe under fire.

It was an auspicious and animating opening of the battle for the Americans. When Howe heard the unexpected firing on his front, he mounted his horse and dashed up the road, where his men were falling back hurriedly before the steady advance of their assailants. "For shame, light infantry!" he shouted: "I never saw you retreat before." But, warned by the heavy volleys that the enemy was upon him in force, he turned back to the main line to prepare for a general battle.[2] Sullivan's and Wayne's columns pressed on, impeded, however, by the many fences in the outskirts of Germantown, through which they were compelled to break their way. It was not many minutes before they had forced their way to within half a mile of the British line, steadily driving the enemy before them.

Chew's house.

But here an unlooked-for obstacle interfered with the forward movement. In retreating before Sullivan, Colonel Musgrave and six companies of the Fortieth Regiment threw themselves into the Chew house, which stood a short distance from the road, and, barricading the lower story, converted the strong building into a temporary citadel. Sullivan and Wayne passed this mansion without observing that Musgrave occupied and was prepared to defend it; but this was seen when Stirling came up with the reserve. Washington, Knox, Reed, Pickering, the Adjutant-general, and other officers of the staff, rode with Stirling's troops, and a consultation was held as to the propriety of attacking this stronghold. Knox insisted that it was against all military rule to advance with a

[1] Lieutenant Hunter, of this battalion, writing a few days afterward, says: "When the first shots were fired at our pickets, so much had we all Wayne's affair in our remembrance, that the battalion were out and under arms in a minute. . . . . Just as the battalion had formed, the pickets came in and said the enemy were advancing in force. They had hardly joined the battalion when we heard a loud cry, 'Have at the bloodhounds! Revenge Wayne's affair!'"

[2] Moorson's *Historical Record of the Fifty-second Regiment*, "Lieut. Hunter's Diary."

fort in one's rear, and it was accordingly decided to send a flag to Musgrave, demanding his immediate surrender. Major Caleb Gibbs, of Washington's guard, had in the first instance offered to carry the flag, but his offer was then declined. Upon the final decision, Lieutenant-colonel Matthew Smith, of Virginia, an accomplished officer, acting as Assistant Adjutant-general, volunteered to make the demand; but when near the house, he was fired upon and received a wound from which he afterward died. Maxwell's brigade of the reserves was then called up and ordered to attack the place. Four light field-pieces — no large ones having been brought with the army — opened upon the building, but it effectually resisted bombardment. No impression could be made upon its walls. The musketry-fire was even less effectual. Brave as Maxwell's men were, the garrison withstood them quite as bravely. The defence was as vigorous as the assault was fearless. The house was riddled with bullets, as may be seen to this day; the chivalric Duplessis and Lieutenant-colonel Laurens recklessly exposed themselves in futile attempts to set it on fire; so hard pushed were the besieged that an officer had his horse shot under him within three yards of the building; in two New Jersey regiments alone the loss was forty-six officers and men.[1]

For more than an hour this hot contest continued, making itself the pivotal point of the battle, — not so much from any importance attaching to the possession of the house, as from the effect of the struggle on the general movement. It arrested at this point all Stirling's reserve force on their way to the support of Sullivan and Wayne; and not only that, but it alarmed and confused Sullivan's and Wayne's men in the centre, who did not understand this noise of an engagement in their rear; and it misled Greene's forces on the left, as to the position of the enemy. General Stephen, on the Lime-kiln road, hearing the firing, and believing that he should find the enemy in that direction, left his own line of march and was presently engaged in a warm fight with the rear of Wayne's troops, each mistaking the other for British. The fog and the smoke of the battle made the early morning almost as dark as night. Wayne, in a letter written two days afterward, says his forces were already in possession of the whole camp of the enemy, when they became involved in this blunder. Victory, he thought, was already within his grasp, when his men, under this attack from a quarter where they had no reason to look for it, fell back two miles in confusion. Greene's column was to have come up on Sullivan's left and have formed a continuous line directly in Howe's front. The advance was retarded by fences, hedges, and thickets; the heavy fog rendered every movement uncertain; but all these difficulties

[1] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. i.

might have been surmounted but for Stephen's blunder, and possibly Stephen would not have blundered but for the attack on Chew's house. It was shown afterward, before a court-martial, — by whose sentence Stephen was dismissed the service, — that he was drunk, and nothing can be predicated on the possible conduct of a drunken man.

The Americans retreat.

As it was, however, the battle was lost. Howe had time to form and to make, first, a vigorous defence, and then to assume the offensive. Washington ordered a retreat, and the American army regained its position on Metuchen Hill, with a loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners of about a thousand men. On the other side the loss was about half that number. Howe was afterward accused of having received, the night before the battle, information of Washington's design. If this were true, he made no preparation to meet it; and it remains, therefore, an open question, whether Washington's good generalship would have equally availed for the salvation of his army had Howe been prepared for him. It is not a question, if the charge were true, that Howe's besetting sin of unreadiness came near proving his own destruction.

Howe returns to Philadelphia.

Howe soon withdrew his army from the open country into the city, as a safe retreat from the operations of his active and energetic opponent, as well as to find comfortable quarters for the winter. That those quarters should be comfortable, however, one thing was requisite. On the land-side communication with the country was cut off by the presence of the American army, which constantly intercepted supplies, and it was absolutely necessary, therefore, that there should be free access to the city by the Delaware River. So long, moreover, as it was commanded by the Americans, Howe was isolated from his fleet, and he was, in a measure, subjected to some of the inconveniences of a beleaguered position, and to its possible dangers.

Operations on the Delaware.

The navigation of the river was impeded by sunken obstructions, and until these were removed, no vessel of war could pass above the mouth of the Schuylkill. To attempt their removal was difficult and dangerous, for about them hovered a fleet of galleys of light draught of water; on one side of the river, just below the mouth of the Schuylkill, was Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island; on the opposite shore, at Red Bank, was Fort Mercer; and at different points, along the shore, were several floating batteries. Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, commanded at Fort Mercer, and Lieutenant-colonel Smith, of Baltimore, at Fort Mifflin, and each had been reënforced by Washington till their garrisons numbered four hundred men. Colonel Sterling had taken possession of Billingsport, farther down the Delaware on the Jersey side, on the

1st of October, before Howe had fallen back upon Philadelphia. The occupation of Billingsport enabled the British men-of-war to break through the *chevaux-de-frise* placed in the channel at that point, and pass farther up the river. Sterling, observing the importance of the position at Red Bank, then feebly garrisoned by the Americans, proposed to take that also; but Howe, with his usual procrastination, delayed his consent, till Washington, with his usual promptness, took advantage of the blunder, and filled the fort with a strong garrison. Three weeks later Howe recognized the soundness of Sterling's advice, and the Hessian Colonel Donop was sent with twelve hundred men to reduce Fort Mercer. The exterior works

Defence of Fort Mercer.



Fort Mifflin.

were in too unfinished a condition to be defended, and the garrison withdrew into the interior lines, but not, as Donop supposed, from any doubt of their ability to hold the place. The assault was incautious to rashness, in the confident expectation of immediate success; and it was a fatal mistake. Donop and his Lieutenant-colonel, Minnigerode, both fell with mortal wounds; the loss altogether was four hundred of the twelve hundred Hessians who made the attack, and in less than an hour the remainder were in retreat to Philadelphia. Two British ships which moved as far up the river as the obstructions would permit, to aid in the assault, ran aground; one was blown up by the fire from the fort, the other was burnt to escape capture.

The next attempt to open the river was better managed and more successful. Fort Mifflin was invested by the British fleet on the 10th of November, and some heavy guns brought to bear upon it from a neighboring island. The garrison made a determined fight so long as there was any hope of repelling their assailants. But it was impossible to hold out long against the heavy metal of so many vessels, surrounding the fort at so short a distance that hand-grenades could be thrown over the walls from their decks, and sharp-shooters in their tops could pick off the gunners as fast as they could man the guns. The fight was not given up, however, until the principal officers were disabled, and two hundred and fifty men out of the four hundred of the garrison were either killed or wounded. The place was therefore evacuated at night, the men taking refuge on the other side of the river, in Fort Mercer.

and of Fort Mifflin.

But Fort Mercer could be maintained only a few days longer. Cornwallis moved into New Jersey at the head of so large a force that the fort was cut off from all relief in case of an attack, and it was wiser to save the garrison by abandoning the post to the enemy. The Americans, at the same time, burned their galleys, except a few that contrived to escape to Bristol, and the Delaware below Philadelphia was completely under the control of the British fleet.

Both forts evacuated.

On the 4th of December — the American army then being encamped at White Marsh, about twelve miles from Philadelphia, and reënforced by twenty-two hundred men — Howe moved out as far as Chestnut Hill with fourteen thousand men, to feel the enemy, and in the hope of provoking him to battle. Washington was quite ready to be provoked if Howe would attack him in position; he was not disposed to gratify his antagonist by going out to meet him where the advantage of position would be on his side. On the 5th an attack was made on the American right; and though there was some sharp fighting, the loss was small on either side, and Washington, with the main army, remained immovable. An attempt on the 7th to bring about a general action was equally unsuccessful. An attack was made at Edge Hill, on the American left, which was met by Colonel Gist with the Maryland militia, and by General Morgan with his corps of Virginia riflemen, who had recently arrived from the northern army. They gave the enemy a warm reception, but were compelled at length to retire, Morgan and his men, however, doing great execution upon the enemy with their unerring marksmanship and pursuing them through the woods. But the retreat of the Maryland militia released their opponents to reënforce those in Morgan's front; and he also was compelled to retreat. The loss on

Fights near Chestnut Hill.

the American side was certainly inconsiderable; but as more than eighty wagons were reported as going into Philadelphia filled with dead and wounded, the Virginia rifles must have made great havoc among the British soldiers.

Howe, discouraged by the result of this attempt to bring on a general battle, retired the next day to Philadelphia. Washington, a few days later, moved to his chosen winter quarters at Valley Forge, and the march of his army over the frozen ground might have been tracked, from the want of shoes and stockings, "from White Marsh to Valley Forge by the blood of their feet."[1]

Winter quarters at Valley Forge.

[1] Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution*, says: "General Washington mentioned it to me when at his table, June, 3, 1784."



Donop's Grave.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN.

BURGOYNE SUPERSEDES CARLETON. — PLAN OF A NORTHERN CAMPAIGN. — EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS. — DEATH OF JANE MCCREA. — LOSS OF TICONDEROGA. — BATTLE OF HUBBARDTON. — ST. LEGER'S EXPEDITION INTO THE MOHAWK VALLEY. — BATTLE OF ORISKANY. — DEATH OF GENERAL HERKIMER. — BATTLE OF BENNINGTON. — MILITARY JEALOUSIES. — GATES DISPLACES SCHUYLER. — BATTLE OF FREEMAN'S FARM. — CLINTON'S EXPEDITION UP THE HUDSON RIVER. — FALL OF FORTS MONTGOMERY AND CLINTON. — SECOND BATTLE OF STILLWATER, OR BEMUS'S HEIGHTS. — BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER.

AT the close of the campaign of 1777 — the year which the Tories loved to call the year of three gibbets — the British were in quiet possession of two of the three principal cities of the new Republic, one of them its capital; the national legislature was a fugitive body; the national army, after successive defeats, had marched with naked, "bloody feet," to winter quarters, where, neglected by Congress, they were for months to suffer with hunger, to shiver for want of clothing through the long and dreary winter, and many, when the power of endurance was exhausted, to lie down and die of privation or disease. Yet, notwithstanding these gloomy and threatening clouds hung over the dawn of the new year, the fading light of the year that was passing away was ruddy and warm with the glow of one great success — a golden sunset that gave promise of a glorious to-morrow.

The Northern campaign.

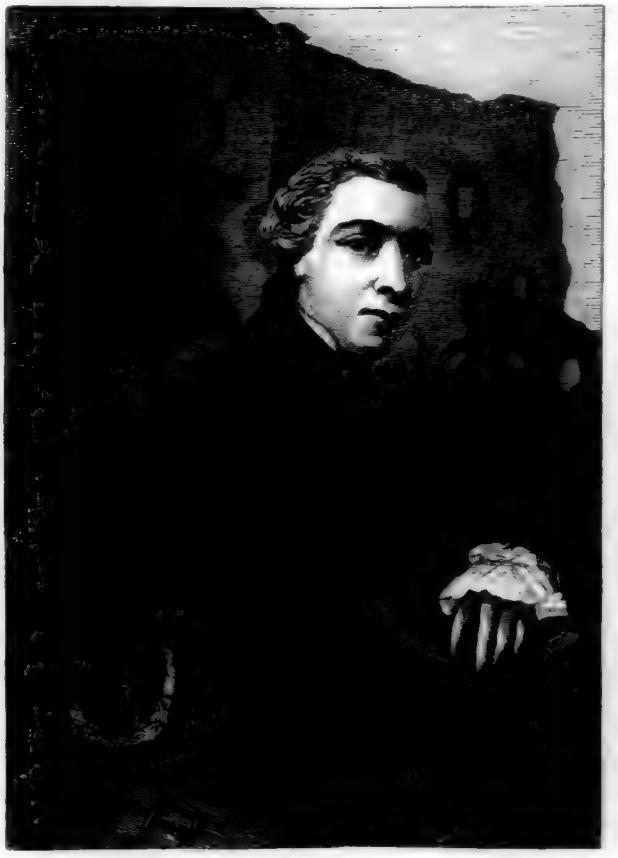
While at the South, Washington had been able only, in the face of enormous difficulties, to avert overwhelming catastrophe and hold up the war against the splendid army and inexhaustible resources of Howe, at the North the plans of the ministry had come to naught, and such disaster had followed as, all things considered, had never before befallen the arms of England.

For reasons chiefly personal, there was no cordiality between the Secretary of State for the colonies and the Governor of Canada. Germain disliked Carleton. Carleton had great contempt for Germain. "That there is great prejudice," wrote the King to Lord North, in December, 1776, "perhaps not unaccompanied with rancor, in a certain breast against Governor Carleton, is so manifest to who-

ever has heard the subject mentioned, that it would be idle to say any more than that it is a fact. Perhaps Carleton may be too cold, and not so active as might be wished, which may make it advisable to have the part of the Canadian army which must attempt to join General Howe led by a more enterprising commander. . . . . Burgoyne may command the corps to be sent from Canada to Albany."

Burgoyne's plan.

Burgoyne, on his return to England about this time, after seeing the end of the American campaign in Canada, submitted to the Ministry his "Thoughts for conducting the war from the side of Canada." At a Council held in March it was determined to give him the command, and at the same time it was provided that a force under Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger should make a diversion on the Mohawk River. The instructions addressed to Carleton, acknowledging that "this plan cannot be advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians," bade him furnish both expeditions with "good and sufficient bodies of those men." Carleton at once tendered his resignation of the governorship, yet did his utmost to assist Burgoyne. But this utmost, it appears, was not much, for Burgoyne describes the Canadians as "ignorant of the use of arms, awkward, disinclined to the service, and spiritless." Against the Indians none of these objections, at least, could be urged; but Burgoyne understood well enough the more serious objections to their employment.



General John Burgoyne.

Burgoyne's plan assumed that the object of an expedition from Canada would be to obtain possession of Albany, control the Hudson River, coöperate with Howe, and thereby enable that General to act with his whole force to the southward.[1] This, in the main, was the

[1] *Burgoyne's Plan of the Campaign from the Side of Canada, with the Remarks thereon of George the Third.* Fonblanque, p. 483.

old project which had been broached and in part attempted the year before, to divide New England from the other States, and thus reduce the rest with greater ease. In the prosecution of the plan, Burgoyne would have been glad to be allowed a certain latitude and discretion, such as a deviation from his line of march into Massachusetts and down the Connecticut; but his final orders, which were precise and imperative, left him no choice but to march straight upon Albany and "force a junction" with Howe. Singularly enough, it nowhere appears that any such obligation was put upon Howe to meet Burgoyne, and, as events proved, Howe felt no such obligation. In this respect the scheme was fatally weak in execution. Coöperation was absolutely enjoined on the one General, but not upon the other.[1]

No instructions sent to Howe.

Burgoyne's army concentrated at St John's, on St. John's River, the outlet of Lake Champlain, on the 12th of June, and a day or two later embarked. A little less than eight thousand men composed the force, half of whom were British regulars and Canadian volunteers, and half Hessian contingents under General Riedesel. Forty pieces of artillery — the finest train in America — made the column especially formidable. Burgoyne's subordinate officers were experienced and skilful soldiers, including Generals Phillips, Riedesel, Fraser, Specht, Hamilton, and Earl Balcarras and Major Ackland, who respectively commanded the two choice corps of light infantry and grenadiers. The English fleet on the lake, consisting of nine vessels carrying one hundred and forty-three guns, and manned by six hundred and forty seamen, received its orders from Captain Lutwidge of the *Royal George*, acting as Commodore.

Burgoyne's force.

Encamping, about the 17th, at the river Bouquet, on the western shore of the lake, the English General at once prepared for active operations against Ticonderoga. During his delay at this point he addressed his Indian allies in an intensely rhetorical speech which became the subject of ridicule with Americans and opposition members

[1] The Earl of Shelburne thus explains the origin of this fatal blunder. In writing of Lord George Germain's incapacity, he says: "Among many singularities he (Germain) had a particular aversion to being put out of his way on any occasion; he had fixed to go into Kent or Northamptonshire at a particular hour, and to call on his way at his office to sign the despatches, all of which had been settled, to both these Generals. By some mistake, those to General Howe were not fair copied, and upon his growing impatient at it, the office, which was a very idle one, promised to send it to the country after him while they dispatched the others to General Burgoyne, expecting that the others could be expedited before the packet sailed with the first, which, however, by some mistake, sailed without them, and the wind detained the vessel which was ordered to carry the rest. Hence came General Burgoyne's defeat, the French declaration, and the loss of thirteen colonies. It might appear incredible if his own secretary and the most respectable persons in office had not assured me of the fact; what corroborates it is, that it can be accounted for in no other way." — Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, vol. i.

in Parliament. The employment of savages in the expedition, suggested first by Burgoyne and then sanctioned by the King,[1] had been defended in the House of Lords upon grounds of necessity, and also as permissible on principle. "It is perfectly justifiable," said Suffolk, "to use all the means that God and nature has put into our hands." But Lord Chatham, astonished and shocked at the proposition, expressed his indignation in the strongest terms. There were many officers in the service who were opposed to having the red men as companions in arms.

Indians as allies.

Burgoyne himself appears to have appreciated the possible disgrace that the cruelties of these forest allies might bring upon his army, and in his address he invited them to fight for the King's cause, only on condition that they kept to the King's code. "I positively forbid bloodshed," he told them, "when you are not opposed in arms. Aged men, women, children, and prisoners must be held secure from the knife or hatchet, even in the time of actual conflict. You shall receive compensation for the prisoners you take, but you will be called to account for scalps. In conformity and indulgence to your customs, which have affixed an idea of honor to such badges of victory, you will be allowed to take the scalps of the dead when killed by your fire or in fair opposition; but on no account or pretence or subtlety or prevarication are they to be taken from the wounded or even from the dying, and still less pardonable will it be held to kill men in that condition."[2]

The unhappy fate of Jane McCrea, which was indirectly due to the employment of the savages by the English, excited everywhere the deepest horror and indignation, not merely against the Indians — though that could hardly be increased — but against the invaders who had made of these savages their allies and instruments. The manner of her death was at first uncertain; but as the horrible story sped far and wide through the country, the romance of personal considerations gathered about a tragic incident of war, and the feeling aroused was universal and intense. The certain facts appealed to the tenderest sympathies; so much was known to be true, that none thought of asking if anything could be false. She was young; she was beautiful; she was gently nurtured and of high

Death of Jane McCrea.

[1] The King's memorandum on Burgoyne's plan contains the sentence: "Indians must be employed, and this measure must be avowedly directed."

[2] In ridicule of this appeal, Burke indulged in an illustration which delighted the House of Commons. "Suppose," he exclaimed, "there was a riot on Tower Hill. What would the keeper of his Majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the dens of the wild beasts, and then address them thus: 'My gentle lions — my humane bears — my tender-hearted hyenas, go forth! But I exhort you, as you are Christians, and members of civilized society, to take care not to hurt any man, woman, or child!'"

social position; she was betrothed and about to be married to a young loyalist officer; she met her sudden death when in the hands of two Indians, and the long and beautiful hair, torn from her head, was shown afterward at Burgoyne's headquarters. So much was true, and it was enough to excite universal execration, even if the stories that were told of the manner of her death were untrue. It was natural enough that exaggerations should be accepted where there could be no doubt of so much that was sad and pitiful.

Though all that was told was not true, the incident exercised as



Death of Jane McCrea.

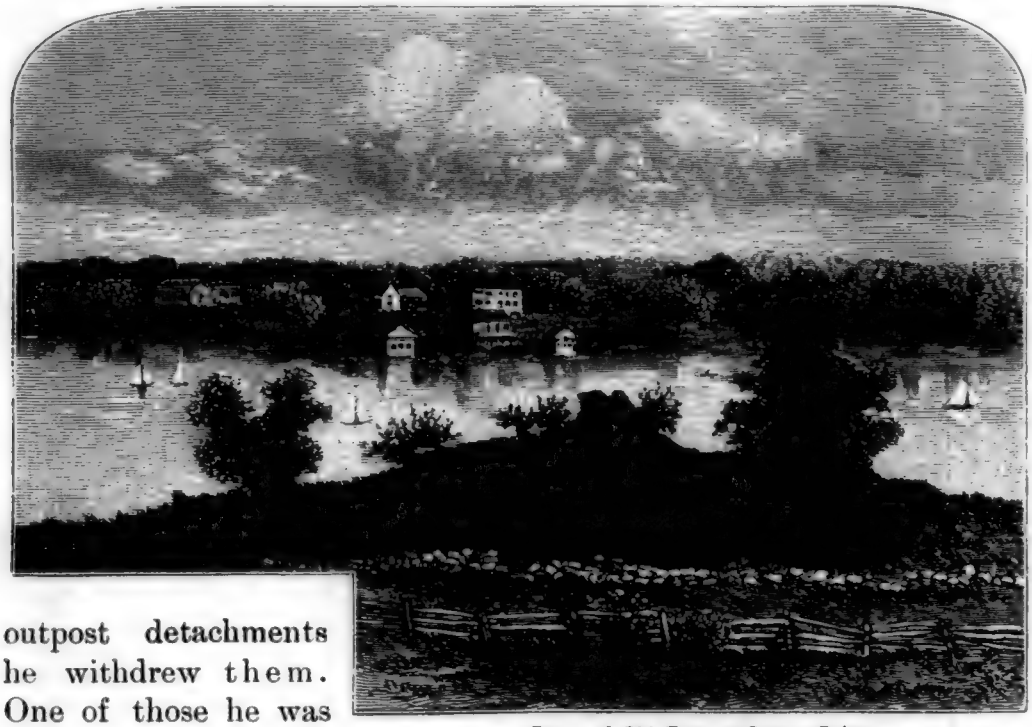
deep an influence then, — and has ever since in its various forms — as if it were. But Jane McCrea was not killed by the Indians, though she was their captive. A Mrs. McNeal, at whose house she was visiting, near Fort Edward, had received warning that there were Indians in the neighborhood, and she must take refuge at Fort Miller. Lieutenant Palmer with twenty men was sent by General Arnold as an escort for the family. While waiting for the household goods to be packed, Palmer made a reconnoissance in the neighborhood, fell into an ambuscade of savages, and twelve of his men, with Palmer himself,

were killed at the first fire. The Indians then rushing to the house, seized Mrs. McNeal and Miss McCrea, mounted them on horseback, and started to escape, before their flight should be intercepted by assistance from the fort. The soldiers, however, were in time to fire upon them before they were quite out of reach, and by this fire Jane McCrea fell. She alone, sitting upright, was killed, as the Indians stooped at the fire, one of them exclaiming, "Um shoot too high for hit!" One of the Indians, though in rapid flight, paused long enough to seize her long hair and scalp her, exasperated, probably, at the loss of the reward offered by Burgoyne for white prisoners. "I never saw Jenny afterward," said Mrs. McNeal, — who arrived the next day at the British camp, and related the facts, — "nor anything that appertained to her person, until my arrival in the British camp, when an aid-de-camp showed me a fresh scalp-lock which I could not mistake, because the hair was unusually fine, luxuriant, lustrous, and dark as the wing of a raven." Miss McCrea was buried the next day by the soldiers who attempted her rescue, and who had heedlessly caused her death. Three bullet-holes were found in her body, but no other wounds, according to the testimony of Colonel Morgan Lewis, under whose direction the interment was made. When many years afterward the remains were disinterred, the skull was unbroken; no savage tomahawk had ever been "sunk" in it, as had been so long believed.[1]

After a brief stay at Crown Point the British army appeared before Ticonderoga on the 1st of the month, and immediately invested the fortress. This stronghold, the key of the North, as it was then assumed to be, it was confidently expected would prove a serious obstacle to Burgoyne's farther advance. The possibility of its capture or a necessity for its surrender was not contemplated by the Americans, and this over-confidence in the strength of the position led to that careless negligence common with inexperienced soldiers. General Arthur St. Clair, of Pennsylvania, was now in command of the post, with a force of three thousand men, and this he believed quite strong enough to hold it. His early messages had been so assuring that even Washington had no misgivings. Major-general Schuyler, who had superseded Gates in the command of the Northern Department, made all possible haste to strengthen the chain of posts from Ticonderoga to the Hudson and Albany. He called upon the governors of contiguous States which this invasion immediately threatened, for speedy assistance; Putnam, who was in command on the Hudson,

[1] The evidence on this subject seems conclusive. Mrs. McNeal was a cousin of General Fraser, and in his tent she told the story to General Burgoyne the day after her own escape and the death of Jane McCrea. It was related to Judge Hay, of Saratoga, who verified it fully by the evidence of other contemporary witnesses. All the testimony is carefully collated in an article in the *Galaxy* magazine for January, 1867, by William L. Stone.

was asked to send up regiments from Peekskill; the several Committees of Safety were urged to diligence to provide against the common danger, and word was sent to General Herkimer, up the Mohawk, to be prepared for the enemy on the western frontier. But responses to these appeals came in slowly, and Schuyler's resources for meeting the emergency were altogether inadequate. Moreover, neither he nor St. Clair had fully fathomed Burgoyne's designs. They did not know whether his move upon so strong a post as Ticonderoga was simply a feint to cover an extended flank manœuvre, or whether he would march directly from that point into New England. St. Clair's force was too small to cover every exposed point, and to save some of his outpost detachments he withdrew them. One of those he was compelled to abandon was the commanding eminence of Mount Hope. This the English General Fraser promptly took possession of, and mounting heavy guns there cut off the communication of the Americans with Lake George. The unexpected occupation of another point, made the enemy masters of the position and brought to their opponents disaster that, at the moment, seemed irremediable.



Ruins of Old Fort at Crown Point.

South of the American fortress a steep, wooded height rose more than six hundred feet above the level of the lake, and overlooked every fortified elevation in the vicinity. It was known as Sugar Loaf Mountain, and because of its supposed inaccessibility had been neglected in former wars, and thus far in this. The possibility of dragging cannon to its summit had been admitted by offi-

Fort Defiance.

cers in the American camp, but it was not supposed that the enemy would attempt it, and St. Clair, even had he occupied it, had not sufficient force to hold more ground than had already been fortified. Burgoyne's engineers, however, were men of skill and energy. Noticing the importance of this eminence, they secretly made a path over which artillery could be hauled to the top, and, on the morning of the 5th, surprised the Americans with a line of nearly completed works whose fire could not be endured by the garrison of Ticonderoga for an hour. The aspect of affairs was suddenly and completely changed.

Evacuation of Ticonderoga.

From Fort Defiance, as the enemy called their new position, a terribly destructive cannonade would undoubtedly be opened within twenty-four hours, and to the plunging shot from that elevation there could be no return. A council of war was hastily summoned, and it was decided that Ticonderoga should be evacuated that night, though it was hardly hoped that it could be done without great loss. It was the only rational thing to do. The capture of the place was inevitable, and resistance would be madness; there was just a chance of saving the garrison, and this St. Clair and his officers wisely concluded to attempt before it was too late.[1] That the purpose should not be suspected by the enemy, firing was kept up as usual through the day, but at dusk the guns were spiked, tents were struck, and the women and the sick were sent up the lake with the stores in boats to Skenesborough, under the charge of Colonel Long's regiment. At three o'clock in the morning of the 6th the troops marched out of the Ticonderoga forts and moved toward Castleton, nearly thirty miles southeast. All had safely left the place without giving the alarm, when suddenly the house which General De Fermoy had occupied as his headquarters burst into flames, having been set on fire contrary to orders. Its blaze discovered the Americans on the retreat, and immediate preparations were made for pursuit.

Retreat of the Americans.

Generals Fraser and Riedesel pushed after St. Clair, while Burgoyne and Phillips, with the fleet and right wing of the army, breaking through all obstructions, sailed up the lake, or South River, in chase of Colonel Long and the American flotilla. Long and his party reached Skenesborough about three o'clock in the afternoon, and at once marched to Fort Ann, eleven miles southward. Here Colonel Long, determined to retreat no far-

[1] The subordinate generals at the post were Poor, of New Hampshire, Paterson, of Massachusetts, and De Fermoy, a French officer. The troops were composed of 2,500 Continentals, poorly clothed and armed, and about 900 militia. Both Schuyler and St. Clair were tried by courts-martial, as being responsible for the supposed disaster, but both were honorably acquitted.

ther without a fight, faced about. The next day, three miles north of Fort Ann, at Wood's Creek he met the Ninth regulars under Lieutenant-colonel Hill, whom he handled so severely that but for the arrival of a party of Indians the enemy would have been dispersed, if not captured in a body. Gathering his wounded, Long abandoned Fort Ann, and fell back to Fort Edward, thirteen miles below.

Battle of Hubbardton.

St. Clair was less fortunate. He retreated all day through the woods, leaving a part of his force at Hubbardton, and marching with the rest to Castleton. Fraser followed promptly on their heels, with ten companies of light infantry, ten of grenadiers, and two companies of the Twenty-fourth regiment — in all, eight hundred men.[1] On the morning of the 7th he attacked the detachment St. Clair had left at Hubbardton, of about thirteen hundred men, under the New Hampshire Colonels Warner, Francis, and Hale. A sharp engagement followed, in which the Americans held their ground for a while, in spite of the defection of Hale's regiment, which abandoned the field. But Fraser was reënforced by Riedesel with fresh troops, who by a spirited bayonet-charge turned the right wing and compelled a retreat. Warner and Francis, however, had made a good fight. The American loss was about three hundred and fifty; forty officers and men — among them Colonel Francis — were killed; the rest were wounded or taken prisoners. The subsequent capture of Colonel Hale and many of his men increased the loss in prisoners to more than three hundred. The British also suffered severely,[2] though victory remained on their side. The American force dispersed through the woods. On the 12th inst. General St. Clair, after making a circuitous march of more than a hundred miles, reached Fort Edward with the remnant of the army which he had led from the fort.

The loss of Ticonderoga and the reverses that followed it, excited universal alarm. The whole Northern Department seemed at the mercy of the enemy. The inhabitants along the upper Hudson believed that nothing could hinder Burgoyne from rapidly advancing to Albany, and, that point gained, the junction with Howe would be all but accomplished. "The evacuation," wrote Washington, when the news reached him, "is an event of chagrin and surprise not apprehended, nor within the compass of my reasoning. This stroke is severe

[1] *Diary of Joshua Pell, Junior*, an officer of the British army in America, 1776–1777 *Magazine of Am. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 107. (1878.)

[2] According to Pell's diary, *ante*, the enemy's loss was: Major Grant, 1 Captain, and 2 Lieutenants killed; Majors Balcarras and Ackland, 4 Captains, and 8 Lieutenants wounded Two Sergeants and 24 men killed; 10 Sergeants and 104 men wounded. The Hessians lost two killed and one Lieutenant and 22 men wounded.

indeed, and has distressed us much." When the news reached England, it was received there with as much exultation as it aroused despondency in the States. As the first important and successful step in the campaign, it was hailed as an evidence of the wisdom of the Ministry, as well as a proof of the weakness of the colonists. In the first moment of triumph on one side, and of disappointment on the other, the fact was overlooked that the loss, on one side, and the gain on the other, of even a commanding position, involved no question of the general efficiency of either. There was undoubtedly an error of judgment, and — if Ticonderoga was of the importance so long attached to it — a very serious error; but it ought to have been remembered that the scientific soldier on one side could see the possibility and importance of a move, which the civilian lately turned soldier on the other side would be utterly blind to. Had either Schuyler or St. Clair had a military training, he perhaps would have seen the strategic importance of Sugar Loaf Mountain, and the absolute necessity of preventing its being occupied by the British. This certainly ought to have been done, though there were those who were by no means disposed to look upon the loss of Ticonderoga as an irremediable misfortune. "It is predicted" — wrote Thacher, in his "Military Journal," under date of July 14th — "by some of our well-informed and respectable characters, that this event, apparently so calamitous, will ultimately prove advantageous by drawing the British army into the heart of our country, and thereby placing them more immediately within our power." But this was a blind trusting in Providence without regard to the condition of the powder.

All the troops that General Schuyler could muster at Fort Edward by the middle of July numbered barely five thousand, — militia and Continentals. Again he called for assistance. Washington sent him Nixon's and Glover's brigades and Morgan's unequalled riflemen, besides guns, ammunition, and tents which he could ill spare from his own army. General Arnold and General Lincoln, of Massachusetts, were also ordered to report to Schuyler. Burgoyne's delay gave time for the arrival of these reënforcements, and by the 6th of August the Americans numbered six thousand, two thirds of whom were tolerably well armed Continentals.

Reënforcing Schuyler.

Schuyler, on retreating from Fort Ann to Fort Edward, tore up the roads, felled trees, destroyed all the bridges, and drove off the cattle, to the great disgust and delay of Burgoyne's soldiers, who had hoped that their recent successes would insure them an easy march to the Hudson River.[1] They were seriously delayed, moreover,

[1] Colonel John Trumbull, Schuyler's Adjutant-general, wrote on July 25 as follows: "Our little army are now returned to Moses Kill, two or three miles below Fort Edward.

by the tardy arrival of their provisions, which had to be brought from Canada by a long and tedious route through the lakes and over difficult portages. The month of July had almost gone before they reached the river at Fort Edward. Schuyler abandoned this fort on the 22d, to take a better position on Moses Creek, three miles below. Thence he fell back a few days later to Saratoga, then to Stillwater, and finally to Van Schaick's Island, where the Mohawk runs into the Hudson.

Burgoyne's plan of the campaign included a coöperating force to go up the St. Lawrence to Oswego, and through the Mohawk Valley to Albany, there to join the main body. The purpose was, to distract the Americans on their flank, crush out rebellion in the valley, secure the active coöperation of the large Tory element in its population, and thus bring all western New York completely under control of the English by the time the British army should reach Albany. The force sent upon this expedition to the Mohawk Valley was composed of seven hundred white troops of all arms, including regulars, Sir John Johnson's Loyal "Greens," many of whom had their homes along the Mohawk, and about one thousand Indians under Joseph Brant, the chief of the Mohawk tribe. Barry St. Leger, Lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-fourth Regiment of the British army, to whom the preference was given, both by Burgoyne and the King, had the chief command. His corps, rather less than eighteen hundred strong, reached the vicinity of Fort Stanwix on the 3d of August.

St. Leger's expedition.

This old fortification, built in the previous war, on the Mohawk River, a few miles east of the present village of Rome, was now better known as Fort Schuyler. Recognizing the importance of the post, the Americans had garrisoned it with about seven hundred and fifty New York and Massachusetts Continental troops under Colonel Gansevoort, of New York, who had served in Montgomery's expedition to Canada. He had put the place in an excellent condition for defence, and St. Leger's summons for surrender was met with a prompt refusal.

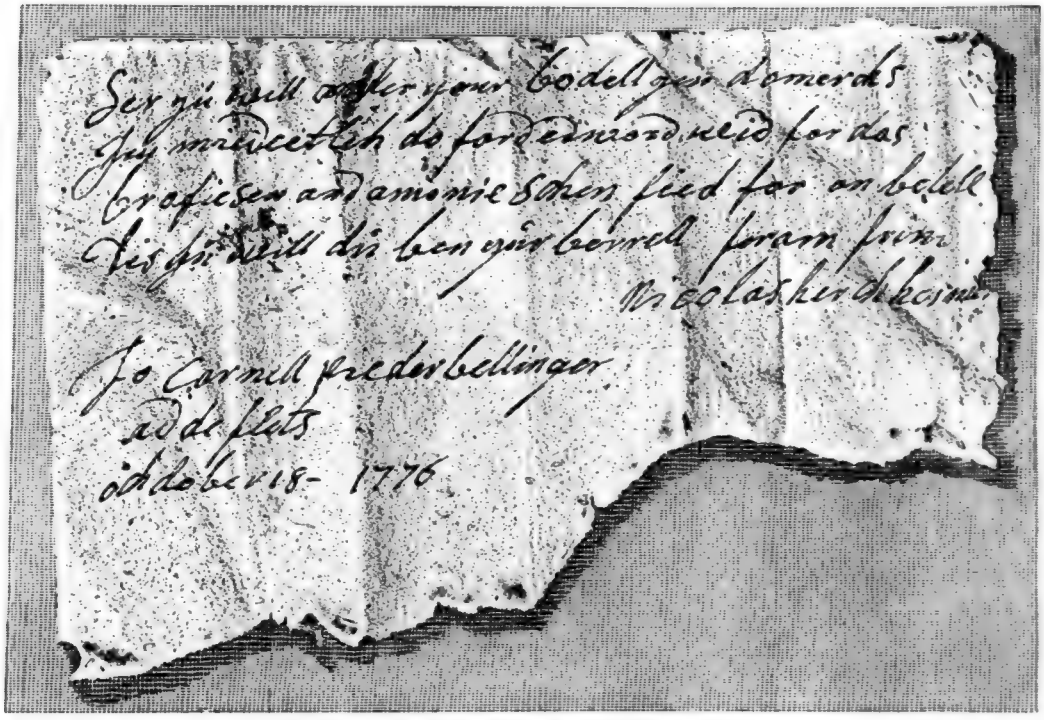
Fort Schuyler invested.

The patriotic people of the valley, warned in time of the approach of the enemy, and yielding neither to panic nor despair, were ready to

All the houses, barracks, stores, etc., at the latter place, are burned and destroyed. It seems a maxim to General Schuyler to leave no support to the enemy as he retires; all is devastation and waste when he leaves. By this means the enemy will not be able to pursue so fast as they could wish; want of carriages, I am told, will be a great hindrance to their progress; they were not provided, it seems, from Canada. . . . . Ten days or a fortnight, I fancy, will put our people into a situation to stand, if we can obtain that time from the enemy, and in that time are reënforced from below with 2,000 or 3,000 Continental troops. . . . . I wish General Washington could *see* our situation; am sure he would give us a reënforcement." — MS. letter. Trumbull Papers, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

throw themselves in St. Leger's path, and save the fort, their farms, and their homes. At the earliest alarm, the militia turned out, eight hundred in number, and hurried forward to the relief of Gansevoort, with the veteran General Nicholas Herkimer at their head. This old soldier, an energetic German, had so heartily identified himself with the popular cause, was so well known through central New York, and so highly esteemed among his neighbors, that his leadership was in itself an element of strength. On the 4th of August, the militia crossed the Mohawk where Utica now stands, and the following day Herkimer sent word to Gansevoort of his approach, and proposed that the garrison should meet him at an ap-

Herkimer's attempt to relieve the fort.



Fac-simile of an Order by General Herkimer.[1]

pointed time by a sortie. This plan, however, was defeated by some delays in the march.

St. Leger had heard of Herkimer's approach, and had taken measures to intercept it. Having failed in his first purpose, Herkimer would have moved slowly and with caution; but permitting his better judgment to be overruled by the reproaches of younger officers — especially of Colonel Parris, one of the Committee of Safety, and of Colonel Cox, who accused him of want of energy and spirit — he or-

[1] *Explanation:* SIR, — You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward, with four days' provisions, and ammunition fit for one battle. This you will disobey [at] your peril. From [your] friend, NICOLAS HERCHHEIMER.
To Colonel PETER BELLINGER, at the Flats, *October* 18, 1776.

dered a rapid advance. The militia of the Mohawk Valley, whose experience of Indian warfare should have taught them better, marched carelessly along the bends of the river and through ravines, till a deep wooded hollow was reached near Oriskany. At one end of this the British regulars lay in ambush, and the Indian allies were in concealment on both sides. When Herkimer and his men were fairly within this defile, a destructive fire was opened upon them by the hidden enemy; the rear guard was cut off from the main body, driven back, and dispersed, many being taken prisoners, and the provision train captured. Herkimer was mortally wounded, and his horse shot under him. Seating himself upon his saddle at the foot of a tree where he could overlook the field, he continued to give orders while he calmly smoked his pipe. To all remonstrances, urging him to retire, he said, "I will face the enemy." His men, as brave now as they had been rash before, determined to fight to the last. In groups of two or three, from behind trees, or any point of advantage that the nature of the ground afforded, they met or assailed the enemy; men encountered each other in hand-to-hand fights with clubbed rifles, with tomahawks, with knives. Captain Gardener killed three men in quick succession with his spear. Captain Dillenback, attacked at once by three men, brained the first, shot the second, and bayonetted the third. Henry Thompson rested long enough to take his lunch, as he sat upon the body of a dead soldier, and then resumed his fighting.[1] Thirty men of Johnson's Greens, who rushed into the midst of the fight under the pretence of reënforcing the Americans, were fallen upon and instantly killed. For five hours the desperate battle continued, till the ground was covered with the dead and wounded, nearly two hundred being killed on each side.

Battle of Oriskany.

At length the welcome sound of firing was heard in the direction of Fort Schuyler. The messengers sent forward the day before, had reached the fort, and immediately Gansevoort organized a sortie composed of two hundred and fifty New York and Massachusetts men under Lieutenant-colonel Willett, of New York. The party made a rapid dash into the enemy's camp, where only a few troops remained, captured flags, baggage, stores, and papers, and by their firing relieved Herkimer of the enemy on his front and flanks.

Sally from Fort Schuyler.

The Indians, having lost many of their warriors, were the first to retreat at the sound of Willett's musketry, and the whole British force soon followed, leaving the Americans in possession of the field. It was a complete check to St. Leger's proposed movement, though he still persisted in the siege of the fort. When, however, soon after, rumors

[1] *Address at the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany.* By Ellis H. Roberts.

reached him of the approach of Arnold with a second relief party of Continentals, whose numbers were magnified by couriers sent designedly into the enemy's camp, the Indian allies became alarmed, and compelled St. Leger to abandon the siege and hurry back in the direction from which he came.

To the memory of Herkimer, who, ten days after the battle, died "like a philosopher and a Christian," Congress ordered a monument, — which has never been erected; to Willett it presented a sword, and to Gansevoort its thanks. It was not an over-estimate of the importance of this repulse of the British invasion of the Mohawk Valley. Burgoyne's plan of the campaign was in one essential part entirely



Herkimer at the Battle of Oriskany.

frustrated, while soon after fresh disaster met his advance in another direction.

Battle of Bennington.

At Bennington, Vt., then known as the "Hampshire Grants," twenty-five miles east of Burgoyne's line of march, the Americans had established a depot of horses and stores, which, in the destitute condition of his army, was much coveted by

the English commander. His provisions were giving out, and a timely supply from Canada was doubtful. On the 6th of the month there was hardly enough on hand for the consumption of two days. Encouraged by the statements of Philip Skene, the principal loyalist in that region, and of scouts and deserters, Burgoyne organized a secret expedition, not only to capture the Bennington depot, but to demonstrate toward the Connecticut Valley, overawe the country, and then to return by a circuitous march to Albany. For the leader of the raid he selected Lieutenant-colonel Baume, an accomplished and trusted German officer, and gave him for his command a select corps, about five hundred strong, consisting of Hessians, dragoons, English light infantry under Captain Fraser, and a party of loyalist rangers. About one hundred Indians also hung upon the column. Receiving minute instructions from his commander-in-chief as to what he was to do in any possible emergency, and to exercise the utmost caution, Baume left the main army on the 11th, and on the afternoon of the 13th reached the township of Cambridge, sixteen miles distant. On the next day, writing "on the head of a barrel," he sent word back to Burgoyne, that the rebels were now apprised of the expedition, but that the Tories were flocking in to him; that his Indians were uncontrollable, ruining or taking everything they pleased; and that reports made the strength of the American militia at Bennington about eighteen hundred, all told. On receiving this information, Burgoyne ordered forward, on the 15th, Colonel Breyman and five hundred Brunswick chasseurs, to reënforce Baume.

Stark leads the New Hampshire men.

In the old farming town of Dunbarton, Merrimack County, New Hampshire, still stands the venerable mansion from which John Stark hurried with the farmers to Boston, at the news of the fight at Lexington, and which he had now again left to meet this marauding expedition sent against his own neighbors. At Bunker Hill and Trenton the veteran colonel had already gained high reputation, and in this exigency he was the man above all others to lead whatever troops might gather at Bennington. All that region would answer his call. Why he was not with Schuyler and the main American body at this time, is to be explained by the unfortunate jealousies existing in that department, and his own conviction that he had been neglected in the last promotion of general officers. But his patriotism was unimpeached, and at such a moment he was ready for action. Burgoyne's approach had aroused all New Hampshire to renewed efforts to do her duty in the defence of the country. "I have," said John Langdon, President of the Assembly, "three thousand dollars in hard money; my plate I will pledge for as much more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which

shall be sold for the most they will bring. These are at the service of the State. If we succeed, I shall be remunerated; if not, they will be of no use to me." The State promptly ordered out the militia, and gave Stark the command.

The men answering to the summons came from the best class of people in the "Grants." Stark's brigade consisted of fifteen hundred militia under Colonels Nichols and Stickney, while Colonels Seth Warner, Herrick, and Williams reported with companies of Green Mountain boys. The entire force which gathered to resist invasion was not far from twenty-two hundred. On the morning of the 14th the greater part of it reached Bennington, Warner's men marching all night in the rain from Manchester, Vermont. Stark had heard of Baume's approach, and he marched instantly to support Lieutenant-colonel Gregg, who had been detached the day before to skirmish with and delay the enemy. During the forenoon of the 14th the forces came within sight of each other, and Baume at once took up a commanding position overlooking a bend in the Walloomscoik River.



General John Stark.

A heavy rain prevented movements on the 15th. On the 16th Stark moved to attack the enemy on three sides at once. Colonels Nichols and Herrick, with about five hundred men, made their way through the woods to his left and rear, their approach frightening the Indians off the field. Colonels Stickney and Hubbard engaged some detached parties, while Stark with the main body attacked Baume in front. Tradition runs that, as soon as the General came in sight of the enemy, he exclaimed, "See there, my men!—there are the red-coats! Before night they 're ours, or Molly Stark 's a widow."[1] For two hours the fight continued, the Americans pressing upon

[1] The tradition may be wrong, however, as tradition so often is. Mrs. Stark's name was neither Molly nor Mary, but Elizabeth.

the enemy with the steadiness and cool persistency of men used to battle, at times dashing up the hill at the earthworks, in spite of the warm reception given them. Surrounded nearly on all sides, by this determined conduct of the militia, the British finally gave way, and attempted to escape by their only road of retreat; but in this they were foiled, and the entire body surrendered. Baume was mortally wounded.

Greatly elated by their success, the militiamen scattered to plunder the abandoned camp. In this disregard of discipline and loss of order, they came near losing all the advantage they had gained by their courage and previous good behavior. Colonel Breyman arrived upon the field with reënforcements, and all that had been won would have been lost had not Stark, who was prompt to see it, met this new emergency, and sent Colonel Warner with a fresh regiment to the rescue of the almost discomfited and disordered men. Breyman was driven back by Warner with considerable loss. When night closed, victory for the Americans was assured. They had taken four cannon and nearly seven hundred prisoners, with a loss to themselves of less than a hundred in killed and wounded.

This new disaster to Burgoyne, following so closely upon the repulse in the Mohawk Valley, gave a new and cheerful aspect to affairs in the Northern Department. New England was full of enthusiasm, and volunteers hastened from all quarters to strengthen the American army. "Pray let no time be lost," wrote General Glover to James Warren in the Massachusetts Legislature, to urge the sending on of men; "a day's delay may be fatal to America. Let the body be as large as can possibly be collected." In Connecticut hundreds of the militia pressed forward. As an evidence of the general enthusiasm, Noah Webster records that his father, his two brothers, and himself shouldered their muskets and marched to the field, leaving their mother and sisters alone to carry on the farm. The militia in northern and central New York turned out with equal alertness.

Rivalries in the Northern army.

Rivalries and disputes as to precedence and the right of promotion were among the fruits of the want of discipline which existed in the Revolutionary armies, and sometimes, no doubt, interfered with the efficiency of military operations. But party spirit and sectional jealousies not unfrequently governed Congress in the choice of major-generals; and both Arnold and Stark had been passed over, early this year, and their juniors preferred to them from other considerations than those of military merit. Arnold never recovered from this wound to his pride and self-love; and if the vindictiveness it engendered did not lead him to treason, it made it easier

for him to be a traitor. Stark was of different stuff. It was his self-respect, not his self-love, that was wounded, and though he retired from the army where his past services entitled him to recognition which he did not receive, no man could be quicker than he to take the field again, as we have just seen, when it was clear that his services were again needed. Nowhere had jealousy and misunderstanding bred so much mischief and bitterness as in this Northern Department. One general after another had been displaced, and each had been exposed to reprehension where each had probably done the best that circumstances would admit of. Wooster, Thomas, Sullivan, Schuyler, Gates, had followed each other in rapid succession, till the autumn of 1776, when Schuyler by an appeal to Congress had procured his reinstatement.



Battle-field of Bennington.

Both he and Gates had strong friends and bitter opponents. Schuyler had little confidence in the New England troops, and the New England troops and their representatives in Congress had just as little confidence in him. Both were wrong: there were no better soldiers in the army than those from New England; there was no more devoted patriot, nor a braver soldier in the country than Schuyler. Provincial jealousies, as old as the French and Indian wars, had much to do with the feeling of mutual mistrust; and Schuyler's misfortunes rather than his faults, in the conduct of the campaign thus far, could be easily used as effective weapons against him by those who sincerely doubted his military ability, or who resented his avowed contempt

of the New England troops. When Ticonderoga was lost, it was attributed to his want of generalship, and before that was atoned for by the subsequent successes under his command, Gates, who was a better politician than soldier, had induced Congress to give him Schuyler's place at the very moment when he had nothing to do but reap the advantage of Schuyler's successful movements. Congress had not heard of Herkimer's and Stark's victories when they reinstated Gates at the head of the northern army.[1]

Gates in command.

As September advanced, the distance between Gates and Burgoyne decreased. On the 12th, the former moved his camp from the mouth of the Mohawk and took position on Bemus's Heights in the town of Stillwater, twenty-five miles north of Albany. The site, which was commanding, and capable of easy defence, had been selected by Arnold and Kosciusko, and under the direction of this Polish engineer was strengthened by a line of breastworks and redoubts. With the right resting on the Hudson, the left on ridges and woods, and the front made impregnable by a ravine and abatis, Gates felt himself secure against direct assault. To continue his march to Albany, Burgoyne must first crush this obstacle.

Camp at Bemus's Heights.

The difficulties encountered by the British in bringing up supplies, fatally delayed their progress. Recognizing the absolute necessity of pushing on, they attacked the Americans on Bemus's Heights as soon as they reached that point. Both sides had their entire force in hand. The strength of Gates's army was about nine thousand. On the right, where he himself commanded, were posted Nixon's, Glover's, and Patterson's Continental brigades, all Massachusetts troops; in the centre, Learned's brigade, mainly from the same State; and upon the left, where Arnold was assigned the command, lay General Poor's brigade of the three New Hampshire Continental regiments under Colonels Cilley, Scammell, and Hale; the third and fourth New York, under Colonels Van Courtlandt and Henry Livingston, and two large Connecticut militia regiments under Colonels Thaddeus Cook, of Litchfield, and Jonathan Latimer, of New London County. Attached to Arnold's wing, but usually operating at the front, were the famous rifle corps[2] under Colonel Daniel Morgan,

[1] "Gen. Gates is a happy man to arrive at a moment when Gen. Schuyler had just paved the way to victory; he has not taken any measures yet, and cannot claim the honor of anything that has as yet happened." — *MS. letter from Col. Varick, Albany, Aug.* 23, 1777. *N. Y. Mercantile Library.*

[2] This corps, which rendered conspicuous service in the engagements with Burgoyne, was made up of good marksmen chosen from the regiments which composed Washington's army at Morristown in the spring. They were nearly all from the Middle and Southern States. Morgan's seconds in command were Lieutenant-colonel William Butler of Pennsylvania, and Major Morris of New Jersey. Washington organized the corps for his own campaign, but sent it to Gates, upon the latter's urgent request for reënforcements.

of Virginia, and a body of about three hundred Continental light infantry, detailed for the campaign and commanded by Major Henry Dearborn of New Hampshire.

Skirmishing on the 18th warned the enemy that parties for forage could go out safely only in force. A party of soldiers gathering potatoes, a mile from camp, were attacked, and killed or captured by the Americans. Burgoyne immediately issued an order threatening instant death to every man who ventured beyond the advanced sentries. No useless exposure was permitted. "The life of the soldier," he declared, "is the property of the King."

Battle of Stillwater, or Freeman's Farm.

On the 19th serious work began. Breaking camp at Swords' Farm, on the river bank, five miles north of Gates's position, Burgoyne moved forward to the attack in three columns. Generals Phillips and Riedesel followed the main road along the Hudson, with the artillery; the centre, which Burgoyne accompanied, moved toward Freeman's Farm, about opposite the American left; while General Fraser took a more westerly route, with the design of turning Gates's left flank.

The intentions of the enemy being evident, the regiments of Arnold's wing were successively ordered out to face Fraser and Burgoyne, while the brigades on the right remained at their posts within the works, awaiting events. Fraser's advance consisted of Canadians and Indians, and the engagement opened towards noon, about a mile from the lines, between them and Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's infantry. The enemy's skirmishers were at first driven back, but on the approach of Fraser's supports, Morgan was compelled to retreat in some confusion, with the loss of a captain and twenty men taken prisoners. Rallying his corps, however, with his powerful voice and the call of his shrill whistle, Morgan was soon in position again. Scammell's and Cilley's New Hampshire regiments had been already sent out to support him, and in a short time nearly the whole of Poor's brigade was in line to resist the advance of the enemy on that flank.

The engagement opens.

By this time, between one and two o'clock, Burgoyne's central column had reached Freeman's Farm, and with Fraser on the right presented a determined front. The left column was still advancing along the river. But as Morgan and Poor's brigade had now concentrated in front of Burgoyne, Fraser could not have continued his independent flank movement without exposing the centre, and the two columns were soon compelled to join their fronts as a continuous line.

Thick woods, interspersed with occasional clearings and ravines, covered the battle-ground. Taking advantage of this protection, the contending lines could approach each other within close range. As

the New Hampshire men came up to reënforce Morgan, and the action was renewed, the firing steadily increased in volume and effect, continuing until sunset. For some distance between the two lines lay a hollow, and the attempt on each side to drive the other from its position was invariably followed with serious loss. When Cilley first became engaged, so many of his men fell in twenty minutes that he could save himself only by falling back on reënforcements. With these the regiment went into the fight again with great spirit, and fought till night. Colonel Scammell fearlessly led his regiment where the fire was the hottest. Lieutenant-colonels Adams and Coburn, of the Second and Third New Hampshire, fell dead in the heat of the battle. The two New York regiments, which were sent out during the action, became hotly engaged, especially the Second under Colonel Courtlandt. Cook's and Latimer's Connecticut militiamen also distinguished themselves by their steadiness and courage, Cook's losing fifty men killed and wounded, or more than any other regiment except Cilley's. Major William Hull, of Massachusetts, lost nearly half of three hundred men under his command. For four hours the battle continued in the woods, without a decisive result. The enemy fought with desperation, under the lead of their gallant officers. Their four pieces of artillery — the Americans having none on the field — became at one time the central point of the contest. A party of New Hampshire men charged upon and seized a twelve-pounder, only to be driven from it by a larger body of the enemy. Again it was taken by the Americans, and again they were forced back. Private Thomas Haines, of Concord, sat astride the muzzle of the piece when the enemy last came up, and killed two men with his bayonet before a bullet struck him down.[1] Thirty-six out of the forty-eight British gunners in this desperate struggle were either killed or wounded.



General Horatio Gates.

Later in the afternoon Learned's brigade entered the field, and Ar-

[1] *Journal of Lieutenant Thomas Blake.*

nold's entire wing was thus engaged. The General himself was present during at least a portion of the afternoon, not only issuing orders, but keeping the troops up to the fight by his daring example.[1] From the nature of the ground, however, and as the troops were sent into action at intervals by regiments, the movements were conducted mainly by the colonels. At sunset the firing ceased, the Americans withdrew to their fortified line, and the enemy were left in possession of the field. In a military point of view, it was a drawn battle; but it had checked Burgoyne's advance and was in reality a decisive success for the army under Gates.[2]

The British fortified the ground they held from the river to Freeman's Farm. Their loss had been heavy, especially in officers, the total being over six hundred and fifty,[3] while the American loss was sixty-five killed, two hundred and eighteen wounded, and thirty-eight missing, or less than half the enemy's. Of the Twentieth and Sixty-second British regulars, scarcely fifty men and five officers survived the battle.

Eighteen days elapsed before there was any further movement. In the interval Gates grew stronger, Burgoyne weaker. The action of the 19th and its result were hailed with joy throughout the country. Militia continued to march northward. General Ten Broeck joined the army with over two thousand men from New York; Lincoln brought in as many from Massachusetts and New Hampshire. General Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, went up with three hundred volunteers, the majority of the militia from that State being retained

[1] General Wilkinson, Gates's Adjutant-general, asserts in his *Memoirs* that no general officer was on the field on the 19th, and this statement is adopted by Mr. Bancroft and others, who insist that Arnold took no part in the fight. Beyond the authorities which have been quoted to the contrary, we have the *Memoirs* of Major Hull and the diary of Colonel Courtlandt, both of whom say they received orders from Arnold in the field. General Carrington, in his recent *Battles of the Revolution*, properly observes that it would be utterly inconsistent with Arnold's nature and the position he occupied to suppose that he remained quietly in camp while his entire division was out fighting the enemy.

[2] General Glover briefly described the action as follows, in a letter of September 21: "The battle was very hot till half-past two o'clock; ceased about half an hour, then renewed the attack. Both armies seemed determined to conquer or die. One continual blaze, without any intermission, until dark, when by consent of both parties it ceased; during which time we several times drove them, took the ground, passing over great numbers of their dead and wounded. The enemy in their turn sometimes drove us. They were bold, intrepid, and fought like heroes, and I do assure you, sirs, our men were equally bold and courageous and fought like men fighting for their all." — *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.*, vol. v. No. 3.

[3] The enemy's loss on the 19th has heretofore only been estimated. From Pell's diary, already quoted, we get the details, namely: 4 captains, 9 subalterns, 11 sergeants, 219 rank and file, killed. Two lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 7 captains, 13 subalterns, 6 sergeants, 400 rank and file, wounded. The American loss is given by Gordon, who took it from the report of the Board of War.

at Peekskill under Generals Putnam and Silliman. Stark threatened Burgoyne's communications at Fort Edward. Colonel John Brown, of Pittsfield, with five hundred men, made a dash at Ticonderoga, and took prisoners and guns.

Around the enemy a net was forming, which they must break through at one end or the other, or be captured. One gleam of hope remained for them. Operating in dense woods, with uncertain means of communication with New York, Burgoyne had for weeks been in total ignorance of the progress of events elsewhere. He had advanced, expecting every hour to hear that a coöperating column was moving up the Hudson to Albany, which would compel Gates to fall back both to save that point and to save his army. As time passed, the hope of this relief grew stronger. On September 21st intelligence came from Sir Henry Clinton that an expedition would sail up the Hudson in about ten days, for the purpose of attacking Forts Clinton and Montgomery, a few miles below West Point, and thus create a diversion which must be in Burgoyne's favor.

Clinton's co-operation.

Clinton kept his promise, and succeeded in doing much damage and creating much alarm along the Hudson. On the 3d of October he left New York, moving with a large force by land and water, and on the 5th reached Verplanck's Point, forty miles up the river. From this point a large detachment was sent in boats, convoyed by ships, toward Peekskill, as a feint to cover the crossing of the main body early on the 6th, to King's Ferry on the west side of the Hudson. A heavy fog favored the move. General Putnam, in command at Peekskill, was deceived by this manœuvre and took no precautions against the advance at King's Ferry. Following a circuitous route around Dunderberg mountain, Clinton appeared in the afternoon before Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and carried both by assault. Governor George Clinton of New York exerted himself to save the posts, and General James Clinton received a bayonet-wound. The American loss was about three hundred, of whom sixty or seventy were killed and wounded. The British dismantled the forts, burned two American frigates, destroyed stores, and ended their incursion by marching to Esopus (now Kingston) and laying it in ashes. Putnam, who could send no assistance to the forts in time, retreated farther up the river, abandoning the fortified points, and took post at Fishkill. The Hudson was thus left open to the fleet of the enemy, who, satisfied with their success, returned to New York. A court of inquiry relieved Putnam from responsibility for these reverses in his department, serious as they were, and disastrous as they might have been.

Capture of Forts Clinton and Montgomery.

Kingston burned.

Burgoyne's situation was becoming more and more critical. His

provisions were giving out, and it was necessary either to advance or to retreat. He determined to advance, and on the 7th of October moved with a select detachment of fifteen hundred regulars and ten guns to turn the American left. His best general officers were with him — Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser. Taking position in open ground within less than a mile of the American works, his advance sought to reach the American rear.

Second battle of Stillwater, or Bemus's Heights.

No sooner was Gates apprised of Burgoyne's appearance than he ordered out Morgan and his riflemen "to begin the game." The fighting was even more desperate and decisive than that of the 19th of September. The enemy's advance was driven in, and Morgan made his way to Burgoyne's right, where Fraser was in command. Poor's and Learned's brigades were ordered to attack the left, while other troops were held in readiness to enter the action where needed. As Poor and Learned advanced, they were met by a sharp but ineffectual volley from Ackland's grenadiers, to which they replied with close and telling discharges. The attack soon proved decisive, and the grenadiers and artillerymen fled from the field, leaving Ackland wounded and a prisoner. Nearly at the same moment Morgan and Dearborn fell upon the right of the enemy and routed it with serious loss. The centre held its ground until driven back by further reënforcements from Gates's lines, including Ten Broeck's New York militia. Scarcely one hour after the British gave battle, their whole line was retiring in disorder towards their camp.

Arnold and Gates.

At this juncture Arnold appeared upon the field. Personal differences with Gates had led to his removal from command since the battle of the 19th, but he had remained in camp. When this action opened, he joined his old division, now hotly engaged, and assumed control of its movements, notwithstanding his removal. On hearing of this defiance of his authority, Gates sent an aid to recall him; but Arnold, keeping out of the way of the messenger, placed himself at the head, now of one brigade and now of another, and led them to the attack at different points with good judgment and undaunted courage. His conduct roused the troops to enthusiasm, who cheered and followed wherever he led. As he entered the field the British line was already breaking. Under his impetuous assaults, first with Patterson's and Glover's brigades, and then with Learned's, the enemy gave way everywhere in confusion. Even when driven to their intrenchments, at dusk, the vigorous charge of Arnold and Morgan on the extreme right, broke through the line of works and forced the Germans to abandon their position. In this last charge Arnold was wounded as he was entering the sally-port. In his report of the action, Gates had the magnanimity to men-

Arnold wounded.

tion Arnold's services, and Congress at once promoted him to the rank of major-general.

The loss on the side of the Americans in this well-fought field was remarkably small; not over fifty were killed, and about one hundred were wounded. On the other side the loss was much heavier, their killed alone outnumbering all the casualties of their opponents.[1] Their heaviest blow was in the fall of General Fraser. Quite as brave and almost as reckless as Arnold, his example was no less inspiriting to the troops he led, and to him more than to any other British officer was due their desperate resistance. Morgan saw the contagion of his example; and, if tradition may be trusted, pointed him out to three of his unerring riflemen as a proper object for their aim. When he fell, mortally wounded, the tide of battle turned. Not even Burgoyne, who also exposed himself wherever his presence seemed needed, could save the day. Shot through the hat and waistcoat, he narrowly escaped a fate like Fraser's, and only returned to his camp when driven back with his troops. His principal aid, Sir Francis Clerke, was mortally wounded, and died next day a prisoner in Gates's tent. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman, commanding the Germans on the right, was also killed. Eight of the guns brought into the field were lost.

Death of Fraser.

This signal defeat of the enemy on the 7th was decisive. Gates was now more than twice as strong as his antagonist. Conscious of the danger of his situation, Burgoyne, on the night of the 8th, abandoning everything not immediately needed, quietly retreated to Saratoga, and encamped on the north side of the Fish-kill. On the morning of this day, General Lincoln, while reconnoitering the enemy's position, received a severe wound. In the evening, Fraser was buried with military honors in a redoubt near the Hudson. Burgoyne, Phillips, and other general officers, with their staffs, were present at these last services over the grave of their comrade, where the requiem was the fire of American cannon aimed at a group easily distinguished by the artillerymen, but who were unconscious of the purpose of that sad and solemn gathering.[2]

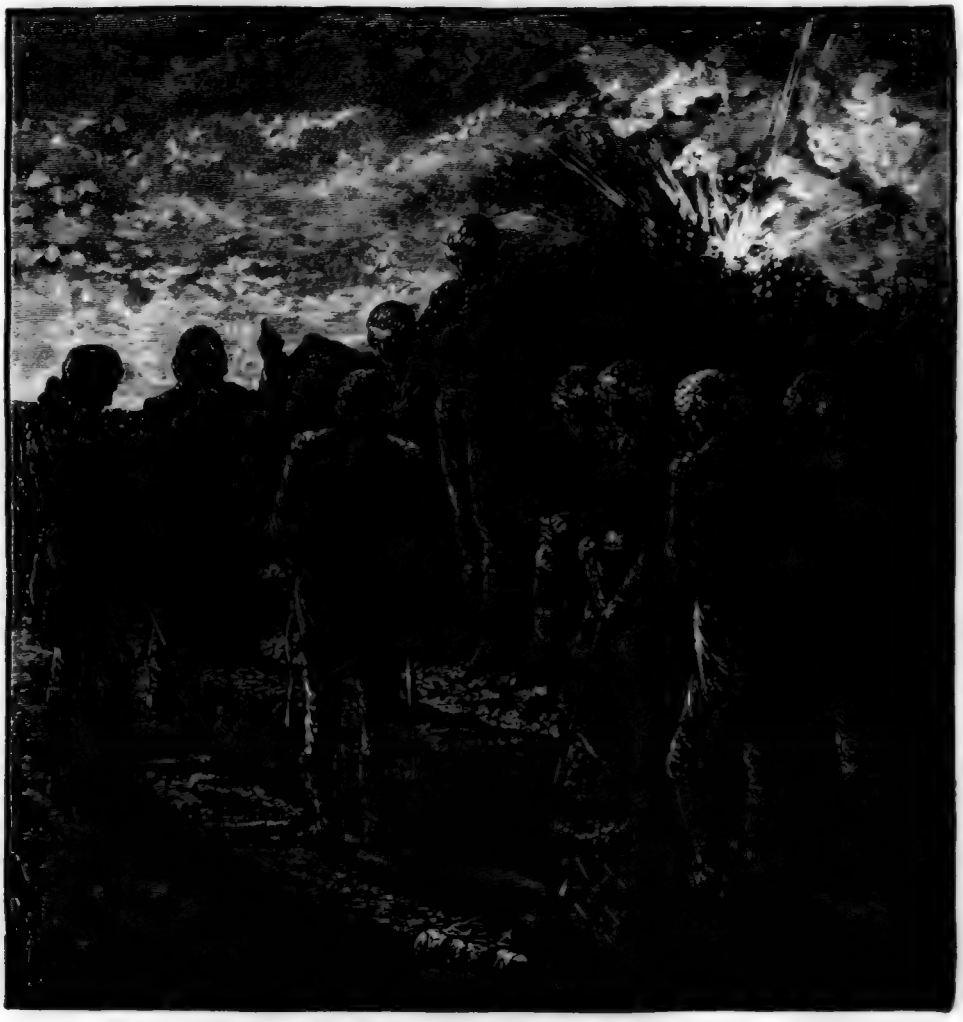
Burgoyne retreats.

Gates followed the enemy, making such disposition of his troops

[1] British loss on October 7 — *Pell's Diary:* One General, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 7 subalterns, 5 sergeants, 160 rank and file killed. [No return of wounded.] Two majors, 2 captains, 8 subalterns, 16 sergeants, 7 drums, 234 rank and file, prisoners. Estimating their wounded at 250, their total loss was nearly half of the select body they brought into the field.

[2] The wives of several officers accompanied Burgoyne's expedition, notably those of General Riedesel and Major Ackland, and suffered all the hardships of the campaign. Madam Riedesel, in her *Memoirs*, describes the burial of Fraser under fire of the American artillery.

as to surround them. General Fellows, with Massachusetts militia, severed their line of retreat by holding the crossing of the Hudson. Morgan, Poor, and Learned threatened their rear on the west. Nixon, Patterson, and Glover remained in their front, and, in attempting to advance beyond the Fishkill on the 10th, narrowly escaped collision with the entire British force, which had not yet, as supposed, left its position. On the 12th Burgoyne had but five days' rations in



Fraser's Burial.

camp, and on the 13th his desperate situation compelled him to summon a council, and propose the question of capitulation.

His officers unanimously declared that in consideration of all that the army had already suffered, and its present critical position, proposals for surrender could be made without dishonor, and a flag was accordingly sent to the American commander.[1] Proposals of surrender.

[1] "On the 12th frequent cannonading and skirmishing; commanding officers of regiments were sent for by General Burgoyne, to know what a face their regiments bore. The

On the 17th, after the negotiation was once on the point of being broken off, — Burgoyne receiving information which led him to hope for reënforcements from the south, — the articles of capitulation, or "Conventions," as they were officially designated, were signed by Gates and Burgoyne. It was agreed that the British army should march out with all the honors of war, and have free passage to England, upon condition of not serving again during the war. Five thousand seven hundred and sixty-three officers and men were included in the surrender. On the forenoon of the 17th, they marched out from their camps, and laid down their arms in a field near Old Fort Hardy, in the presence only of Majors Wilkinson and Lewis of General Gates's staff. Burgoyne presented himself to Gates, with the remark that the fortune of war had made him his prisoner; and for several days after the English officers were received and treated with every mark of consideration due to worthy foes.

Terms of capitulation.

The surrender of Burgoyne's army on the 17th of October was, up to this time, the most important event of the war; and the battles of September 19th and October 7th are counted among the decisive battles of the world. The whole country was jubilant, not only that so much had been gained where so little had been hoped for, but that in that gain they saw the promise of greater things to come. In England the tidings of disaster and defeat were received with bitter disappointment, and reproaches were heaped upon the General for the failure of a campaign in the plan of which the King and his minister had blundered. Congress presented to Gates a medal for completing the work which others had begun and made possible if not inevitable; but the people did not forget to be grateful to the brave officers and men who in battle after battle had wrested victory from as brave an army as England could send to the field.

answer of the British, they would fight to a man. The German officers returned to their regiments to know the disposition of their men; they answered: 'Nix the money, nix the rum, nix fighten.' The British regiments being reduced in number to about nineteen hundred, and having no dependence on the Germans, General Burgoyne, on the 13th October, opened a treaty with Major-Genl. Gates." — *Pell's Diary.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE. — PROPOSALS FOR PEACE REJECTED.

THE WINTER AT VALLEY FORGE. — THE CONWAY CABAL. — BARON VON STEUBEN. — ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE. — NORTH'S PROPOSITIONS FOR PEACE. — LAFAYETTE AT BARREN HILL. — EVACUATION OF PHILADELPHIA. — BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. — LEE'S CONDUCT. — TRIED BY COURT-MARTIAL. — THE RHODE ISLAND CAMPAIGN. — ARRIVAL OF A FRENCH FLEET WITH TROOPS. — THE TORY AND INDIAN WARFARE IN CENTRAL NEW YORK. — THE PIONEERS OF TENNESSEE AND KENTUCKY. — COLONEL CLARK'S EXPEDITION TO ILLINOIS. — OPERATIONS BEGUN AT THE SOUTH. — LOSS OF SAVANNAH. — PARTISAN WARFARE. — NAVAL AFFAIRS. — FIGHT BETWEEN THE "BON HOMME RICHARD" AND THE "SERAPIS."

THE camp at Valley Forge was laid out in parallel streets of log huts, built by the soldiers with timber found in abundance in the neighboring woods. Each brigade was encamped by itself; the quarters of the officers were opposite their respective regiments and companies; in each hut — measuring fourteen by sixteen feet — were lodged twelve privates. The headquarters of the Commander-in-chief were at the house of Isaac Potts, the proprietor of the forge which gave a name to the locality, and near by were those of Greene, Steuben, Lafayette, and other officers of rank, — "small barracks," wrote Lafayette to his wife, "which are scarcely more cheerful than dungeons." The camp was protected by forts and intrenchments; in advance of the lines Morgan and his riflemen were stationed, and more distant points were guarded by outposts of dragoons and militia.[1]

Encampment at Valley Forge.

The army was well sheltered, for a log house is a comfortable dwelling, and the woods near by afforded plenty of fuel. But in everything else there was absolute impoverishment. Had food been abundant in the surrounding country, there were no horses and wagons to draw it to camp; even had there been no lack of these, the roads were almost impassable for any beast of burden or any carriage. Pro-

[1] "General Washington keeps his station at Valley Forge. I was there when the army first began to build huts. They appeared to me like a family of beavers, every one busy, some carrying logs, others mud, and the rest plastering them together. The whole was raised in a few days, and it is a curious collection of buildings in the true rustic order." — Letters from Thomas Paine to Dr. Franklin. *Penn. Mag. of Hist.*, vol. ii.

visions of all kinds were scarce and poor, and what there were the men themselves were compelled to transport, "who, without a murmur," a Congressional Commission reported, "patiently yoke themselves to little carriages of their own making, or load their wood and provisions on their backs." They would have been cheerful as well as patient had they been in a condition for such work, for work in itself is no hardship. But they were weak from the want of sufficient and proper food; they went to their labor in thin and tattered clothing and with uncovered feet; and when they sought for rest and vigor in sleep, it was on the bare earth that made the floors of their huts, — for they were without even loose straw for their beds. This last necessity Washington endeavored to relieve, and at the same time to secure provisions, by issuing an order to farmers within seventy miles to thrash out all the grain in their barns and deliver the straw in camp before the 1st of March, under the penalty of having "all that shall remain in sheaves after the period above mentioned seized by the commissaries and quartermasters of the army and paid for as straw." By the 1st of February the want of clothing was so absolute that about four thousand men in their huts were necessarily relieved from duty on this account. From destitution came sickness, and the death-rate increased thirty-three per cent. from week to week. "Nothing," said the report addressed to the President of Congress, referred to already, "Nothing, sir, can equal their sufferings, except the patience and fortitude with which the faithful part of the army endure them." There were, however, the unfaithful also, whose patriotism was not proof against hunger and cold and pestilence, and they deserted in large numbers. In February there were in camp only about five thousand effective men.

The sufferings of the army.

Congress was at York, Pennsylvania. If it was not powerless to relieve the poverty which was so sorely trying the army, then it was indifferent to the welfare of the men on whom the safety of the country so largely depended. Both propositions, probably, were, in a measure, true. Washington was authorized to take supplies wherever he could find them within seventy miles, for which he was to pay in money, if he had it, if not, in certificates. But Congress failed to provide for the redemption of these certificates, even in the depreciated paper money, which, poor as it was, at least, was a little better than nothing at all. There was then, as there is now, a considerable portion of the rural population of Pennsylvania slow to understand, and slower still to accept, new ideas, and reconcile themselves to new relations. These were either still loyal to the King, or, if favorably disposed to the new government, their devotion was moderate and not animated with any very

Difficulty of procuring supplies.

deep sense of the spirit of self-sacrifice. In Philadelphia, where the British army passed the winter in gayety and almost riotous plenty, the farmers, if they could get there, were paid in gold for their produce. The ardent patriotism that would lead them to Valley Forge instead, to receive, in place of gold, certificates that were absolutely worthless, was a patriotism not in daily use.

Before the winter was over, it was a question whether the army would break up in mutiny or be dissolved for want of the neces-



Valley Forge.

saries of life. The burden of anxiety and responsibility was heavy upon the Commander-in-chief, and perhaps for that reason his enemies thought it a good opportunity to bring about his overthrow. The success of the northern campaign had added greatly to Gates's reputation. Easy as it is to see now, at the distance of a hundred years, that the laurels which he gathered should have been bound upon the brows of others, the credit he had acquired stimulated his own ambition and made him the central figure in the opposition to

Washington, both in Congress and in the army. He was made in the autumn President of the Board of War; Mifflin was one of its members; Conway — by birth an Irishman, but by adoption a Frenchman, a colonel in the French army, and one of the officers whom Silas Deane had sent to America — was made a Major-general over the heads of his seniors in commission, and was appointed Inspector-general. He was at the head of a secret movement by which it was intended to remove Washington and put Gates in his place.

The "Conway Cabal."

This was, as it has ever since been called, the "Conway Cabal," and Conway spent the winter at York intriguing with Mifflin, Lee, — who had been exchanged — and some members of Congress, to bring about the removal of Washington. An intrigue of this sort could not long remain a secret, for it was necessary to its success that various influences should be brought to favor it. The correspondence between Gates, Mifflin, and Conway, reflecting upon Washington, became known through the indiscretion of Wilkinson, who had seen one of the letters and repeated its purport to Stirling. The unfavorable impression produced by this discovery was not removed when Gates, with some bluster, first demanded of Washington to know who had tampered with his letters, and then denied that Conway had written the letter whose words had been quoted. It was hoped to secure the alliance of Lafayette by offering him the command of a new invasion of Canada, which came to nothing; he would only accept it on condition that he should report to Washington as Commander-in-chief. Anonymous letters to Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, and to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, were at once forwarded by those gentlemen to Washington himself. Attempts to influence State legislatures proved equally abortive, and when the purpose of the "Cabal" became known to the country and to the army, it met with universal condemnation.[1] The scheme was not only completely frustrated, but its principal instigators either repented of their share in it, or were deprived of the power of attempting further mischief. Gates and Mifflin both ceased soon after to be members of the Board of War. Gates was ordered in the spring to take charge of the fortifications on the Hudson. Mifflin was brought to trial for mismanagement in the affairs of the quartermaster's



Signature of Henry Laurens.

[1] Captain Selden, of Connecticut, writing from Valley Forge, in the spring, undoubtedly reflected the feeling of the army. He says: "I am content if they remove almost any General except his Excellency. The country, even Congress, are not aware of the Confidence the Army Places in him, or motions never would have been made for Gates to take the Command." — *Manuscript Letter.*

department, in which, however, nothing was proved against him but incapacity and confusion in the accounts. He resigned his commission as Major-general, but acquired some distinction afterward as a member of Congress. The next campaign brought Lee before a court-martial. Conway, who was also sent in March to the Northern Department, offered his resignation to Congress, which, contrary to his expectation and wishes, was accepted. Not long afterward he was shot in a duel by General Cadwallader, who accused him of cowardice at the battle of Brandywine. Supposing himself fatally wounded, he wrote a contrite letter to Washington, and on his recovery returned to France.

But notwithstanding the hardships and threatened disasters of the winter at Valley Forge, there came to the army in that encampment one signal advantage which told in all the future military operations of the war. This was the arrival of Frederick William von Steuben, a veteran Prussian General, who had learned the art of war under the great Frederick, and whose experienced eye saw beneath the tattered clothing and worn frames of the men the material for excellent soldiers. He proposed to introduce the Prussian system of minor tactics, and, beginning on a small scale, he gradually brought the whole army to an admirable condition of drill and discipline. Congress appointed him to the office of Inspector-general, and adopted the regulations he had drawn up for the American service[1] — regulations which were rather an adaptation of the Prussian system to the character of the men before him, and the needs of the army, than a rigid adherence to its tactics.

Services of Baron von Steuben.

The soldiers were quick enough to see that this new Inspector-general, unlike the man for whom the office was created — Conway — put his heart into his work, and was moved by no personal ambition, but by a deep interest in the struggle for which they were suffering so much, and a sincere desire to fit them to achieve success. His very roughness of manner and quickness of temper were to them an evidence of his sincerity. The grim Prussian veteran appealed irresistibly, without perceiving it, to the sensitive American humor when, having exhausted his vocabulary of German oaths upon an awkward squad at drill, he would cry out to his aid, — "Comĕ and swear for me in English; these fellows will not do what I bid them!" When in after battle-fields these men manœuvered with the precision and coolness of a grand parade, simply because they knew they were parts of a great machine, whose effectiveness depended upon the method of its movement, and the adaptation of the parts to the

[1] For details of the special services and their importance to the Revolutionary War, see *Life of Steuben*, by Frederick Kapp; and *The German Element in the War of Independence*, by G. W. Greene.

whole, — then they remembered and blessed the Baron von Steuben, and the way he hammered tactics into them with his big, strange oaths. In other respects his military knowledge was of immense value in various ways, and of all the European officers who sought service under the new Republic, he did more than any other in aid of its complete establishment.

Alliance with France.

The effect in Europe of Burgoyne's surrender was not long in manifesting itself. It gave strength to the opposition in England, which was shown at the opening of the next session of Parliament; but far more important than this, it decided the policy of France. It was easy, under the new aspect which the annihilation of one army in the North, and the vigorous campaign of Washington at the South, gave to the war, for the French Minister and the American Commissioners in Paris to come to terms. On the 6th of February a treaty was concluded, providing that if war should break out between France and England, during the existence of that with the United States, it should be made a common cause; that neither of the contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they agreed not to lay down their arms until the independence of the United States should have been formally or tacitly assured by the treaties that should terminate the war. The news of this important step reached the United States in April; on the 2d of May the treaty was ratified by Congress; and nowhere were the tidings received with more satisfaction than at Valley Forge, where a day was set apart for public rejoicing with all the demonstrations that an impoverished military camp could afford.[1]



Baron von Steuben.

The impending event in Paris was no secret in England. The op-

[1] M. Capellan, the patriotic Hollander, who made a speech in the popular House of the Dutch government, against loaning troops to England in 1775–76, wrote this letter — hitherto unpublished — to Franklin on the conclusion of the French alliance: —

"ZWOLLE, 28 *April*, 1778.

"SIR: As I have been the first, or say better, the only one of all the members of our State who has dared himself to declare openly for ye American Cause, and that in a

position in Parliament sought to open negotiations with the American Commissioners to avert the French alliance, but this came to nothing. Lord North, knowing that, if a treaty were made, war between France and England was sure to follow, was reduced to a humiliating position without being certain that even humiliation would keep him in office. In February he brought into Parliament two conciliatory bills, which were passed in March. The plan proposed yielded all that England had been contending against — the right to tax the colonies — and Congress was recognized as a legal representative body, by the appointment of Commissioners to treat with it. But that which the insurgents contended for was not conceded — their right to be entirely independent of the British Crown. The scheme was sure to come to the ground, — would have come to the ground, even had there been no alliance with France, — but it was North's best as it was his last card.

English attempts at conciliation.

A part of the opposition, had they had the power, would have conceded independence to the revolted colonies. Others would, if they could, have come to some compromise, not essentially differing from that proposed by North, but which would have left the question of independence in abeyance, to be settled afterward when peace was once restored. There was faith enough in such a policy — futile as it would have proved — to have overthrown North, and restored Chatham to office, had it not been for the obstinacy of the King. He hated Chatham with the intensity that belongs to unsettled reason, and refused to admit him to his presence. "I solemnly declare," he said, "that nothing shall bring me to treat personally with Lord Chatham." There still lurked in his clouded mind the belief that the colonies could yet be subdued. Chatham, he said, would insist on a total change.

But Chatham's plan, it is known, involved the idea that the States could still be retained as English colonies. He would have rescinded all obnoxious laws, withdrawn all the troops from America, leaving garrisons only in a few strongly fortified places, and concentrated all the strength of England upon a struggle with France. When that was ended — and no Englishman could permit himself to doubt what the end would be — he would trust to the common ties of race, of language, of religion, and of interest, to bring back the Americans to

problematical time, Congratulate you out of the bottom of my heart of the happy success with which providence has crowned America.

"The joy I feld on the news of the taking the army of General Burgoyne, which will shine in the annalls of America and its Liberty, surpassed with a greater joy which occasioned the Treaty concluded with France, and by which the U. S. of America see themselfs placed amongst the Independent Powers in the world." — MS. in *Trumbull Papers*, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

their allegiance. "The moment," said Shelburne — who thoroughly understood Chatham's views — "that the independence of America is agreed to by our Government, the sun of Great Britain is set, and we shall no longer be a powerful or respectable people."[1]

North's scheme of reconciliation was, after all, no more impracticable than those devised by rival statesmen. Chatham's plan, whatever it was, he could not have carried out, had he again come into power, for he died on the 11th of May. When he fell in the House of Lords a month before, stricken unto death, he was about to reply to the Duke of Richmond, who had moved a resolution for an address to the Crown, asking the King to withdraw his fleets and armies from the revolted provinces, and "to effectuate conciliation with them on such terms as might preserve their good will," — by which the duke meant that their independence should be acknowledged. The resolution was lost by a majority of only seventeen, notwithstanding the dying words of the great statesman were against it.

The Commissioners, with Lord North's proposals for peace, arrived in June. Their credentials were immediately presented to Congress, who received them on one day, and gave on the next an answer, curt, conclusive, and almost defiant. Nothing, they said, but "an earnest desire to spare the effusion of human blood, would have induced them to read a letter that so reflected upon their ally, the King of France; that they were ready, however, to enter upon the consideration of peace whenever the King of Great Britain should show that he had any "sincere disposition for that purpose;" and that the only evidence of that sincerity would be "an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

It was near midsummer before this point in the history of the year was reached. Arms had rather waited upon diplomacy. For though through the spring there were some military movements, there were none of much moment. When made, they were less to gather glory, and more to gather corn and cattle. Two such expeditions were made into New Jersey in March, and twice, near Salem, at Quinton's Bridge and at Hancock's Bridge, the militia were called out to resist such raids upon their fields and barn-yards. A like attempt at plunder was made at Montgomery, in Pennsylvania, on the 1st of May. To check these incursions, and, at the same time, to have a force near by in case Philadelphia should be abandoned — of which already there was some expectation — Washington ordered Lafayette, with about two thousand men, to take a position at Barren Hill, half way between Valley Forge and the city. This move-

Raids in New Jersey.

[1] Fitzmaurice's *Life of the Earl of Shelburne.*

ment Howe determined to defeat, and he sent out Grant with five thousand men to surround and capture this force under Lafayette. When apprised of his danger, Lafayette made a feint of attacking Grant, and then by a rapid march crossed the Schuylkill at Matson's Ford before he could be intercepted. The affair ended with little loss on either side, and at the time was considered a brilliant piece of manœuvring on the part of Lafayette. To the enemy it was a source of chagrin and disappointment.

Lafayette at Barren Hill.

The British had occupied Philadelphia for more than eight months with a force superior to Washington's, but had failed to establish themselves in the State at large. With the Peace Commissioners came orders to return to New York. The concentration of their forces had become of greater importance than the occupation of territory. On the 18th of June the movement was begun, hastened, doubtless, by a report that a French fleet under D'Estaing was on its way to blockade the English in the Delaware. Between the hours of three and ten o'clock A. M., the entire army had been ferried across the river, and immediately took up the march northward through the Jerseys. All told, it numbered about fourteen thousand effective men, under Sir Henry Clinton, Howe having been relieved of his command, with a baggage and provision train eight or ten miles long, which included officers' luggage, and plunder from Philadelphia in carriages, saddle-horses, servants, women, and "every kind of other useless stuff." The heat was oppressive, rains had made the roads difficult of travel, and the way before them was long. During this tedious march, between six hundred and eight hundred Hessians deserted in safety.

The British leave Philadelphia.

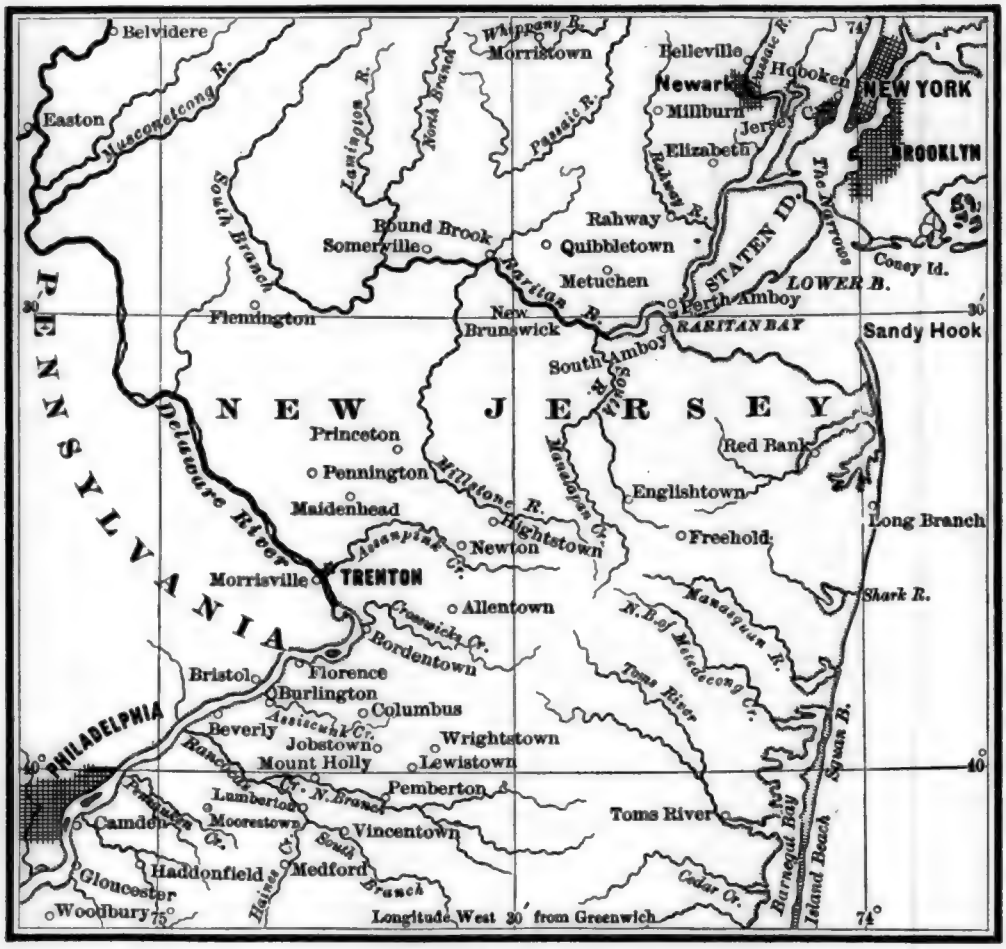
The moment Washington was positively informed of Clinton's start, he broke camp at Valley Forge and followed in pursuit. Maxwell's brigade was pushed forward to join Dickinson's militia, to aid in the destruction of bridges, and delay the enemy. On the 21st, the American army crossed the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry, the present Lambertville; on the 26th, reached Kingston, twenty miles west of Freehold; and on the 28th it struck the rear of Clinton's columns, and the battle of Monmouth Court-house followed.[1]

Washington pursues.

A council of war, held at Hopewell on the 24th, expressed a divided opinion as to the advisability of bringing on a general engagement with Clinton. Six generals, including Lee, advised that the enemy should be followed up and harassed by separate and cautious attacks, at vari-

[1] Clinton's first intention was to march to Amboy; but hearing at Allentown that Washington was nearing him, and might dispute the passage of the Raritan, he turned eastward to Sandy Hook, *via* Freehold or Monmouth — *Clinton's Report.*

ous points, upon the retreating columns. Six of the generals, among whom were Greene and Lafayette, proposed more vigorous measures. Washington himself was clearly unwilling to permit the enemy to cross New Jersey without receiving an effective blow. As he approached Clinton, strong, select, and ably-led detachments were sent in advance of the main army. In the van was a corps about five thousand strong, exclusive of Dickinson's militia on the left, and Morgan's riflemen, who were ordered to threaten the enemy's right



Map of New Jersey.

flank. The command of this force was given first to Lafayette, but finally to Lee, as he claimed it on the ground of rank.

A little after noon on the 27th, Inspector-general Steuben reconnoitred the enemy in person, and reported that they lay encamped on the main road by Monmouth Court-house, in a strong position. Washington instructed Lee, in case Clinton resumed his march the next morning, to attack him at once. The distance between the two armies on the night of the 27th was only five miles, the American advance corps being at the little village of Englishtown, west of Mon-

mouth. Although requested by the Commander-in-chief to unite upon some plan of action with the generals in his command, Lee failed to name anything definite, preferring, he said, to be governed by circumstances. During the night, several hundred men were moved to points nearer the enemy.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 28th, word came to headquarters that the enemy were moving. Knyphausen marched with the baggage train and its strong convoy, while Clinton, with his best troops, followed about eight o'clock. Washington sent word to Lee to hasten in pursuit and bring on an engagement, unless some urgent reason to the contrary existed. The main army, leaving its packs, moved forward to support the advance corps.

General Dickinson's militia first engaged the enemy, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, and, supposing himself to have encountered the advance of the returning British, when in fact it was merely a small flanking party, he sent for aid, while holding his ground, and the British presently fell back. At this time conflicting reports were brought to General Lee, some of the scouts thinking that the enemy were, and others that they were not, returning in force. Hence there was much marching and countermarching, and it was not until after nine o'clock that it was certainly known that the British were continuing their march toward Middletown. In this uncertainty, the opportunity for striking the left flank, according to Washington's plan, was lost. Battle of Monmouth.

The second skirmish took place between Colonel Butler and a small party of the enemy's horse, which was quickly driven through the village, Colonel Butler following with artillery and occupying a slight eminence while the other brigades came up. Here the British light dragoons charged vigorously, but were repulsed by Colonel Butler.

Up to this point the advantage was on the side of the Americans. The several regiments were well posted, in spite of the absence of any general leadership in the morning's movements, and a determined advance would have taken Knyphausen's column at great disadvantage. At this stage of the conflict, Lee sent orders to Wayne to move to the right, and capture the enemy's rear-guard. The other commanders, who were without orders, understood this movement to be a retreat, as they saw that the enemy was moving and apparently threatening their connection with Wayne. They abandoned their positions, and had fallen back some distance when, too late, orders came from Lee to stand fast. By this time the entire division was in retreat. By half-past eleven, the British had discovered the confusion attending these various movements, and had turned back in considerable force. Lee watched the retreat of his detachments across a ra-

vine, remained to see the last of his men safely over, and then followed them, to find that Washington had come up with the main army and assumed command in person.

The change of command was instantly felt among the troops who were retreating, and many of them at once rallied and formed a line. The regiments of Colonels Stewart, of Pennsylvania, and Ramsay, of Maryland, which were nearest at hand, Washington posted on the left of the road, with two guns, saying, "Gentlemen, I depend upon you to hold the ground until I can form the main army." On the right of the road he placed Wayne, Varnum, Oswald, and Livingston. The other retreating regiments, broken, but by no means panic-stricken, passed through the new line to re-form, many of them, however, voluntarily joining the troops already in position.

With the last of the retreating force came Lee, and that remarkable interview with Washington followed, in which he showed that "sublime wrath" to which he sometimes gave way, and which was not incompatible with his equally sublime patience and usual self-command. As Lee approached him, he instantly expressed his astonishment at the unaccountable retreat. "I wish to know, Sir," he exclaimed, "what is the reason — why this disorder and confusion?" Overawed by Washington's manner and stinging rebuke, Lee could only reply that he saw no other confusion than might naturally arise from disobedience of orders.[1] Washington may have understood, even then, that the confusion was not from disobedience of orders, but from the want of them, and that Lee was throwing upon others the responsibility for disaster which was the result of his own incapacity or treachery. The tradition is, that the commanding General was so moved that ordinary language did not suffice to express the depths of his indignation, and that he cursed Lee with emphasis and heartiness. Whether he did or did not sometimes lapse, when angry, into a manner of speech more common in that century than in this, is a question that can never be settled now by any positive evidence. He had more than one human weakness, great and good man as he was, and it is not at all improbable that swearing, under great provocation, was one of them. But when the storm, on this occasion, had blown over, Lee offered to bring the troops into some order in the front, and finally, being greatly fatigued, took command of the various bodies that had made their way to the rear. This was the end of his military career, as he was soon after

Washington rebukes Lee.

[1] This, substantially, is the version of the famous meeting, as Lee gave it himself in his written defence before the court-martial which tried him for disobedience. The proceedings of the court, and the testimony of officers, out of which alone can a correct account of the battle be unravelled, have been published in different forms, and most recently in the *Lee Papers*, published by the New York Historical Society.

brought to trial before a court-martial, found guilty of disobedience to orders, misbehavior before the enemy, and disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, in two letters written after the battle, and sentenced to suspension from command for a year.

Colonels Ramsay and Stewart soon felt the British advance, and their resistance brought on the general engagement of the day. Both stood firm until compelled to fall back before superior numbers. Ramsay held his ground desperately, and refused to yield, until he was wounded and taken prisoner.[1] Lafayette formed a second line just in time to prevent Clinton with his main body from out-flanking the position on both sides. The sharpest fighting took place near the road where Washington first checked the retreat. Here Lieutenant-colonel Monckton, of the Royal Grenadiers, was killed, and his body remained in the hands of the Americans. Firing continued until five o'clock in the afternoon, when the British, failing to make any impression, fell back. The losses of the two armies were nearly equal. Clinton reported 355, and Washington 362, killed, wounded, and missing; but on the side of the Americans there were many stragglers who had been overcome with the heat, and afterward reported to their respective regiments.

Colonel Ramsay's gallantry.

Losses

Clinton continued his march to New York without further molestation, Washington following and taking his position at White Plains, to be in readiness for future movements. All eyes were soon directed towards Rhode Island, where, late in July, the Count D'Estaing arrived with a squadron of twelve ships, carrying four thousand French troops. This fleet was intended to relieve Philadelphia, but did not reach the Delaware till after that city was evacuated. There was not depth enough of water, D'Estaing believed, to admit the ships into New York harbor, and he therefore passed on to Newport. At his approach, twenty-one English vessels, large and small, were burned to avoid capture.

Arrival of D'Estaing.

Large hopes and eager curiosity waited upon this appearance of a French fleet with a French army as the first fruit of the new alliance. The disappointment was great that D'Estaing could not find his

[1] "While his men were on the retreat he [Ramsay] was attacked by one of the enemy's dragoons, who charged him very briskly. The Colonel was on foot. It was for some time between them a trial of skill and courage. After the horseman fired his pistol, the Colonel closed in, and wounded and dismounted him. Several dragoons now came up to support their comrade; the Colonel engaged them *cominus ense*, giving and receiving very serious wounds, till at length, attacked in his rear, and overpowered by numbers, he was made prisoner. General Clinton paid a proper attention to such uncommon prowess, and generously liberated the Colonel the following day on his parol." — *Revolutionary Letter, Mag. of Am. Hist.*, June, 1879.

way into New York bay, capture or destroy the smaller English fleet there, and blockade Clinton in his principal stronghold. It was thought that something else was wanting besides depth of water on the bar at the mouth of the harbor; but this was soon forgotten, when the English burnt their vessels at Newport, and the reduction of that place, which General Pigot held with six thousand British and Hessians, seemed a certain and speedy event. Sullivan was in command of ten thousand men — militia and Continentals — in Rhode Island, with Greene and Lafayette as division commanders, Varnum and Glover as brigadier-generals.[1]

The French and American armies were to coöperate in an attack upon Newport, to be made on the 10th of August. Sullivan, to take advantage of the abandonment of the north end of the island by the enemy, moved before the time agreed upon. He neglected to notify D'Estaing of his change of purpose, and out of this misunderstanding came delay which, in the end, defeated the enterprise. When, on the 9th, the French were ready to cooperate, a fleet of thirty-six vessels, under Lord Howe, from New York, appeared in the offing. D'Estaing reëmbarked his men, gathered his ships together, and put to sea. A northeast wind gave him the weather-gage of the Englishmen, who declined battle. A furious storm followed, which scattered both fleets. For ten days they were at sea, when Howe returned to New York, and D'Estaing to Newport, his ships so shattered by the storm that he determined to take his fleet to Boston to refit.

Disaster to his fleet.

Sullivan had pushed on, notwithstanding the absence of the French troops. He had compelled the enemy to withdraw within their lines of intrenchments stretching from Newport harbor to Eaton's Pond, and covered his own men by earth-works at various points, while waiting for D'Estaing's return. That the fleet needed to refit, there could be no doubt; the orders of the government were that in such an emergency D'Estaing should go to Boston, and that was the best port for his purpose. The public disappointment, nevertheless, was keen and bitter. It was easy to understand that sails and rigging might need to be replaced; that hulls and spars must be repaired; that water-butts should be refilled, and the stock of provisions be replenished. It was not easy to understand why four thousand soldiers should remain on board to watch the progress of this refitting. There was a prevalent feeling that these troops might have been left on Rhode Island to do a little fighting, and that the ship-carpenters, stevedores, calkers, and riggers in Boston would have done

[1] In Varnum's brigade was a negro regiment, organized with Washington's approval, composed of slaves emancipated on condition of enlisting.

quite as well without their presence. But D'Estaing gave little heed to such reasoning as this. He seemed to think that his ships and his soldiers were not to be separated; that together they formed an expedition which would be broken up if either acted independently of the other. The Frenchman was very polite but very persistent, and went to Boston — ships, sailors, and soldiers. The American general was more frank than polite, when he said in General Orders, that America might "be able to procure that by her own arms which her allies refuse to assist in obtaining." The popular feeling was on his side; Frenchmen were not always safe in the streets of Boston while the ships lay in that harbor, and one officer was killed in a brawl. Congress and the Commander-in-chief did all that could be done to soothe the wounded feelings of the French officers, that there should be no disturbance of the cordiality between the two governments.

Battle of Rhode Island.

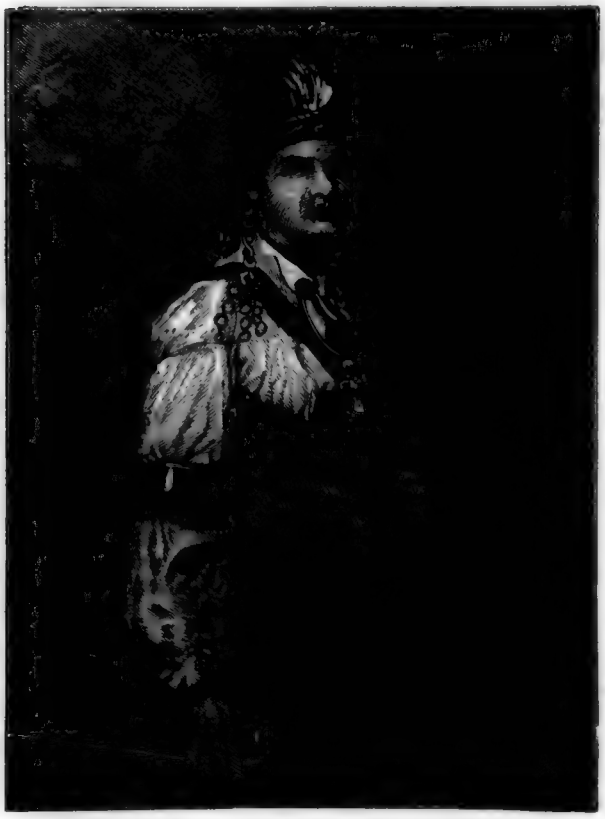
Sullivan determined to attack on the 29th. If anything was to be done, it must be done quickly, for the volunteers, doubtful of success without the assistance of the French, were returning to their homes in large numbers. The roads leading to the town, and the hills near it, known as Quaker, Turkey, and Butt's, were taken possession of by the Americans. The British advanced from their works, and attacked at several points with great vigor, but were repulsed with equal steadiness. The fighting was desperate for several hours, though of Sullivan's five thousand men only fifteen hundred had ever before seen the smoke of battle. None behaved better than the raw troops of Greene's colored regiment, who three times repulsed the furious charges of veteran Hessians. The Americans were driven, at length, from some of their positions, but their loss in killed, wounded, and missing was only a few more than two hundred, while that of the other side was over a thousand.[1]

A dispatch from Washington the next day warned Sullivan that Pigot was about to be reënforced by Clinton with five thousand men. To risk a battle and attempt to hold the open country against superior numbers. would have been little else than madness. A retreat was begun, and in the course of the night the whole army crossed to the mainland at Tiverton in safety. It was just in time; the reënforcements, on board a hundred English vessels, were in Newport harbor the next morning. As Sullivan had escaped, Clinton reconciled himself to that disappointment by burning New Bedford and Fairhaven, and all the vessels at their wharves. Howe sailed for Boston, and challenged D'Estaing to battle, who was not yet ready for sea. When his fleet was refitted, he sailed for the West India station, without any further attempt then to aid the Americans.

[1] Arnold's *History of Rhode Island.*

Tories and Indians of Central New York.

In other parts of the country there were, in the course of the summer and autumn, military movements having no immediate connection with those along the coast, but which were nevertheless of great interest to those immediately concerned, and sometimes of general importance. Through all the West the Indians were instigated to hostility, — in New York by Sir John Johnson and other leading Tories, and in more distant regions by the English governors at Niagara and Detroit. The battle of Oriskany, the year before, where more than a hundred warriors had been sped on their way to the happy hunting-grounds, had aroused in several tribes of the Six Nations a thirst for vengeance not easily satisfied. Joseph Brant was the most powerful of all their chiefs, and education among the whites, in failing to change his savage nature, had given him the added power of a cultivated mind. His relations to the Johnson family — Brant's sister having been the mother of several of Sir William Johnson's children — attached him to the Tory interest, and to that interest, stronger in Central New York than in any other part of the country, he was a formidable ally. His name was a terror among the Whig population, for wherever he appeared, death and devastation were sure to follow.



Joseph Brant.

From July to November, from the valley of the Susquehanna northward through the country west of Albany, then called Tryon County, a merciless warfare was carried on by the Tories and Indians, in which the Tories were sometimes even more savage than their savage allies. Whole settlements were given to the flames, and as little mercy was shown to old women, and to infants in the cradle, as to men with arms in their hands. At Wyoming —

"On Susquehanna's side, fair Wyoming!" —

on the last days of June, two of the forts were taken, and many of the inhabitants of the valley compelled to fly for refuge to a third,

called "Forty Fort." The garrison was under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler, who, overruled by rash counsel, led his men to battle against a superior force of Tories and Indians under Colonel John Butler. The result was a disastrous defeat, in which only about sixty of the three hundred American soldiers escaped. As the news spread through the valley, those who had not already left their homes fled to the woods and mountains, or sought safety in Fort Wyoming. This, in a day or two, was weakly surrendered by Colonel Dennison, with a stipulation that the settlers should be permitted to return to their farms and be unmolested. The stipulation was disregarded in the destruction of property, and many persons were killed, though it is questionable whether a general massacre followed.[1] Nor is it certain that Brant was engaged on this expedition.

Attack on Wyoming.

In others, however, he was the chief actor. He had, a few days before, entered the settlement of Springfield, on Otsego Lake, and burnt every house excepting one, in which he had placed the women and children in safety. Indian scouts and scalping-parties roamed through the summer along the banks of the Schoharie. Late in August or early in September, Brant, with a large body of followers, laid waste the settlements on German Flats, in the valley of the Mohawk, leaving for ten miles not a house, a barn, or a stack of grain of the lately gathered harvest, standing, and driving off all the cattle. This act, however, was fully avenged a few days later in the destruction of the Indian towns of Unadilla and Oghkwaga by Colonel William Butler, with a Pennsylvania regiment and a detachment of Morgan's riflemen, who had been sent for the protection of the harassed people.

Joseph Brant.

More pitiful than all was the fate that befell Cherry Valley early in November. Walter N. Butler, a son of the Tory Colonel John Butler, who had been a prisoner at Albany, had recently escaped, and, as a signal act of vengeance, he determined to destroy a village noted for the refinement and virtue of its inhabitants, as well as for their devotion to the revolutionary cause. Lafayette, when at Albany, the year before, to prepare for that abor-

The Massacre of Cherry Valley.

[1] Stone, in his *Life of Brant*, denies it. Dr. Thacher, in his *Military Journal*, gives some stories current at the time, which are almost incredible. See also Moore's *Diary of the American Revolution*, for contemporary rumors. Weld, in his *Travels through the States of North America during the Years 1795, 1796, 1797*, visited Wyoming — then Wilkesbarre — and says: "It was here the dreadful massacre was committed. . . . . Several of the houses in which the unfortunate victims retired to defend themselves, on being refused all quarter, are still standing, perforated in every part with balls; the remains of others that were set on fire are also to be seen, and the inhabitants will on no account suffer them to be repaired."

tive expedition against Canada which he was to lead, had ordered that a fort be built at Cherry Valley, the command of which was given to Colonel Ichabod Alden, who knew nothing of the Indian ways. He had warning of the approach of Butler and Brant, but took no precautions. He assured the villagers that there was no reason for apprehension, and they remained in their houses till they were startled by the savage war-cry. Alden himself was outside the fort, and was pursued by an Indian as he ran with all his speed to get within the gates. He turned and snapped his pistol, as he ran, again and again at his pursuer, who, before the fort was reached, came near enough to bury his tomahawk in the head of the unfortunate Colonel. Nearly fifty persons were killed in the course of the day, and all but sixteen of these were women and children. There were cases of peculiar atrocity, even for Indian warfare; the savage Butler or the savage Brant, either by choice or chance, marked the massacre to be remembered by the murder of women venerable in character and years. The fort was not taken, but most of the buildings in the village were burned. The only mercy shown was to release most of the women and children taken prisoners; Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Moore, with their children, being still detained because their husbands were leading Whigs. The motive of Butler's clemency, — the motive of the attack on the village, — it may be, was the fact that his mother and several of her children were prisoners at Albany, and these taken at Cherry Valley were offered in exchange.[1]

Western pioneers.

But this Indian warfare was not confined to Central New York. Though the war so absorbed the resources, the interest, and the energies of the people between the mountains and the sea, in the western valleys the pioneer of civilization was fighting his way into the wilderness, not much concerned about the higher contest that was going on behind him. In 1775 Daniel Boone had made his first "blazed trace" in the wilderness west of Virginia, soon to be known as Kentucky; the territory of the present State of Tennessee was organized in 1776 as the County of Washington in North Carolina; Ohio was known as the District of West Augusta; in 1777 Kentucky had three military stations, Boonesborough, Logan's Fort, and Harrod's Station, on the "dark and bloody ground," the common hunting-fields of the northern and southern Indians; Boone, Logan, Harrod, Kenton, Patterson, Galloway, Montgomery, and many others, were names known and dreaded by the Indian tribes, as they penetrated through all this unbroken wilderness, — men who have left behind them memories of mighty hunters and of mighty fighters, whose lives were filled with romantic adventure, with deeds of daring

[1] Stone's *Life of Brant*. Campbell's *Central New York in the Revolution*.

and endurance, which have no parallel in the history of the settlement of any other part of the continent.

For, it was not merely that these pioneers encountered the jealousy and fears of natives dreading the encroachment of the white men upon their lands. To that natural dread the war lent a new and intense incitement. The commanders of the English posts at the west and northwest were diligent in arousing the hostility of the tribes to the Americans, and many an Indian expedition was instigated at Detroit, at Vincennes, and at Kaskaskia, on the river of that name, two miles from the left bank of the Mississippi. Colonel George Rogers Clark, one of the hardy and brave pioneers of Kentucky, determined to strike at the source of this evil, and on making known his bold plan to Governor Patrick Henry, received his approbation and aid. To his success it was due, that in the negotiations for peace between the powers in 1782, the Mississippi River, and not the Alleghany range, was made the western boundary of the United States.

Clark's expedition to Illinois.

In May, 1778, Clark went down the Ohio with only a hundred and fifty men. At Corn Island, at the Falls of the Ohio, he remained a few days to receive additions to his company, and to build a block-house as a depot of provisions. Here he left five men, who, after he had gone, removed to the mainland, made clearings, and built log cabins where Louisville was to be. At the mouth of the Tennessee Clark left his boats and marched across to the Kaskaskia. On the evening of the 4th of July he crossed that river, and surrounded and took the town, whose inhabitants were not aware of the approach of an enemy. The Governor, Rocheblave, he sent prisoner to Virginia; the people he pacified by lenient treatment, and exacted from them an oath of allegiance to the United States. Cahokia, farther up the river, was then taken in the same way, and afterward Vincennes on the Wabash. In the autumn the county of Illinois was recognized and a civil commandant appointed.

Governor Hamilton of Detroit soon recovered Vincennes, where Clark had left only two men in the fort;[1] but late the following winter, Clark marched from Kaskaskia, through a country much of which, at that season, was under water, retook the fort, and sent Hamilton as a prisoner of war to Virginia. This signal success, and the judicious as well as brave conduct of Clark, so influenced the Indian tribes of the Illinois, that from bitter enemies they became either

[1] Governor Hamilton approached the fort with eight hundred men and demanded a surrender. Captain Helm — with his one soldier — refused till he knew the terms. Hamilton, not knowing the weakness of the garrison, conceded the honors of war: the eight hundred men were drawn up to receive with proper ceremony the retiring garrison.

friends of the Americans, or, at worst, neutrals in the war. It was more by skilful management, however, than by any display of material force — which was not at his command — that Clark brought about this result. He gave the savages, he says, "harsh language to supply the want of men, well knowing that it was a mistaken notion in many that soft speeches was best for Indians;" he assured them "they would see their great father, as they called him, given to the dogs to eat."[1]



Capture of Fort Vincennes by Governor Hamilton.

Operations at the South.

Towards the close of the year the war was shifted to the South, where the ministry made its final move for the subjection of the rebellious colonies. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell was sent, as the initial step, with two thousand men to reduce Savannah. General Robert Howe, of North Carolina, was in command at that point with from twelve to fifteen hundred men. With a lagoon in front, a morass on his right, the swamps of the river on his left, and the works of the town in his rear, he thought himself safe from assault. But Campbell soon discovered that a path through a swamp had been left unguarded, over which, led by a negro, a detachment

[1] A letter of Colonel Clark, in which he gives a narrative of his expedition to Illinois, and the journal of his second in command, Major Bowman, — both documents belonging to the Kentucky Historical Society, — were published for the first time a few years since, with notes by Mr. Henry Pirtle of Louisville.

gained and turned Howe's right. A simultaneous attack was made in front, and the Americans, taken by surprise, fell back through the town, losing, in a confused retreat, over five hundred men in killed, wounded, and as prisoners, with their baggage and artillery. The loss on the other side was trifling, and Savannah was the prize of their victory. A few days later General Prevost advanced from St. Augustine, taking Sunbury on his way. By the end of January, Campbell was in possession of Augusta, and the royal rule seemed, for the moment, once more restored over the whole of Georgia.

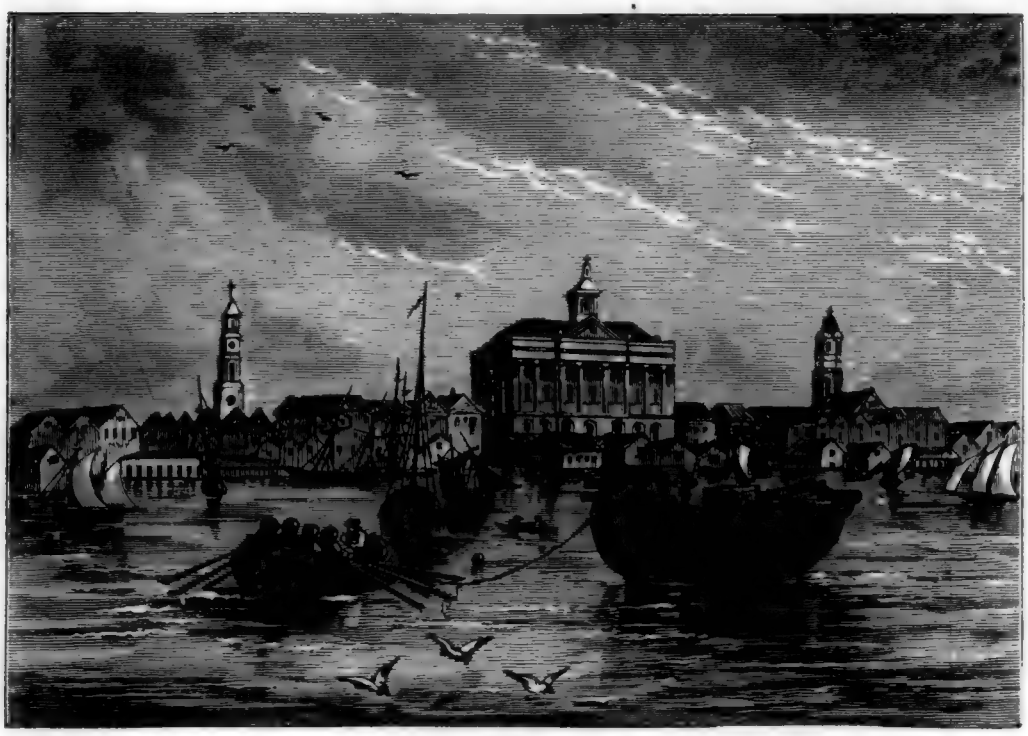
Partisan warfare.

But only seemed. Throughout that State, and in South and North Carolina, there broke out a partisan warfare which had had no parallel in any other part of the country. The loyal and the patriot parties were so nearly equally divided that each was confident of gaining the ascendency, and the bitterness of personal detestation intensified to cruelty the evils of ordinary war. A district of country remained loyal or patriot so long as it was occupied by the troops of either one side or the other. Citizens served as militia when organized militia operations promised success; when success seemed hopeless, or protection was no longer afforded by the presence of regular troops, they fled to the swamps and woods and carried on a murderous and predatory warfare against their neighbors who were on the other side. Soon after Augusta was taken, a Colonel Boyd marched with a body of Tories from the back counties of Carolina to join Campbell. Colonel Andrew Pickens gathered together a band of patriots from the district of Ninety-Six, intercepted and defeated Boyd, took seventy of his men prisoners, tried them for treason, and five were hanged. The next month, in March, Colonel Ashe, with fifteen hundred North Carolina militia, was ordered by General Lincoln — who had taken Howe's place — to move down the Savannah toward the enemy, who had left Augusta. At Briar Creek Ashe had a strong position, but, exposing his camp on one flank, he was surprised by the enemy, two hundred of his men were either killed or wounded, and his command disappeared like a mob that had been fired upon, almost all of them returning to their homes, a hundred or two only rejoining Lincoln's army. These two instances are fair indications of the nature of the contest at the South. Nowhere else, except to a limited degree in Central New York, was the war so entirely a desperate civil war, where neighbor was arrayed in deadly hatred against neighbor, each holding his life at the price of sleepless vigilance, each knowing that the death of the other was his only real security. Little reliance could be placed upon the aid of militia, where at any moment the troops might turn their backs upon the commanding officer and hasten home to the protection of their own firesides

against personal enemies. This condition of things gave an adventurous and romantic aspect to the partisan warfare in that region, and rendered all military movements uncertain.

Movements at the South.

Through the spring, Lincoln and Prevost moved from point to point in the open country, each striving to out-manœuvre the other, without any important result. On the 11th of May, the English commander was before Charleston, and summoned it to surrender. Some of the civil authorities were quite willing to compound for the safety of the town, by agreeing that



Charleston in 1780.

the State should remain neutral; but neither would Governor Rutledge, Moultrie, and other military leaders consent to abide by such an agreement, if made, nor would Prevost accede to it. Lincoln attacked the works of the enemy at Stono Ferry, without success and with considerable loss. But Prevost at length fell back upon Savannah, and the belligerents, by the middle of summer, were in about the same relative positions as at the beginning of the year.

Expeditions were sent out in the course of the spring and summer by Clinton, more for the purpose of plunder and of distressing the people, than with any hope of conquest. General Matthews, with twenty-five hundred men, landed in Virginia, destroyed large quantities of merchandise at Norfolk and Portsmouth, burned or carried off the tobacco along the shores of Chesapeake Bay, destroyed many

houses and a hundred and fifty merchant vessels, and broke up thousands of barrels of pork, pitch, and turpentine, inflicting distress and ruin upon a population hitherto exempt from the evils of war.

On the 5th of July, General Tryon landed at New Haven with three thousand men, where there was no force to oppose him. The people, nevertheless, bravely defended their homes. The Yale students formed themselves into a military company under Captain James Hillhouse; the Reverend Dr. Daggett, President of the College, after sending his daughters to a place of safety, shouldered his musket, and with his sons went out to fight the invaders. He was taken prisoner. The townspeople tore up the planks of West Bridge, and with a few field-pieces checked the advance in that direction. They took advantage of every commanding point about the town, of every bit of wood where an ambush could be made to annoy the troops and to impede their progress. But the British and Hessian soldiers overran the town; women were outraged, and men were murdered; houses were ransacked for plate, watches, jewelry, and clothing, and what could not be carried off was recklessly destroyed. It was a scene of robbery and debauchery disgraceful to civilized soldiers, doubly disgraceful to Tryon and the other officers of his command. It was a mere raid for the purpose of plunder, and the next morning the drunken soldiers were marched, or driven, or carried on board the ships, to sail for Fairfield. This fared even worse than New Haven. It was first given over to rapine, and then its eighty-five dwelling-houses, two churches, fifty or sixty barns, and a court-house were burned to the ground. Green's Farms and Norwalk were next visited, and the same pitiless destruction inflicted upon both. Houses, churches, barns, and vessels were given to the flames.

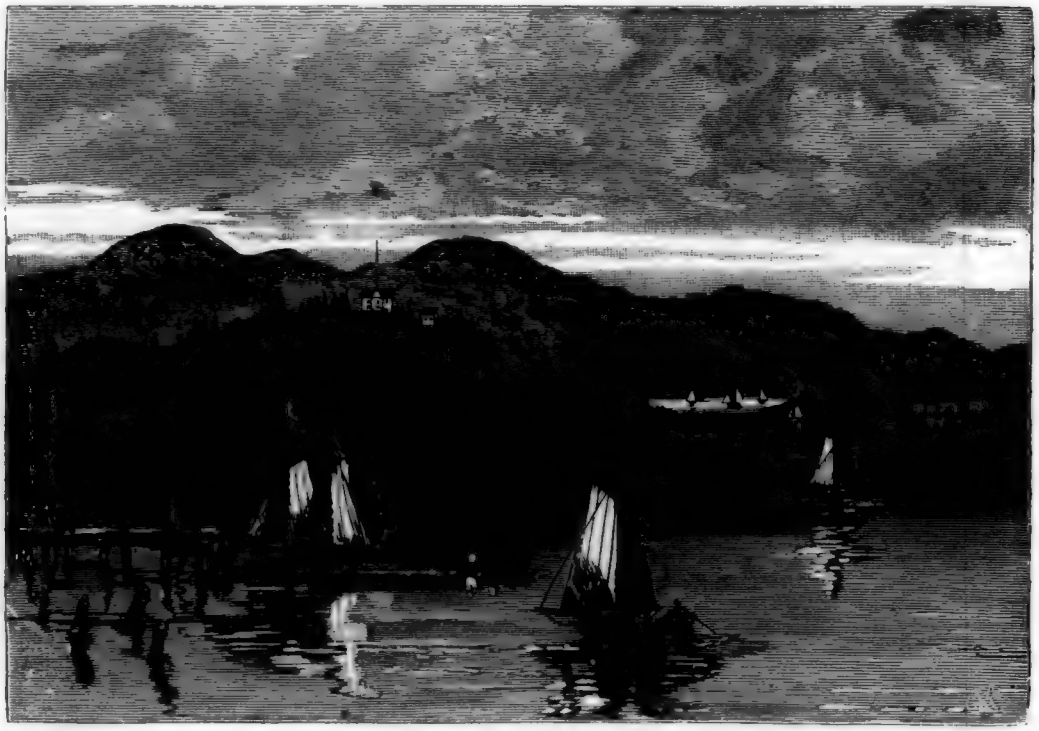
Raids in Connecticut.

Before these raids, Clinton had made a purely military movement up the Hudson, and captured the half-finished forts at Verplank's Landing and Stony Point, then held by small garrisons. Washington marched at once to cover West Point, making his headquarters at New Windsor, determined to recapture both places. The first attempt was upon Stony Point, and was eminently successful. The details were planned by the Commander-in-chief, and their execution intrusted to General Wayne, whose courage and dash especially fitted him for so difficult an enterprise. His attacking column consisted of four regiments, under Colonels Febiger of Virginia, Butler of Pennsylvania, and Meigs of Connecticut, and Majors Hill and Murfree of Colonel Putnam's regiment. The attack was to be made at midnight on July 15; and at eight o'clock that evening, Wayne, who had made that day with his men a difficult march over the mountains from Fort Montgomery, was within a mile and a half of the fort.

After a careful reconnoissance in person, he divided his force into two columns and moved forward. The men were to depend on the bayonet alone, and an order was issued that the nearest officer should instantly cut down any soldier who took his gun from his shoulder before the word was given. That they might distinguish each other in the darkness, a bit of white paper was fastened to their hats, and they were to shout, "The fort 's our own!" as they entered the works.

Capture of Stony Point.

The neck of land leading to the Point was covered by a high tide with two feet of water. The delay in crossing this gave time to the enemy to discover the movement, and fire was opened upon the advancing columns by the pickets. The whole gar-



Stony Point.

rison were immediately at their posts. Wayne's men were more than twenty minutes in scrambling up the steep ascent, under heavy but random firing, climbing over, where they could not tear down, the abatis, but not firing a shot. Shouts came — says a contemporary account — from the fortifications of "Come on, ye damn'd rebels; come on!" — to which the assailants answered, "Don't be in such a hurry, my lads; we will be with you presently."[1] Lieutenant-colonel Fleury first scaled the parapet and struck the British colors; the right column poured in after him; Wayne was struck down by a ball in the forehead, but soon recovered, and was carried in by his

[1] Moore's *Diary of the Revolution.*

men. The capture was complete in less than half an hour from the firing of the first shot, with a loss of fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. Nearly five hundred prisoners, fifteen pieces of cannon, and large quantities of stores and ammunition were the prizes of the victory.[1]

The works at Stony Point were destroyed, and the place abandoned, to be again occupied soon after by the British. Preparations to attack the fort at Verplank's Point, on the other side of the river, were given up, as Clinton moved to its support. These hostile demonstrations, however, and especially so signal an exploit as that of Wayne's, induced Clinton to postpone indefinitely a movement upon Connecticut, to support which he had moved a portion of his troops to Mamaroneck. Of the danger of leaving so active an enemy behind him, by undertaking any distant expedition, he received another warning the next month by the surprise of the post at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City. Before daylight on the 19th of August, Major Henry Lee, with five companies of Southern troopers, carried the place by assault without firing a shot, — took a hundred and fifty prisoners, and retired in safety, though hotly pursued by reënforcements from New York.

Paulus Hook surprised.

In a naval expedition sent out by Clinton in August, the success was altogether on the side of the English. Massachusetts sent a militia general, Lovell, with a thousand men, to reduce a British post within her territory on the Penobscot. With Lovell went three ships of the Continental navy, three of the Massachusetts navy, with thirteen privateers, altogether carrying three hundred guns, under the command of Commodore Saltonstall. The fort was too strong, or the investment was mismanaged, and reenforcements were sent for. But the delay gave time for aid to be sent to the besieged. Admiral Collier arrived in the bay with five ships, which Saltonstall saw fit to run away from instead of fighting. Several of his vessels fell into the hands of the enemy, but the rest he burned. The troops made their way back to Massachusetts as best they could through the wilderness, and for a while no question was so warmly discussed in that State as which of the leaders, Lovell

Disaster on the Penobscot.

[1] Wayne wrote at 2 A. M. that morning to Washington: "The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men who are determined to be free" The same day Colonel Febiger wrote to his wife: —

"My dear Girl: I have just borrowed pen, ink, and paper to inform you that yesterday we marched from Fort Montgomery, and at 12 o'clock last night we stormed this confounded place, and, with the loss of about fourteen killed and forty or fifty wounded, we carried it. I can give you no particulars as yet. A musquet-ball scraped my nose. No other damage to 'Old Denmark.' God bless you. Farewell. Febiger."

— [From original MS. in possession of Col. Geo. L. Febiger, U. S. A., New York city.]

or Saltonstall, was the more responsible for the disaster, and had more completely covered himself with disgrace.

Within one day of this disaster, John Paul Jones sailed from the coast of France. A month later he fought a battle without parallel in naval history, and, in its consequences, more important than any other event of the year. Hitherto the contest upon the sea had been mainly a predatory warfare of privateers, aimed at the destruction of commerce and the plunder of merchant vessels. The young republic was without a navy proper. "To talk of coping suddenly with G. B. at sea, would be Quixotic indeed," wrote John Adams in 1775. "The only question with me is, can we defend our rivers and harbors?"[1] But to the work of forming a navy Congress early addressed itself, and no one more earnestly than John Adams himself.

Naval affairs.

Five frigates and a number of smaller vessels were built or bought, in the course of four years, by Congress, but two of the frigates never were sent to sea, being burned in port to save them from the enemy; each province had a squadron of small vessels, and, though they could none of them cope with the heavier British ships, they were always ready to meet those of their own weight of metal. The foreign commerce of the country was destroyed by the war, and capital and men sought remuneration for its loss in privateering. How successful they were in helping, in this way, both themselves and their country, is shown by the commercial reports. Thus, two hundred and fifty British vessels in the West India trade, with cargoes of the aggregate value of ten million dollars, were captured by the American cruisers before the 1st of February, 1777. In the course of that year the number taken was four hundred and sixty-seven; of the two hundred engaged in the African trade, only forty escaped; thirty-five only were left of the fleet of sixty vessels that traded directly between Ireland and the West Indies; and in Martinique, where many prizes were carried, the market was so overstocked that silk stockings could be bought for a dollar a pair, and Irish linen at two dollars the piece.

Paul Jones and the *Bon Homme Richard.*

Paul Jones was one of the most daring of these cruisers. He had made many prizes in British waters, and his name was a terror all along the coast. Among the earliest recollections of Sir Walter Scott was the excitement aroused by the entrance of Jones by night into the harbor of Whitehaven, seizing the sentinels and spiking the guns of the fort, burning some of the shipping, while a fleet of more than two hundred colliers escaped destruction only by chance. To the "pirate Jones"—as the English called him for retaliating, in a mild way, on the coast of England, the atroci-

[1] Letter to James Warren, in Warren manuscripts.



FIGHT OF THE BON HOMME RICHARD AND THE SERAPIS.

ties committed on the coast of America — the King of France gave an old Indiaman, to be fitted out as a man-of-war. In compliment to Dr. Franklin's "Poor Richard," Jones called her the *Bon Homme Richard*, and in her put to sea on the 14th of August.

After a cruise of more than a month along the west coast of Ireland and the north of Scotland, on the 22d of September, the *Richard*, with two consorts, the *Alliance* and *Pallas*, came in sight of a fleet of merchantmen under convoy of the frigate *Serapis*, of fifty guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty-two, off Flamborough Head, on the coast of Yorkshire. Jones gave signal for pursuit, though his own men were diminished by drafts to man prizes, and his prisoners on board were two thirds as numerous as his crew. Landais, the commander of the *Alliance*, who throughout the cruise had been insubordinate and regardless of the Commodore's orders, intimated that their duty was to escape. Speaking the *Pallas*, he told her commander that if the English vessel were a fifty-gun ship they had nothing else to do. The *Serapis* was a new frigate, built that spring. She was rated at forty-four guns, but carried fifty. She had twenty guns on each of her decks, main and upper, and ten lighter ones on her quarter deck and forecastle. The *Richard* had six ports on each side of her lower deck, but only six guns there, which were intended to be used all on the same side. On her proper gun-deck, above these, she had fourteen guns on each side — twelves and nines. She had a high quarter and forecastle, with eight guns on these. She was of the old-fashioned build, with a high poop, and was thus much higher than the *Serapis*, so that her lower deck was but little lower than her antagonist's main deck.



John Paul Jones.

It was an hour past sunset, under a full moon, when the *Richard* came within hail of the *Serapis*. Captain Pearson spoke her twice. Jones did not answer, but opened fire, to which the *Serapis* instantly replied. At the first fire of the *Richard*, two of the heavy guns on her lower deck burst. The men on this deck

Fight with the *Serapis*.

who were not killed by the explosion went up to the main deck, and the guns on the lower deck were not fought afterward.

After his first broadside, Jones caught the wind again, and closed with the *Serapis*, striking her on the quarter just after her second broadside. He grappled their vessel, but, as he could not bring a gun to bear, he let them fall off. Captain Pearson asked if he had struck. Jones answered, "I have not begun to fight!" The English sails filled, Jones backed his top-sails, and the *Serapis* wore short round. As she swung, her jib-boom ran into the mizzen-rigging of the *Richard*. It is said that Jones himself then fastened the boom to his mast. Somebody did, and it did not hold, but one of her anchors caught his quarter; and so they fought, fastened together, each ship using its starboard batteries.

On board the *Serapis*, the ports were not open on the starboard side, because she had been firing on the other. As they ran across and loosened those guns, the men amidships found they could not open their ports, the *Richard* was so close. They therefore fired their first shots through their own port-lids, and blew them off.

The fire from the eighteen-pounders on the main deck of the *Serapis*, though it was probably that which sank the *Richard* the next day, passed for nothing so far as immediate execution went, for there was no one on the lower deck of the *Richard*, and her main deck was too high to be in danger. The main deck was a match for the upper deck of the *Serapis*, and her upper guns did execution, while those of the *Serapis* had too little elevation. On the quarter deck, Jones had dragged across a piece from the larboard battery, so that he had three nine-pounders almost raking the *Serapis*. There was very little musket-practice in the smoke and darkness.

Thus the firing went on for two hours, neither side trying to board, till an incident occurred to which both Jones and Pearson ascribed the final capture of the *Serapis*. The men in the *Richard's* tops were throwing hand-grenades upon the decks of the *Serapis*, and one sailor worked himself out to the end of the main-yard, carrying a bucket filled with these missiles, lighted them one by one, and threw them down her main hatchway. Here, in the centre of the deck, stretching the whole length of the ship, was a row of eighteen-pounder cartridges, which the powder-boys had left there when they went for more. One of the grenades lighted the row, and the flash passed fore and aft through the ship. Some twenty of the men amidships were blown to pieces. There were other men who were stripped naked, leaving nothing but the collars of their shirts and their wrist-bands. Farther aft there was not so much powder, perhaps, but the men were scorched and burned more than they were wounded.

Soon after this an attempt was made to board the *Richard*. About ten o'clock, an English officer, a prisoner on board the *Richard*, scrambled through one of the ports of the *Serapis*. He told Captain Pearson that the *Richard* was sinking; that they had had to release all her prisoners from the hold and spar-deck, himself among them, because the water came in so fast; and that if the English could hold on a few minutes more the ship was theirs, — all of which was true excepting this last.

On this news, Pearson hailed Jones again, to ask if he had struck. He received no answer, for Jones was at the other end of his ship, on his quarter, directing the fire of his three nine-pounders. Pearson then called for boarders; they formed hastily, and dashed on board the *Richard*. But she had not struck, though some of her men had called for quarter. Her crew were ready under cover. Jones himself seized a pike and headed them, and the English fell back again.

This was their last effort. About half-past ten Pearson struck. His ship had been on fire a dozen times, and the explosion had wholly disabled his main battery, which had been his chief strength. But so uncertain and confused was it all, that when the cry was heard, "They've struck!" many in the *Serapis* took it for granted that they had taken the *Richard*. In fact, Pearson had struck the flag with his own hands, as the men, half of whom were disabled, would not expose themselves to the fire from the *Richard's* tops. For his victory Jones was largely indebted to the ability of his subordinate officers, especially Lieutenant Richard Dale, who was severely wounded, but kept his post to the last, and at one time was left entirely alone at the guns below.

Surrender of the *Serapis*.

When Pearson delivered his sword to Jones, he is reported to have said, "I cannot, sir, but feel much mortification at the idea of surrendering my sword to a man who has fought me with a rope round his neck." To which Jones, returning the sword, replied, "You have fought gallantly, sir, and I hope your king will give you a better ship." Afterward, when Jones heard that Pearson had been knighted for his gallant though unsuccessful action, he remarked, "He deserved it! and if I fall in with him again, I will make a lord of him."

The morning after the battle, the *Richard* was found to be in a horrible condition. She was still on fire, and wherever her antagonist's main battery could reach she had been torn to pieces. There was a complete breach from the main-mast to the stern. For the *Serapis*, the jib-boom had been wrenched off, at the beginning, the main-mast and mizzen-top fell as they struck, and at daybreak the wreck was not cleared away. First, all the wounded were removed to the *Serapis*, then all the crew, and at ten the *Richard* went to the bottom.

While this desperate fight was in progress, the *Pallas* had engaged and taken the *Countess of Scarborough*. Landais in the *Alliance* had occupied himself between both vessels. Once and again her shot wounded men on board the *Richard*, so that some of her people supposed the *Alliance* was in English hands. It was even charged that she had deliberately poured more than one broadside into the *Richard*. Jones took his prize into Holland, when the *Serapis* and *Scarborough* were transferred to the French government. In order to relieve the Dutch from diplomatic difficulties, Jones took command of the *Alliance*, and went to sea. Landais subsequently sailed in the *Alliance* for America, but on his return was deposed from his command for insanity, and afterward was expelled from the navy. Jones also returned to America in the *Ariel;* and, after an absence of three years, reached Philadelphia on the 18th of February, 1781. Congress had given him a vote of thanks, and the King of France had presented him with a sword.



John Paul Jones's Medal.

The effect produced by Jones's exploits may be judged from the statistics of trade. The number of vessels that left Newcastle for foreign trade that year was little more than half the number in 1777. The coasting trade diminished almost as much. To defend the coast, volunteer bodies were organized in every district. The popular discontent with naval management had shown itself in the spring, in the strong vote for Mr. Fox's motion, condemning the government for sending out Admiral Keppel with an insufficient fleet. Keppel himself had given most damaging testimony as to the inefficiency of the arrangements of the Admiralty.

Popular indignation in England.

Fox's motion was defeated in a full house by a majority of only thirty-four, — a majority secured by Lord North's assuming the responsibility, which, in those days, might have been left for the Admiralty alone to bear.

The action between the *Serapis* and the *Richard* was the last important action between English and American ships in the war. The French fleet was relieving the American Government from the expensive necessity of meeting at sea[1] the greatest naval power in the world. And the various reverses of five years of hard fighting had reduced the American fleet to a very small establishment. Early in 1780, the *Providence*, the *Queen of France*, the *Boston*, and the *Ranger* fell into the hands of the English at the capture of Charleston. But few frigates now remained to the United States. Massachusetts still had the *Protector* and the *Defence*, besides merchant vessels employed as has been described. The fleet of privateers was perhaps larger than ever. What their number was, it is now impossible to say. But the Admiralty Court of the Essex district in Massachusetts — the largest of the three Admiralty districts — had condemned eight hundred and eighteen prizes in 1780. In the single month of May, 1779, eighteen prizes were brought into New London. In 1781, the privateer fleet of the port of Salem alone was twenty-six ships, — twelve of which carried twenty guns or more, — sixteen brigs, and seventeen smaller vessels. Here was a fleet of fifty-nine vessels, which carried nearly four thousand men, and mounted seven hundred and forty-six guns. It is true that the guns were light. But so were those of the enemies with whom they had to contend. So small was the public force of the Americans after so severe losses, that for the remainder of the war most of the naval actions were those of these privateers.

The privateer fleet.

[1] The English estimates for 1779 provided for 87,000 seamen and marines.

TABLE OF DATES.

1659. Settlement of Nantucket.
1678. Jeffries, Governor of Virginia.
1680. Culpepper, Governor of Virginia.
Brockholst, Lieutenant-governor of New York.
1683. Dongan, Governor of New York.
First popular Assembly in New York.
1684. Effingham, Governor of Virginia.
1688. Boundary Line between New York and Connecticut fixed.
1689. William and Mary proclaimed.
Nicholson, Lieutenant-governor of New York.
Leisler Revolution.
Revolution in Maryland.
War with the French and Indians.
1690. Destruction of Schenectady.
First Newspaper in Boston.
Nicholson, Lieutenant-governor of Virginia.
Copley, Governor of Maryland.
Church of England established in Maryland.
1691. Sloughter, Governor of New York.
Execution of Leisler.
1692. Nicholson, Governor of Maryland.
Andros, Governor of Virginia.
William and Mary College chartered.
Fletcher, Governor of New York.
1693. Expedition against the French under Schuyler.
1696. **Kidd sails from New York.**
1698. Bellomont, Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.
1699. Penn returns to Pennsylvania.
Dudley, Governor of Massachusetts.
1701. Kidd hanged.
Andrew Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1702. Cornbury, Governor of New York and New Jersey.
Nathaniel Johnson, Governor of South Carolina.
Government of New Jersey surrendered to the Crown.
1703. Boundary Line between Connecticut and Rhode Island fixed.
John Evans, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1704. Indian War in New England.

1706. French invade South Carolina.
1708. Lovelace, Governor of New York.
1709. Gookin, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1710. Port Royal taken.
Revolution in North Carolina.
Hunter, Governor of New York.
Spotswood, Governor of Virginia.
1711. **Indian War in North Carolina.**
Expedition against Canada.
1713. Five Nations become Six by the addition of the Tuscarora Tribe.
Eden, Governor of North Carolina.
1714. **Proprietary Government restored in Maryland.**
1715. **Indian War in South Carolina.**
1717. Proposed Settlement of the "Margravate of Azilia" in Georgia.
Robert Johnson, Governor of South Carolina.
Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1718. **William Penn died.**
Suppression of Piracy on the Carolina Coast.
Scotch Presbyterians settled in New Hampshire.
1719. Revolution in South Carolina.
1720. Burnet, Governor of New York.
Nicholson, Governor of South Carolina.
1722. **Third Indian War in New England.**
Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire.
Drysdale, Governor of Virginia.
1725. Gordon, Governor of Pennsylvania.
1728. Gooch, Governor of Virginia.
Montgomerie, Governor of New York.
1729. **The Carolinas purchased of the Proprietaries by the Crown.**
Baltimore laid out.
1730. Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts.
1732. **Charter of Georgia granted.**
Cosby, Governor of New York.
Trial of Zenger for libel.
Spencer Phips, Lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts.
1733. **Oglethorpe's Colony settles in Georgia.**
1734. Salzburgers settle in Georgia.
Gabriel Johnston, Governor of South Carolina.
1736. **First Printing-press established in Virginia.**
Clarke, Lieutenant-governor of New York.
1739 Robert Johnson, reappointed Governor of South Carolina.
1740. George Whitefield's first visit to New England.
1741. **Negro Plot in New York.**
Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts.
1743. Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey.
Clinton, Governor of New York.
1744. **War between England and France.**
1745. **Capture of Louisburg.**
1747. Belcher, Governor of New Jersey.
1748. Ohio Company formed. Louisburg restored to France.
1749. Settlement of Halifax, N. S.

1752. Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia.
1753. DeLancey, Governor of New York.
1754. **Colonial Congress at Albany, and Proposed Union.**
1755. **Braddock's Defeat.**
Battle of Lake George.
Banishment of the Acadians.
1756. Fort Oswego surrendered to the French.
1757. Massacre of Fort William Henry.
Pownall, Governor of Massachusetts.
1758. Defeat of Abercrombie at Fort Ticonderoga.
Fort Ticonderoga taken by Amherst.
Recapture of Louisburg.
Capture of Fort Niagara by the English.
1759. **Wolfe captures Quebec.**
1760. Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts.
1761. **Attempt to enforce Writs of Assistance in Massachusetts.**
Colden, Lieutenant-governor of New York.
1763. Pontiac's War.
1764. **Passage of the Stamp Act.**
1765. **Meeting of First Continental Congress.**
1766. **Repeal of the Stamp Act.**
1768. British Troops quartered in Boston.
1770. **Boston Massacre.**
British Troops removed from Boston.
1771. Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts.
1773. **Tax on Tea exported to the Colonies by the East India Company.**
Destruction of Tea in Boston and elsewhere.
1774. Boston Port Bill passed.
Gage, Governor of Massachusetts.
1775. *February* 26, **Troops sent to Salem, Mass., to seize Cannon.**
April 19, Fight at Lexington and Concord.
May 10, Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.
June 15, Washington appointed Commander-in-chief. *June* 17, Battle of Bunker Hill. Siege of Boston begins.
October 17, Burning of Falmouth.
November 13, Montreal taken by Montgomery. Arnold's March to Quebec.
December 30, Death of Montgomery. Daniel Boone settles in Kentucky.
1776. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, adopt Constitutions.
County of Washington, N. C. (Tennessee), organized.
January 2, Union Flag raised at Cambridge, Mass.
February 27, Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge.
June, Arrival of British Fleet in New York Bay. *June* 28, Attack on Fort Sullivan, Charleston, S. C.
July 2, Declaration of Independence by Congress.
August 27, Battle of Long Island.
September 15, Americans abandon New York. *September* 16, Battle of Harlem Plains. *September* 21, Burning of New York.
October 28, Battle of White Plains.
November 16, Surrender of Fort Washington.
December 13, Capture of General Lee. *December* 26, Battle of Trenton.

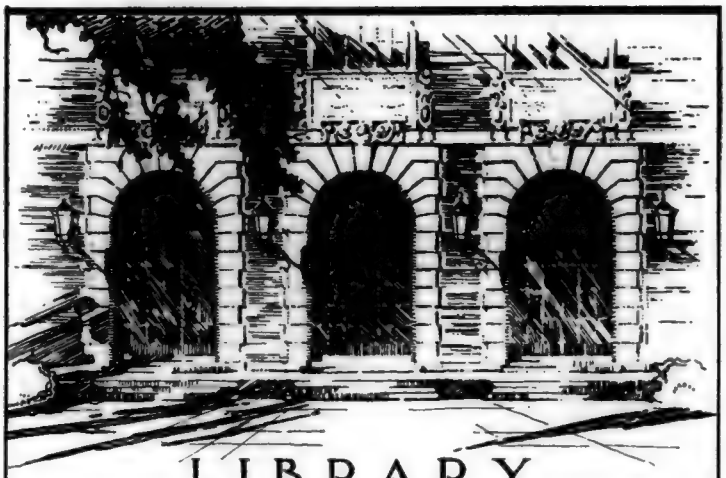
1777. New York, South Carolina, and Georgia adopt Constitutions.
January 3, Battle of Princeton.
April 26, Tryon's Attack on Danbury, Conn.
May 21, Meigs's Attack on Sag Harbor.
June 14, **Flag of Stars and Stripes adopted by Congress.**
July 6, Burgoyne captures Ticonderoga. *July* 23, Howe's Army sails from New York for Chesapeake Bay.
August 6, Battle of Oriskany. *August* 16, Battle of Bennington.
September 10, Battle of Brandywine. *September* 19, "Paoli Massacre." First Battle of Stillwater.
October 4, Battle of Germantown. *October* 6, Forts Clinton and Montgomery taken by the British. *October* 7, Second Battle of Stillwater. *October* 17, **Surrender of Burgoyne.** Howe occupies Philadelphia.

1778. Conway Cabal.
Commissioners sent to Congress by Lord North with Proposals for Peace.
Alliance with France.
May, Clark's expedition to Illinois.
June, Attack on Wyoming. *June* 18, British leave Philadelphia. *June* 28, Battle of Monmouth.
July, Trial of General Lee by Court-martial. Arrival of French Fleet under D'Estaing. *July* 29, Battle of Rhode Island.
November, Attack on Cherry Valley.
December 29, Savannah taken by the British.

1779. *May* 11, Charleston, S. C., threatened by the British.
July 5, Tryon attacks New Haven and other towns. *July* 15, Capture of Stony Point.
August 19, Assault on Paulus Hook.
September 22, Fight between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*.

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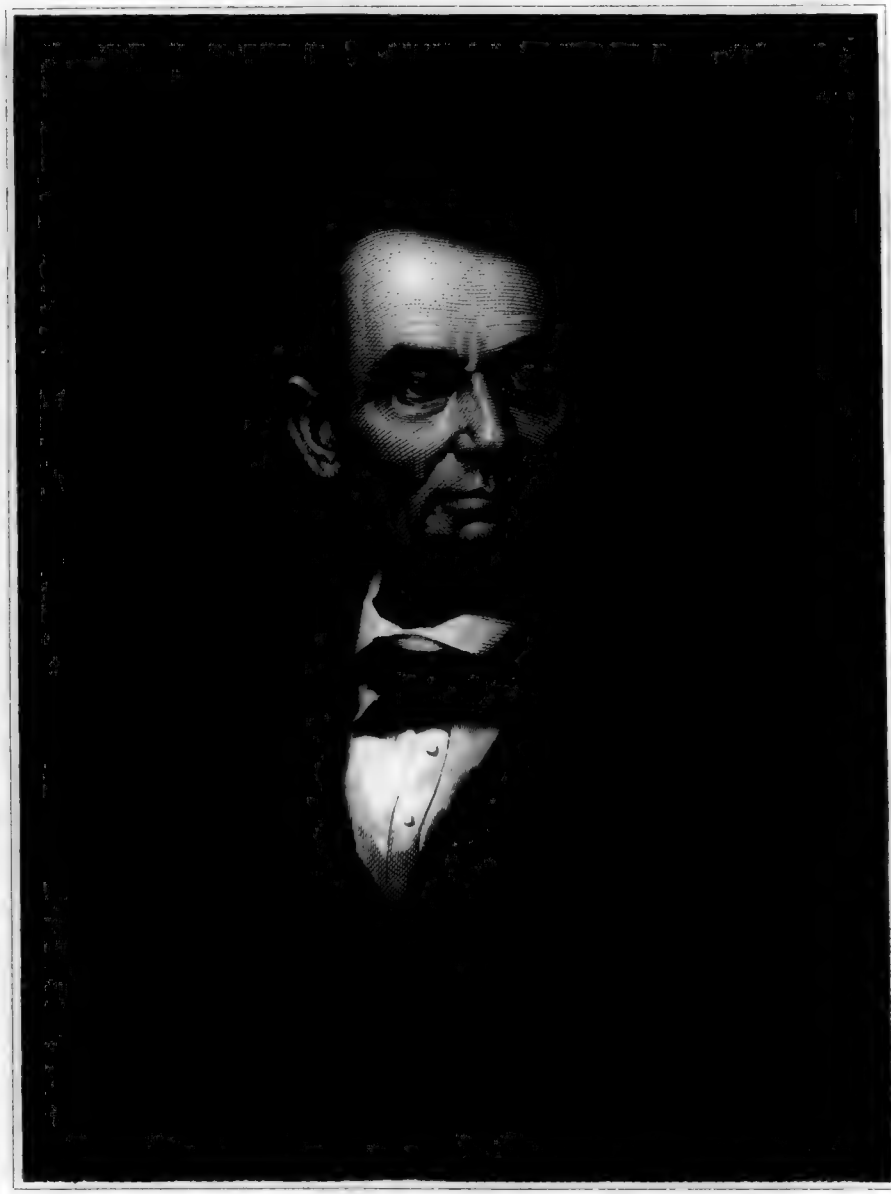
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POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE BY THE NORTHMEN TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT
SIDNEY HOWARD GAY
NOAH BROOKS

WITH MORE THAN SIXTEEN HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

VOLUME IV

NEW YORK
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1896

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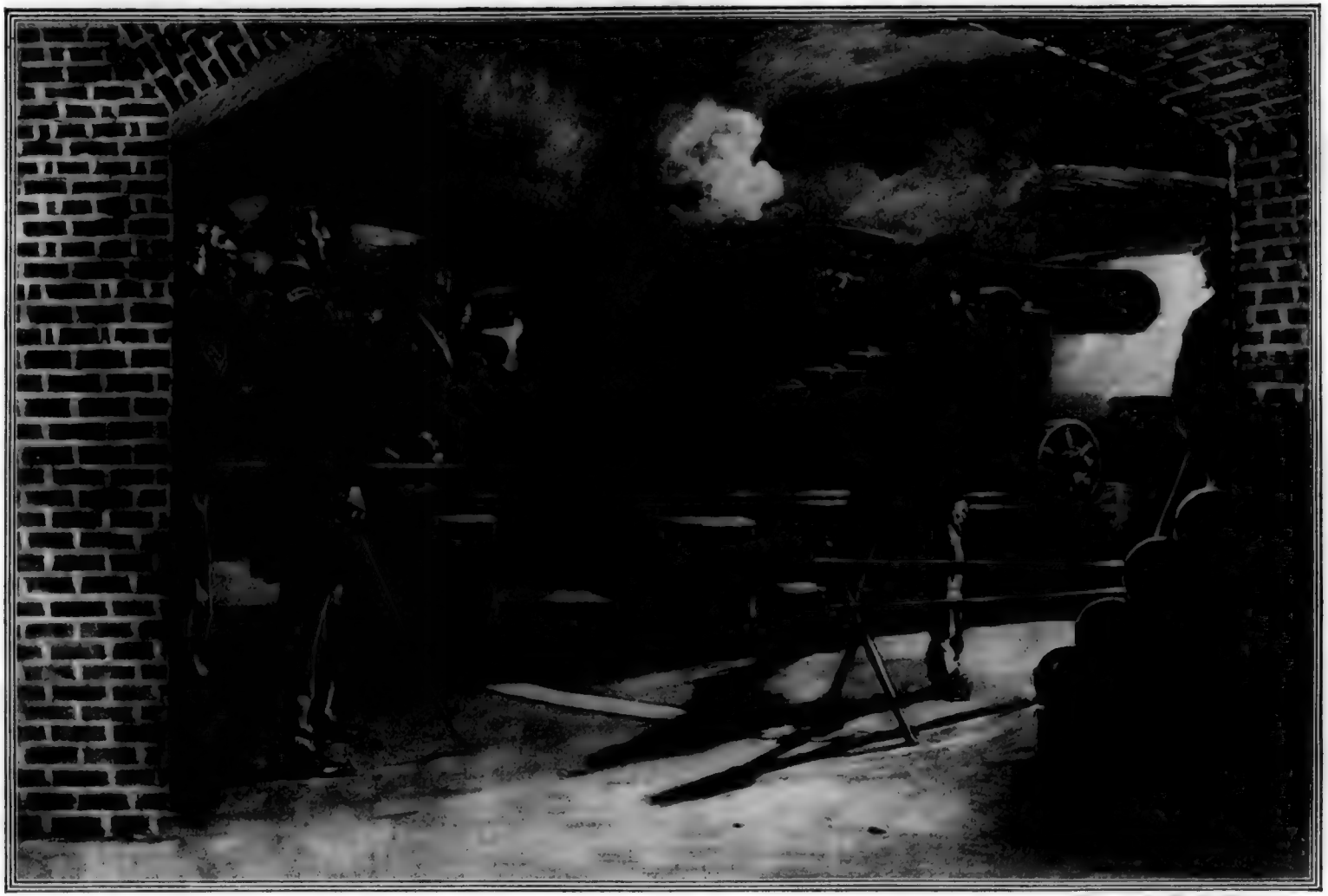
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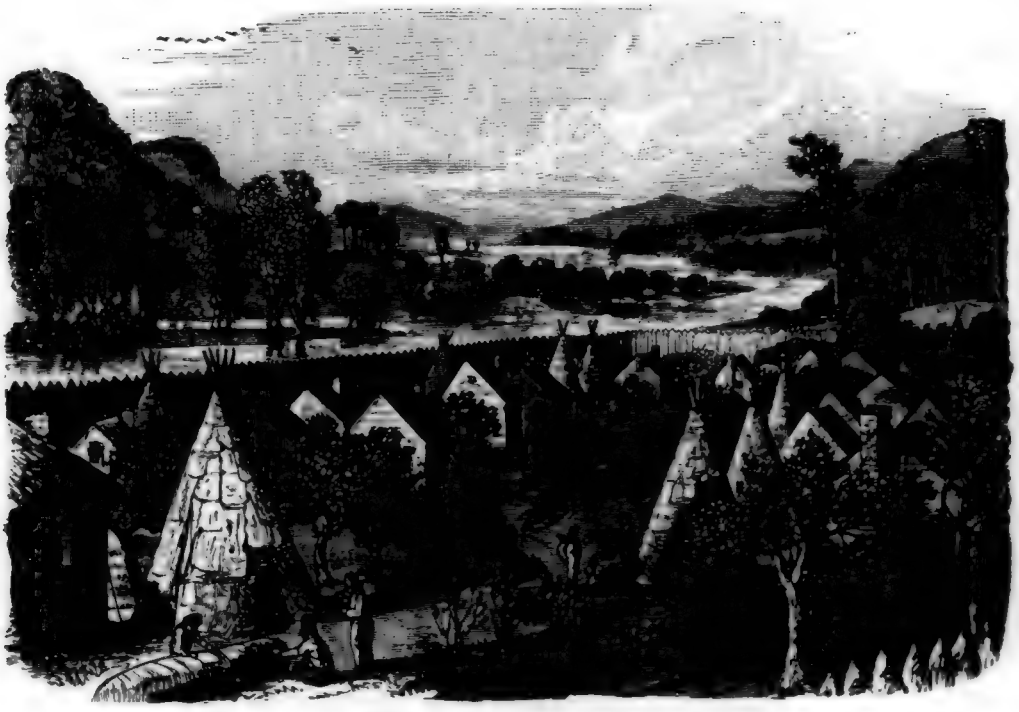
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Drawn by T. de Thulstrup.

Captain Doubleday. THE FIRST GUN FROM FORT SUMTER.



A Mohawk Village in Central New York, about 1780.

CHAPTER I.

SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION. — FALL OF CHARLESTON. — ARNOLD'S TREASON.

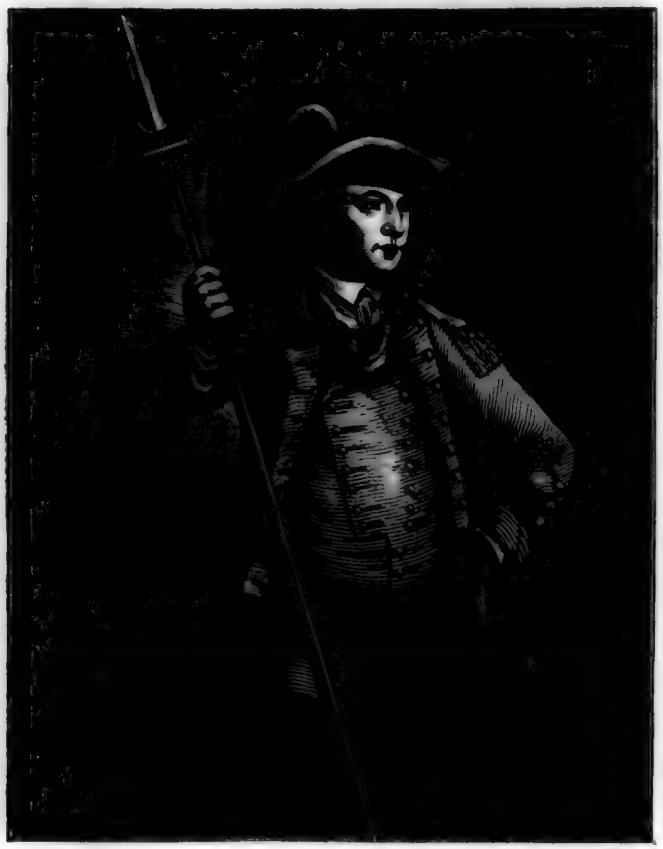
WASHINGTON'S OPPOSITION TO THE INVASION OF CANADA. — SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION IN CENTRAL NEW YORK. — THE BATTLE OF NEWTOWN. — INDIAN SETTLEMENTS LAID WASTE. — BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION. — BRANT'S REVENGE. — SPAIN DECLARES WAR AGAINST ENGLAND. — OPERATIONS IN THE SOUTHWEST. — CONDITION OF THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH FORCES. — ATTACK ON SAVANNAH. — SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CHARLESTON. — A SEVERE WINTER. — RAIDS IN NEW JERSEY. — SPRINGFIELD BURNED. — ARRIVAL OF ROCHAMBEAU. — ARNOLD'S TREASON. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH ANDRÉ. — IMPORTANCE OF WEST POINT. — THE CONFERENCE BETWEEN ARNOLD AND ANDRÉ. — ANDRÉ'S CAPTURE AND ARNOLD'S ESCAPE. — ANALYSIS OF THE AFFAIR.

IT was not without difficulty that, through the winter of 1778–79, Washington persuaded Congress that its favorite plan for the conquest of Canada and Nova Scotia was unwise. That he advanced many arguments, and urged them with earnestness and warmth; that they were listened to with impatience, and acceded to at last with reluctance, we know. The wisdom and prudence of the Commander-in-chief on this subject seem in nowise remarkable. It would seem rather that the military judgment of a corporal should have been sufficient to decide upon the absurdity of

Washington opposes the Canadian scheme.

such a movement under the existing circumstances, and that a Congress that proposed it must have been composed of members quite unfit for the conduct of a great war.

But Washington so far yielded to a scheme which he could not wholly defeat, as to approve of a proposal to take the British fort at Niagara. It was not, however, that he thought the capture of the fort of so much moment, as that an expedition against it must include another object which he considered of greater importance. This was the protection of the people of the frontier from the hostilities of the Indians, who were encouraged and aided by the British from Canada. Preparations were made early in 1779 for carrying the war into Central New York and Western Pennsylvania, with so much vigor that it was hoped the power of the savages, and their hardly less savage allies, would be completely broken, and tranquillity secured by their extermination or expulsion.



General Sullivan.

The command of this expedition was offered to Gates, who declined it in a letter which the Commander-in-chief justly considered as little less than insolent. It was then given to Sullivan, who went to work with his usual energy, though, perhaps, quite conscious that the task he had undertaken was more useful than glorious. The ostensible object was, at least in part, the capture of the fort at Niagara; but the real and essential purpose was the punishment of the Six Nations. Had both been feasible, both, no doubt, would have been done; but one only was possible with the means and force at command, and Sullivan did not approach within seventy-five miles of Niagara River. Washington's judgment in opposing the still more hazardous and expensive project of an invasion of Canada was, as usual, unerring.

Sullivan's expedition.

None knew so well as the Commander-in-chief the difficulty of even holding the army together, and how impossible it would be to provide the men and means for aggressive measures beyond the boundaries of the States. When, early in May, the New Jersey Brigade was ordered to move from winter quarters at Elizabethtown, the officers of an entire regiment sent in their resignations. They were impoverished for want of pay; their families at home were suffering for the necessaries of life; they would not abandon those who were dependent upon them, and their repeated appeals to the Legislature for relief were unheeded. Such insubordination, by military law, was deserving of punishment. Washington preferred rather to appeal to the patriotism of the men and their pride of character, and the New Jersey Legislature was moved at length to relieve their necessities. Troubles like these, though inevitable from the poverty of the people, were aggravated by the difficulty of carrying on a war conducted by a confederation of States, each giving or withholding, for a common purpose, as suited their own convenience or inclination, but without mutual submission to a common will.

Insubordination of New Jersey troops.

The expedition was to move in three divisions, — the centre, under Sullivan himself, from Wyoming; the right wing, under General James Clinton, from the Mohawk; the left, under Colonel Daniel Brodhead, from Pittsburg, — all to be under Sullivan when the forces were united. It was no fault of Sullivan's that the spring and summer were consumed in preparations, from early in May till late in August, for his commissary department was so tardily and so wretchedly supplied that he had neither food nor clothing for his men. His complaints and remonstrances were, at length, listened to, but his frankness raised up enemies against him in Congress, and made him unpopular in Pennsylvania. In that State, a large party was opposed to the expedition, partly because the Friends denied the necessity of hostile measures against the Indians, and partly because Pennsylvania was expected to assume a large share of the burden of protecting her western territory.

The plan.

Clinton was at the outlet of Otsego Lake, where it flows into the Susquehanna River, early in July, with 1,700 men. Here he awaited orders for about a month, but occupied the time in building a dam across the head of the river, to store water enough to float his boats down the stream, in case of a summer drouth, when the advance should be made. The lake was raised three or four feet in height; on the 9th of August the dam was broken, and the liberated waters filled the bed of the river to its brink, bearing along the two hundred and twenty boats upon its full tide, to the astonish-

Clinton's movement.

ment and alarm of the Indians at this sudden flood. Near the present village of Union the division was met by a detachment from Sullivan, under General Poor; and on the 26th of August the combined forces moved from Fort Sullivan on Tioga Point, now the village of Athens, in Pennsylvania.

The long and elaborate preparations for the campaign had not been unheeded by the English and the Indians. As early as April, a detachment from Fort Schuyler of six hundred men, under Colonel Van Schaick, had entered the Indian country and destroyed a town of the Onondagas. In July, the enemy, alarmed at the progress of the army, had attempted to divert it from its purpose by an attack upon a fort on the Susquehanna, and on the settlements in Orange County and on the Lackawaxen River. Sullivan, early in August, had destroyed the Indian village of Chemung, not without resistance, and with some loss.

Battle of Newtown.

A few miles above this point, on the Chemung River, was the Indian village of Newtown, now Elmira. Here Sullivan found the enemy in force, numbering altogether, probably, about twelve hundred men, made up of British regulars, Tories, and Indians, under Captain Macdonald of the British army, the Tory partisans Colonel John Butler and his son, Captain Walter N. Butler, and the Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant.

On a steep ridge between a creek and the river, this force was disposed in a position protected on two sides by a bend in the river, and skilfully strengthened in front by a breastwork, partially concealed among pine trees and shrub oaks and branches artfully placed among them. It was meant as an ambush; the advancing Americans, it was supposed, would wind along the base of the ridge by an open path, parallel to the breastwork, and when their flank was completely exposed, a deadly fire from twelve hundred hidden rifles was to be poured into them from the heights above. Sullivan commanded not less than three thousand men, led by able and experienced soldiers. If stratagem did not succeed against them, there was little chance of hindering their advance.

The stratagem was not successful. The earthworks were discovered by the advanced guard, and from a tall tree a rifleman descried the whole plan of offence and defence. Discovery was equivalent to defeat. A portion of the army under General Hand was brought in front of the enemy into line, which Brant and his Indians, by repeated and desperate sorties, attempted to break. While they were so occupied in front, Generals Poor and Clinton were quietly making their way through woods and swamps for an attack on the rear and flank. The enemy were caught in the trap which they had hoped would be

fatal to their opponents. The artillery, under Colonel Proctor, opened fire upon the breastworks and their defenders at the moment that Poor's men, followed by Clinton's, rushed up the hill in the rear with the cry of "Remember Wyoming!" The English and their allies were outgeneralled as well as outnumbered, and though they fought with courage, they were driven at length to headlong flight. Their loss was so heavy, — while Sullivan's was slight, — and their defeat so complete, that neither Brant's power, the influence of the Tories, nor the promises of the English, could rally the Indians again in any large numbers to oppose Sullivan's progress.



Destruction of Indian Villages.

Two days later the army resumed its march, and for weeks its progress was marked by utter desolation. The Six Nations had achieved a degree of civilization unknown before that time to the American Indians, and never since attained by them except among the Cherokees. They had gathered together in towns; log-huts, and even frame-houses, convenient, rudely furnished, and well-painted, had taken the place of wigwams. Their subsistence they gained in part by agriculture; their habitations were surrounded by many hundreds of cultivated acres, and they had planted thousands of fruit-trees, many already in full bearing. Sullivan spared neither the people nor their possessions. He met sometimes with desperate resistance, and the most cruel tortures were inflicted upon some of his men who fell into the

Thrift of the Six Nations.

Their country devastated.

hands of the Indians. The provocation, on the other hand, was terrible. Of forty villages, some of them containing more than a hundred houses, not a trace was left, except in ashes. Every fruit-bearing tree was cut down, and in one orchard alone there were fifteen hundred peach trees; two hundred thousand bushels of Indian corn, immense quantities of potatoes, beans, and other products of their farms and gardens, which the thrifty natives were about to harvest for winter use, were destroyed.

The objective point of the expedition, probably, was really not Niagara, but the Seneca Castle, or town, the chief westernmost settlement of the Six Nations, the extreme western door of the Long House, as they designated their confederacy. At this point, not far from Geneseo, on the Genesee River, Sullivan retraced his footsteps. The work was done thoroughly, with a loss to him of not more than forty men. The Indians had neither shelter nor food to carry them through the ensuing winter, which happened to be one of the severest on record, and many of them perished from want and disease. Their power was broken, and though they resumed, the following year, their depredations upon the border settlements, they ceased from that time to be the formidable enemy whose alliance with the English was an important incident in the progress of the war. Sullivan resigned his commission soon after rejoining Washington's army, and it was accepted by Congress; not, however, because of any disapprobation of his merciless warfare against the Indians, but because he had incurred the enmity of many members of Congress by his frank and perhaps imprudent reflections upon the conduct of the war.[1]

Brodhead's expedition.

Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who was in command of the fort at Pittsburg, started early in August, in obedience to instructions from the Commander-in-chief, on an expedition up the Alleghany River, with about six hundred men. It was to have started some months earlier, and to join Sullivan in an attack upon Niagara; but the purpose, at last, was only to punish the Indians, destroy their villages and corn-fields, and in so doing make a diversion that should be of effectual aid to Sullivan's more general campaign. The march was almost wholly within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, and in the course of it they crossed "a creek called Oil Creek," to be famous nearly a century afterward. In the oil which the soldiers found floating upon the top of a spring, they bathed their joints, to "the great relief of the rheumatism with which they were afflicted."

The expedition, though occupying a comparatively short time and

[1] The fullest and most accurate history of Sullivan's campaign is given in the Centennial Addresses of the Rev. David Craft, at the celebration in August, 1879, at Elmira, Waterloo, and Geneseo, N. Y.

few men, was of signal service, in the general plan of striking a blow at the Six Nations that should be fatal to the strength of that confederacy. In his month's absence from Pittsburg, Brodhead destroyed many villages and hundreds of acres of growing corn, without the loss of a man. The tribes he attacked were too much taken up in their own defence to reënforce those whom Sullivan was driving before him, and a number of hostile chiefs hastened to Pittsburg at Brodhead's return, with solemn promises of their future good behavior.[1] Some of them may have kept these promises; but many more, doubtless, were mindful rather of their wrongs. How well these were remembered, Brant and three hundred of his warriors showed the next summer, when, in conjunction with a force of British troops and Tories, a raid was made into the Mohawk Valley, its farms laid waste, the dwellings, barns, and crops given to the flames, cattle and sheep destroyed, and no mercy shown to either man or woman.

Brant's revenge.

The declaration of war made this summer by Spain against England, strengthened the bonds of friendship between Spain and the United States, and John Jay was sent out as minister with power to negotiate for the free navigation of the Mississippi and a loan of five million dollars. The injury done to England, however, was much greater than any immediate benefit to the United States. Galvez, the young and ambitious Governor of Louisiana, moved up the Mississippi with a force of nearly fifteen hundred men — Oliver Pollock, the agent of Congress, with a company of volunteers, making a part of the expedition — and soon captured the British posts of Fort Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez. These successes were followed by others; eight English vessels were captured on Lake Pontchartrain and on the Mississippi soon after the fall of the forts, and a few months later Mobile was taken, the last post in West Florida, except Pensacola, in British possession. That also was reduced by Galvez the next year. But important as these conquests seemed at the time to Spain, and to Spain alone, they were, in the end, of infinitely more moment to the United States. Had England been in possession of the Mississippi as well as of the St. Lawrence, at the negotiation of peace, — however idle it may be to speculate upon what might have been, in that case, the history of the North American Continent for the next hundred years, — it is not difficult to see that the United States would have had, in all human probability, quite another destiny.

War in the Southwest.

[1] Brodhead's expedition has usually been considered of little moment, and it has even been denied, or doubted, by some writers, that it ever took place. Its incidents are for the first time carefully collated and fully told by Obed Edson, in *The Magazine of History* for November, 1879.

What was not was not to be; else one might indulge also in speculation as to the probable result of the war, had not the British ministry determined that the basis of operations should be removed from the Northern to the Southern States. The attempt to suppress rebellion in the North had been baffled for nearly five years; it would be, it was thought, a wiser plan, and more easily accomplished, to overrun the sparsely populated southern country, separate its States from the Union, and compel its people to return to their allegiance to the King. Congress and the Commander-in-chief had good reason to be alarmed at this determination.

Difficulties of the new campaign.

It was with the utmost difficulty they could deal with the perils which already confronted them, and reduced them often almost to despair. The army mustered only about fifteen thousand men enlisted for the war, and of these not more than eleven or twelve thousand were in the ranks. The terms of service of about twelve thousand additional militia would expire at intervals during the first half of 1780, and whether these would reënlist, or their places could be supplied by raw recruits, was a contingency beyond control or calculation. The pay of the soldiers was months in arrears; they were always without sufficient clothing and the ordinary necessities of comfort in camp life, often without provisions for two days in advance, and sometimes without rations for the passing day. The one thing that was plentiful was paper money, and that, at the current rate of forty to one, was the one thing that was almost good for nothing. As it would pay for so little, and was so little pay for what it bought, it hardly added to the general distress that the necessities of the army were met by requisitions upon the country for food and forage wherever they could be found. The government was kept afloat by foreign loans.

With this miserable army Washington confronted Clinton, who commanded a well-appointed force of nearly thirty thousand men, in New York and its dependencies. To be always on the vigilant defensive, and to watch warily for every chance to strike a telling blow at any unguarded or carelessly guarded point, was the policy of the American General. It was fortunate for him that Clinton, with his greater strength and superior resources, either from want of energy or courage, was even less aggressive. He was content to watch Washington, as Washington was compelled to watch him.

But there was this important difference in their conditions: Clinton could threaten more than one point by detachments from the army with which he perpetually menaced the Northern and Middle States; while Washington had neither men nor means to meet any such movements. Clinton knew, quite as well as he, the difficul-

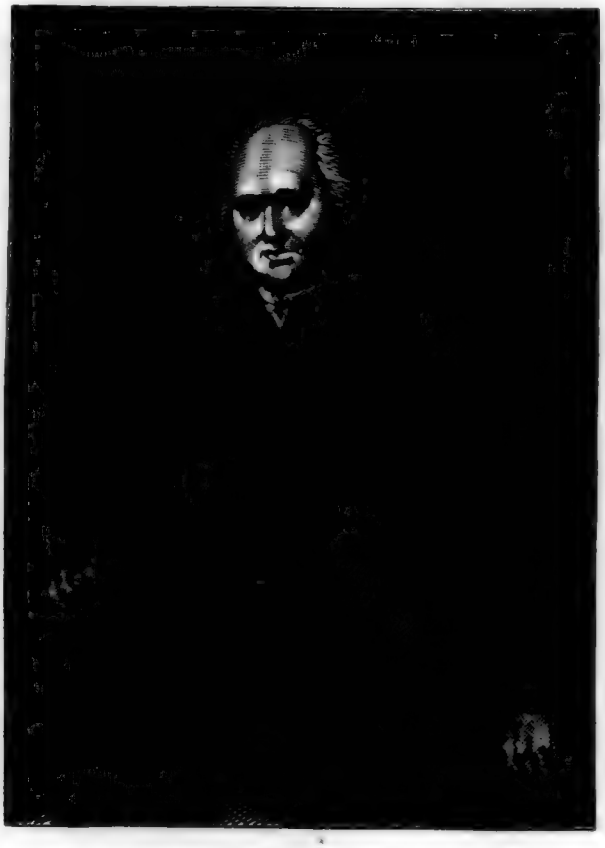
ties of the situation, and that, so far as the main army in the field was concerned, either the North or the South must be left defenceless. The conclusion was obvious, — the conquest of either North or South would be easy and inevitable, and the conquest of one was the conquest of both. Sound as the reasoning seemed, it was a fatal mistake.

Movements in the South.

Lincoln's success in maintaining his position at Charleston suggested, perhaps, that the aspect of affairs would seem less hopeless if Savannah could be retaken. D'Estaing was in the West Indies, where he had gained more credit for the French arms than in his abortive movements about Rhode Island the year before. He consented to give his aid in a brief campaign in Georgia, and early in September appeared off the coast with a fleet of about forty ships, carrying six thousand troops.

Attack on Savannah.

D'Estaing had sent word of his approach to General Lincoln, who immediately left Charleston for Savannah, with the Continental force under his command and a body of militia. Before his arrival, D'Estaing had invested the town and summoned it to surrender, not, however, in the name of the allied powers, but in that of the King of France. This breach of military etiquette, if it was no worse, was either explained or overlooked, — perhaps, even, would have been altogether forgotten, had not the French commander, by his want of promptness now, as by his want of promptness the year before at Rhode Island, thrown away the opportunity of achieving success. To his demand for surrender, the British General, Prevost, asked for a truce of twenty-four hours, and it was granted. In the time thus gained he completed his works of defence, and was reënforced by Lieutenant-colonel Maitland with eight hundred veterans then stationed at Beaufort. Before their arrival, the city was



General Lincoln.

at D'Estaing's mercy; for not more than ten guns were mounted then upon the unfinished earthworks. With such an addition to its garrison, Prevost's final answer to the demand for surrender was an answer of defiance. Within a few days his defences were completed, and surmounted by eighty heavy guns.

About a month had elapsed since the arrival of the French fleet, and D'Estaing was in haste to return to his station in the West Indies, partly to escape the probable storms of the autumn, and partly to avoid the possible arrival of an English fleet from New York. Either the siege must be abandoned, or the place carried by assault, for D'Estaing either could not or would not await the completion of trenches. On the 9th of October the attempt was made.

Here, at least, there was no reason for reflecting upon D'Estaing. He was twice wounded as, with Lincoln, he led the attack. The combined forces engaged in the assault numbered more than four thousand men, and they were aided by a cannonade of shot and shell from the French fleet. But the defence was conducted with great skill and courage, and with an advantage from behind abatis and earthworks that outweighed numbers. The assailants, crowded together within the redoubt, were exposed for nearly an hour to a terrible fire, while the utmost they could do was to plant a French and an American standard upon the ramparts.

This was the centre of intensest interest. Sergeant Jasper, who had restored the flag to its place when shot down at Fort Moultrie at the beginning of the war, was here mortally wounded in defence of his colors; three lieutenants, Bush, Thomas, and Grey, fell with the staves in their hands, — Bush with the flag beneath him; and one only of the standards was rescued from the hands of the enemy by Sergeant McDonald, who escaped unhurt. The British lost less than fifty killed, and not many more wounded and missing; while on the other side the loss, in killed and wounded, was between eleven and twelve hundred, including many officers, and chief among them the Count Pulaski, who fell mortally wounded at the head of his battalion. It was the end of the siege of Savannah; in ten days the French fleet was under sail for the West Indies, and Lincoln was compelled to return to Charleston.

Georgia was virtually restored to the Crown, so far as the province was under any civil government at all, and Clinton, encouraged by the repulse at Savannah, resolved upon energetic measures for the reduction of the whole South. Late in December, he embarked with seven thousand five hundred men for Charleston, leaving Knyphausen in command at New York, with force enough to occupy Washington's attention, who, compelled to detach

Clinton goes to Charleston.

the Virginia and Maryland troops for Southern service, could undertake no aggressive movements of importance.

The winter was one of exceptional severity, and the American army at Morristown endured almost the extremity of suffering from cold, from want of food, and want of clothing. Even the British troops, in their comfortable quarters in New York, were compelled to submit to many privations, while they could not relax their vigilance for an hour. They were in perpetual fear of

Severity of the winter.



Fall of Sergeant Jasper.

attack, for the town could be approached on either side over the solid ice which closed the North River, the East River, and the bay for miles. Each army did all it could to harass the other during the winter. Lord Stirling crossed the Kill on the ice, at Elizabethtown, to Staten Island, marched two thousand men nearly to the Narrows, and burned a fortified house and several vessels, with slight loss. A few days afterward a party of the enemy crossed from the Island to Elizabethtown, and burned the Presbyterian meeting-house, the

court-house, and some private dwellings; and the same night another party crossed the North River in sleighs, marched to Newark, burned the academy, and sacked some of the houses. These and similar excursions served to exercise the vigilance and keep up the discipline of the men on both sides through the winter months.

Raids.

It was near the middle of March before Clinton could take any effectual steps for investing Charleston, for his voyage from New York was tempestuous, and several of his transports were lost. The garrison of the town was about three thousand men, and General Lincoln believed he could hold it, provided it was approached from the land side only. Commodore Whipple was in the harbor with nine small vessels, and with these, and the guns of Fort Moultrie, he was confident the British fleet could be prevented from crossing the bar. But the bar was passed without difficulty or opposition, and Whipple could put his small fleet to no better use than to sink the whole of it, with the exception of one ship, at the mouth of Cooper River, to obstruct that channel. A few days later, the enemy passed Fort Moultrie and anchored in front of the town.

Clinton in the mean time had made good his position in the rear of the town, where Lincoln had thrown up fortifications and dug a canal across the low lands between the two rivers. These works were not formidable, as Lincoln had not feared an attack from that direction that he could not repel so long as the harbor was in his possession. With a fleet in front, holding the town under its guns, Clinton could make his approaches at his leisure, and wait for reënforcements from Savannah.

Siege of Charleston.

With the completion of his first parallel on the 10th of April, at a distance of about a thousand yards, the town was summoned to surrender. Lincoln replied, that "duty and inclination pointed to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity," for he might, he said, have abandoned it at any time, had he seen fit, during the sixty days that had elapsed since the siege began. This was quite true during the earlier weeks of the siege, so far as his movements could be controlled by the enemy; but it was not quite true that his action and judgment had been entirely unrestrained. The question had been warmly discussed, in more than one council of war, after the British fleet had crossed the bar, whether it was not wiser to save the army by retreat, rather than await almost certain capture; and the decision to remain was influenced, if it was not absolutely determined, by the threats of the townspeople, that if the attempt were made "they would cut up his [Lincoln's] boats, and open the gates to the enemy."[1]

[1] *Moultrie's Memoirs.*

But retreat soon ceased to be possible. The cavalry stationed at Monk's Corner, about thirty miles up the Cooper River, were surprised and dispersed; a like misfortune befell a post on the Santee, where Colonels White, Washington, Jamieson, and other officers saved themselves by swimming the river; some smaller posts nearer the city were necessarily abandoned, and Lincoln's only available road of escape, between the Cooper and Santee rivers, was cut off. Clinton closed slowly but surely around the city. Early in May, Fort Moultrie was surrendered; the third parallel was finished a few days later within a few yards of the canal; the canal, the first barrier of the besieged, was drained and occupied by the enemy; and the town was then at his mercy. Negotiations were begun on the 8th of May, and concluded on the 12th, by honorable capitulation. The Adjutant-general, John André, reported the number of male citizens as prisoners at nearly six thousand; these and the militia were released on parole, while the Continental troops and seamen were held as prisoners of war.

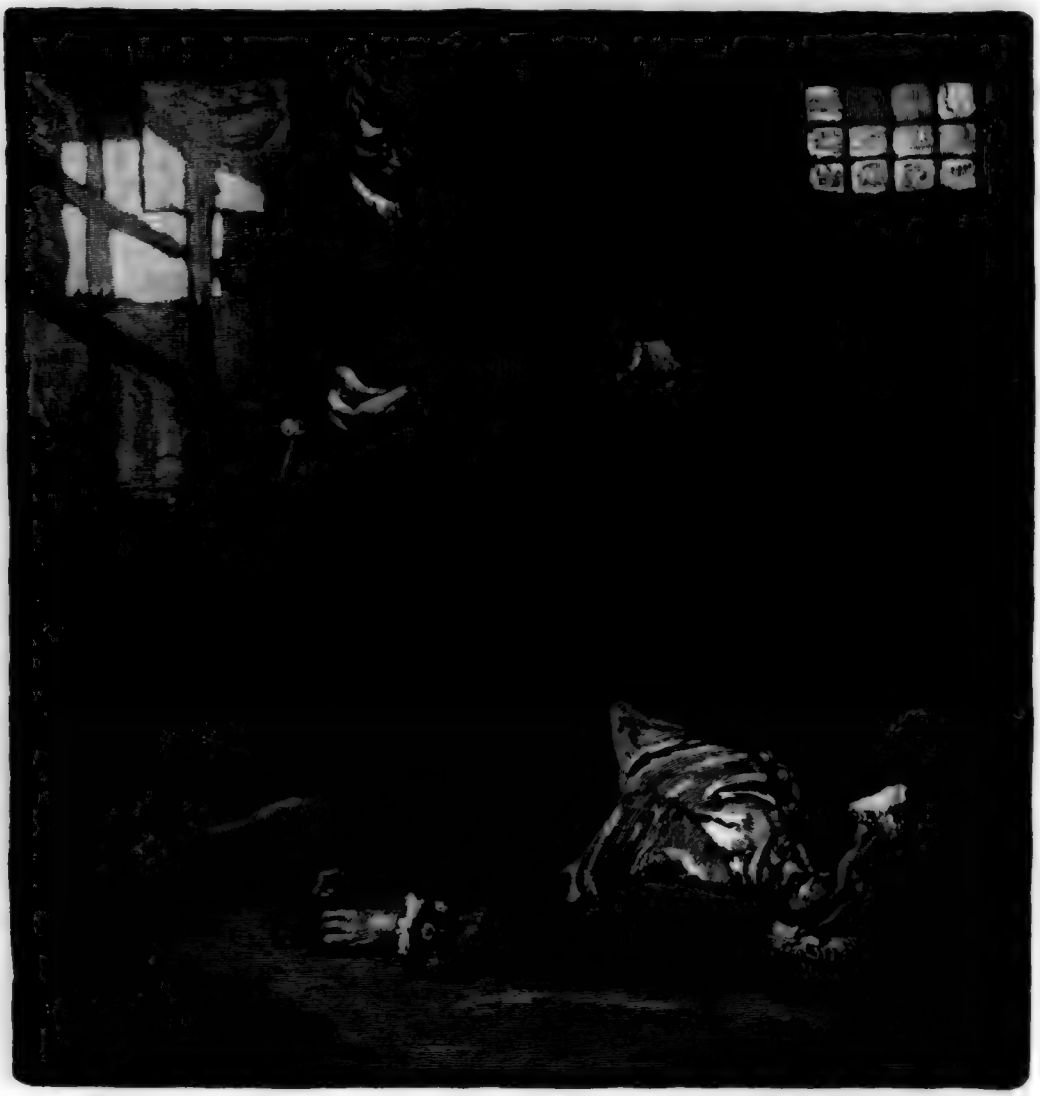
Surrender of the city.

The failure to take Savannah the previous autumn, and the loss now of Charleston and of the whole southern army at a single blow, were most serious disasters to the cause of the Americans. The British army in Georgia and South Carolina numbered nearly fourteen thousand men, and with Charleston and Savannah as their base, the easy and early subjugation of all the Southern States seemed certain. Clinton spoke with entire confidence of the absolute possession of Georgia and South Carolina, but his conduct showed at first that he looked upon the population of both as a people still to be conciliated, and not as one already subdued. Had he continued in this temper, he would have left a less difficult task to his successor. A large number of persons had given their paroles and accepted protections, with the understanding that they should be exempt from any participation in the war on either side. But Clinton, in a second proclamation, required that "all persons should take an active part in settling and securing his Majesty's government," and that those who neglected to do so should be considered as "enemies and rebels."

Clinton's policy.

There were many who would consent to remain in an attitude of neutrality in the contest, who were by no means willing to take up arms against their own countrymen. A Major James was sent as the representative of some of this class to ask of Captain Ardesoif, the commander of the British post at Georgetown, an explanation of the proclamation. The answer he received was, that "his Majesty offers you a free pardon, of which you are undeserving, for you all ought to be hanged; but it is only on condition that you take up arms in his

cause." James replied that those whom he represented would not submit to such conditions. "Represent!" shouted the British officer; "you damned rebel! if you dare speak in such language, I will have you hung up at the yard-arm!" James, who was unarmed, knocked him down with a chair, for answer, and left him senseless. The five brothers of the James family were from that moment among the most active partisans of the State.[1] Many followed their example. Clinton



James and Ardesoif.

foolishly compelled them to fight, and under that compulsion they preferred to fight against the King, — not for him.

When the news of the fall of Charleston reached New York, Knyphausen was persuaded that it would so discourage the soldiers of the American army in New Jersey, whose privations and complaints

[1] *Life of Francis Marion*, by W. G. Simms.

were well known to him, that they would be an easy conquest. On the 6th of June, he crossed with six thousand troops from Staten Island to Elizabethtown Point, and marched toward the village of Connecticut Farms, seven miles beyond Elizabethtown. The militia, under Colonel Elias Dayton, and a brigade of Continental troops under General William Maxwell, from whom Knyphausen expected a welcome, disputed every foot of the road from sunrise till dark, as the British advanced. They fell back step by step before a superior force, but it was with the utmost coolness and good order. In the course of the day the village of Connecticut Farms was burned, and the wife of the clergyman, the Rev. James Caldwell, was killed by a shot through the window of the room where she was sitting surrounded by her children. It was asserted in the contemporary reports in the New Jersey and Pennsylvania newspapers, that this was the deliberate deed of a passing British soldier,[1] and the statement, though denied on the other side, was generally believed, and excited universal indignation.

Knyphausen invades New Jersey.

When at last the Americans crossed the Rahway, at Springfield, and Washington had advanced to their support, if needed, Knyphausen fell back the way he came. "At the middle of the night," — wrote Maxwell, to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, — "the enemy sneaked off and put their backsides to the Sound near Elizabethtown." They held the road from Elizabethtown to De Hart's Point on the Kill van Kull.

On the 17th of June, Clinton, having taken unwittingly the first step in the train of events that was to lead to the loss of the cause entrusted to him, arrived from Charleston. Six days afterward he ordered another movement, the preparations for which were watched with anxiety. Washington at first supposed an attack upon West Point was intended, but he divined Clinton's intention in season to meet the advance into New Jersey. Greene was put in command of about fifteen hundred men at Springfield, and with Maxwell's and Stark's brigades and Lee's infantry, was ready to give the enemy a warm reception. Colonels Angell, Shreve, and Dayton, with their respective regiments, opposed one column of the enemy, and Major Lee with his cavalry and Colonel Ogden with his regiment checked the other. Dayton's militia were inspired by the presence and example of their chaplain, Caldwell, whose wife had been shot only a few days before. When the men were in want of wadding for their guns, he distributed hymn-books among them, with the exhortation, "Put Watts into them, boys!"[2] Springfield, however, was taken and burned, and the enemy then returned to Staten Island.

Clinton returns to New York

Springfield burned.

[1] See Moore's *Diary of the Revolution.*

[2] Irving's *Life of Washington.*

Arrival of Rochambeau.

On the 11th of July, five thousand French troops, under De Rochambeau, arrived at Newport, the first division of an army of twelve thousand men which Lafayette had induced the King to promise should be sent to America. Again, for a time, the French alliance proved rather a hindrance than a help. The enthusiasm aroused by Rochambeau's arrival was almost extravagant, and important and decisive measures, it was supposed, would immediately follow. Washington proposed to move, supported by the French, upon the city of New York. But it was the 15th before the French troops were all landed, and nearly one fifth of them, sick from a voyage of seventy days, were sent into hospitals; on the 21st, an English fleet was seen in the offing; on the 25th, a messenger was sent by Rochambeau to the government of Massachusetts to ask that the troops of that province might be ordered to reënforce his army, as he had just learned from Washington that Newport was to be attacked by the British.[1] That it was not attacked, was due solely to a disagreement between Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot. When, a little later, a squadron under Admiral Rodney joined that of Arbuthnot to make the blockade of Newport effectual, a considerable force was detached from the American army to aid in the defence of the allies and their fleet.

Arnold's treason.

It was an autumn of enforced inactivity and of hope deferred; and while the country was under these depressing influences, it was shocked by the disclosure of Arnold's long premeditated treachery, which, had it been successful, would have led, no doubt, to the most disastrous consequences. For eighteen months he had been in communication with Sir Henry Clinton, to whom, through Major John André, Adjutant-general of the British army, he had given, from time to time, much valuable information. His schemes were now complete, through which he believed that, by the sacrifice of his country, he could achieve rank, and fame, and wealth for himself.

His character.

It is not unusual to explain Arnold's crime by the suggestion of some extraordinary impulse — as that a proud and haughty spirit could not brook certain humiliations which had been put upon him in the American army — that a lofty ambition led him to extravagances in his way of living from which it was difficult, if not impossible, to extricate himself, while the very heedlessness with which they were incurred was the evidence only of a warm and generous temper. It is difficult to admit that his conduct may be so explained when his whole career, both before and after his treason, is considered. He was certainly distinguished for wonderful energy

[1] *Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution*, 1780–1783.

and remarkable physical courage; and as a soldier these seem to have been his chief merits. But there was something in the way of his success which, from the beginning of his public life, always confronted him among those who knew him best, and those whose duty it was to fathom his true character. There was an apparently insurmountable distrust of his integrity, and, with some, a vague, but positive, suspicion of his loyalty. His dash excited admiration, and at first won him hosts of unthinking friends; but the more reflecting looked for, and did not find, in his conduct, that rigid rule of a severe morality and that keen sense of honor of which he was so apt in boasting.[1] The treatment he received from Congress, in 1777, in relation to his commission as Major-general, is in itself almost his condemnation, as it could not have been without strong reasons; that he should not have immediately retired from public life on being so treated, is a remarkable proof of that absence of self-respect that fully justifies the withholding of respect in others.



Benedict Arnold.

While in command at Philadelphia, he had married a second wife, a daughter of Edward Shippen, a distinguished Tory. In the gay winter of 1777, when Sir William Howe occupied the city, this young lady was a favorite of the British officers, and after her marriage she kept up a correspondence with Major André. The assertion, so generally made, that Arnold took advantage of this correspondence to put himself in communication with André, can hardly be true; for Mrs. Arnold was ignorant, till the last moment, of the treacherous relation her husband had established with the enemy, and André and Sir Henry Clinton were for a long time unable to ascertain the real name of the person to whom they were indebted for much valuable information. Arnold may have detected something in the tone of the letters to his wife, that led him to believe he would find in André one with whom he could safely conspire in his intended treason; but he could not have availed himself of the communication al-

[1] See Sparks's *Life of Benedict Arnold.*

ready existing, without exciting suspicion in his wife, or betraying his identity to her friend.

Correspondence with André.

The correspondence that followed was conducted under the pretence of being upon commercial affairs, André assuming the name of "John Anderson," and Arnold that of "Gustavus." For months it was necessarily confined to keeping the British officer, and through him the British Commander-in-chief, carefully informed of military and civil intelligence that could be of use to the enemy. The estimation in which this was held was much increased when Clinton was led by several circumstances to conjecture the name of his correspondent, and was then assured that still more important services were to come.

While in command in Philadelphia, various charges had been preferred against Arnold by the State, which brought him in the end before a court-martial. When again restored to active service, — after receiving a public rebuke from the Commander-in-chief, in accordance with the sentence of the court, — he contrived, under pretence that an old wound unfitted him for duty in the field, to get the appointment of commander of West Point. It was perfectly characteristic of the man — of his self-conceit and his insolence, of his reckless disregard of truth, of his bold hypocrisy and pretence of honor — that he should have said before the court-martial, after recounting his own services and merits: "When our illustrious General was retreating through New Jersey with a handful of men, I did not propose to my associates basely to quit the General, and sacrifice the cause of my country to my personal safety, by going over to the enemy and making my peace." The allusion was to President Reed, of Pennsylvania, about whom there were some whispered suspicions[1] — then for the first time publicly alluded to. Yet at this moment Arnold had been already for months in secret communication with the enemy, and was only delaying some final act of stupendous treachery till he was in a position to make it the most disastrous to his country.

Importance of West Point.

He had attained to that position in the command of West Point, and had skilfully manœuvred to acquire it for the sole purpose of betraying his trust, and selling himself at a high price. When he proposed to Clinton to put him in possession of the place, that general wrote to the Ministry that it was worth being secured "at every risk and at any expense." As a military post, its acquisition would be as important to one party as its loss would be serious to the other. It commanded the navigation of the Hudson, and, to a certain degree, the communication with Canada, and between the Northern and Southern States; it and its dependen-

[1] See vol. iii., p. 526, note.

cies were held by garrisons numbering more than three thousand men; they were defended by about one hundred guns, and contained large stores of provisions and ammunition. With the betrayal of the place, a large portion of the men and property, it was supposed, would be captured.

It was necessary that the final arrangement should be made by a personal interview, and it was by both Clinton's and Arnold's wish that this was intrusted to André, through whom the correspondence had all along been conducted. To one other person only in the British army — Colonel Beverley Robinson, commanding a regiment of American Loyalists — was the negotiation known. Arnold was too wary to trust any one on his own side with a knowledge of his contemplated villany. Robinson's estate was opposite West Point, on the other side of the river, and the house was occupied by Arnold as his headquarters. Under a pretence of asking for a conference in regard to the restitution of this confiscated property, Robinson attempted to bring about a meeting between the conspirators. To allay suspicion, the letter — which on its face seemed innocent enough — was shown to Washington, who objected to the interview, as the question seemingly proposed to be discussed could only, he said, be settled by the civil authorities.

The conference with André.



Robinson's House

Arnold had some days before attempted to get André within the American lines as a merchant, under the name of "John Anderson," and had directed Colonel Sheldon, in command of a post at Lower Salem, Westchester County, to receive and have him conducted to headquarters. Probably the hazard of going openly within the enemy's lines under an assumed name, and with a pretended purpose, deterred André from this undertaking; for he could hardly have failed to reflect that if his true character were discovered he would be arrested as a spy, and the exposure of the plot would follow. There is, indeed, no other supposable reason for his rejecting this

method of bringing about the desired and essential interview; and had he never abandoned that cautious conduct, but had compelled Arnold to take the risk which in any case would attend the accomplishment of his purpose, the less guilty of the two conspirators would have escaped an ignominious death. At any rate, André declined Arnold's invitation, and appointed to meet him at Dobbs Ferry. Arnold attempted this, but failed for want of proper precaution somewhere, was fired upon by the guard-boats, and came near being taken prisoner. Two days later he again attempted to induce André to come within the American lines, promising that a trusty person should meet him at Dobbs Ferry and conduct him, in disguise, to a place of safety, where the interview should take place. At the same time, in case André should have changed his mind, and be willing now to take the hazard of a ride to headquarters through the American posts, the General wrote to Major Tallmadge, at North Castle, if one John Anderson arrived there, to send him forward under an escort.

But André had not changed his mind. Arnold had given him the alternative of meeting a messenger at Dobbs Ferry, or on board the British sloop-of-war *Vulture*, then lying off Teller's — now Underhill's — Point, just above Sing Sing. Clinton's positive orders to his Adjutant-general were, that he should neither go within the American lines, assume a disguise, nor accept papers. It was in accordance with the spirit of these orders that André did not remain at Dobbs Ferry to wait for a messenger, but pushed on to the *Vulture*. There he would still be under the British flag, and would be nearer Arnold's headquarters, who, he hoped, would meet him on board the ship.

This was on the evening of the 20th of September, and up to this time it is quite plain that Arnold, in that intense and remarkable selfishness which always governed his conduct, was determined that all the dangers of the enterprise should fall to others, and the chief reward to himself; and it is equally plain that André understood these dangers and was determined to avoid them. Great reward was to be his also, if the treacherous business could be brought to a successful end; but so long as he remained in New York, his own cool judgment, and that of the commanding General, were quite sufficient to convince him that the hope of reward, however great, could not justify the enormous risk of being captured as a spy. He, no doubt, felt that he would be quite as strong to resist temptation on board the *Vulture* as in his quiet quarters in New York.

It was now three weeks since the interview had been talked about, and there were many reasons why some conclusion should be speedily reached. It was known to a number of persons that there was some-

thing unusual and mysterious going on between the American General and the enemy; and though nobody suspected its real character and purpose, some unlucky accident, where watchfulness had been once aroused, might lead at any moment to a catastrophe. Military reasons, moreover, were imperative. Washington and Rochambeau were in conference at Hartford; a movement might be made that would prevent the attack upon West Point by the British, which was an essential part of Arnold's plan; while, if the movement of the allied armies should be anticipated by the capture of that stronghold, all Washington's plans would be completely defeated.

It was impossible that such obvious considerations should not greatly influence André's mind, and induce him at last to yield to circumstances which he could not control. Another day was lost, and days now, — even hours, — were very precious; but as possibly Arnold, or his messenger, might have gone or sent to Dobbs Ferry, — presuming that his confederate would stop at the point nearest to New York, — it was necessary to let him know that John Anderson awaited him on board the *Vulture*. A pretext was found for sending a letter to the American General, which was countersigned "John Anderson, Secretary." In the evening of the 21st a boat with muffled oars came alongside the ship; but it brought, instead of Arnold, one Joshua Hett Smith, who supposed that he was to take back to shore the Tory Colonel, Beverley Robinson. Arnold, it was plain, meant to take no personal risk for himself, and calculated, perhaps, how great this temptation would be to an impetuous young man to brave what did not seem to be a very great danger, for the sake of an interview on which so much depended, and for which there might not be another opportunity.

Both Captain Sutherland of the *Vulture*, and Colonel Robinson, it is said, earnestly advised André not to leave the ship; but throwing aside the caution which, apparently, had hitherto governed him, or had been imposed upon him by superior authority, he was deaf to their counsels. If Arnold would not come to him, he must go to Arnold; and it seemed possible to do so, under existing circumstances, without any very great hazard. Concealing his uniform under a long overcoat, he took boat with Smith, was rowed to the west bank of the river, and met Arnold at the foot of the Long Clove Mountain, about six miles below Stony Point.

The conference between the two conspirators, concealed in the bushes, lasted for several hours, till Smith warned them that, as daylight was approaching, it was not safe either for them or the boat to remain longer. Smith, in his narrative, published years afterward in England, declares that Arnold urged him and the boatmen to return

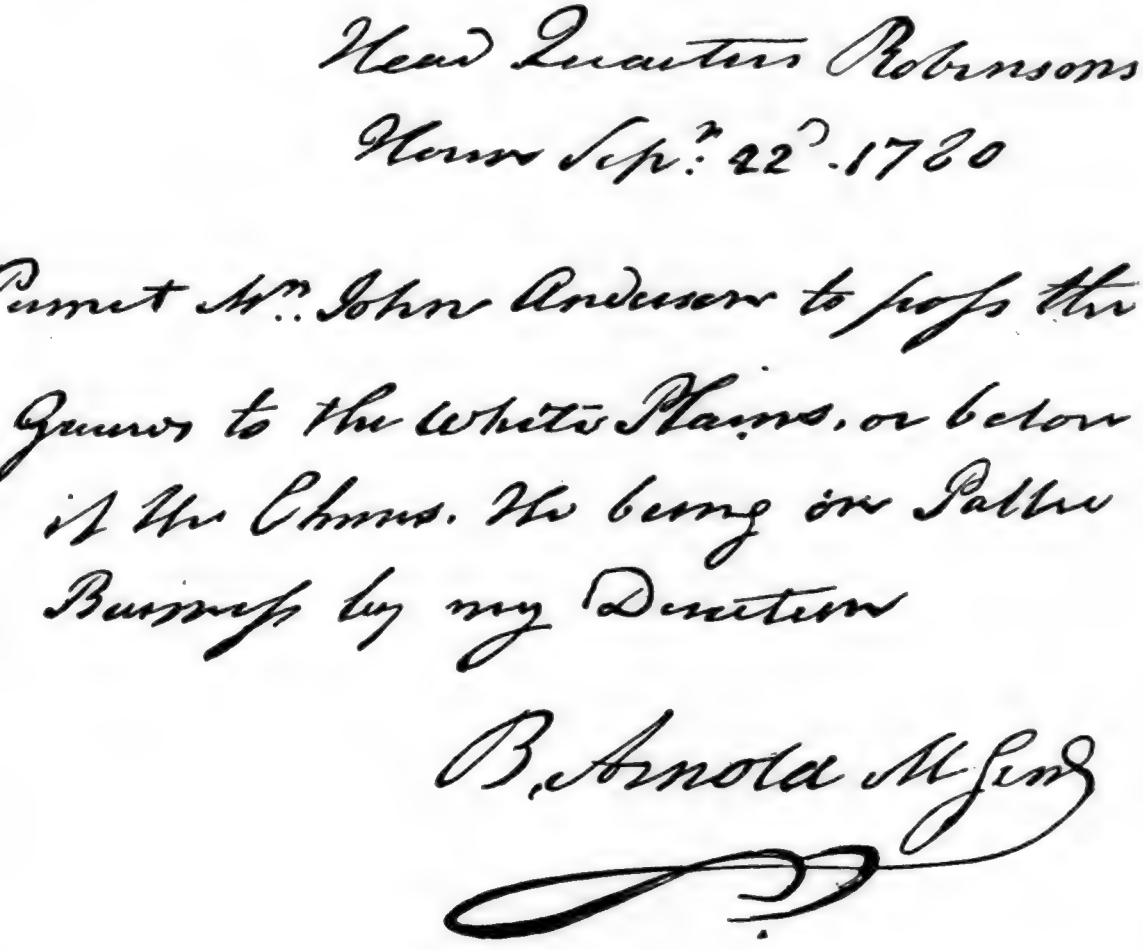
to the *Vulture* with their passenger; but the boatmen — two brothers, named Colquhoun, who, both because they were fatigued, and because they thought a secret expedition in the night to a British vessel was wrong, had at the outset refused to be engaged in it till Arnold threatened them with arrest — testified on Smith's trial that they did not see Arnold at all, that Smith only asked if they were willing to go back to the ship, and they replied in the negative. The point is not unimportant. There is not the least evidence that André proposed or wished to return; much still remained to be arranged, and he consented, apparently without hesitation or protest — knowing that he was within the enemy's lines and was not, as he afterward confessed, under the protection of a flag — to go with Arnold, to Smith's house, about three miles distant. Arnold had provided for this contingency by having a horse in readiness, and by requiring Smith, a day or two before, to send his family from home.

To take advantage of treachery on the other side, is held to be justifiable in war. André's first error was when, to gain that advantage, he quitted the protection of his own flag; his second step was irreparable and fatal in entrusting his life without reserve to his accomplice. Perhaps he became conscious of this almost immediately after his arrival at Smith's house, from the windows of which he saw the *Vulture* drop down the river under a heavy cannonade which Colonel James Livingston had ordered to be brought to bear upon her from Teller's Point. She returned, however, in the course of the day, and, as evening approached, André showed great anxiety to be taken on board. But Smith, in whose hands Arnold had left the spy, was now too much alarmed to venture again upon the river, and André had no alternative but to accept the risk of that ride through the country which he had so steadily refused to take, when under the guidance of Sir Henry Clinton, and free to exercise his own common sense. He had placed himself in a position where he could no longer govern his own actions, but must trust to chance.

André's dilemma.

Arnold was hardly less helpless. To Smith, who had made it his business for a considerable time to gather news from inside the British posts, there was nothing in the case before him to distinguish it from others with which he was in daily familiarity. So far as he knew, here was only an ordinary spy who had voluntarily exposed himself to the dangers which a spy must always encounter. He was quite willing to help him to the usual facilities of avoiding such dangers, but felt under no obligation to expose his own life by venturing again to board the *Vulture*, now so closely watched. Arnold evidently did not dare to exercise absolute authority, for that would quicken

the suspicions of Smith, who already knew more than could easily be explained. He therefore left André to Smith's mercy; and that he knew what Smith would do, is evident from the fact that he provided a pass for André to go by land to White Plains, and persuaded him to substitute for his uniform coat a plain one of Smith's, explaining to that gentleman that it was only vanity in this tradesman, John Anderson, that had led him to appear in the garb of a British major. It was determined that he should return to New York by land, and the journey was begun at night. They crossed the river at Verplanck's



Fac-simile of André's pass.

Point, and at Crompond, eight miles farther, learned from Captain Boyd, who was in command of a patrolling party, that a band of Cowboys, — or marauders in British pay, who infested the country above New York — was probably in the neighborhood, and they had better delay their journey till morning.

The road they were on led to Pine's Bridge, over the Croton River, and at this point, in the morning, Smith left André to pursue his

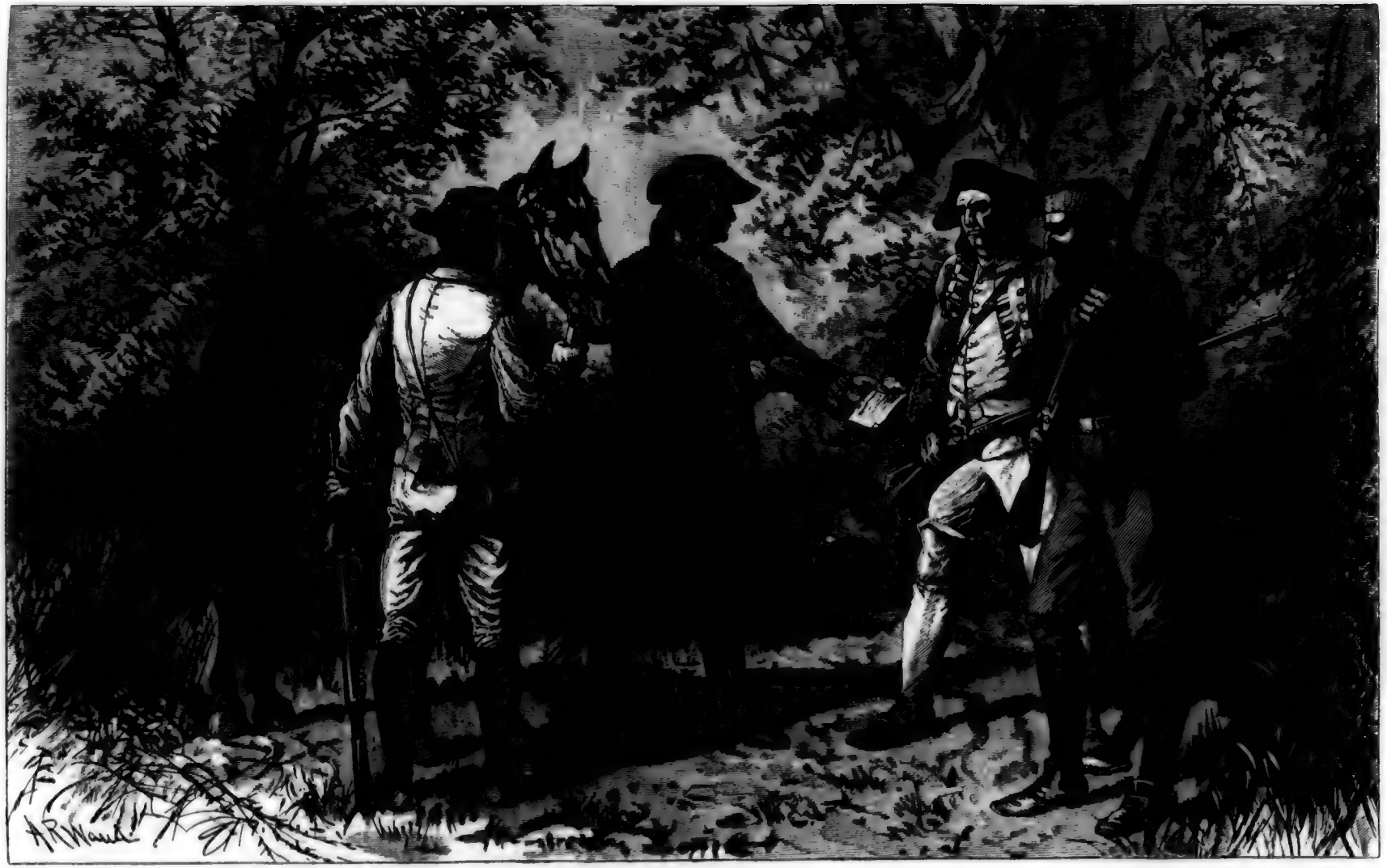
way alone, presuming that he would keep on by the most direct way to White Plains. But André had heard the night before from Captain Boyd that the Cow-boys were on the Tarrytown road, along the east bank of the Hudson, and his wish was, of course, not to avoid but to fall in with some of these people, with whom he would be safe. After parting with Smith, therefore, he left the White Plains road for the road to Sing Sing, and hurried forward to strike the Tarrytown road.

His capture.

He had reached to within half a mile of Tarrytown when he was stopped by three men — John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams — who were out in pursuit of the Cow-boys. He hoped, he said, incautiously, that they belonged to the "Lower Party;" and on being assured they did, he declared that he was a British officer, abroad on particular business, and must not be detained. They ordered him to dismount, and guessing now that he had committed a blunder, he exclaimed, "My God! I must do anything to get along," and pulled out Arnold's pass to John Anderson. It was too late. When Paulding was asked at Smith's trial why he did not release the prisoner when the pass was shown, he answered, "Because he said before he was a British officer. Had he pulled out General Arnold's pass first, I should have let him go." They led him out of the road, behind some bushes, took off his boots and stockings, and within the stockings found the papers revealing Arnold's treason. He was asked by Williams if he would give his horse, saddle, bridle, watch, and a hundred guineas if they would release him. He offered not only these, but any sum of money or quantity of dry goods they should ask for, to be sent to any place they should name. "No, by God," said Paulding; "if you would give us ten thousand guineas, you should not stir a step."

Col. Jameson's blunders.

The nearest military post was North Castle, where Colonel Jameson was in command, and thither the prisoner was taken. This officer was utterly bewildered. He was familiar with Arnold's handwriting, and it was impossible to doubt that it lay before him in the pass to "John Anderson" and the documents found in his stockings. There is no intimation anywhere that Jameson supposed it possible that these papers might be forged. He probably believed that here was some deep and wicked plot altogether beyond his power of unravelling; but that the commanding General was a monstrous traitor, was an idea absolutely beyond his comprehension. He was dazed and stunned, and utterly incapable of using what little judgment he possessed. Naturally, he did the most unwise thing he could do; the papers he dispatched to Washington, by a messenger, whose chance of missing was quite as great as of meeting



CAPTURE OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

the Commander-in-chief, then on the road somewhere between Hartford and West Point; but the prisoner he sent under guard to Arnold, with a letter explaining the circumstances of his arrest.

Fortunately, the Major of the regiment, Benjamin Tallmadge, was not destitute of discretion, nor incapable of facing an emergency. He was absent from camp through the day, but when on his return in the evening he heard from Jameson of the arrest of the man called John Anderson, and of the character of the papers found upon him; and that the man had been sent to Arnold with a letter; he comprehended at once that, if here was a revelation of some infamous act of treason, the most effectual step possible for the escape of the traitor and his accomplice had been taken by the Colonel. His own judgment was helped by a conviction of many years' standing, that Arnold was not to be trusted, and by remembering that some days before Arnold had ordered him to send one John Anderson, should he fall into his hands, to headquarters. But it was useless to argue on this point with Jameson. He was persuaded to send a messenger for the return of Anderson; but nothing could induce him to recall the letter to Arnold. The guard was overtaken, and returned in the morning to North Castle. Tallmadge saw by his gait that the prisoner was a soldier, and he was evidently in disguise; he was therefore sent in the course of the day to the headquarters of the regiment at Lower Salem, for safer custody.

André wrote at once to Washington, and announced his true name and condition. "It is to vindicate my fame," he said, "that I speak, and not to solicit security." Nevertheless, the letter was meant as a defence and a solicitation — an anticipation of a probable indictment and a possible verdict. As yet there had been no accusation; he was himself the first to put a construction upon the facts of the case. He had been betrayed, he said, "into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise, within your posts:" — "I was involuntarily an impostor." Thus his standing before the court of public opinion, for that time and for all time to come, was fixed by himself, as an enemy in disguise — in a vile position — as an impostor. Was it true that this was his misfortune rather than his fault? — that he was the victim of treachery, betrayed in spite of himself into a false position?

André's letter to Washington.

The case is a remarkable instance of the value of the first word. Eight days afterward, the 2d of October, André was hanged as a spy at Tappan, N. J., — hanged by the sentence of a court-martial consisting of fourteen Major-generals and Brigadier-generals of the American army. As he in his letter to Washington acknowledged, he was captured when in the vile condition of an

Analysis of the case.

enemy in disguise, and as an impostor; so they therefore decided that as a spy he deserved to suffer an ignominious death. The falsehood, that he was betrayed, against his will, into that unhappy position, had no weight with the court. Every step he had taken was taken, as we have shown, of his own free will. He left the *Vulture* with alacrity, against the advice of his friends; he made no effort to return to the ship that night, but went willingly to Smith's house with Arnold to conclude the arrangements for the nefarious business that had brought them together, and for the successful accomplishment of which he was to be made a brigadier-general. That circumstances intervened which prevented his return to the ship the next day, was a contingency of which he took the risk when he left her; he accepted a disguise; he hid upon his person the documents which would enable his commander to strike a terrible, if not a fatal, blow at the enemy; all his acts were the acts of a spy; he assumed the responsibility they inevitably involved against the judgment of his friends, against the positive orders of his General, against even his own better sense of prudence when he was free to judge with coolness.

Nevertheless, for a hundred years that first statement of his, — that he had been betrayed into a false position, — has been accepted by multitudes of people as true, and in spite of its sophistry and falsehood, has spread a deceptive light over the whole transaction. He was, indeed, the one victim of Arnold's abortive treachery to his country; but this was not treachery to him; his betrayal was self-betrayal, when in a moment of rashness and over-confidence he forgot the laws of war, and ventured upon a step which, indeed, if successful, would help himself as well as his King, but if unsuccessful would lead down to death. That he was a gentleman, a man of culture and of many accomplishments, of an agreeable person and captivating manners, and that he talked much of his high sense of honor, should not — as it did not with his judges — cover up, in the least, the true character of the conduct that has made him famous, rather than infamous. The sympathy that regrets the fate of one with many admirable qualities, degenerates into mawkish sentimentality when it remembers only those qualities and forgets the crime which the possession of such qualities does not palliate, and ought to have prevented. His associates and superiors in the British army had no other plea to offer on his behalf than that he acted under a flag of truce. He acknowledged this was not true, and rested on the defence that he was treacherously dealt with. One plea was as false as the other. Had the great crime in which he was an accessory, succeeded, the execrations which the world has always visited upon his principal would, no doubt, have fallen upon him in equal measure.

Because the greater criminal went unpunished and gained his reward, the lesser, whom the other tempted, was first pitied and then made a hero of.

It is a curious instance of how accident may dominate the judgment of men, and how little real merit may have to do with fame. The country that André meant to serve if he was well rewarded, and the country that he meant to ruin, are not yet tired of raising monuments to his memory ; but for that other noble gentleman, Nathan Hale, accomplished, highly educated, young, and attractive, who suffered death in the same way, and technically for the same crime as André's, his countrymen have no honors and no tears, almost no memory. Yet one had accepted an odious task as an imperative duty to his country,



Arnold's Escape.

and purified the deed by the motive of its performance ; the other braved the consequences of a legal crime in the hope of receiving a great professional reward. Hale mounted the scaffold saying only that he wished he had another life to give to his country. André remembered himself as the central figure of a tragic drama, and called upon the bystanders to observe that he met his fate like a brave man, — that, as a more vulgar criminal would have said, he "died game."

Escape of Arnold.

The letter sent to Arnold by Jameson reached him at the Robinson house on the morning of the 25th, while he was at breakfast with two of Washington's aids. A glance at it revealed to him that his treason was discovered and he must fly for his life. Showing no emotion, and arousing no suspicion, he went quietly to his wife in another room, explained to her in a few hurried and ter-

rible words the peril in which he stood, and then left her insensible. With the same imperturbability he mounted a horse at the door, rode to the river-side, took boat, and ordered his men to pull down the river, tying his white handkerchief to his cane and raising it as a flag of truce. It was not till the afternoon that he was missed at head-quarters or his treason known. Jameson's messenger, with the papers found on André, had missed Washington on the road from Hartford, and had followed him to Robinson's house. Arnold was then safe on board the *Vulture*.

The most earnest efforts were made by General Clinton to save his friend and Adjutant-general from the fate to which he had been condemned by the most deliberate judgment, and after the most careful and dispassionate consideration of all the evidence in the case. As we have already said, his friends had no other serious plea to offer on his behalf than that he had acted under the protection of a flag of truce. It was a mere pretext, which it was impossible to sustain. It would then have been weakness, not mercy, to permit an act to go unpunished which, both by the laws of war and by act of Congress, was a capital crime — a crime, in this case, so monstrous, that had it succeeded, it would have cost thousands of lives, and perhaps the liberty of a whole people.

Clinton could have saved André — as Washington let him know — by the surrender of Arnold; and it is to the honor of the British General that he would not betray his plighted faith to a traitor even to save his friend. The penalty of the crime fell upon the accomplice; the chief criminal was paid his price in a commission as Brigadier-general, and six thousand three hundred and fifteen pounds sterling in money. Pensions of five hundred pounds a year to Mrs. Arnold, and of a hundred pounds a year to each of her children, were also awarded when Arnold took his family to England. His three sons by his first wife — the eldest being only twelve years of age, and the youngest eight years at the time of their father's treason — were given commissions as lieutenants of cavalry in his American Legion, and received half-pay as retired officers to the end of their lives. To all the sons by the second wife were given, besides their pensions, military education and commissions in the British army.[1] England was not ungrateful.

Immediate steps were taken by Washington for the capture of Arnold, nor were they ever pretermitted so long as he remained in the country. Even before André was executed — and partly with the hope that the less guilty of the conspirators might be saved by the capture of the chief — a hazardous enterprise was set on foot for

[1] See *Life of Benedict Arnold*, by Isaac N. Arnold (1880).

this purpose. Sergeant-major John Champe, a young and deserving soldier belonging to Lee's legion, deserted, to the astonishment of all his comrades. He was pursued within the hour, on the road to Elizabethtown Point, and only escaped, when nearly overtaken, by abandoning his horse, rushing into the sea, and swimming off to a British vessel in the bay. The desertion was only feigned, however, and made at Lee's request at the suggestion of Washington. On the Sergeant's arrival in New York he was taken to Arnold, and enrolled in a corps the traitor was already raising, of loyal Americans. After much difficulty and delay, a well-contrived plan was arranged to seize the General in a garden attached to his lodgings, where he was known to walk late at night, and to take him across the river to Hoboken, where a company of dragoons was to be in waiting to receive the prisoner. The arrangements were all carefully laid, and would have been successful probably, had it not happened that on the day of the evening appointed, Arnold changed his lodgings, and the corps to which Champe belonged was ordered on board ship. It was a year and a half before the Sergeant could find an opportunity to rejoin his old corps — then in South Carolina — where he was received with great coldness and distrust by his old comrades till the true explanation of his absence was made known by Major Lee, and his devotion and courage recognized by the Commander-in-chief.

Your Humble Servant

N Hale

CHAPTER II.

THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN.

THE EFFECTS OF ARNOLD'S TREASON. — BUFORD DEFEATED ON THE WAXHAW. — CORNWALLIS MISCALCULATES HIS TASK. — ACTIONS AT ROCKY MOUNT AND HANGING ROCK. — PARTISAN WARFARE. — GATES ASSUMES COMMAND IN THE SOUTH. — THE MILITARY SITUATION. — BATTLE OF CAMDEN. — SKIRMISHES. — BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN. — GREENE SUPERSEDES GATES. — HIS PLAN OF CAMPAIGN. — BATTLE OF COWPENS. — CONDITION OF GREENE'S ARMY. — HIS RETREAT. — RECEIVES REËNFORCEMENTS. — BATTLE OF GUILFORD COURT-HOUSE. — CORNWALLIS RETREATS TO WILMINGTON.

"WHOM can we trust now?" was Washington's despairing exclamation to Lafayette and General Knox, when he received the papers disclosing Arnold's treason. There was not during the war a gloomier moment. No material harm, indeed, came of that monstrous crime, for it was happily discovered in season to prevent it; but the moral effect of such treachery, both in the army and upon the people, might lead to that despair which is the first step to ruin. Then the news of Arnold's crime followed close upon the news of the utter defeat of Gates by Cornwallis in South Carolina. It might well be feared that the plan of the Ministry in England, — to reduce each State in detail, while all were rendered incapable of a mutual defence, — would succeed, if treason on the one hand, and the lack of military ability on the other, should come to the help of the British General.

Effects of Arnold's treachery.

The capture of Charleston was not merely the loss of a seaport; it was the loss of the army on which the State relied for its defence, and the opening of a gate through which a hostile army was to enter. There were none to oppose its immediate progress. Col. Abraham Buford, who was sent, with about four hundred Virginia troops, to the relief of Charleston — for which he was too late — was followed on his return by a force of about three hundred cavalry and mounted infantry, under command of Lieutenant-colonel Banastre Tarleton. By a forced march of two days, he overtook the Virginians on the banks of the Waxhaw. A flag of truce, sent on in advance, demanded a surrender, which was

Buford's defeat at Waxhaw

refused. Giving Buford no time to prepare for an attack, the British dragoons immediately fell upon the Americans with irresistible impetuosity. Some few attempted to defend their lives; some threw away their arms and begged for mercy; others fled before a charge which no time was given them to meet. Buford escaped with about one fourth of his men; more than one third of the whole force were killed on the spot, without regard to their prayers for quarter; about fifty were taken away as prisoners, and the rest were left upon the ground so severely wounded that they could not be moved. It was not a battle, but a massacre of men who had ceased, or had not attempted, to fight, — of men who had thrown away their arms and begged that their lives might be spared. From that moment, Tarleton was as much feared for his cruelty as he soon became famous for the celerity of his movements; and the character of the warfare, on both sides, for many months to come, was determined by the slaughter on the Waxhaw.

Cornwallis's error

Georgia was considered as already permanently restored to the Crown. By concentrating troops at Augusta, Ninety-Six, and Camden, Lord Cornwallis hoped to hold South Carolina in subjection, and bring to an end the desperate resistance of her rebellious people, when they should be cut off from all possibility of help, by the conquest of North Carolina. The distribution of troops through the summer was made with reference to a movement northward, as well as for holding the country assumed to be already subdued. But Cornwallis had yet to learn by protracted and painful experience that rebellion was not suppressed by holding a few strong posts, and that, till rebellion was suppressed, the holding of those posts was of small moment. The partisan was almost always certain to be heard of where he was least expected and was most unwelcome, and it was quite as certain that when he was looked for he was not to be found. The nearer Cornwallis approached to North Carolina, the wider was the unconquered country he left behind him; and the garrisons of isolated posts, if they were so fortunate as to be unmolested, or were able to maintain their ground, enforced submission only so far as their guns could carry.

Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock.

These posts, moreover, were perpetually harassed. Sumter, in conjunction with Major Davie, another of the most active partisans, determined in July to carry two of them, — Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock, on opposite sides of the Catawba, and both within thirty miles of Camden. Though neither place was taken, much damage was inflicted upon the enemy. Davie, as he approached Hanging Rock, fell in with a portion of the garrison, out upon a foraging expedition, killed almost the whole of them,

and brought off sixty horses and a hundred muskets and rifles, — booty of no small value to men who needed always, from their method of warfare, to be well mounted, with whom arms were so scarce that saws were made into swords, and whose fire-arms were only those which each man brought from his own home. At Rocky Mount, Sumter made three successive assaults, and his want of success in carrying the place was due rather to the demoralization of his own militia, — who scattered to rifle that portion of the hostile camp they had carried, — than to the obstinate defence by the British.

Partisan warfare.

But the activity shown by movements of this character was of much more moment in their influence upon the people than the capture of a post, or the cutting off of a detachment. The timid were strengthened, the lukewarm encouraged, the brave made more determined, and the Tories led to doubt if their choice of sides had been wise. One Lieutenant-colonel Lisle, in command of a battalion of loyalist militia — which had been enrolled, after the fall of

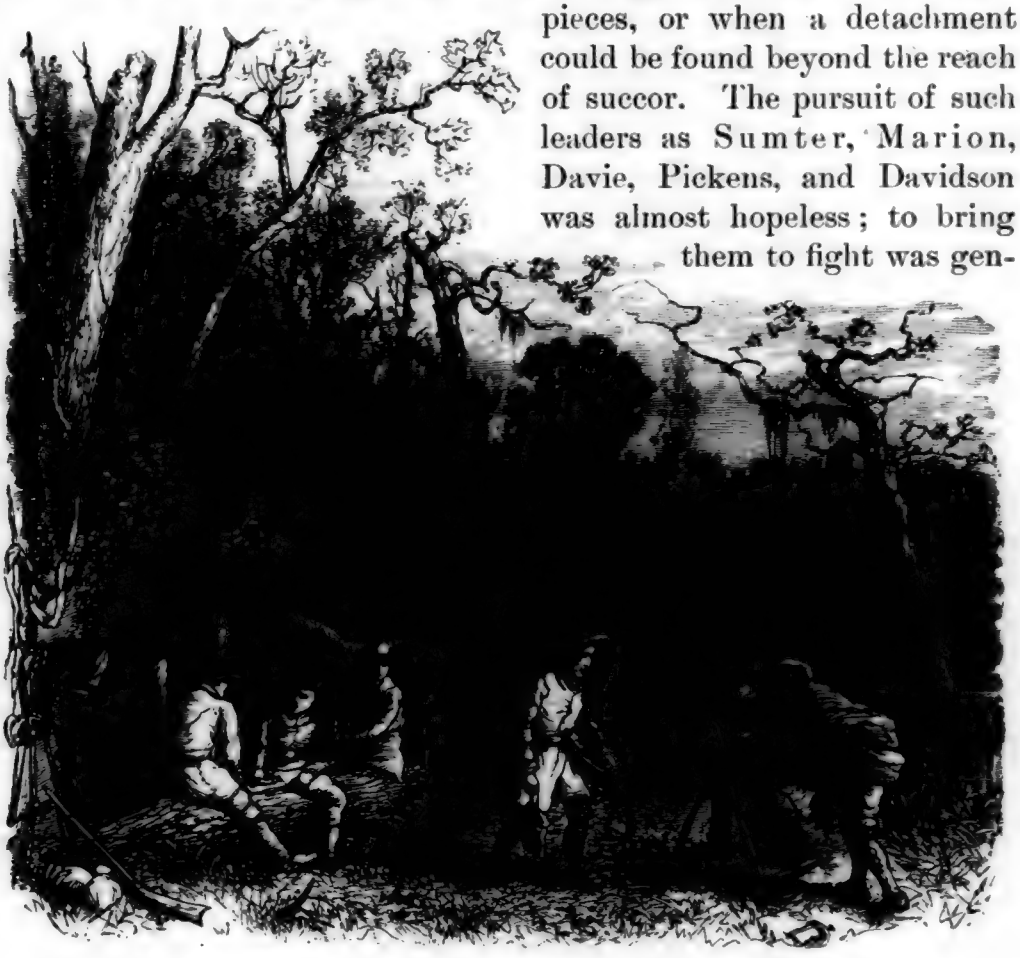


Signature of Sumter.

Charleston, in the districts on the Ennoree and Tiger rivers — marched off when his men were thoroughly armed and equipped, and put them under the rebel Colonel Neale, who led them to reënforce Sumter. It was "an instance of treachery," Tarleton said, "which ruined all confidence between the regulars and the militia." Nor was it the only instance of "treachery" of this kind. Major McArthur, in command at Camden, sent away a hundred of his men to go into hospital under escort of a body of supposed loyalists; when far enough from camp to do so with impunity, they secured the sick and their own officers as prisoners, and marched them off into North Carolina. The bitterness of the warfare between the loyalists and the rebels was relieved by those occasional evidences that patriotism was a deeper feeling than the assumed allegiance to the King.

Cornwallis was not long in learning that even with his army of nearly seven thousand men, most of them trained soldiers, the contest must be a hard, if not a hopeless one, in such perfectly unscientific warfare with men fighting for their homes; — with bodies of troops

which could dissolve in a night into individual, quiet husbandmen, or, if holding together, would escape all search by hiding in forests and swamps; who would appear in companies of fifty or a thousand, as the exigency of the moment required, when least expected and least prepared for; whose vigilance was sure to observe when a post was weakest, when a foraging party was off its guard and could be cut to pieces, or when a detachment could be found beyond the reach of succor. The pursuit of such leaders as Sumter, Marion, Davie, Pickens, and Davidson was almost hopeless; to bring them to fight was gen-



Marion in Camp.

erally impossible, except on their own terms, and in positions of their own choosing.[1] Probably, the British General began already to feel as he wrote a few months later to General Phillips, in Virginia — "I am quite tired of marching about the country in quest of adventures." He knew, at any rate, that the devoted patriotism of the

[1] Lieutenant-colonel Lee relates in his *Memoirs* that when sent by General Greene to make a junction with Marion, — who was sometimes in North Carolina, sometimes in South Carolina, sometimes concealed in the swamps of the Pedee, sometimes in those of the Black River, but nobody ever knew exactly where, — he only found that active partisan by accidentally falling in with a small detachment of his men; and even they were compelled to search some hours before they reached the camp of their General, hidden in the swamps of the Pedee.

people could never be overcome so long as they were animated by the hope that aid could reach them from the North, and there was any thing left for them to fight for.

Gates takes command in the South.

When, therefore, it was known that the Baron de Kalb was on the march southward with the Maryland and Delaware troops of the line, and that these were to be joined by bodies of militia from Virginia and North Carolina, under Stevens and Caswell, Cornwallis determined to intercept their progress. At Hillsborough, N. C., General Gates, who had been appointed by Congress to conduct the campaign, overtook and superseded De Kalb. Gates took the shortest route to meet the enemy, unfortunately through a sterile and impoverished country, where forage was scarce, and where his men were compelled to rely largely upon green maize and unripe fruit for their subsistence. Unfortunately, also, in his haste to get forward, he neglected, or refused, to take measures for filling up the cavalry regiments of Colonels Washington and White — the arm of the service which, if not more important than any other, was absolutely indispensable in the mode of warfare made necessary by the character of the country and of the inhabitants. By his first mistake Gates diminished his force by sickness, and led into action, when the time came, a body of men enfeebled from want of sufficient food; by the second, he was compelled to accept defeat when efficient cavalry might have turned disaster into success.



Signature of Marion.

The military situation.

De Kalb led his line forward toward Camden by a more circuitous route, but through a fertile region, and his men, therefore, were in a better condition to face the enemy. Lord Rawdon, who was in command at Camden, went out to meet Gates about fifteen miles from the town. The American army numbered about three thousand men, mainly raw recruits, ill-clothed, ill-fed, and undisciplined. The British force, though fewer in numbers, were in good condition, and almost all veteran troops. Under such circumstances, it would have been wiser on the part of the American General to avoid the enemy; even had the disparity in effective force not existed, there was too much depending upon the issue of a general battle to justify a resort to it, if it could be avoided, unless the result could be anticipated with almost absolute certainty. Gates does not

seem, till it was too late to recede, to have admitted a doubt of a favorable result. He sent Marion, who had joined him, into South Carolina on a reconnoissance, ordering him, it is said, to destroy all the bridges and boats and scows in his way, that the British might have no means of escape in their coming flight to Charleston.[1]

The reasons which should have led the American commander to avoid a general battle were precisely the reasons which led Cornwallis to seek it. The enthusiasm of rebellion, encouraged by the arrival of an army from the North, was already at its height in both the Carolinas. The difficulties in his way would not be greatly increased by a reverse, and a reverse, by no means irreparable, was all that could happen to him. But if, on the other hand, he could achieve a victory, which, with his superiority in artillery, in cavalry, and in the military character of his army, he might reasonably expect, that victory would be, not merely a reverse, but a terrible disaster to the enemy; it would strike with paralysis the brave and devoted people who would face poverty, starvation, and death so long as hope was left them, and would stir their opponents to fresh enthusiasm, courage, and hostility. For four days the armies lay encamped on the opposite banks of Lynch's Creek, each waiting for the other to move. During this time Gates, in his over-confidence of his strength, detached four hundred men from his little army to intercept a convoy at a ferry on the Wateree, near Camden. Then moving on the right of Rawdon, that General fell back and was followed by Gates with the purpose of bringing him to battle. Had Gates instead moved with more celerity up the Creek by a forced march, he could, Tarleton asserts in his "Memoirs," have pushed Lord Rawdon's flank, reached Camden before him, and captured that important magazine of British stores.

On the 13th of August, Cornwallis arrived and took command of the army. He was as anxious as Gates to fight, and with far better reason. On the night of the 15th, both armies moved, each intending to surprise the other. The American vanguard was led by Colonel Armand, a brave French officer, whose command of less than a hundred men, most of them deserters, broke and fled at the first onslaught, and were pursued by the enemy. Some confusion followed in the front division; but Colonel Potterfield and Major Armstrong, with the Virginia and North Carolina militia, came up from both flanks and checked the advance. Both armies now waited for daylight.

Battle of Camden.

Gates immediately called a council of war. He knew from prisoners that the army in front was commanded by Cornwallis in person,

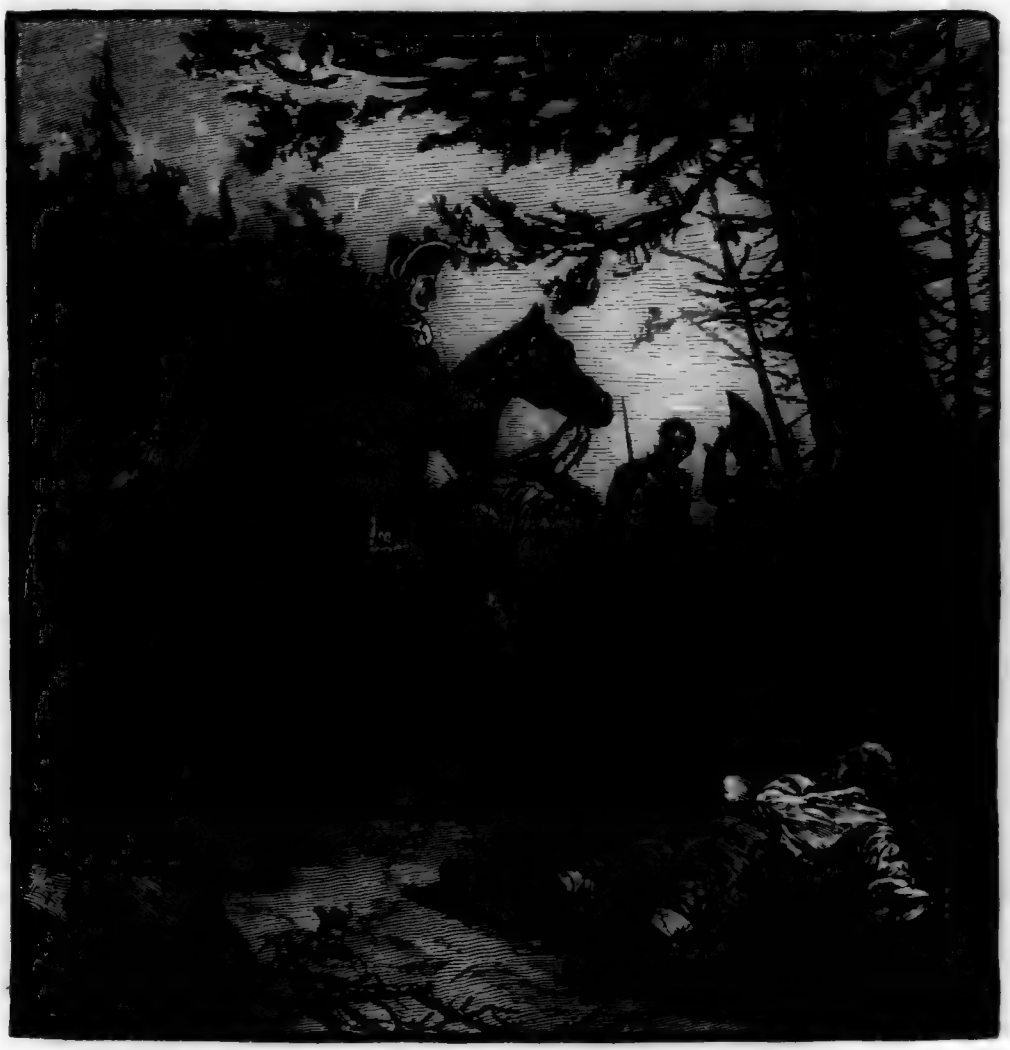
[1] Simms's *Life of Marion*.

and he had learned the day before, for the first time, from the returns of his Generals, that his whole force was only about three thousand men. Less than half of these were regulars. Perhaps now he felt the need of advice, and doubted the correctness of his own judgment. "Has the General given you orders to retreat the army?" — asked the Baron de Kalb, when called to the council by the Adjutant-general. But the council, when convened, had no advice to give. General Stevens, of the Virginia militia, said it was too late to retreat. This was acquiesced in only by silence. "Then we must fight," replied Gates. "Gentlemen, please to take your posts."

In the line of battle that was soon formed, Cornwallis carefully observed the disposition of the opposite army, and took advantage of it. To the untried militia he opposed his best troops, under his best officer, Colonel Webster. These opened the battle with a spirited charge, before which the Virginia militia broke, and after firing a single shot, threw away their arms and fled. The contagion of a senseless panic seized upon the North Carolina militia, and they also scattered in every direction. The Generals of these two brigades, Stevens and Caswell, assisted by Gates, made vain efforts to reassure and rally them; but the whole left wing fled almost without a blow. On the right the Continentals under De Kalb and Gist, and a North Carolina regiment under Dixon, held their ground with great firmness and coolness and pushed the enemy before them, De Kalb, at one point, breaking their line by a furious charge with the bayonet. But the whole American line was forced to give way, when Webster, released by the easy and rapid rout of the left wing, enabled Cornwallis to concentrate his whole force on the right. More than a third of the Continentals were killed and wounded, and the rest sought safety in the woods and swamps. De Kalb, at the head of his Marylanders, fell under eleven wounds, was stripped of his clothing by the soldiers, and was rescued from further indignity by the fortunate appearance of Cornwallis. He died three days afterward.

Gates's army, as an organized force, was annihilated. The militia — as their custom often was in the southern campaigns when they deemed their services no longer needed, or when they became irksome for any reason — generally dispersed to their homes. The General himself, before the day was over, was sixty miles from the field of battle; for several following days scattered remnants of his command reached Charlotte and other towns, and these he proceeded to gather together as a nucleus for a new army, making his headquarters at Hillsborough, one hundred and eighty miles from the field of his overwhelming defeat.

Two days after that defeat, another, though smaller misfortune, befell the American arms. Sumter, to whom Gates had sent a reënforcement to enable him to intercept a British convoy from Charleston, had succeeded in that enterprise, but was taken off his guard by Tarleton. The baggage train Sumter had cap- Sumter surprised



De Kalb wounded.

tured was recovered, and so complete was the dispersion of his force of eight hundred men, that only three hundred could be mustered when the fight was over.

Early in September, Cornwallis was again in motion, confident that North Carolina would now be an easy conquest before Congress could send another army to dispute his progress. The main body advanced from the Waxhaw Settlement toward Charlotte, Tarleton moving through the country on the left, and Lieutenant-colonel Ferguson keeping still nearer to the frontier with a corps of Skirmish at Wahab's.

provincial troops. The partisan leaders, notwithstanding the late reverses, had lost none of their spirit and activity; before Cornwallis moved, Colonel Davie had surprised a party of loyalists and of the British Legion at a place called Wahab's plantation, had put them to flight, and captured about a hundred horses, with their equipments, and a hundred and twenty stands of arms.

It was Tarleton's and Ferguson's business to find and disperse these troublesome parties of patriots, while Ferguson was also to add to his own numbers by reassuring and rallying the loyalists. At Gilbertown he learned that a force of militia in the southern part of the State, under Colonel Clarke, had attacked Augusta, Georgia, where Lieutenant-colonel Browne was in command; that he and the garrison had been reduced to extremity, and the place was on the point of being taken, when Clarke was compelled to withdraw by the appearance of a body of loyalists. Ferguson received orders from Cornwallis to intercept Clarke on his retreat. He had hardly left Gilbertown, in obedience to this order, when a large body of riflemen from Kentucky and North Carolina arrived, on their way to Augusta to the assistance of Clarke. As Ferguson had gone in pursuit of Clarke, so fifteen hundred of these hardy mountaineers, each armed with his own rifle, each mounted upon his own horse, started in pursuit of Ferguson.

Battle of King's Mountain.

They overtook him on the 8th of October, at King's Mountain, near the boundary-line between North and South Carolina, and west of the Catawba River, — a hill of moderate elevation covered with wood. Ferguson had encamped on the summit. The Americans approached in three divisions, led respectively by Colonels Cleveland, Shelby, and Campbell, ascending the hill at different points. Cleveland first reached the summit, and his mountain riflemen first opened fire from behind the trees. Ferguson charged upon them furiously with the bayonet and pushed them down the hill. Then from another quarter came Shelby, who poured volley after volley into Ferguson's flank or rear. Another bayonet charge met this second assault, and Shelby fell back. Campbell gained the top of the hill as Shelby's men retired, and for a third time Ferguson was compelled to meet and to repulse a fresh assailant. Even when the three columns were united and advanced upon him in one body, he held his ground against superior numbers, with indomitable courage. The fight lasted for almost an hour, and was only brought to an end by the death of Ferguson. His officers and men surrendered when no longer inspirited by his brave words and brave example. The loss of the British was three hundred killed and wounded; eight hundred prisoners were taken, and double that number of stands of

arms, intended for the loyalists, who would, it was hoped, join the corps as it advanced through the country. The force was chiefly loyal militia, and some of the most obnoxious of them were hanged by their captors — an indefensible and barbarous retaliation ; but the example had been set them by Cornwallis, who had, not long before, issued a proclamation to the rebellious people, commanding them to return to their allegiance, and, for the encouragement of the rest, had put to death some of those whose conduct was the most determined, and whose influence was most to be dreaded.



A Woman Reconnoitering.

By Ferguson's defeat, the effective fighting force under Cornwallis was reduced one fourth, and his farther advance into North Carolina checked for the present. While waiting for a reënforcement under General Leslie — who had left New York for the South — the army was not idle. Its most energetic officers were occupied in attempts to meet, under favorable circumstances, with Sumter or Marion, or some other of the partisan leaders who, from the Black River to the Broad, now here now there, coming down from the mountains, or up from the swamps, kept up perpetual hostilities against the enemy, foreign and domestic, and fanned into perpetual flame the sacred fires of rebellion. Sumter, in an encounter with Tarleton at Blackstock Hill on the Tiger River — of whose coming Sumter was warned by a country-woman, who watched the approach of the enemy from the edge of a wood, and then hastened through a by-

Skirmish at Blackstock.

way to Sumter's camp with the information — was grievously wounded, and his men, deprived of their favorite commander, dispersed for a time to their homes. And this was almost the sole advantage that Cornwallis gained during the autumn before Greene arrived to take command of the remnant of the army which Gates for three months had been diligently engaged in recruiting and reorganizing.

Greene supersedes Gates.

Greene arrived at Charlotte, North Carolina, on the 2d of December. "I think I am giving you a general," Washington said to a member of Congress; "but what can a general do without men, without arms, without clothing, without stores, without provisions?" A general, however, was all that could be spared, at that moment, to strengthen the southern army; even as it was, Congress wanted means to feed and clothe it, and Greene reported that it "may literally be said to be naked." But a good general was worth many battalions.

Greene's plan of a campaign was the reverse of that which Gates had acted upon. It was, to avoid as long as possible any general battle, but to hinder the enemy at every step of his progress; to annoy, harass, perplex, disgust, and exasperate him; to defeat him in detail, and to convince him, at length, of the hopelessness of his labor.

His plans.

On this plan he acted at once. The army moved into South Carolina in two bodies, the larger under the personal direction of the General commanding, and the other under General Morgan. Morgan entered upon the country between the Catawba and Black rivers, as far as the Pacolet. Greene moved down the Pedee till he was about seventy miles east of Cornwallis at Winnsborough. General Leslie had arrived at Charleston, and was ordered to march at once, with a thousand men, to Camden; but when Cornwallis was apprised of Greene's movement, and that the enemy was within from fifty to seventy miles on both his flanks, his attention was necessarily turned to this new condition of affairs, and he again abandoned his purpose of advancing immediately into North Carolina.

Tarleton was at once detached in pursuit of Morgan, who, it was feared, threatened the whole line of posts in the rear of the British army, including Ninety-Six and Augusta. About the same time, Cornwallis moved from Winnsborough to intercept Morgan, in case he should retreat before Tarleton, and attempt to cross Broad River to rejoin Greene. Cornwallis paused, however, after marching a few miles, to wait for Leslie, whom he ordered to join him with all possible haste; for it suddenly occurred to him that, while he was in pursuit of Morgan, Greene might take advantage of that movement to intercept Leslie. The wisdom of the disposition of his forces by the American General was already apparent.

Tarleton was on the banks of the Pacolet on the 15th (January, 1781). Morgan, thoroughly informed of the movements of both his antagonists, fell back to a point about six miles from Broad River, called the Cowpens, on the farm of a grazier named Hannah. Here he determined to abide the issue of battle. It was a decision of exceeding boldness, but was not a rash one; for to attempt to cross the river while Tarleton was in hot pursuit, — and Tarleton was never so much to be dreaded as when his foe was in flight before him, or was taken by surprise, — with Cornwallis possibly on the other side to dispute the passage, would be so hazardous an undertaking that the militia would disperse, and leave the regular troops to almost certain destruction. But here Morgan could choose his own ground; he had only one antagonist to contend with, and that not so much his superior in numbers and in arms as to make the contest hopelessly unequal; and there was just enough of the desperate in the situation to arouse his men to the highest point of enthusiasm, if bravely led. He determined, therefore, to fight; and it was the determination, not only of a brave man, but of an able soldier.

Battle of Cowpens.



Gen. Daniel Morgan.

The ground chosen by Morgan was a field of open woods, in which cavalry could manœuvre easily, extending in length about five hundred yards. From the front, the ground ascended with a gradual slope for three hundred yards to the highest point in the field; then gently falling off, like a rolling prairie, for another hundred yards, rose again to a second elevation. On the first eminence were posted about four hundred men, under Lieutenant-colonel Howard, — his own battalion of nearly three hundred Maryland regulars, two companies of Virginia militia, but composed of veterans, and two of Georgia riflemen. This was the main body, on which Morgan chiefly relied to bear the brunt of the battle, from its numbers, discipline, and position. Directly in its front, at a distance of a hundred and fifty yards, was the first line, composed of Colonel Pickens's militia of nearly three hundred men, with skirmishers thrown out in front.

Colonel Washington's famous cavalry, and a corps of mounted infantry, numbering altogether a hundred and twenty men, were placed as a reserve on the second eminence; and behind them were picketed the horses of the militia, ready for whatever use the issue should determine — whether pursuit or flight. On the field were about eight hundred and fifty men, placed with great military skill and in the most imposing order; when Tarleton, in the early morning, came in sight of them, he reckoned that about two thousand men confronted him.

Morgan rode along his lines in the hush of expectation of the coming struggle, encouraging each separate corps with such stirring words as would best arouse their local pride and personal courage. The skirmishers he told to scatter and fight from tree to tree, and check the enemy's advance by their good marksmanship. Pickens's first line of militia he exhorted to stand firm, and when the British were within fifty yards, to give them twice a cool and well-directed fire, and then fall back in good order to the left of the main body; a panic, he told them, would insure their destruction; if they fought with manly courage, as they had often done before, victory was sure to follow. To the veterans under Howard he explained his plan of battle, prepared them for the falling back of the militia upon their line, directed them to stand firm and fire low, and, if they were forced to retire, to move leisurely and in order to the second eminence, to be strengthened by the cavalry.

The enemy came on, — a force of a thousand men, most of them of the best troops in the British army, — veteran soldiers, accustomed to victory, and strengthened by two pieces of artillery. When they had dislodged the skirmishers from behind their trees, they rushed with a shout upon Pickens's militia, who received them with a deadly fire, repulsed Tarleton's dragoons, emptying fifteen of their saddles, and only yielded their ground at the point of the bayonet and before the fire of the two pieces of artillery on their flanks. When their line was once broken, some of them, as the inveterate habit of the undisciplined militia was, fled for safety to their horses, in the extreme rear, each to take care of himself; but most of them fell back without panic upon Howard's left.

The enemy advanced now upon the second line with a vigorous charge, which was met so steadily that Tarleton ordered up his reserve. With this reënforcement, the charge was renewed, falling most heavily upon Howard's right flank. To meet the danger of this flank attack, the order to change front was given to the right company, but was misunderstood; the company, instead of wheeling to the right to repel a flank movement, faced about and marched toward the

rear. The whole line, supposing that to be the order, followed their example. The movement was made, however, with the precision and coolness of men upon parade. "Men were not beaten, who retreated in that order," Howard said to Morgan, who rode up rapidly from the left where he had re-formed Pickens's militia and ordered an advance. He saw at a glance that Howard was right, and that the misunderstanding of the order could be turned into an advantage.

Pickens's men had moved forward again and opened fire on the British right. Washington with his horse charged upon that wing at the same moment, with such impetuosity that he broke through their lines, then wheeled, and charged again upon their rear, and scattered them to the right and left. The pursuit of the flying cavalry had brought him in the rear of the advancing British left, which, supposing Howard to be in retreat, was about to fall upon him, and end the battle, as Tarleton thought, by pushing the Americans into a disastrous flight. But as Washington reached the British rear he sent word to Morgan, "They are coming on like a mob; give them a fire, and I will charge on them." At the instant Morgan ordered Howard's line to halt and wheel, shouting, "Face about boys! give them one fire, and the victory is ours!" The order was promptly obeyed; the enemy, within thirty or forty yards, recoiled before the steady fire with which they were met, and the bayonet charge which followed it up. Washington fell upon their rear, and the rout was utter. Some threw away their arms and fled; others threw them down and, kneeling, prayed for quarter. "Tarleton's quarter!" rang along the line, and it was with much difficulty that the officers withheld the men, who recalled Tarleton's bloody fields, from turning the victory into a massacre.

In the excitement of pursuit, Washington at one time had advanced some distance ahead of his troops, when he was charged upon by three British officers. Sergeant-major Perry came up just in time to parry the blow and disable the sword-arm of one of them as he swung his sabre to cut down Washington; another on the other side was pressing him hard, when a young trumpeter named Collins, too small to wield a sword, brought the assailant down with a pistol-shot; the sword-thrust of a third, supposed to be Tarleton, was parried by Washington himself; but he received a pistol-shot in the knee from the officer as he retired from the contest.

Rescue of Colonel Washington.

Tarleton calls the result of the battle a "decisive rout." When he fled precipitately with a handful of men, he left behind him, out of his whole force of a thousand men, in the hands of the enemy, six hundred prisoners, one hundred dead upon the field, his two guns,

his colors, eight hundred muskets, a hundred dragoon horses, and a large part of his baggage-train. It is not the least remarkable thing in this remarkable battle, that the casualties on the side of the Americans were only twelve killed and sixty wounded.

Condition of Greene's army.

It is a striking evidence of the forlorn condition of the American arms at the beginning of the last year of the war, that little could be done to take advantage of so brilliant a victory. It had cost Cornwallis a fourth of his army, and Tarleton complains that his chief lost, by hesitation and delay, the opportunity to repair that misfortune. But Greene was in no condition to avail himself of Morgan's achievement. His army was destitute of almost everything; many of his men had absolutely no



Encounter between Tarleton and Colonel Washington.

clothing except a strip of cloth around the loins, — and this in the winter, though it was the winter of the Carolinas. His force was largely militia, who came and went as their own inclination or interest dictated, and could not be relied upon for any continuous service. Any immediate aid in men or supplies from the North was out of the question, for Brigadier-general Arnold had sailed from New York for the invasion of Virginia, in the latter part of December, with sixteen hundred men. How the developments of the next few months were to make this movement of the great traitor the first of a series of events which should bring about the final catastrophe, was not then foreseen. But it was apparent enough that to save the

more Southern States, should Virginia be lost, would be hopeless; to save Virginia, therefore, was now the primary object of the Commander-in-chief. Greene must be left to take care of himself.

Greene's plan of defence was still as imperative as ever — to avoid a general battle, to lead the enemy into a protracted pursuit, and to harass his march. Morgan retreated with great deliberation and coolness before Cornwallis, to rejoin the main army. Greene fell back toward Salisbury, where he proposed that several bodies of militia should unite with him. It was desirable to keep Cornwallis on the west side of the Catawba as long as possible; but he crossed at McGowan's Ford, where General Davidson, with three hundred North Carolina militia, was posted to dispute the passage. The river at this point was five hundred yards in width, the current rapid and waist-deep; but a British detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Hall, crossed in the darkness on the 1st of February, far enough below the usual ford to be out of the reach of Davidson's fire till they were safely over. In the fight that followed, both the commanders were killed.

Fight at McGowan's Ford.

The road to Salisbury was now open to Cornwallis, and pursuit was renewed. Greene pushed on to Guilford, putting the Yadkin between him and the enemy, and there waited till Cornwallis crossed at the upper fords. The next river was the Dan, then swollen with freshets, and, Cornwallis hoped, impassable. But Greene still eluded him, having provided boats for such an emergency, and passed over into Halifax County, Virginia. Here he had leisure to rest his wearied troops, and to wait for reënforcements of militia; for Cornwallis, baffled and vexed with his fruitless efforts to overtake him, retired to Hillsborough and contented himself for the present with issuing a proclamation, announcing that as he had driven the enemy out of the State, the loyal people of North Carolina might now safely return to their allegiance.

Greene's retreat.

There were more Tories than Whigs in North Carolina, and Greene was confronted with a new danger. Should he not return to the State, the royal rule might be completely restored by the encouragement given to the loyalists by his apparent discomfiture, and by the submission of the patriots who would believe themselves abandoned. The loss of North Carolina was the loss also of South Carolina and Georgia. The time had come, therefore, for a change of policy, and to risk a temporary defeat by a general battle. Recrossing the Dan, he moved back upon Guilford, but baffling and eluding Cornwallis — who again started in pursuit — as before, till he was confident enough in his own strength, and in a field of his own choosing, to try the issue of a fight.

The American army had been reënforced with Virginia and Carolina militia to a total of forty-three hundred men; but of this force nearly three quarters were raw recruits. Cornwallis commanded twenty-four hundred veteran troops, thoroughly equipped and disciplined, used to fighting, and accustomed to success. General Morgan, whom ill-health had compelled to retire, wrote to General Greene in February: "I expect Lord Cornwallis will push you until you are obliged to fight him. . . . . You 'll have, from what I see, a great number of militia. If they fight, you 'll beat Cornwallis; if not, he 'll beat you, and perhaps cut your regulars to pieces."

The Americans reënforced.

On the 15th of March, Greene, choosing his ground near Guilford Court-house, and forming his line of battle, awaited the enemy. His army was deployed in three lines, — the first, made up of North Carolina militia, under Generals Butler and Eaton; the second, of Virginia militia, under Stevens and Lawson; the third, entirely of regulars. The lines were about three hundred yards apart, and the flanks of the militia were supported by Washington's cavalry, the legion of Lee, and Campbell's riflemen. Gen. Isaac Huger commanded the Virginia brigade on the right wing, Col. Otho Williams that from Maryland, on the left. In front, the ground was open, bordered by trees and fences, behind which the first line was sheltered; thence there was a gradual ascent of thickly-wooded land for about half a mile to Guilford Court-house. It was a well-chosen battle-field; every advantage of ground was made available; the men, who were well commanded, were placed with great skill, and they were sufficient in numbers; but Greene's fatal weakness was the want of tried soldiers.

Battle of Guilford Court-house.

When the British army advanced in a steady, unbroken line, the North Carolina militia — nearly equal in numbers — delivered a scattering fire from their secure position behind the trees and fences, and then fled precipitately, throwing away their arms and knapsacks. Some sought safety in the thick woods behind Campbell's riflemen; the rest tumbled back upon the second line, which received them quietly, and, opening its ranks, passed them to the rear. This second line of Virginia militia bravely held their ground till the British charged with the bayonet, when they also broke and took refuge in the woods or behind the third line of regulars. The brunt of the battle now fell upon this portion of Greene's force, numbering only, with the cavalry, between sixteen and seventeen hundred men, to Cornwallis's twenty-four hundred.

Lieutenant-colonel Webster, on the British left, pushed on over the ground from which he had driven the Virginia militia, and struck

the First Regiment of Maryland Continentals, under Colonel Gunby. The Marylanders met the attack with a steady and destructive fire, before which Webster recoiled, and then, charging with the bayonet, compelled him to retreat across a ravine to a hill on the other side, where he waited for assistance. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, with the first battalion of the Guards, followed by other corps, hurried forward at Webster's discomfiture, and attacked the Second Maryland Regiment, on the left of the First, which at that moment was hidden from sight in the woods. The Second Regiment fled, pursued by Stuart; but Lieutenant-colonel Howard, Gunby being dismounted, wheeled and led the First Regiment in a vigorous bayonet charge upon Stuart's battalion, while Washington, as Stuart wavered, charged with his cavalry. Stuart encountered personally Captain John Smith, of the Maryland regiment, and was killed; an expert swordsman of Washington's cavalry cut down thirteen of the enemy before they yielded.



Gen. Nathanael Greene.

A repulse at this point and at that moment was so critical, that Cornwallis ordered artillery to open upon the Americans, regardless of the fact that his guards were exposed to the same fire. Two other British regiments were advanced. Colonel Webster recrossed the ravine, over which the First Maryland had driven him, to reëngage in the fight. Tarleton, with his horse, and the Second Battalion of Guards, came in from the other wing, where they were less needed, concentrating at this spot, near the Court-house, a force with which Greene saw it was useless to contend, as any possible advantage in victory could not compensate for certain loss. What had become of Lee's legion and Campbell's riflemen, who were separated from the main body when the North Carolina militia fled in a panic, and left the ground they should have held to be occupied by the enemy, the commanding General did not at that moment know. Had he known that they had fought their way successfully, with great damage to the enemy, and were already at hand near the Court-house, Greene might

have continued the battle. As it was, with nearly the whole weight of Cornwallis's force bearing upon a portion of his own, he ordered a retreat. But it was a retreat, not a flight. The army fell back in good order for about twelve miles, to Troublesome Creek, upon ground selected to be used in case of a reverse.

Greene's defeat.

How well fought a field it was, is plain from the report of casualties. About thirteen hundred of the Americans were returned as dead, wounded, or missing, though probably a thousand of these were only missing militiamen who had run, after shutting their eyes and firing a shot, and opened them again only to find the way home. The loss of Cornwallis was nearly a fourth of his army, or about five hundred and fifty killed and wounded. Some of his most valuable and distinguished officers were on this list, among them Lieutenant-colonel Webster, who was mortally wounded. Greene wrote, before the day was over: "The enemy gained his cause, but is ruined by the success of it." Fox said in the House of Commons, when the news reached England: "Another such victory would ruin the British army." The ruin came without the victory.

Greene was prepared for and expected an attack the next day. Cornwallis wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, that the fatigue of his troops made it impossible for him to continue the pursuit of the enemy, or again to offer battle. "I thought it was time," he adds, "to look for some place of rest and refreshment." But there was a thought beneath this. He had already determined to abandon the Carolinas, where he was "tired of marching about in search of adventures." When he had reached his place of rest, he wrote: "If we mean an offensive war in America, we must abandon New York, and bring our whole force into Virginia. . . . . If our plan is defensive, let us quit the Carolinas (which cannot be held defensively while Virginia can be so easily armed against us) and stick to our salt pork at New York, sending now and then a detachment to steal tobacco, etc." Two days after the battle of Guilford Court-house, he was on the march for Wilmington. When Greene discovered his purpose, he started in hot pursuit; but he could no more overtake Cornwallis than Cornwallis had been able to overtake him.

Cornwallis retreats to Wilmington.



New York at the time of the Revolution.

CHAPTER III.

END OF MILITARY OPERATIONS.

ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO VIRGINIA. — MUTINY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE. — ITS CAUSE. — LAFAYETTE SENT SOUTHWARD. — CORNWALLIS'S PLANS. — DISAPPROVED OF BY CLINTON. — LAFAYETTE ADVANCES FROM MARYLAND. — JOINED BY WAYNE AND STEUBEN. — HIS CAMPAIGN IN VIRGINIA. — CORNWALLIS AT WILLIAMSBURG. — FIGHT AT JAMES ISLAND. — GREENE'S CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — BATTLE OF HOBKIRK'S HILL. — RAWDON ABANDONS CAMDEN. — FORTS MOTTE AND GRANBY, ORANGEBURG AND AUGUSTA, TAKEN BY GREENE. — SIEGE OF NINETY-SIX. — ABANDONED BY THE BRITISH. — HANGING OF COLONEL HAYNE. — BATTLE OF EUTAW SPRINGS. — GREENE'S GENERALSHIP. — MOVEMENT OF THE ALLIED ARMIES. — OPERATIONS AGAINST NEW YORK ISLAND. — THEY MARCH SOUTHWARD. — ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO NEW LONDON. — ARRIVAL OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH FLEETS FROM THE WEST INDIES. — ALLIED ARMIES IN VIRGINIA. — CORNWALLIS BESIEGED AT YORKTOWN. — HIS SURRENDER.

"To steal tobacco, etc.," was the object of Arnold's expedition to Virginia, rather than, by a well-conceived plan, to subjugate the State and bring back the people to their allegiance to the King. No better instrument could be chosen for such a work, — no man so ready as the unhappy traitor to harass and to ravage any part of the country against which his rage glowed so fiercely, because his abortive attempt to ruin it had brought him, on all sides, hatred, contempt, and imperishable infamy. Clinton knew how well

Arnold's expedition to Virginia.

he could depend upon the renegade General as a marauder; but never after that fatal morning when he fled to the British man-of-war *Vulture*, had Arnold shown any of those soldierly qualities which had once distinguished him. The opportunity, indeed, for any splendid achievement was lost to him; but fear would have held him back even had opportunity been given. What, he anxiously asked of a prisoner, taken in this raid into Virginia, would be done with him if captured? "Why, sir," was the reply, "if I must answer your question, you must excuse my telling you the plain truth; if my countrymen should catch you, I believe they would cut off that lame leg, which was wounded in the cause of freedom and virtue, and bury it with the honors of war, and afterwards hang the remainder of your body in gibbets." He must have known how anxious Washington was for his capture, and fear never forsook him. He was no longer the brave and dashing soldier; what little of courage there was left in him could only face small dangers; he saw in every bush, not merely an officer, but a hangman.

Virginia was singularly, perhaps unavoidably, unprepared for an invasion. Arnold landed at Westover, on James River, and marched thence, at the head of nine hundred men, to Richmond, almost without sign of opposition. Four hundred of his troops were detached, under Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, to move upon Westham. Military stores, private property, and many of the public archives were destroyed at Richmond; at Westham, besides much else, a powder-mill and the only cannon foundery in the State. On the return of the troops down the James, they were annoyed by a body of militia, under Baron Steuben, which had been hastily called out; but Arnold reached Portsmouth, where he intended to establish a post, having inflicted immense damage upon the enemy, especially upon private citizens, with a loss to his own force of only half a dozen men.

Mutiny of the Pennsylvania line.

The movement was one of serious import, and demanded the immediate attention of Congress and of the Commander-in-chief. And it happened at a moment when they were sorely perplexed by an unlooked-for event in the Northern army, which threatened even more serious consequences. The whole Pennsylvania line, consisting of thirteen hundred men, mutinied, and proclaimed their determination to return to their homes. The authority of their officers was defied, some of whom were dangerously wounded, and one, Captain Billing, was killed. Several of the mutineers were also killed in this first outbreak of the insurrection; but when a bayonet was presented at the breast of Wayne, that brave General, who did not know what fear was, was compelled to yield to save his own life and the lives of his officers. The regiments then, under the com-

mand of their sergeants, marched off for Princeton, taking with them six field-pieces.

A successful revolt might become contagious, for some of the grievances of these men — the want of pay, the want of food, and the want of clothing — were the grievances of the whole army. An attempt to compel their return to duty by leading troops against them, might prove a dangerous experiment, not merely because there was a community of suffering in the whole army, but because that of which the



Mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line.

Pennsylvania troops specially complained entitled them to a good deal of sympathy. There had been either fraud or blundering at the time of their enlistment, and it was this injustice, rather than the ordinary hardships of army life, which all bore alike, that had led, at last, to mutiny.

The law of Congress under which they were enlisted provided that the term of service should be either for three years or for the war — one or the other. The ambiguity of its terms either misled or was taken advantage of. Most of the men declared that

Its cause.

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they had rightfully understood the text of the statute, and having enlisted, not for the war, but for three years only, they were now entitled to their discharge. It was claimed, on the other hand, that the enlistment was for three years in any event, and for the war, should it extend beyond that period.

The question became, therefore, one of legal interpretation, and was wisely left to the civil authorities. In the settlement, other matters were taken into consideration, and arrearages of pay and a supply of clothing were provided for. That it was no want of patriotism, but a sense of gross wrong, in addition to absolute physical suffering, that led those men to resort to so desperate a measure as revolt, they showed by one very unequivocal act. When Sir Henry Clinton sent emissaries among them to aggravate the difficulty by offering to the mutineers aid and protection, and to receive them within his own lines, these messengers were delivered to the proper authorities to be executed as spies. There were, however, men in the army who, without the same reason for dissatisfaction that existed in the Pennsylvania line, had none of their scruples. A brigade of New Jersey troops, soon after the adjustment of the first difficulty, revolted in the hope of extorting concessions. Washington ordered a detachment, under General Howe, to reduce them to obedience, and to hang the ringleaders without delay, and his orders were promptly executed.

Clinton's emissaries executed.

Threatening as these events appeared at the moment, the real condition of affairs was more hopeful, at this period, for the Americans than for the other side. The States raised a large sum of money to appease the not unreasonable clamors of the soldiers, and to put the army in a better condition than it had ever been before. It was, moreover, evident, after the suppression of the mutiny in the Jersey brigade, that the earnest patriotism of the troops — which must be after all the essential element of their efficiency — could be implicitly relied upon. There was a certain freedom of action in Congress, — as in substituting for the clumsy committees, through which the public business had been carried on, bureaus of foreign affairs, of finance, of war, and of the navy, to be intrusted to secretaries, — which indicated a larger statesmanship and a higher confidence in themselves as the representatives of a nation. And the States, by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, — which had been under discussion for five years, — were drawn together in a more decided bond of federal union, which, however imperfect, was an evidence of their faith in the establishment of a national existence. The English ministry, blind to these signs of the times, were never more sanguine, than at this period, of the early suppression of

Articles of Confederation adopted.

what they still looked upon as only a rebellion; they were unconscious all the while that in the divided counsels among their generals in America lay an element of weakness which was leading slowly but surely to final disaster.

Washington recognized the significance of Arnold's invasion of Virginia, and in February made preparations for a campaign in that State. A detachment of twelve hundred men, mainly of New England troops, under Lafayette, was ordered to the head of Chesapeake Bay, to embark for the lower part of Virginia. The British fleet under Arbuthnot, blockading the French at Newport, had been recently disabled by a storm, and Washington proposed to Rochambeau and Admiral Destouches that advantage should be taken of this accident to send the whole squadron to Chesapeake Bay in aid of the movement under Lafayette. There was a month's delay before the whole fleet put to sea, though in the mean time three of the ships sailed for Portsmouth and found Arnold too strongly posted to be meddled with by so small a force. When Destouches afterward went to sea he was overtaken by Arbuthnot off the Capes of Virginia, and an engagement followed which sent the French fleet back to Newport.

Lafayette sent to Virginia.

"There seems but little wanting," — Clinton wrote to Cornwallis early in March, — "to give a mortal stab to rebellion, but a proper reënforcement, and a permanent superiority at sea, for the next campaign." He only waited to hear that the French fleet had returned to Newport, when General Phillips was sent with an additional force of two thousand men to take command in Virginia. The campaign that followed was a continuation of that which Arnold had begun. There was much marching and countermarching up and down the Peninsula; detachments embarked at several points, to land at others which were undefended; trading vessels were destroyed; much tobacco and many stores of provisions were burned; Phillips pursued Steuben and Steuben pursued Phillips, with no great harm to either; but the whole country was ravaged, and consternation and suffering visited upon the inhabitants on both sides the James. No attempt, however, was made to fortify or to hold any other place than Portsmouth.

These operations were intended only to help Cornwallis at the South by depriving Greene of men and supplies — except, of course, the general aim of all war to bring the most distress upon those who least deserve it and are most defenceless. That more comprehensive idea of Cornwallis — that there must be an absolute conquest and possession of Virginia — evidently had little influence over Clinton's plans. He clung to his original policy of conquering the South from Georgia northward, while he, with the help of the fleet,

should hold Washington and Rochambeau immovable on the Hudson and at Newport.

Cornwallis's plans.

"Greene took the advantage" — Cornwallis wrote to Phillips late in April from Wilmington — "of my being obliged to come to this place, and has marched to South Carolina." Disaster, he apprehended, would follow to Lord Rawdon; but it was not in his power, he thought, to succor him. The truth was, he did not wish to help Rawdon; neither did he mean to be helped himself to hold the Carolinas. He wrote to Clinton a month later, with great coolness, that if Greene should continue offensive operations in South Carolina, Rawdon would probably be compelled to abandon Camden and Ninety-Six, quit "a part of the country, which for some months past we have not really possessed," and content himself with limiting the defence of that province to the line of the Congaree and the Santee. But now, in April, the Commander-in-chief was notified of the intended movement into Virginia, and in accordance with that determination, Cornwallis ordered Phillips to meet him, if possible, at Petersburg. When Clinton received this despatch his reply was, that had it been "intimated" to him earlier that such a movement was proposed, "I should certainly have endeavored to have stopped you,

Disapproved of by Clinton.

as I did then as well as now consider such a movement as likely to be dangerous to our interests in the Southern Colonies." With this clash of opinion and of purpose, all cordiality of feeling ceased between the two Generals, and with it all efficient coöperation in the conduct of the war.

Lafayette advances.

Lafayette, after a delay of some weeks, had been ordered to march to Virginia, from Baltimore, much to the discontent of his New England men, who dreaded exposure to the heat of a Southern summer. To quell a threatened mutiny, one of the ringleaders was executed, and the rest were then told that those who chose to desert their country in time of danger were at liberty to go home. It was the end of insubordination; not a man left the ranks. Lafayette borrowed two thousand guineas on his personal credit, and used this sum in the purchase of shoes and of cotton cloth which the ladies of Baltimore made into shirts for his men. In nine days the march was made from Baltimore to Richmond.

Virginia overrun by the British.

When Arnold — General Phillips having died at Petersburg, of fever, before Cornwallis reached there — was reënforced by Cornwallis, Lafayette's force was largely outnumbered, and he fell back to make a junction with Wayne, who was approaching with eight hundred of the Pennsylvania line. To prevent this junction was Cornwallis's first object; his second to overrun the country, and to destroy tobacco and all public stores of provisions.

Of Lafayette he said, "The boy cannot escape me." Of the accumulations of provisions in private hands, his orders were that only so much was to be spared as supplied the immediate necessities of the families. In work of this kind, Tarleton and Simcoe were especially active; for, mounting their men on the best horses to be found on the plantations, they moved with great celerity, and had no scruples in obeying the orders of destruction to the very letter. In one of these excursions Tarleton was only a few minutes too late at Charlottes-



French and American Uniforms.

ville to capture Governor Jefferson and the whole Legislature of the State.[1]

[1] Jefferson's plantation of "Monticello" was taken by the enemy, and he there also narrowly escaped capture. Expeditions into the interior of the State were made by water as well as by land, and one of these, anchoring opposite Mount Vernon, sent on shore for provisions. They were supplied by Lund Washington, who was in charge of the estate. When he reported to the Commander-in-chief the losses consequent upon this visitation, Washington wrote in reply: "I am sorry to hear of your loss. I am a little sorry to hear of my own. But that which gives me most concern is, that you should have gone on board the vessels of the enemy and furnished them with refreshments. It would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my home and laid the plantation in ruins."

Lafayette was not overtaken, and the pursuit was relinquished when he was joined, first by Wayne, and a day or two after by Steuben, with a considerable body of militia. Disappointed in his immediate object, Cornwallis countermarched down the valley of the James, leaving Richmond on the 20th of June, called in his detachments under the bold riders, Tarleton and Simcoe, and arrived at Williamsburg on the 25th. The first fighting of the campaign was when, within half-a-dozen miles of that place, Colonel Butler, aided by Wayne, struck the rear-guard of the enemy under Simcoe, and came near bringing on a general battle. The loss on each side was about thirty killed and wounded, Lafayette withdrawing when he saw that the whole British force was preparing to engage.

Wayne and Steuben join Lafayette.

The day after his arrival at Williamsburg, Cornwallis received dispatches from Clinton, the expectation of which, and the orders he supposed they would bring him, had influenced him in his retreat from the upper country. Clinton wrote that he had reason to believe that New York was about to be beseiged; that as Cornwallis was evidently not disposed to act upon the plan which the Commander-in-chief had laid down for the conduct of the campaign — a movement up the Chesapeake and an attack upon Philadelphia — and then to move on to New York — the next best thing to be done was for Cornwallis to put himself behind defences at Portsmouth or Yorktown, and send three thousand men from his force to Clinton's relief.

Cornwallis at Williamsburg.

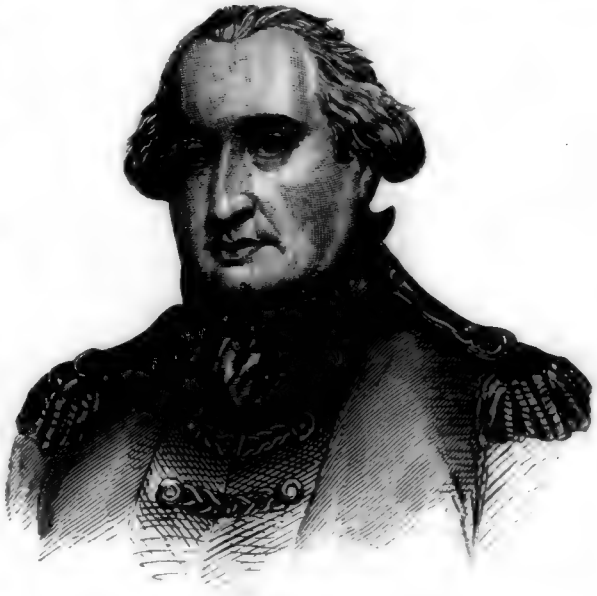
Cornwallis obeyed, but obeyed sullenly. The difference between them was irreconcilable. Clinton clung to the policy of the conquest of the southernmost States first, as the only way to end the rebellion. Cornwallis had tried that plan, as he believed, thoroughly, and found it utterly impracticable. For the sake of driving in the wedge that was to split the confederacy in halves, he had said it would be better even to abandon New York and concentrate in Virginia. Lord George Germaine rather agreed with him, not at all because he had taken the trouble to qualify himself to form an intelligent judgment upon the subject, but because he believed in the Earl of Cornwallis and did not much believe in Sir Henry Clinton. Clinton, nevertheless, was Commander-in-chief, and now that he chose to give peremptory orders, Cornwallis rendered that kind of implicit obedience which is almost certain to defeat its object. He would do nothing to avert failure, should failure come, where his counsel had been disregarded. He was plainly quite willing that Clinton should have every opportunity to prove himself in the wrong, though it is not at all likely that he apprehended the final catastrophe which would bring disaster and disgrace to both.

Differences between Clinton and Cornwallis.

His preparations for retiring to Portsmouth were soon completed, and on the 4th of July the march was begun. Lafayette followed in close pursuit, and on the 6th, supposing the main body of the enemy to have crossed to Jamestown Island, an attack was made upon what he presumed to be the rear-guard. Cornwallis, anticipating this movement, had remained upon the north bank of the river, and confronted the advance with his whole force. The Americans were driven back, and, but for a bold charge with the bayonet made by Wayne and his Philadelphia troops, might have been signally defeated.

Fight at Jamestown.

The situation of affairs was one that might well give both the English Generals great anxiety. While Cornwallis sullenly obeyed the orders of his superior, by which he felt that Virginia was lost to them, he submitted it to the consideration of Clinton whether it was "worth while to hold a sickly, defensive post in this Bay," liable always to sudden attack, which neither facilitated predatory excursions into the State — if that was all that was to be done — nor was of assistance to movements farther south. It was plain, moreover, by this time, that those Southern States, to regain which so much time, so much treasure, and so many lives, had been spent, were lost — lost, Cornwallis of course believed, because his plan of driving the wedge home in Virginia had been rejected; lost, Clinton of course believed, because his well-conceived plan of Southern conquest had been abandoned for a scheme which, if carried out, would compel him to exchange New York for Richmond, — New York Bay for James River.



Lord Cornwallis.

For Greene had "taken advantage," — as Cornwallis said, — of his abandonment of North Carolina, and marched southward. Lee was detached to join Marion and cut off Lord Rawdon's communication with Charleston, on which he depended for supplies. This was done by the capture of Fort Watson on the Santee. The besiegers were without artillery, but Major Maham suggested the erection of a wooden tower of logs, the top of

Greene's campaign at the South.

which would overlook the stockade. When this was completed, the sharp-shooters from behind a breastwork could pick off the garrison at their leisure, and a white flag was speedily hung out in token of surrender. The fall of the place gave the Americans command of the road from Charleston to Camden, and a force of five hundred men, under Major Watson, on the way to reënforce Rawdon, was compelled to fall back and seek another route.

Marion and Lee were to join Greene at Camden, when they should have reduced Fort Watson; before their arrival, however, Greene, who had encamped upon a low ridge called Hobkirk's Hill, near the town, was attacked on the 25th of April by Rawdon, who hoped to repulse him before reënforcements could come to his help. Greene was taken by surprise; but the British advance was delayed by his pickets long enough to enable him to form a battle line. The attack was made with great spirit. Both wings of the enemy, however, were wavering under the warm reception given them by the Virginia brigade, under General Huger, on the right, and the Maryland brigade, under Colonel Williams, on the left, while Colonel Washington dashed in upon their rear with his cavalry. But, at the critical moment, the veteran regiment of Colonel Gunby, of the Maryland brigade, was seized with an unreasonable panic, and fell back in disorder. Into the gap thus made the enemy rushed with a shout, the whole line was thrown into confusion, and the summit of the ridge was carried. It was impossible to rally the veterans, who had lost some of their best officers; the reserve in the rear, consisting only of militia, could not be relied upon, and Greene, therefore, ordered a retreat to save his army. His loss in killed and wounded was two hundred and seventy-one, out of a total of about fourteen hundred men; that of Rawdon was even larger, being two hundred and fifty-eight out of about nine hundred.

Battle of Hobkirk's Hill.

Like the victory of Guilford Court-house, it was a victory without gain. By the sacrifice of nearly one third of his men, Rawdon delayed, for about two weeks only, what it was Greene's object to compel him to do, when the American army should be reënforced by Marion and Lee. These two officers could not prevent Watson from joining Rawdon, by which his strength was nearly doubled; but neither could Rawdon compel Greene to risk a second general battle, nor to leave him unmolested. With communications between Charleston and the interior already actually interrupted, or likely to be so, either by Greene, Marion, or Lee, Camden was abandoned on the 10th of May by Rawdon, who burned all the stores he could not take away, and a considerable portion of the town. Orders were given at the same time for the evacuation of other posts, but were not obeyed, because the despatches were intercepted.

Camden abandoned by the British.

From Camden, Rawdon marched toward Motte's Fort, on the Congaree, above the junction with the Wateree, at that moment besieged by Lee and Marion, that he might relieve the garrison and save the most important post between Ninety-Six and Charleston. Greene moved toward the same point by another way, that he might be at hand to protect the besiegers in case of necessity. This fort was a spacious family mansion, situated upon a hill, prepared to withstand a siege, and holding a garrison of nearly two hundred. The owner, a Mrs. Motte, had been turned out of it and compelled to remove to



Preparing to burn Fort Motte.[1]

a farm-house upon an opposite hill, not many yards distant. From this point, the siege was conducted with not much hope of success by ordinary measures. When the news of Rawdon's approach reached the camp, Marion and Lee determined that, as no time was to be lost, the house should be set on fire, to compel its surrender or evacuation. Arrows were to be used, with burning flax attached to them, by which the wooden shingles of the roof could be ignited in many places at the same moment. The decision was announced to Mrs. Motte with great reluctance; but she not only cheerfully acquiesced

[1] The figure representing Mrs. Motte in this picture is from a portrait in the possession of her descendants.

in it, but brought out a well-made Indian bow and some arrows, as better adapted to the purpose than any that the men could make on the instant. The roof was soon ablaze in several places. No measures could be taken to extinguish it by the garrison, under the fire of the sharp-shooters, and the commanding officer hastened to hang out a white flag.

Fort Motte taken

From Fort Motte, Lee pushed on to Fort Granby, farther up the river toward Ninety-Six, and reduced it in a few hours. Another of the line of posts between Ninety-Six and Charleston, at Orangeburg, was captured about the same time by Sumter, who had taken the field again with a body of militia. A few days later, Georgetown, on the coast, fell into the hands of Marion. Rawdon, unable to follow his active enemy at so many points, and discouraged by these repeated disasters, fell back behind the Santee to Monk's Corner, and soon after to Charleston. Of all the inland posts in South Carolina and Georgia, Ninety-Six and Augusta alone remained in British possession by the 1st of June. On the 5th of that month, Pickens and Lee — having first reduced the small post known as Fort Galphin, a dozen miles below Augusta, on the Savannah River — compelled the surrender of Augusta, ending a long siege by bringing to bear upon the interior works a "Maham tower" of logs, by means of which Fort Watson had been reduced a few weeks before. By these successive and rapid captures, many prisoners and large stores of provisions and ammunition had fallen into the hands of the Americans.

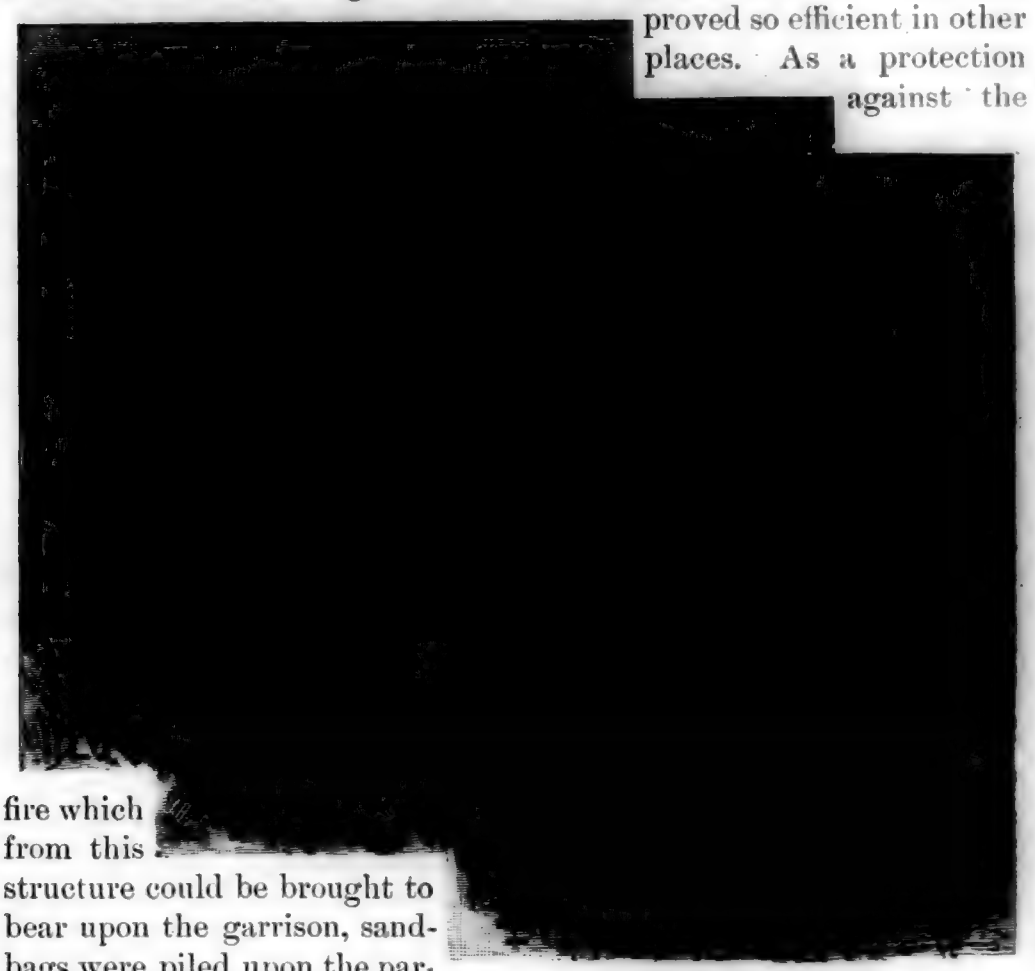
Fort Granby, Orangeburg, and Augusta taken.

While the siege of Augusta was in progress, Greene sat down before Ninety-Six. The place — so called because it was ninety-six miles from the chief town of the Cherokee Nation — was an important post, and therefore strongly fortified; its five hundred and fifty men were all Americans, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel John Harris Cruger, a loyalist from New York; and it was certain, therefore, that the defence would be desperate. There was nothing the Tories so much dreaded as to fall into the hands of the Whigs, as there was nothing the Whigs so much dreaded as to fall into the hands of the Tories. It would be hardly true to say that Cruger was peculiarly obnoxious; for, as no Tory leader would permit himself to be outdone by any other Tory leader in cruel persecution of the patriots, so they were all obnoxious alike. Cruger had hanged many of the opposite party who had fallen into his hands, and he hoped, he said, to hang many more. The gibbet was the sign under which both sides hoped to conquer, so far as the war was a civil war, and Cruger and his followers knew that military discipline was not always strong enough to save men from the gallows, even though

Siege of Ninety-Six.

they were prisoners of war, who were themselves hangmen when the chance was on their side. Under Greene's immediate command, outrages of this character were unknown; yet the enthusiasm of his army was at fever-heat when brought before the last stronghold in the State, west of Charleston, held by the enemy, and that defended by Tories alone.

The approaches were diligently made under the skilful direction of Kosciusko, and among these was the "Maham tower," which had proved so efficient in other places. As a protection against the fire which from this structure could be brought to bear upon the garrison, sandbags were piled upon the parapets. The siege was pressed with great vigor from the 22d of May to the 19th of June, and the garrison was reduced almost to extremity for want of water, which could only be brought in small quantities by a few negroes at night — stripped naked, that they might be invisible in the darkness. The place would probably have fallen from sheer exhaustion, had the investment been continued for three or four days longer.



The Water-carriers of Ninety-Six.

But news was received that Rawdon, strengthened by the recent arrival of three Irish regiments, had left Charleston, and was marching to the relief of his last stronghold in the interior. A countryman

— or, as some say, a woman — contrived to get within the fortress with this important intelligence, and Greene, who had not half the force that Rawdon was bringing against him, was compelled either to carry the place by an immediate assault, before his preparations were quite ready, or lose altogether the labors of a month. The attack was made in the night-time at three separate points, one column attempting to pull down the sand-bags from the parapets, opposite the Maham tower, with iron hooks, while assaults were made at two other places to get within the defences. The resistance of the garrison was so spirited, that it was soon evident to Greene that, if the place could be carried at all, it could only be at a greater sacrifice of his men than his numbers warranted, and he ordered a retreat.

Rawdon arrived three days afterward, and though Ninety-Six was for the moment saved, Greene was beyond his reach. Rawdon pursued the American army northward for a few days, but without overtaking it, and then reversed his march to Ninety-Six, pursued, in his turn, by Greene. To hold the country with that single fortress, in the face of a formidable enemy, was obviously impossible; it was already nearly midsummer, when the climate forbade any very active operations. Rawdon, therefore, ordered that Ninety-Six should be abandoned, that its Tory garrison and the Tory neighbors should seek refuge in Charleston, while he and his army, at the same time, moved in the same direction. The pursuit was continued till the whole British force was on the southern side of the Santee River. Greene then retired to the High Hills on the north of that river, to rest and recruit his wearied troops. Rawdon, broken down in health, sailed for England, leaving Lieutenant-colonel Stewart in command.[1]

Ninety-Six abandoned.

One more battle only remained to be fought between the contending armies of the South. Late in August, Greene took the field again, his men invigorated by rest and the wholesome air of the hills. A recent incident had intensified the enmity which so peculiarly characterized the war in the Carolinas, and the men on both sides could hardly fail to be reanimated by that feeling. Colonel Isaac Hayne, an estimable citizen and warm patriot, was hanged in Charleston by order of Lord Rawdon and Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, who was in command in that city and the adjoining districts. "The affair," says Lee, in his Memoirs, "would probably have led to a war of extermination, had not the fast approach of peace arrested the progress of a system deliberately adopted by

Hanging of Col. Hayne.

[1] Rawdon was so unfortunate as to be taken by a French cruiser, was carried to Chesapeake Bay, and was present at the final discomfiture of his late commander, Cornwallis.

Greene, and ardently maintained by every individual of his army." General Greene had issued a proclamation, with the earnest approbation of the officers of his army, that the death of Hayne should be retaliated, not upon "the deluded Americans who had joined the royal army," but upon "the officers of the regular forces."

Hayne was one of those who, taken prisoners at the surrender of Charleston, were released on parole. Another class of the inhabitants, also held at first on parole, were afterward required to give in their allegiance to the British Government, and to take up arms, if required, in its defence. The distinction, however, between the two classes was probably soon forgotten; it was, at any rate, in the case of Colonel Hayne, and rather than be parted from his wife and children at a time when they were in peculiar need of his care — all being ill with small-pox, and three of them fatally — he consented to promise allegiance to the King. To this promise he was faithful till the British were driven out of the district in which he lived. That, he conceived, released him from an obligation which it was a breach of faith to enforce, and to which circumstances compelled him to submit under protest. He once more took up arms on the side of his country, was unfortunately captured, and, without any regular trial, condemned and executed. The indignation of the people and the army was almost ungovernable at what they considered an atrocious abuse of military power.

By a circuitous march, crossing the Wateree and the Congaree, Greene transferred his army to the southern side of the Santee, and followed Stewart to Eutaw Springs, a small stream flowing into the lower part of that river. In falling back forty miles to this point to meet a convoy from Charleston, Stewart seems not to have been aware how closely he was followed by Greene, though constantly annoyed by Lee, till the two armies confronted each other at Eutaw Springs on the 7th of September. The numbers on each side were about equal, being a little over two thousand men.

Battle of Eutaw Springs.

The Americans advanced, early in the morning of the 8th, in two columns, and met a body of the enemy about four miles from their camp, who were speedily put to rout. Still advancing, the British were found drawn up in single line in front of their tents, and here the battle began in earnest. The South Carolina militia, forming a part of the first line, fell back under a severe fire, though not without some spirited resistance. The rest of the line stood their ground with great firmness, and the gap made by the retreat of the militia was filled up instantly from the centre of the second line. All along the line the advance was steady. First with fire, and then by a charge with the bayonet, which was irresistible, while

Lee, at the same moment, by a flank movement turned the left of the enemy, who were forced back and driven beyond their camp. In the pursuit, three hundred prisoners and two pieces of artillery were taken by the Americans.

But as the main body of the British fled, Major Majoribanks, with a reserve of a battalion of grenadiers and light infantry, moved into action, and Washington with his cavalry was sent to get in his rear. In attempting this the horse were impeded by underbrush through which they forced their way with great difficulty, while under a murderous fire from the enemy, advantageously posted in the woods. Washington's horse was shot under him, and, entangled in its fall, he was wounded and taken prisoner. Most of his officers and men were either killed or wounded, and so complete was the destruction of the corps, that Majoribanks was free almost immediately to turn to the assistance of the defeated main body.

Near the road, along which the pursuit was necessarily made, stood a large brick house, and on its possession largely depended the fate of the day. A party of British threw themselves into it, followed so closely by a party from the other side that a struggle of sheer physical strength took place at the door-way to secure the entrance. The Americans being excluded and the door barred, a fire was opened from the three tiers of windows, which was terribly destructive. Artillery was brought up to make a breach in the walls, but it was ineffectual. The American advance was checked; Stewart had time to rally his flying troops; the lost ground was recovered, the camp retaken, — quite as much, however, because it was impossible for the American officers to recall the men from plundering the tents and from the barrels of rum, as from the prowess of the enemy, — and Greene was compelled to retreat.

The battle was one of unusual severity, lasting three hours. The British loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was nearly seven hundred; that of the Americans was somewhat less. The British claimed the victory; but, as the case was in all Greene's decisive battles at the South, the essential advantage was his. Stewart retreated the next day, and Greene followed him to within twenty miles of Charleston. And to within twenty miles of Charleston the British forces were confined till the war was ended, the troops of the two armies never again facing each other, except in the casual skirmishes of detachments. Within a short time after this final battle at Eutaw Springs, Governor Rutledge convened the Legislature of South Carolina within thirty-five miles of Charleston.

South Carolina Legislature convened.

"I give you a General," Washington said, when he sent Greene to take command at the South. It was generalship that was most

needed. Clinton's grand scheme for ending the war by the subjugation of the Southern States had come to this — that not a corporal's guard of the British army could be found in Georgia or the Carolinas, except in the near vicinity of Charleston, Savannah, and Wilmington.

Clinton had not taken counsel of his fears only when he wrote to Cornwallis that troops must be returned to him, for he was apprehensive of being besieged in New York. Washington and Rochambeau held a conference in May at Wethersfield, Conn., at which it was proposed that the capture of New York should be undertaken, with the aid of the French fleet at Newport, and that of the Count de Grasse, from the West Indies, who was ordered to spend the summer on the American coast. That a demonstration against New York was decided upon, Clinton knew from intercepted letters; he did not know that an ulterior purpose was also under consideration; that as the French commanders doubted the wisdom of attempting to invest the city by sea, and as De Grasse's stay was limited to October, it was still an open question whether the real campaign of the summer should be on the Bay of New York or on Chesapeake Bay.

Movements of the allied armies.



The Webb Mansion (Rochambeau's Headquarters), Wethersfield, Conn.

Early in June, Rochambeau issued marching orders to his army of four thousand men. Moving in four divisions, they marched through Connecticut, in the exhausting summer heat, in perfect order and discipline, many of the officers leading them on foot.[1] North Castle, in Westchester County, New York, was reached from the 2d to the

[1] For a minute and clear narrative of the march of the French army from Connecticut to New York, and the subsequent operations of the allied armies east of the Hudson, see *The Magazine of American History*, for January, 1880.

4th of July, and by the 6th the allied armies were encamped in a line from Dobbs Ferry, on the Hudson, to the Bronx River.

Operations on New York Island.

Washington had advanced his army from the neighborhood of West Point a few days before, and was in readiness for active operations. He proposed to take and destroy immediately the posts on the upper end of New York Island, and on the 3d of July, General Lincoln, with eight hundred men, dropped down the North River in boats, with this object, and landed at the mouth of Spyten Duyvel Creek. The legion of the Duke de Lauzun was detached from the French army, and ordered, by a forced march, to be at Morrisania at the same time to cut off Colonel Delancey, who, at the head of a corps of refugees, held all Westchester County in perpetual dread. The detachments were to support each other in case of necessity, and Washington moved the rest of his army to within four miles of King's Bridge, to be within supporting distance of both. The movement only served to alarm and warn the enemy. Lincoln was promptly met by a British force, and, to avoid the possibility of being surrounded, fell back. Lauzun was too late to find Delancey, who had left Morrisania.

Quite as much was accomplished, perhaps, as was hoped for. Desirous as Washington was of capturing New York, he never meant to make a serious attempt to do so with a probability of failure. If Clinton should be led to believe that he entertained such a purpose now, and should recall troops sent to Virginia, that would be a relief to Lafayette; and it is not likely that the Commander-in-chief intended more than this at this juncture, when it was uncertain whether De Grasse would consent to attempt to enter the Bay of New York with — as Clinton afterward called them — his "long-legged" ships. The apprehension of a siege had already induced the British General to withdraw from Cornwallis a considerable portion of his force; the appearance of a siege might induce him to withdraw Cornwallis himself from Virginia.

The Commander-in-chief, in truth, was making a fool of Clinton. Washington knew on the 14th of July that De Grasse had decided to go to the Chesapeake, and that determined his own action. Yet, seven days afterward, the British were alarmed by a reconnoissance of five thousand men, pushed across Harlem Creek to Throg's Neck, which occupied two days. It was apparently of so much importance that the movement was personally directed by Washington and Rochambeau. Parties of observation were often seen at the most favorable points for overlooking the city. The gathering of stores, the accumulation of boats, the laying out of camp-grounds, the building of ovens, and the massing of troops in New Jersey opposite the north

shore of Staten Island, seemed unmistakable preparations for an invasion of that island, which commands the entrance to New York Bay. Clinton busied himself in strengthening his works on all sides to meet the expected siege, and he was greatly relieved when, early in August, a reënforcement of three thousand Hessians arrived in New York from Bremen.

Washington, meanwhile, had written Lafayette to hold Cornwallis where he was, and to guard especially against his escape into North Carolina. He wrote also to Philadelphia, — to Robert Morris, the financial agent of the government, — for information as to the quantity of stores to be procured for the use of the army, and the number of vessels to be had for transportation down the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. About the middle of the month came definitive news from De Grasse that he would be at the mouth of the Chesapeake by the end of August. The time had come for which Washington had been waiting, though probably, even now, not a man in the allied armies — with the exception of the Commander-in-chief himself, Rochambeau, and General Heath, who was to be left in command of the force to remain on the banks of the Hudson — was aware of the splendid strategetical movement about to begin, though a few may have suspected it, and hoped for it.

On the morning of the 19th of August the American army was ordered under arms, with its face toward New York, an advance-guard having been sent forward to clear the road in that direction. But when the order to march was given, the troops were faced to the right and put in rapid motion for King's Ferry, on the North River. On the 22d they had safely crossed the river and were encamped at Haverstraw. On the 19th, also, the French army moved, marching to King's Ferry by way of North Castle, occupying all the roads in their rear to guard against pursuit from New York, should Clinton be active enough to attempt it — which he was not. It was not till the 26th that their rear-guard had crossed the river. "To misguide and bewilder Sir Henry Clinton," wrote Washington, his column, about two thousand strong, marched toward Springfield, dragging boats upon wheels, as if Staten Island were the object of the movement. The French marched directly for Trenton, the advance-guard being well on their way before the rear-guard had crossed the Hudson.

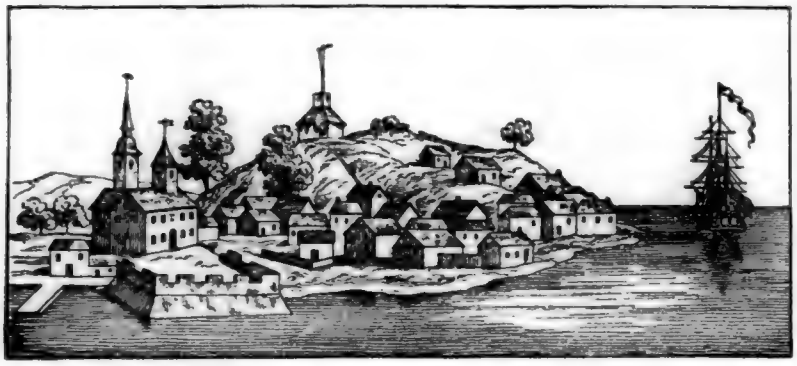
The allied armies march southward.

Clinton did not discover till the 2d of September that the supposed siege of New York was raised, and that the allied armies — with the exception of Heath's three thousand men encamped at Fishkill — had disappeared. The American troops that day were passing through Philadelphia. The French followed them on the 3d. There could

be no further concealment of the destination of the armies. They were received by the citizens with unrestrained enthusiasm, for none were so deaf that they could not hear in the steady tramp of that armed host a certain prophecy of the coming of great events.

Arnold's expedition to New London.

It may have been with the hope of recalling Washington by a threat of overrunning New England, as is often said, that Clinton despatched an expedition against New London. As the expedition sailed, however, on the very day he learned that the allied armies were well on the way to Virginia, the plan of sending Arnold, at the head of seventeen hundred men, to New London, must have been already arranged. Clinton, indeed, may have hoped that it would influence Washington's movements; but its original purpose was simply a predatory raid which would gather rich booty, and inflict great loss on the enemy; for New London was a privateering port, to which valuable cargoes were often taken. A London ship, the *Hannah*, had not long before been carried in there by Captain Dudley Saltonstall, of the privateer *Minerva*, laden with the richest cargo that had been shipped to America during the war.[1]



New London — Fac-simile from an original sketch in 1776.

Arnold landed his force at the mouth of the Thames on the 6th of September, and, dividing it into two columns, advanced up both banks of the river. That on the New London side Arnold commanded in person, and between him and the town was only a single weak fortification — Fort Trumbull — held by only three or four and twenty men, under Captain Shapley, who, after a single volley which killed several of the enemy, fled, and crossed the river to join the garrison of Fort Griswold, on the Groton side. This stronger position might have made good its defence, had not the militia in the neighborhood declined to come to its help, though willing to face the enemy on the open field. Lieutenant-colonel Ledyard, nevertheless, refused to surrender, when summoned, even under the threat of no quarter should the place be carried.

The assailants numbered between six and seven hundred men; the

[1] *History of New London*, by Miss Caulkins.

garrison only about one hundred and thirty or forty. The assault was on two sides at the same moment, and was met with great spirit. Here Colonel Eyre was wounded and carried from the field. On the other side, Major Montgomery led his men up the embankment, and, as he reached the top, was killed with a spear by Jordan Freeman, the colored servant of Colonel Ledyard. But a struggle with such overwhelming numbers could not last long. The British swarmed over the ramparts, and, as further resistance was useless, Ledyard ordered his men to throw down their arms. Submission only invited slaughter; it was seven men to one, and by sword and bullet and bayonet the devoted garrison fell on all sides. "Who commands this fort?" shouted Major Bromfield, now the British commanding officer. "I did; but you do now," said Ledyard, as he presented his sword. Either with that sword, or with another in the hand of some other officer, — tradition has left the point unsettled, — he fell on the instant, transfixed and dead. No order was given to stay the massacre till eighty-seven of the garrison were killed and thirty wounded, and of these three only were killed before Ledyard gave the order to surrender. The dead were stripped of their clothing, and when preparations were made for blowing up the magazine of the fort, a wagon, on which the wounded were piled, was rolled by its own impetus down the steep declivity of the hill, torturing all and killing some when it brought up suddenly against a tree. That region had known much of Indian warfare in the early years of its settlement, but the barbarity of the English at the capture of Fort Griswold had no parallel in the cruelties of the savage.

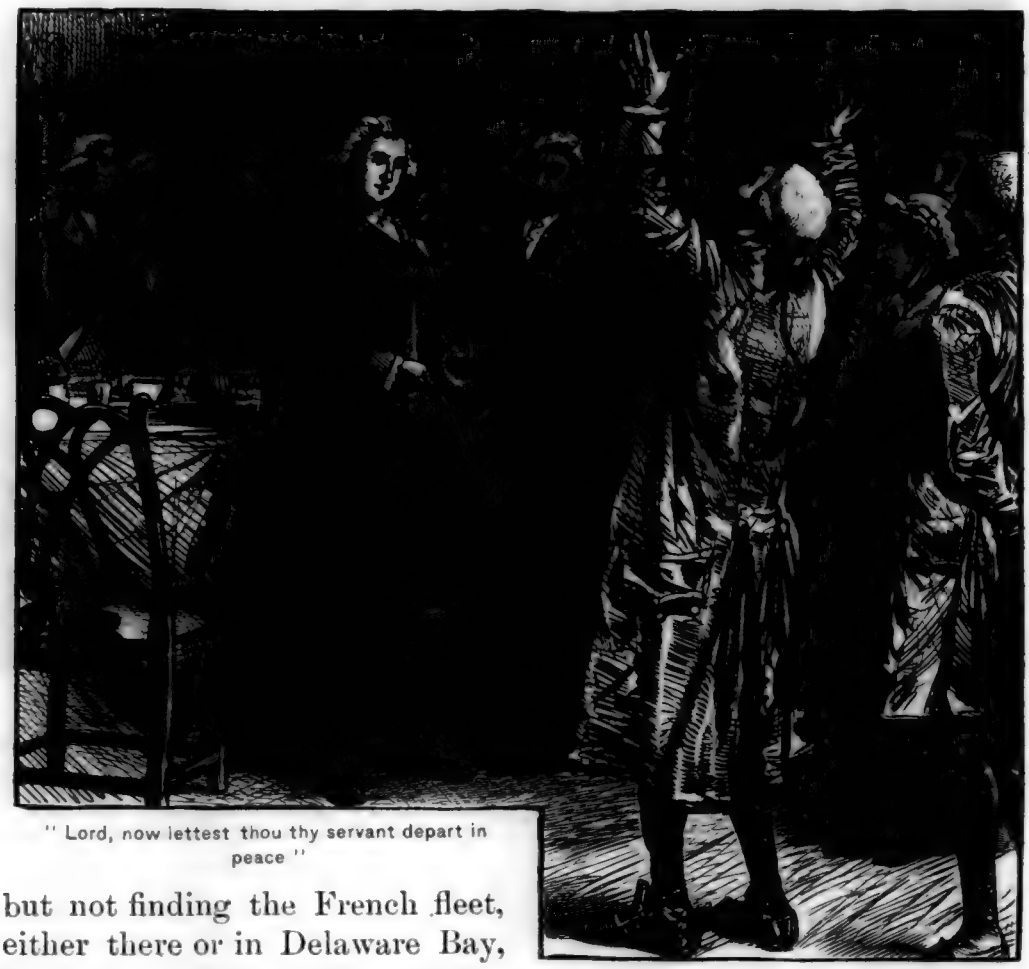
Assault of Fort Griswold.

Arnold, on the other side of the river, among his old friends and neighbors, — his birthplace and the home of his youth were at Norwich, a few miles distant, — had entered New London. For the atrocities committed at Fort Griswold he was not responsible, and in the town he gave orders that the property of some of those whom he recognized should be spared; but the pillage generally was unchecked. The wharves, and all the shipping, except a few small vessels that escaped up the river, nearly a hundred and fifty buildings — among them the Episcopal church, the court-house, the custom-house, the jail, and the market, — were destroyed. Clinton publicly expressed regret that the town was burned, and Arnold said it was an accident. It is impossible to prove that it was not, and, so far as Arnold is concerned, hardly worth while to disprove it, for a crime more or less adds little to his infamy. Accident, however, — if it was accident that overruled his conduct, — was singularly consistent, for fire left even less of Groton, on the other side of the river, than it did of New London. The tradition is, that he carefully directed the work of

destruction; and it is related that a Mrs. Hinman — whose guest Arnold had often been in former years, and whose property, for the sake of that old friendship, he now ordered should be spared — was so incensed at all she saw done by his orders, that she seized a musket and aiming at him, as he sat on horseback in front of her house, would have killed him then and there, had not the gun missed fire.

The West India fleets.

Sir G. B. Rodney, the British Admiral in the West Indies, learning that De Grasse had sailed for the American coast, detached Admiral Sir Samuel Hood in pursuit, with fourteen ships of the line. He arrived in the Chesapeake on the 25th of August,



"Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace"

but not finding the French fleet, either there or in Delaware Bay, kept on to New York. On the day of his arrival at Sandy Hook, with the intelligence that De Grasse was somewhere near the coast, Clinton heard that De Barras had sailed from Newport with the French fleet under his command at that port. Admiral Graves, with five ships of the line from the squadron in New York Harbor, reënforced by Hood, put to sea, intending, if possible, to fall in either with De Grasse or De Barras before they could form a junction, not doubting that the British fleet

was more than a match for either, if encountered alone. Not meeting with De Barras, they sailed for the Chesapeake, where De Grasse had arrived on the 30th.

But De Grasse alone was stronger than the British Admirals had supposed, and on the 5th of September he stood out to sea to give battle. His force was twenty-four ships, to nineteen of the enemy, but the enemy had the advantage of being to windward. The British Admiral, however, failed for some reason to bring all his ships into action, and the result of the encounter, if it was anything more than a drawn battle, was a victory for the French, as they destroyed one of the enemy's vessels, and the rest were roughly handled. For the next four days, De Grasse kept at sea, drawing in slowly to the Capes of Virginia, and avoiding another engagement. His object was gained in crippling his antagonist; an absolute victory was not worth the risk of defeat, for the loss of the possession of Chesapeake Bay would be the ruin of the expedition, which, without his aid, would end in disaster. To Graves, defeat would be only the loss of a naval battle — a failure to gain the supremacy in the Chesapeake, for which he was contending; the risk of defeat, therefore, was nothing compared to the importance of possible victory. One avoided further encounter by which he might lose everything, and could gain nothing worth fighting for; the other sought a battle which, if successful, would give him all he was striving for, but, if lost, would leave him no worse off than before. De Grasse returned to his anchorage in Chesapeake Bay, where he found De Barras, who, by keeping well out to sea, had escaped his pursuers. Graves returned to New York baffled, and in fact defeated. Seaward there was no hope for Cornwallis.

Naval engagement off the capes of Virginia.

On the 25th of September, the allied armies — a small portion coming by water down the Delaware and the Chesapeake — had arrived at Williamsburg,[1] where they were joined by the army under Lafayette. Early in August, Cornwallis, in obedience to orders from Clinton, had evacuated Portsmouth, and taken possession of and fortified Yorktown and Gloucester, on the op-

The allied armies in Virginia.

[1] An incident occurred on this march which we do not remember to have ever seen in print. The authority for it is General Knox, who related it to the author's father. When passing through Pennsylvania, General Washington and his staff, General Knox, and others, stopped at a farm-house to breakfast. When the meal was finished, and the party were waiting for their horses, the people of the neighborhood were admitted to pay their respects to the Commander-in-chief, for whom the popular love and admiration were universal. Among the visitors was an old and venerable man, evidently the patriarch of the place, who approached Washington and stood before him for a few moments, gazing in his face without speaking. The attitude of the aged patriot was observed by all in the room in perfect silence, when, raising his hands and eyes to heaven, he exclaimed, in tones of mingled pathos and veneration — "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

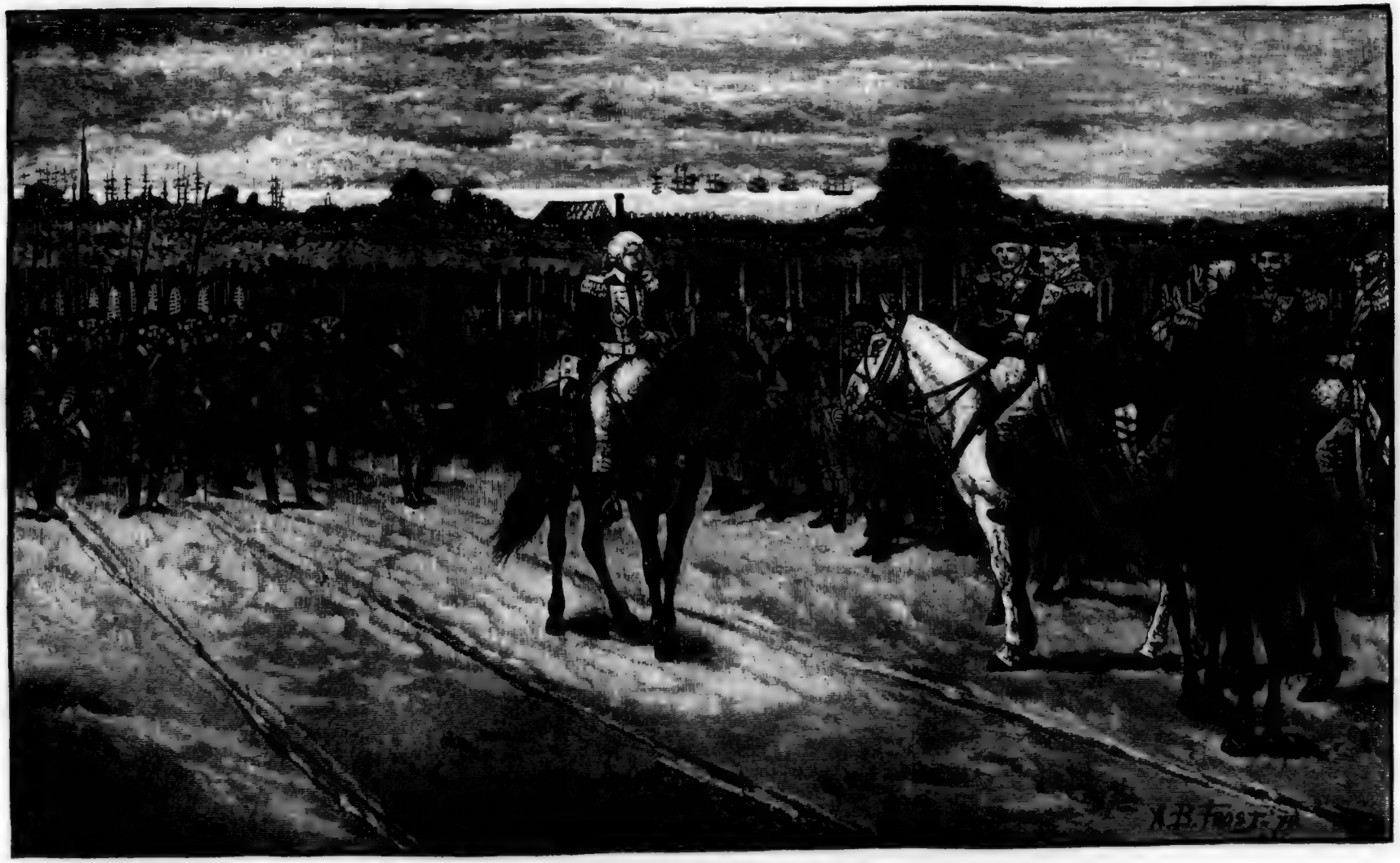
posite banks of York River. In accordance, apparently, with his fixed purpose of obeying his superior officer, on whom he chose that the full responsibility should rest, he made no remonstrance, though not approving the order. He was, of course, no more aware then than Clinton was, that subsequent events would prove how fatal a mistake that movement was; he only believed that his enforced inactivity would show in the end that he was right and Clinton wrong, while apprehending that no other evil would follow than the loss of opportunity for a successful campaign. There seems to be almost a spice of satisfaction in the curt brevity of his despatches to Clinton announcing the arrival of De Grasse; but when he learns that Washington is at Williamsburg, he sees how desperate his position is, and writes to Clinton — "If you cannot relieve me very soon, you must be prepared to hear the worst;" and it was only after he was compelled to surrender, that he declared the post was one which he had never looked upon "in a favorable light," — that it could "only be reckoned an intrenched camp," — that "nothing but the necessity of fortifying it as a post to protect the navy could have induced any person to erect works upon it." Clearly as he saw the end, however, when he knew that the French fleet was in possession of the bay, and that Washington and Rochambeau were, with Lafayette, within twenty miles of him on the Peninsula, he did not lose courage. The desperate condition of affairs seems, on the other hand, to have completely bewildered and unnerved Clinton. He had no orders to give Cornwallis — who was immovable without them — to provide for his safety, when such orders might possibly have saved him. He wrote that he should come to the aid of his unfortunate lieutenant; but he only came when it was too late.

Cornwallis at Yorktown.

By the 30th of September Yorktown was surrounded, from a point on the river above to another below, the French being on the right, the Americans on the left. Cornwallis retired within his works, and for the next nine days he saw weaving around him a mingled web of ditches, redoubts, and batteries, from which he could never break. He kept up a frequent fire upon the busy soldiers, whose task was never intermitted, by night or by day, and who were sometimes brought down dead or wounded; but there was no reply till the 9th of October, when the first parallel was finished. A battery, on that day, under command of Col. John Lamb, of the artillery, opened fire, the match being applied by the Commander-in-chief to the first gun discharged. Governor Nelson, of Virginia, was asked to direct the cannonading of the town. He pointed out a certain house as likely to be, from its size and appointments, the British headquarters. The house was his own.[1]

Yorktown besieged.

[1] Sparks's *Writings of Washington.*



SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN.

For four days the fire was incessant; most of the batteries of the enemy were ruined, and their guns dismounted; the largest English man-of-war and two transports in the harbor were set on fire and destroyed. The situation of Cornwallis was becoming daily more desperate; of his seven thousand men, two thousand were in hospital, incapable of service; his assailants were not less than fifteen thousand, and by a second parallel they had advanced to within three hundred yards of his works. But Clinton had assured him that on the 5th he should sail from New York with five thousand men, and come to the rescue. Cornwallis held out in the hope of his coming.

On the 14th, his two most important redoubts were carried by assault, — one by Lafayette, the other by the Baron de Viomenil. On the 16th, a sortie was made, before daybreak, on the other side, a hundred Frenchmen killed, and some cannon spiked; but reënforcements coming up from the trenches, the British were driven back within their works. Eleven days had passed, and Clinton had not come.

Cornwallis attempts to escape.

Cornwallis now determined to trust to his own devices, and to wait no longer for help from New York. He wrote, indeed, to Clinton on the 15th, — "The safety of the place is so precarious that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risque in endeavouring to save us." The sortie had failed even to gain time; the only thing left was to save the army by flight, or to surrender instantly. Enough of the convalescents from the hospitals were to be posted upon the ramparts for a pretence that the place was still occupied; then his whole effective force was to be embarked, on the night of the 16th, to cross the river to Gloucester, leaving behind the baggage, the stores, the sick, and the wounded, commending these by letter to the humanity of Washington, into whose hands they were about to fall.

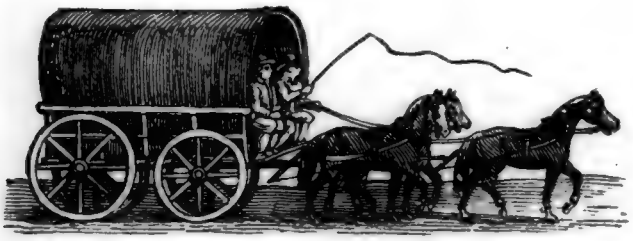
Gloucester was invested by three thousand five hundred men, under General Choisé. These Cornwallis proposed to fall upon suddenly, and, breaking through them, make good his escape into the upper country. On the way he hoped to seize horses enough to mount his army, by rapid marches delay pursuit, and baffle interruption by leaving it uncertain whether his object was to retreat to North Carolina or join Clinton at New York.

Surrender of Yorktown.

At midnight the weather favored him, and the first division crossed the river. But as the boats were returning for the second division, there came on a sudden and violent storm, which dispersed and drove them down the river. They were not recovered till after daylight, and then the troops that had crossed were brought back. Yorktown was no longer tenable, and before sunset of that

day Cornwallis offered to surrender. On the 19th the terms of capitulation were concluded. In the imposing ceremonies of surrender Cornwallis took no part, but was represented by General O'Hara, the second in command, whose sword, when presented to General Lincoln, was immediately returned to him. The commanding General pleaded illness in excuse for his absence, and, in truth, he had reason for illness; but it is hardly uncharitable to see in this the token of that insubordinate and impatient temper which had led, in some measure, to this great catastrophe. That had happened which, he ought to have reflected, was, in certain contingencies, sure to happen; but he seems to have thought it quite as great an outrage that he should be compelled to submit to the inevitable, as that he should be required to submit to the judgment and authority of a superior officer.

On that day, also, Clinton sailed from New York to the relief of Yorktown — to sail back again when, on the 24th, off the Capes, he learned that every British soldier in Virginia was a prisoner of war. If he remembered then to regret his own dawdling, it was probably, to regret only that he had been too cautious; if he was moved to sympathy for his unfortunate countrymen, that sympathy, perhaps, was swallowed up in reflections upon the man whose obstinate self-will, he believed, had first frustrated the plans of his Commander-in-chief, and then, by a faithless obedience to a forced construction of orders, brought ruin upon his army, and upon his country disaster for which there was no remedy.



"Elizabeth Town Stage-wagon. Two days to Philadelphia."
From a newspaper advertisement, 1781.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST YEARS OF PEACE.

Effect of the Surrender. — Acknowledgment of Independence. — A Treaty of Peace Negotiated and Signed. — The Vermont Question. — Its Final Settlement. — Condition and Temper of the Army. — The Newburgh Addresses. — Cessation of Hostilities. — Evacuation of New York. — Washington's Farewell. — Weakness of Congress. — Relations of the Federal and State Governments. — Necessity for Union. — Commercial Policy. — The Army. — The Northwest Territory. — The Ordinance of 1787. — The Question of Revenue. — Shays's Rebellion.

The surrender of Cornwallis was virtually the end of war between England and America. On the 25th of November, the disagreeable tidings reached London. The struggle thenceforth was to be a struggle of party, not of arms. Parliament met two days afterward, and amendments were moved in both houses to that portion of the King's address in which a vigorous prosecution of the war was proposed, notwithstanding this crowning disaster at Yorktown. Any appeal in the Upper House to common sense or to the sense of national justice, was of course hopeless. In the Commons the opposition grew day by day more vigorous. Outside of both, a large body of the people were tired of wasting life and treasure to no purpose, and were alarmed at the rapid progress, both by sea and by land, of the French in the insular English colonies. Effect of the surrender.

Lord George Germaine was first thrown over to appease the clamor for peace. It was not enough. In February, 1782, a resolution was passed in the House of Commons, declaring that they who advised a continuation of the war in America were enemies of their country. Two or three weeks later, repeated motions of censure of the Ministry and of want of confidence were only lost by small and decreasing majorities at each motion. The indignant King threatened to retire to Holland; but the threat frightened nobody. In March, Lord North announced the dissolution of his administration, and a new one was soon formed, with Lord Rockingham at its head, and the Earl of Shelburne as Secretary for the Colonies.

Independence acknowledged.

The first condition of Rockingham's consent to accept office was the independence of the United States. Informal measures to that end were taken in April, when Mr. Richard Oswald was sent by Shelburne to Paris to confer with Franklin, one of the American Commissioners in Europe, with John Adams, John Jay, and Henry Laurens.[1] Delay arose in the first place from a difference between the two Secretaries of State, Shelburne and Fox, each claiming that negotiations with America belonged to his office. But this embarrassment ended when, on the death of Rockingham in July, Shelburne became First Lord of the Treasury, and Fox retired from office. This, however, disposed of only an initial difficulty; for, when official relations were established between the English and American Commissioners, the preliminary question, whether independence should be acknowledged before negotiations were entered upon, or whether it should be an article of the treaty itself, had first to be settled. Jay especially insisted upon the acknowledgment of independence as a necessary preliminary to the discussion of a treaty. Both he and Adams believed that this was contrary to the wishes and purpose of Vergennes, the French minister, and that his influence was secretly used against America on the question of the boundaries and that of the fisheries. It was, moreover, the interest of England that the negotiations between the several powers should be separate and distinct. With France and Spain the reverse was true, as they hoped, by prolonging negotiations and entangling the American claims and proposals with their own, to make better terms for themselves.



Count de Vergennes.

[1] Laurens was a prisoner in the Tower of London for nearly two years, having been captured on his way to Holland in the summer of 1780. Among his papers was found the draft of a treaty, which had neither the sanction of the States General nor of Congress, but had been drawn up by William Lee and certain private persons in Amsterdam. It was held, however, in England, to be evidence of hostility on the part of Holland, and led to a rupture between the two governments. Laurens was exchanged for Cornwallis soon after the negotiations for peace between the United States and England were begun.

A satisfactory settlement of these questions was at length reached, the most difficult — that relating to the preliminary acknowledgment of independence — by the assent of Jay to the use of the term "the thirteen United States of America," instead of naming each State, as the equivalent of preliminary recognition. In the discussion of the details of a treaty, the disagreements, though serious, were overcome by England's yielding on the more important questions to the determination of the United States. England wished to retain the valley of the Ohio; to extend the western line of Nova Scotia so as to enclose a larger portion of the territory of Maine; to insure compensation to Tories for their losses; to deprive Americans of the right to fish on the Grand Bank, and the privilege of drying fish on British territory. But by the treaty the eastern boundary-line of the United States was made the St. Croix; the northern, the St Lawrence and the Lakes; the western, the Mississippi — which was to be free to both nations — to its supposed source; the southern, not differing essentially from the present northern line of Florida when extended to the Mississippi. Restitution of property to Loyalists by Congress was impossible, as confiscation was the act of the States. The Commissioners could only agree that the several States should be advised to make compensation; knowing very well, and saying so frankly, that not the least heed would be paid to that gratuitous suggestion. It was provided, however, that there should be no further confiscations, and no impediments should be thrown in the way of the collection of debts incurred before the war. The right to the fisheries in eastern waters, and the privilege of drying fish on the uninhabited lands of the coast, were secured to the Americans by the persistence of John Adams, who would not desert the interests of Northern industry. Laurens, the Southern Commissioner, was also careful to remember the Southern workingmen; he guarded against their asserting their right to the "pursuit of happiness," in the prohibition of "carrying away any negroes" in the withdrawal of British troops and ships from the United States.

Negotiation of a treaty of peace.

These were the essential stipulations of the preliminary treaty, the first article of which acknowledged the independence of the late colonies — for that, as the unhappy King had said, was "the dreadful price" of peace. It was signed on the 30th of November, 1782, but the final ratification was delayed nearly a year. The three allied powers were pledged to each other not to conclude a peace except by common consent; and the United States, therefore, was compelled to wait for the more difficult adjustment of the differences between Great Britain and France and Spain.

That long season of waiting was a time of trial in the United States — trials both civil and military. Civil war on the northern frontier had more than once seemed inevitable in the course of the current years, as a consequence of the determination of Vermont to maintain her existence as an independent State in spite of the territorial claims of New York on one side, of New Hampshire on the other, and the support which both received from Congress. The case was one always of serious import; and in the spring of 1781 it put on a new and alarming aspect.

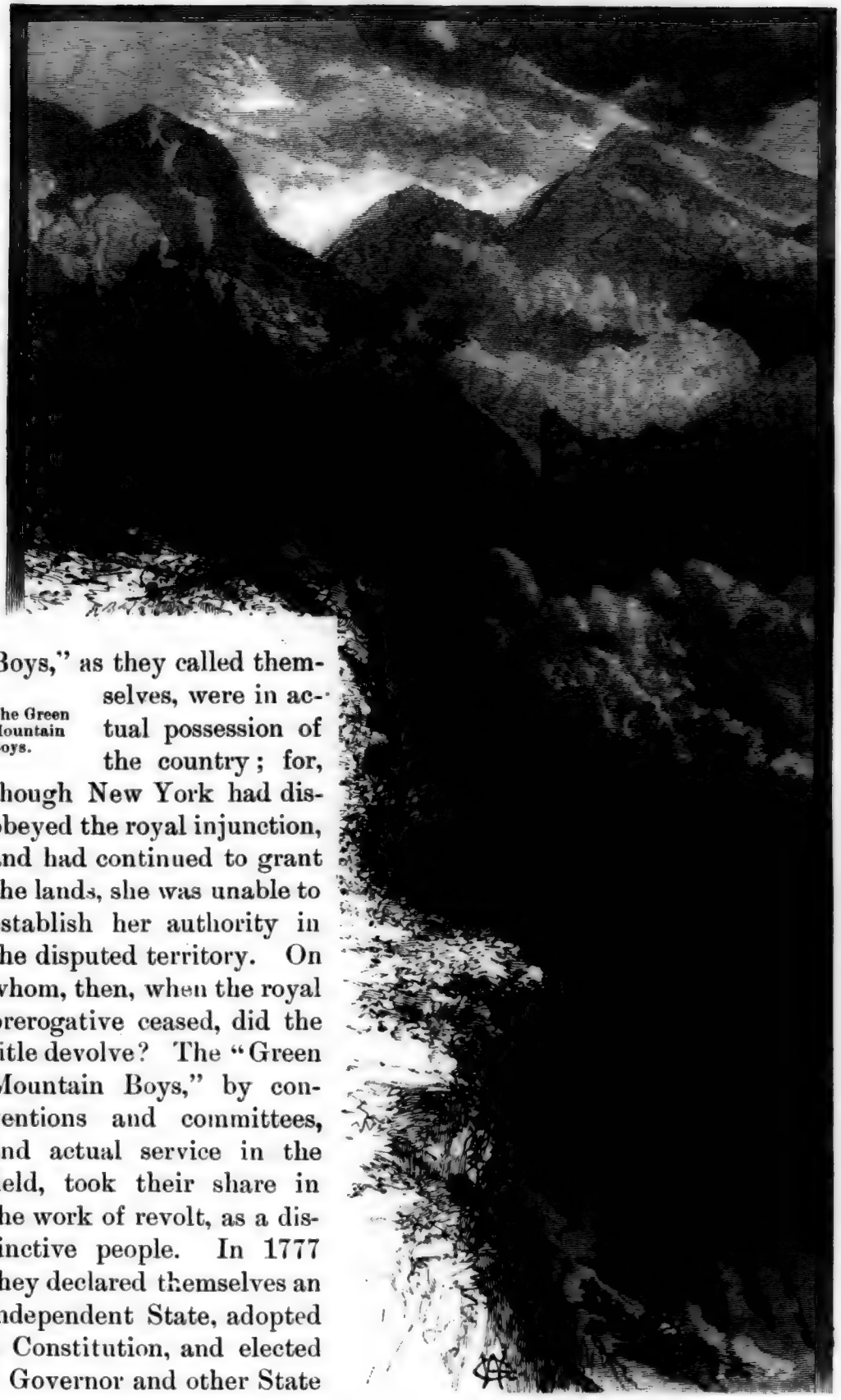
The Vermont question.

Vermont had repeatedly asked for admission into the Union, but this had been denied her, partly because of the opposition of her neighbors, who claimed her territory, and partly because of the jealousy of the Southern States, who feared then, as they have feared ever since, the admission of any Northern State without a Southern State to counterbalance it.

But Vermont, claiming now to be a State, had no political existence as a distinct colony of the Crown at the time when the other thirteen States were created by an agreement between the representatives of thirteen revolting royal colonies. The thirteen new States, therefore, were under no legal obligation to admit that community of citizens into their confederacy as a fourteenth State. And of course it was equally true that those citizens, if they had established an autonomy of their own, were quite as free from any obligation to the Union as the Union was to them. If, however, the half of Vermont belonged to New York and the other half to New Hampshire, the question involved another consideration. As the members of the confederacy were bound to defend the territory of one another, then the duty of Congress was clear if the claims of those two States were unquestionable.

But there was no such easy solution of the difficulty. The question involved, in the first place, the interpretation of the original patent to the Plymouth Company, in 1620, and their grants in the several New England States; and in the second place, the meaning of the terms of the grant to James, Duke of York, in 1664, and its renewal in 1674. Even the most modern title to the lands west of the Connecticut, on which New York could rely, — that the King and Council, induced to do so, it was alleged, by false representations, had declared, in 1765, that the west bank of the river was her eastern boundary, — was offset, in a measure, by a royal order of 1767, forbidding New York to make any more grants of land in the disputed territory. This order was never rescinded, and the Crown, therefore, it was declared, had resumed authority over the region in question as royal domain.

At the breaking out of the Revolution, the "Green Mountain



Scene in the Green Mountains.

Boys," as they called themselves, were in actual possession of the country; for, though New York had disobeyed the royal injunction, and had continued to grant the lands, she was unable to establish her authority in the disputed territory. On whom, then, when the royal prerogative ceased, did the title devolve? The "Green Mountain Boys," by conventions and committees, and actual service in the field, took their share in the work of revolt, as a distinctive people. In 1777 they declared themselves an independent State, adopted a Constitution, and elected a Governor and other State

The Green Mountain Boys.

officers. Their right to political existence was precisely the same as that of any of the late colonies, — the right of successful rebellion and of successful self-government in the country they occupied and were able to defend against all comers.

Threatened by the public enemy on their northern border; threatened in the possession of the homes they had made for themselves in that rugged and inhospitable region; frowned upon by Congress; seeing the face of no really earnest friend anywhere except in Massachusetts, the lot of the sturdy mountaineers, who from the beginning had never swerved in their devotion to the American cause, was a hard one. In 1780 a fresh appeal was made to Congress for admission to the Union, declaring that, should it be still in vain, they would propose to the other New England States and to New York, "an alliance and confederation for mutual defence, independent of Congress and of the other States." If neither Congress nor the Northern States would listen to them, then, said the memorial, "they are, if necessitated to it, at liberty to offer or accept terms of cessation of hostilities with Great Britain without the approbation of any other man or body of men . . . for she has not the most distant motive to continue hostilities with Great Britain, and maintain an important frontier for the benefit of the United States, and for no other reward than the ungrateful one of being enslaved by them."

The reception of the Vermont agents by Congress was unsatisfactory; the proposal was made to the neighboring States for an alliance, but this, of course, was unsuccessful. The Legislature of New York, however, was so impressed with the seriousness of the crisis as to be able to see that Vermont had justice on her side. In February, 1781, the Senate of that State, with only a single dissenting vote, proposed to recognize the independence of Vermont. The House voted to take up the resolutions sent from the Senate, when a message was received from Governor Clinton, which put an end to the proceedings. The Governor threatened that if the subject were not dropped, he would prorogue the Legislature.

Invasion threatened.

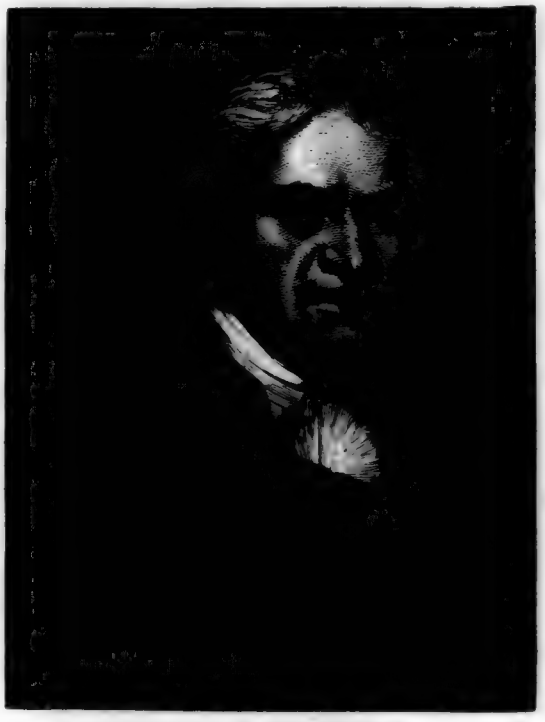
Affairs put on presently a new and more serious aspect. In the spring a force of ten thousand men from Canada threatened an invasion across the northern border. Washington could not spare a man from his army, and New York and Vermont were left to provide for their own defence. The panic was intense, and the people of northern New York were preparing to abandon their homes and fly before an enemy whom there was not sufficient force to resist. Vermont met the emergency by sending Ira Allen — a brother of Ethan Allen — as a commissioner to Isle aux Noix, in

May, to meet commissioners from Canada. An armistice and an exchange of prisoners were agreed upon, the temporary cessation of hostilities including New York as well as Vermont.

This power Vermont assumed as an independent State; but it had more significance than the conclusion of a temporary peace. The anomalous position of her people had been for some time an object of interest to the British Government. Haldimand, Governor of Canada, had written to Lord George Germaine, nearly two years before, of the differences between Vermont and her neighbors, and Germaine had replied that "much advantage might be derived" from that circumstance, should the hope be held out to them of being made a separate province under the King.

Vermont tempted to become a British Province.

In March, 1781, Beverley Robinson, the refugee Colonel, wrote on behalf of Sir Henry Clinton, to Ethan Allen, repeating Germaine's suggestion, and urging the return of the people of Vermont to their allegiance to the King. No response was made to this letter by Allen, and in February of the next year it was repeated, but with the suggestion, now changed into a positive assurance, that the reward of a revolt against the Union into which Vermont was not admitted, should be her independence as a British province. The next month Allen, after consultation with the Governor and others, sent both letters to the President of Congress. In April they were laid before the General Assembly of the State. Ira Allen went, a month later, to meet Haldimand's commissioners and negotiate an armistice and cartel, and then an earnest discussion was held upon this subject. Allen, at first, talked only of neutrality, with the understanding that when the war was over, they would give their allegiance to the ruling power, whoever it might be, on condition of receiving a free charter; but without that, he said, — like his brother Ethan, he was prone "to wreak himself upon expression," — "they would return to the Mountains, turn Savages, and fight the Devil, Hell, and Human Nature at large."



Governor George Clinton.

"The conduct of the Vermontese," wrote General Schuyler to Washington, about this time, "is mysterious." Dangerous consequences, he thought, might follow this intercourse with the enemy, though he did not believe that the people generally understood it to be anything else than a scheme to alarm New York and Congress, that the independence of Vermont might be acknowledged. The only way to end this unhappy condition of things, and to test the conduct of the leaders, was to admit the State into the Union.

The mystery which Schuyler saw in the conduct of the Vermontese has been a mystery ever since. The negotiations continued from that time, and the question has been, and still is, whether the Allens, Chittenden, and their associates had any serious intention of becoming a British province, or whether they meant to deceive and amuse the British, on the one hand, and alarm the Americans, on the other, that they might secure their admission to the Union. The conclusion reached by many writers is, that, in the one case, their conduct was hardly that of honorable men, and, in the other, that of men who were traitors to their country. But the more obvious construction seems also the most rational: By right of revolution the country they occupied was their own; if the war did not secure independence to them, as it did to the colonies of the Union, they reserved to themselves, as they frankly said, the right of choice of sovereigns; they preferred to be an independent province under the Crown of Great Britain, rather than cease to be a province at all, and become the subjects of a State they detested. The justification of the revolt of the colonies was their justification. They prayed to be a part of that Union which none believed in more firmly, or fought for more earnestly; if that was denied them, they meant to take the next best thing, — a union with Great Britain rather than submission to New York. They said this frankly, and they meant to deceive nobody. They would have gladly accepted union at any moment with the United States; they temporized with Great Britain because they did not mean, except in the last extremity, to be driven into her embraces. They restricted their boundaries on the New Hampshire side for the sake of peace; they gave up on the New York side, by order of Congress, territory they had annexed, — no doubt injudiciously and wrongfully, but in the hope of strengthening their position, — as both concessions were required as the price of admission to the Union, though the promise was not kept. And more than all, two indubitable facts testify to the patriotism of the "Vermontese," and to the rightfulness of all they contended for: When peace was declared, Vermont was not a British province, though the State was not admitted to the Union

Negotiations with the British.

Their purpose and result.

till 1791; and her western boundary to-day is that which she maintained in her struggle with New York, — twenty miles east of the Hudson River.[1]

During the two years of negotiation and waiting for the final consummation of peace between the allied powers, there were no general military operations. The distant rumbling, as of a retiring storm, of Indian hostilities in the new settlements of the South and West, and of skirmishes with marauding parties in South Carolina and Georgia, was the only indication in the clash of arms that the long struggle was not yet quite finished. But the letters of the Commander-in-chief during this period show how anxious and dubious he was as to the prospect of a permanent peace, and whether he might not be compelled to enter upon a new campaign with an army smaller and more destitute than ever, and behind it a people incapable, perhaps, of being aroused again to that height of enthusiasm and devotion which had hitherto sustained them. Financial difficulties continued to beset the Republic, whose paper money, both national and state, had become almost absolutely worthless; the industry of the country was paralyzed; commerce was almost annihilated; large portions of the States, especially at the South, were devastated; poverty was universal; and the revulsion of a long war brought its own inevitable troubles.

Waiting for peace.

Clinton was recalled soon after the surrender of Yorktown, and Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York to take his place. As Carleton was much the better soldier, as well as abler man, his appointment was not encouraging to the Americans in the event of a renewal of hostilities. He not only continued to hold New York, but even Savannah was not evacuated till the summer of 1782, nor Charleston till the following December. It was impossible to disband the American army in the presence of the enemy; and while negotiations dragged their slow length along at Paris, Washington, with his impoverished and impatient troops at Newburgh, watched Carleton at the mouth of the Hudson.

That an army half-starved, half-naked, without pay, and with nothing to do, should become also discontented and grow ripe for mischief, is not to be wondered at. The wonder rather is, that evil should have been threatened only and not done; that men who had taken cities should be great enough, with arms in their hands, to rule their own spirits, put aside their own wrongs and many provocations, submit to the first command of discipline, and listen to the first sober injunction of common sense and patriot-

Condition and temper of the army.

[1] See *Collections of Vermont Hist. Soc.*, vols. i. and ii., and *Documents and Records relating to New Hampshire*, vol. x.

ism. Some of them knew almost no other government than military rule; they felt its strength in the creation of a nation, and the instruments of that achievement they held in their own hands. For such civil government as there was, they had small respect; for they saw its imbecility in the long-suffering of years, in hunger, in nakedness, in the poverty to which their own devotion to their country had brought their wives and children at home. There was little promise of future pensions in the long arrears of pay which Congress could not, or — as they sometimes suspected — would not, discharge. If their wrongs were ever to be righted, they felt that they must be



Headquarters at Newburgh.

righted by themselves, and righted now while it was in their power. What reliance, they asked each other, can we have, when the army is dissolved and we are scattered and helpless, upon the gratitude of a country which, while we are together and powerful, denies us justice?

Justice was all that most of the men asked, though there were demagogues and mischief-makers among them who had quite other purposes. Greene hanged one of these in his camp, in South Carolina, who stirred up a mutiny, one design of which was to kidnap the General, and deliver him as a prisoner to the British in Charleston.[1] But

[1] There is a tradition at Newburgh that a similar plan to capture Washington and deliver him a prisoner at New York, was revealed to the Commander-in-chief by the daughter of the man who made the attempt. It was frustrated by the warning given, and the man was arrested, but permitted to leave the country, in kindness to his daughter No soldier, however, was engaged in this conspiracy — if it ever existed.

no such desperate measures were ever revealed in the army on the Hudson. The troops would have followed Washington to Philadelphia at a nod, and dispersed Congress, if their demands were not acceded to; but there was no insubordination, no wish to usurp power and displace civil with military rule. There were some who seem to have doubted the wisdom of attempting to establish a republic; but there is no evidence that they were many or very earnest in that opinion.

[7] One of these, a Colonel Lewis Nicola, a foreigner by birth and education, a meritorious officer, esteemed by Washington, wrote, in the spring of 1782, a remarkable letter to the General, in which it is alleged that he spoke for some others as well as himself. The occasion, however, was one where conjecture was not in the least likely to fall short of the truth. Nicola was alone responsible for the letter, and no great importance, perhaps, would ever have attached to it, had it not been that Washington thought it worthy of a signal rebuke. The wretched condition of the country, and the distress and poverty of the troops, were the moving cause of the appeal, and these were attributed to the imbecility of government, — the fatal weakness inherent in republics. A mixed government, it was argued, was more conducive to the happiness of the people, and this might be established under that great chief who had led the army in a successful war of eight years. In obedience to popular prejudice, "it might not at first be prudent to assume the title of royalty," but when "all other things were once adjusted, the title of King" might be admitted. It was, Washington said, "with a mixture of surprise and astonishment" that he read this letter; no occurrence during the war had given him more painful sensations than the assurance that such ideas existed in the army, and he viewed them with abhorrence and reprehended them with severity. He conjured his friend to banish such thoughts from his mind, if he had any regard for his country, concern for himself or his posterity, or respect for his chief. Had the movement, if it was important enough to deserve that designation, been very much stronger than it was, Washington's decisive and indignant reply would have made an end of it.

A monarchy proposed to Washington.

The complaints of the army, however, were not silenced; they grew louder as the months wore on; the men were still without pay, and were not permitted to return to their homes; violent outbreaks were not unfrequent among the least intelligent of the soldiers, and many doubted whether they were not cruelly trifled with by concealing from them the fact of the supposed conclusion of peace between the two governments. They could not easily comprehend the nature

and the necessity of the protracted negotiations carried on at Paris and London.

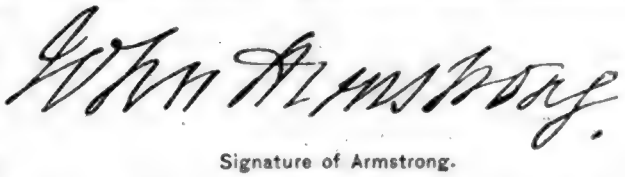
But in the winter of 1782–83, the proposed redress of grievances assumed a more practical form than that presented in Colonel Nicola's letter, and received the hearty approval of the Commander-in-chief. A memorial, assented to by the principal officers of the army, as a calm and candid presentation of its claims upon the Government, was taken to Congress by a committee of three, — General McDougal, Colonel Ogden, and Colonel Brooks. Immediate attention was given to it, and the friends of the army in Congress probably did the best they could in a proposed adjustment of arrears of pay, and the question of future pensions. But party politics had too much weight even upon a question which should have been settled upon the single principle of common justice. Neither the thing done, therefore, nor the way of doing it, was satisfactory at Newburgh, and affairs put on a more threatening aspect than ever. The camp was a magazine, which needed only a torch, applied at the right place and at the right moment, to produce a terrible explosion.

The torch was lighted, but fortunately the strong hand was ready to extinguish it on the instant. On the 10th of March an anonymous notice was circulated, calling a meeting of the general and field officers, a commissioned officer from each company, and a delegate from the medical staff, to consider the late action of Congress, "and what measures, if any, should be adopted to obtain that redress of grievances which they seem to have solicited in vain." With the notice was issued an address, — written, it was found years afterward, by John Armstrong,[1] then a Major and an

The "Newburgh Addresses."

[1] Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution* (London, 1783) says of the addresses that they were, "though anonymous, known since to have been drawn up by Major Armstrong." For this information Gordon was indebted to General Gates, according to a letter from Gates to Armstrong, published forty years afterward by Armstrong himself. This letter is in a note in a review of Johnson's *Life of Greene*, published in *The United States Magazine* of January, 1823, and, though unacknowledged, written — as we know positively — by Armstrong. Johnson, in the *Life of Greene*, attributed to Gouverneur Morris the authorship of the Newburgh Addresses, and the main point and object of Armstrong's review was to deny this theory, and to show that they were written by himself, — "Major Armstrong, a very young man (the aid-de-camp of General Gates), who, yielding to the solicitations of his friends, in a few hours produced an address which was believed to be peculiarly adapted to its purpose." In the chain of evidence on this point, there are some statements that are inexplicable, and some that are irreconcilable; and through it all there is apparently a design to cover up the essential fact in regard to the actual origin of the addresses by the substitution of another fact which reveals only half the truth. It may be quite true that, as Gates says, and as he informed Gordon, "the letters were written in my quarters by you" [Armstrong]; but it does not follow therefore, that they were written — as Armstrong attempts to show — on the sudden impulse of the moment, nor that there was not, behind the mere writing, some potent influence which inspired that

aid-de-camp of General Gates, — in which was discussed with much ability and great warmth the condition of the army. "What," asked the writer, "have you to expect from peace when your voice shall sink and your strength dissipate by division; when those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you, then, consent to be the only sufferers by this Revolution, and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of despondency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can, go, and carry with you the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs; the ridicule, and, what is worse, the pity of the world! Go, starve, and be forgotten! But if your spirits should revolt at this . . . . awake, attend to your situation, and redress yourselves! If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now." And this was his counsel: "I would advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice to the fears of government. Change the milk-and-water style of your last memorial." And let that, he said, be not a memorial, but a "last remonstrance," and Congress should be told in this "that the slightest mark of indignity now must operate like the grave, and part you forever; that in any political event, the army has its alternative. If peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that courting the auspices, and inviting the direction of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and 'mock when their fear cometh on.'"



Signature of Armstrong.

It is not likely that Washington overrated the possible influence of

writing, dictated its tone, its terms, and its aim, and constituted the real authorship. To assume this, it must be acknowledged, is to assume a great deal, is to put upon the whole transaction a new face, involving an essentially new chapter in the history of that period. But that Washington believed there was much more in the matter than met the eye, is evident enough from his own letters; and, indeed, his energetic conduct, the unusual warmth of feeling displayed in his address to the meeting which he assembled, and the importance he attached to the crisis which he felt called upon to meet in so unusual a manner, are hardly explicable on any other supposition. Any presentation of the subject, however, on this side of it, would require an analysis of evidence, the citation and comparison of contemporary writings, and the production of testimony, hitherto unpublished, which the limits of this work forbid.

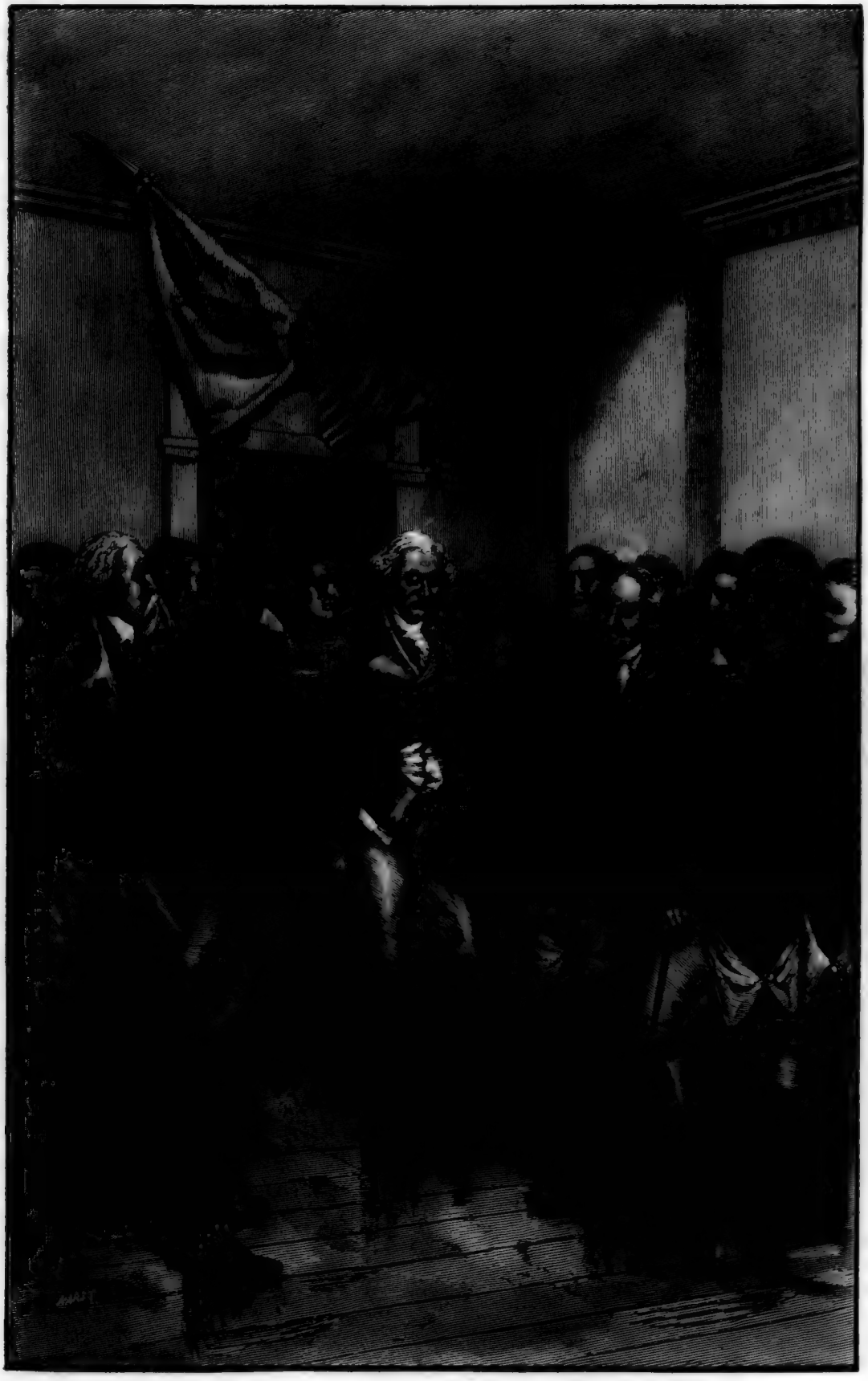
words like these, appealing to the most violent passions of men already inflamed to the point of desperation. It was an emergency to be met by the promptest, but, at the same time, the most cautious and judicious action. Any attempt at coercion was out of the question; indeed, where was any instrument of coercion to be found? If his personal influence was not sufficient to control the army, there could be little hope now of any moderate measures.

The day after the appearance of the call for the meeting and the address, they were made the subject of general orders. The reputation and true interest of the army, the Commander-in-chief said, made it his duty to avow "his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings," though he was "fully persuaded that the good sense of the officers would induce them to pay very little attention to such an irregular invitation." His reliance, nevertheless, was more upon his own good sense than theirs; for he asked that the representatives of the army should assemble at his invitation on the following Saturday, the 15th, instead of on that day, the 11th, which the anonymous call had named. The purpose of the writer of the address, and his associate conspirators, was thus checkmated. The meeting of Tuesday was not held; four days of calm consideration of the inflammatory appeal were secured, though its author made a weak attempt, during those four days, to cover his own defeat by a second address, in which he claimed that Washington's order was favorable, and meant to be favorable, to the writer's purpose.

The army had only to wait till Saturday to know the truth. The meeting was opened by Washington himself. In a calm but forcible address, he answered every statement and appeal of the anonymous writer, and showed how unwise and intemperate that counsel was which instigated a rebellion against Congress. "My God!" he exclaimed, "what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe? — some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures in either alternative impracticable in their nature?" Then he urged them to patience, to rely upon the justice of Congress; he pledged his own utmost exertions on their behalf, and begged them to "give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings."

Washington addresses the army.

Washington retired when his speech was finished, and the meeting



WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF HIS OFFICERS.

then — Major-general Gates presiding as senior officer — passed a series of resolutions, setting forth their own grievances, as had been so often done before, but avowing their confidence in Congress, and declaring that the army viewed with abhorrence and rejected with disdain the infamous propositions of the anonymous address, and resented with indignation the attempts to collect the officers together in a manner totally subversive of all discipline and good order. The crisis was over; nor was it among the least of the commanding General's many victories that by his energy and prudence he saved the country from a possible revolt that would have threatened its existence.

Cessation of hostilities.

Though general orders announced, a few days later, the cessation of hostilities, and the news was received with almost extravagant demonstrations of joy by the army at Newburgh, there were months of weary delay before actual peace was declared and all the worn-out soldiers were permitted to return to their homes. Many were discharged in the course of the summer and autumn; but the whole army was not disbanded till December. The question of pay was not settled without much discussion and disappointment, but it gave rise to no further trouble, except in Philadelphia, where a body of about eighty raw recruits mutinied, and took possession of the State House. Congress adjourned to Princeton. Fifteen hundred troops were ordered to march from the Hudson to suppress this insurrection; but before they reached Pennsylvania it was ended.

Evacuation of New York.

On the 25th of November, New York was evacuated by the British, Washington, with so much of his army as remained, and Governor Clinton, with the other civil officers of the State, marching in to take possession. On the 4th of December, a ceremony of less pomp, but involving far deeper feeling, took place at Fraunces's Tavern, in Broad Street, where the Commander-in-chief parted with his companions in arms. In October, he had taken leave of his army in an affectionate address; but the parting now was from those officers, with many of whom he had been in the most intimate personal as well as official relations. Such a separation could not be without great emotion on both sides. "I cannot come to each of you," he said, after a few words of farewell, "to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand." Not another word was spoken, — hardly was another word possible at such a parting of such men. On the 23d of the same month he returned his commission to Congress, then at Annapolis, in public session.

Farewell to the army.

On the 3d of September, 1783, the final treaty of peace was signed

at Paris, by which Great Britain acknowledged the United States to be "free, sovereign, and independent."

Necessity for union.

The absence of a solid sovereignty in which the Commonwealths could rest, had long been a serious injury to the separate States. Each had its own interior history, its institutions modified if not produced by its own circumstances, and it was possible for this individuality to assert itself finally in a petty sovereignty. In the first Congress, Patrick Henry had expressed the larger thought which was at work: "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian — I am an American." But this was the inspiration of a great mind at a great moment. The

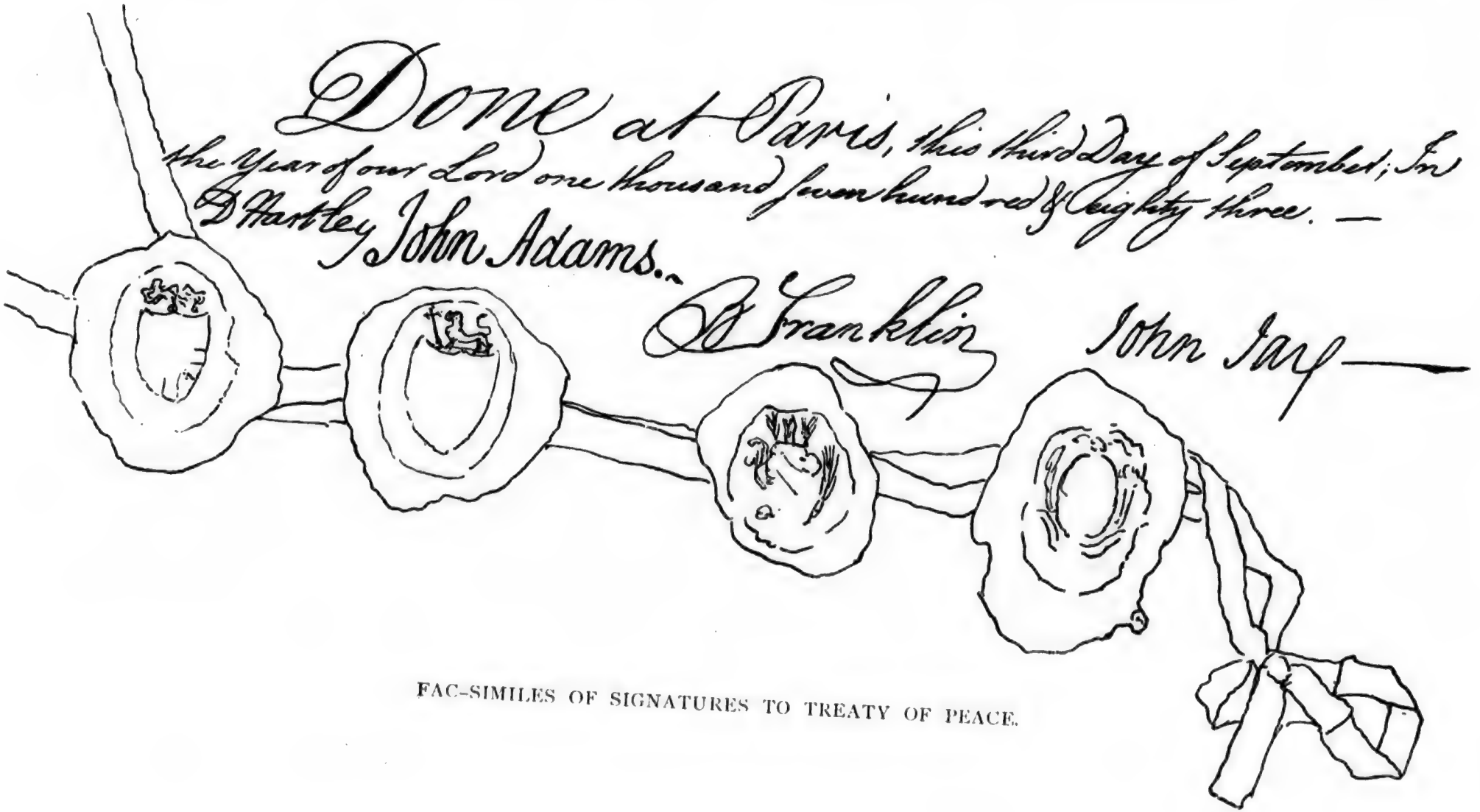
Boundaries.

boundaries of the colonies still existed, and in the slow years of the war, and slower years of the peace that followed, were more sharply defined. The treaty with Great Britain had fixed as the limits of the United States, the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi River,[1] and the Great Lakes; Florida being excepted, as belonging to Spain. The western boundaries of the Southern States, drawn at the great river, were political boundaries only; between that line and the scattered settlements which reached out from the seacoast, there was a vast and almost unexplored region. Pittsburg was an advanced military post. A trail through the wilderness extended from Johnson's house on the Mohawk to the Great Lakes.



Fraunces's Tavern.

[1] In tracing out this boundary, the Missouri was considered the main branch of the Mississippi, and the line followed up that stream. But from lack of exploration about the headwaters, there was confusion as to the northwest boundary, which in fact was undetermined. There was a similar confusion as to the northeastern boundary, which was not settled till 1842.



FAC-SIMILES OF SIGNATURES TO TREATY OF PEACE.

The Southern States had somewhat over a million of inhabitants, while the Middle States and New England divided equally between them a million and a half. The three great States were Virginia, with its 400,000 inhabitants, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, each with 350,000. But the character and influence of the three States varied in accordance with the inherent differences in the character of the people and their social and industrial systems. In Virginia there was no single important centre; but large plantations, occupying the broad lands in the middle and eastern portions, gave singular importance to particular families. The Northern traveller, as he moved southward, no longer saw contiguous villages and small, well-cultivated farms along the road, but large, ill-built, isolated houses, surrounded with groups of rude shanties or log-huts for the negro-quarters. Within he found the rough hospitality of a people without neighbors, and with few intellectual resources to relieve the tedium of their lives, living in the coarse plenty of the plantation, self-confident in tone, and overbearing in manners from the constant practice of petty tyranny over their helpless slaves. There were two classes only, the very poor and the very rich. And already the soil of the eastern counties of these slave States showed signs of exhaustion under the excessive drain of the tobacco crop, and the planters were heavily indebted to English capitalists and merchants. The war had stayed the collection of these debts, but the fear lest their creditors should force their claims through the General Government made the planters suspicious of increasing in any way the powers of Congress. Yet the half-feudal life in the Old Dominion and neighboring States, and the absence of any pursuit save that of politics, gave their leading men an undue influence in public affairs.

The cities.

At the close of the war, Philadelphia was the chief city in the country, its population of forty thousand being double that of Boston, and more than three times that of New York. It became the fashion, shortly after this date, to celebrate public events by processions of tradesmen and mechanics, and in one such pageant in Philadelphia, nearly fifty distinct trades were represented; companies existed for the better protection of the interests of the trades, and a library had been founded fifty years before, chiefly by this class. Upon the solid foundation of manufactures and trade had been built a society living in comfort and ease, and the social manners of the city marked it as the most agreeable on the continent. New York was still paralyzed from the occupation by the British and from the ravages of fire. New England, with its restless population centering about seaports, was busy with ship-building and with the coasting-trade, which extended to the West Indies, its best

market. The forests of Maine and New Hampshire sent vast quantities of lumber to the seaboard; and Newport, Providence, and the harbors on the Connecticut coast drove a thriving trade with the Bahamas and Bermuda. On the return of peace the markets were flooded with British goods, and the courts were filled with suits of British creditors.

The policy which Great Britain had so long maintained, of regarding the colonial trade as existing only for her own benefit, could not



A New England Farmhouse — 1790.

at once be changed; that country aimed at a monopoly of the trade of the new States, and the Crown, authorized by Parliament, issued two proclamations, the first of which required the importation of the produce of the United States to be committed either to British vessels, or to vessels belonging to the particular State of which the cargo was the produce; the second, with special reference to the West Indies, prohibited American vessels or citizens from trading to the British colonies. The effect was threefold: commercial treaties with other nations were encouraged, the several States passed

Commercial policy.

resolutions conferring large power on Congress, and local retaliatory acts were passed, all tending to derange commercial relations and to intensify the hatred of England. But the unequal operation of State laws drove commerce from one port to another, and still further widened the breach between the States. Maryland, by lower duties, gained the commerce of Virginia. Madison had been suspicious of a proposed measure of Hamilton's, that it would inure to the benefit of the Eastern States; but those States themselves drove away com-



A Planter's Residence — 1790.

merce by retaliatory regulations. The remedies proposed, while looking sometimes to closer alliances with neighboring States, were all in the direction of conflict of interests throughout the Union; commercial leagues were formed between New Jersey and Pennsylvania, between Virginia and Maryland, and a competition sprang up for securing trade by the reduction of duties.

All the while the balance of trade against the country was rapidly increasing. Within two years after peace was declared, the value of goods imported from England into the United States was

not far from thirty million dollars, while the exports during the same time were only between eight and nine millions. This great influx of goods crushed the feeble manufactories which had been started during the war, and drew off nearly all of the specie which still remained behind the great volume of depreciated paper money. There was no mint, and the States as well as Congress issued money. In April, 1783, the debt of the United States was estimated at $42,000,000, and that of the separate States at $20,000,000.



A Lumbering Scene.

Congress vainly implored the States to provide the means for meeting its debts. England held by her policy of monopoly, and moreover made the difficulty of collecting debts due from American merchants to her citizens a further excuse for delaying compliance with the provision of the treaty of peace which called for the evacuation of the frontier posts. The disorganized state of the country aroused a belief in England that the restoration of the colonies to Great Britain was not impossible.

Congress was already making use of the public lands for settling

the claims of its creditors, and among these creditors the soldiers of the late army held preference. A movement at once began, which for a hundred years has been changing the face of the country. Washington held lands in the West, and made a journey toward the more remote of his possessions, his mind full of schemes which took shape in the Potomac and James River companies. Timothy Pickering, who had thought of buying wild lands in Vermont, was tempted rather by the reports of the fertile fields of Ohio, and in company with many officers of the army, devised a plan for the formation of a new State west of the Ohio River, — "the total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution." The plan formed by that company of officers in camp at Newburgh, though crude and incomplete, was one of the earliest steps in that series of popular and legislative acts which issued finally in the Ordinance of 1787.

The Ordinance of 1787.

The one political institution which claimed to hold the country together — the Congress of Delegates — was losing its power and reputation with astonishing celerity.[1] "Is it not among the most unaccountable things in nature," wrote Washington to Grayson, July 26, 1786, "that the representation of a great country should generally be so thin as not to be able to execute the functions of government?" Congress was frequently compelled to adjourn for want of a quorum. The States, in their jealousy of one another, dreaded a phantom power in Congress, and exercised their ingenuity in sending their delegates instructions which repeatedly blocked the measures of the General Government.

Weakness of Congress.

Jefferson had been sent as Commissioner to France, John Adams as Minister to England in 1786, and the relations with Spain were negotiated by Jay, the new Secretary of Foreign Affairs at home. Jefferson was impeded by his own free-trade theories, and by his disagreement with Congress; Jay was embarrassed by the claims of Spain to control the navigation of the Mississippi; Adams had to contend against the obvious failure of separate States to observe the terms of the treaty of peace. The imbecility of Congress, joined to the determination of England to maintain her monopoly of the sea, made it seem impossible for Adams to make any headway in negotiating a commercial treaty. The United States acquired no

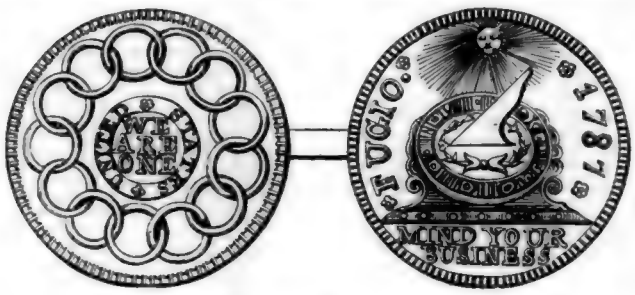
Foreign relations.

[1] The president of Congress, Richard Henry Lee, wrote to Samuel Adams, under date of November 18, 1784: "It is now eighteen days since Congress ought to have assembled here [Trenton], and as yet we have but five States; and it surprises me that these five are southern; none but the worthy Dr. Holton, from your State, being yet arrived from the eastward, whence formerly we used to derive much punctuality, alacrity, and judicious despatch of public business. And yet there are many subjects of great importance, that demand the speedy, temperate, wise, and firm discussion of Congress."

respect as a nation. "The most remarkable thing," wrote Adams, "in the King's speech and the debates is, that the King and every member of each house has entirely forgotten that there is any such place upon the earth as the United States of America. We appear to be considered as of no consequence at all in the scale of the world." Washington summed up the situation a few months later, when he wrote: "Without them [*i. e.*, adequate powers] we stand in a ridiculous point of view in the eyes of the nations of the world, with whom we are attempting to enter into commercial treaties, without the means of carrying them into effect, who must see and feel that the Union, or the States individually, are sovereigns, as best suits their purposes; in a word, that we are one nation to-day, and thirteen to-morrow."

Internal troubles.

The dangers at home were even greater. Not only were the States arrayed against Congress whenever their local interests seemed in jeopardy, but popular conventions and neighborhood meetings began to arrogate authority. "Bodies of men," wrote Samuel Adams in April, 1784, "under any denomination whatever, who convene themselves with a design to deliberate upon and adopt measures which are cognizable by legislatures only, will, if continued, soon bring legislatures to contempt and dissolution." Washington again, in 1786, wrote with warning to his nephew Bushrod against societies formed in Virginia for the indirect management of public affairs: "Societies, nearly similar to such as you speak of, have lately been formed in Massachusetts; but what has been the consequence? Why, they have declared the Senate useless, many other parts of the Constitution unnecessary, salaries of public officers burthensome, etc. To point out the defects of the Constitution, if any existed, in a decent way, was proper enough; but they have done more. They first vote the courts of justice, in the present circumstance of the State, oppressive, and next, by violence, stop them, which has occasioned a very solemn proclamation and appeal from the Governor to the people. You may say no such matters are in contemplation by your society. Granted. A snow-ball gathers by rolling." The power issuing from the people was being reclaimed by them individually, from lack of a supreme authority in which the incomplete fragments of the state could rest.



The Franklin Penny — First United States Coin.

The indications of this extreme logic of local sovereignty were many and frequent. When the authority of the Government was weakened over the old States, it was to be expected that the frontier would show more open independence. In the Wyoming country of Pennsylvania there had been a long-continued dispute between the Pennsylvania Government and that of Connecticut, which had sent emigrants to occupy the wilderness. The boundaries and respective rights of the States were open questions then; but it was finally settled that the Wyoming country was under Pennsylvania's jurisdiction. Thereupon the State claimed that the settlers from Connecticut could hold their lands only under fresh titles. The settlers, well used by long controversy to a rebellious attitude, took up arms and resolved to form a new State, but were suppressed as rioters.



Dollar of 1794.

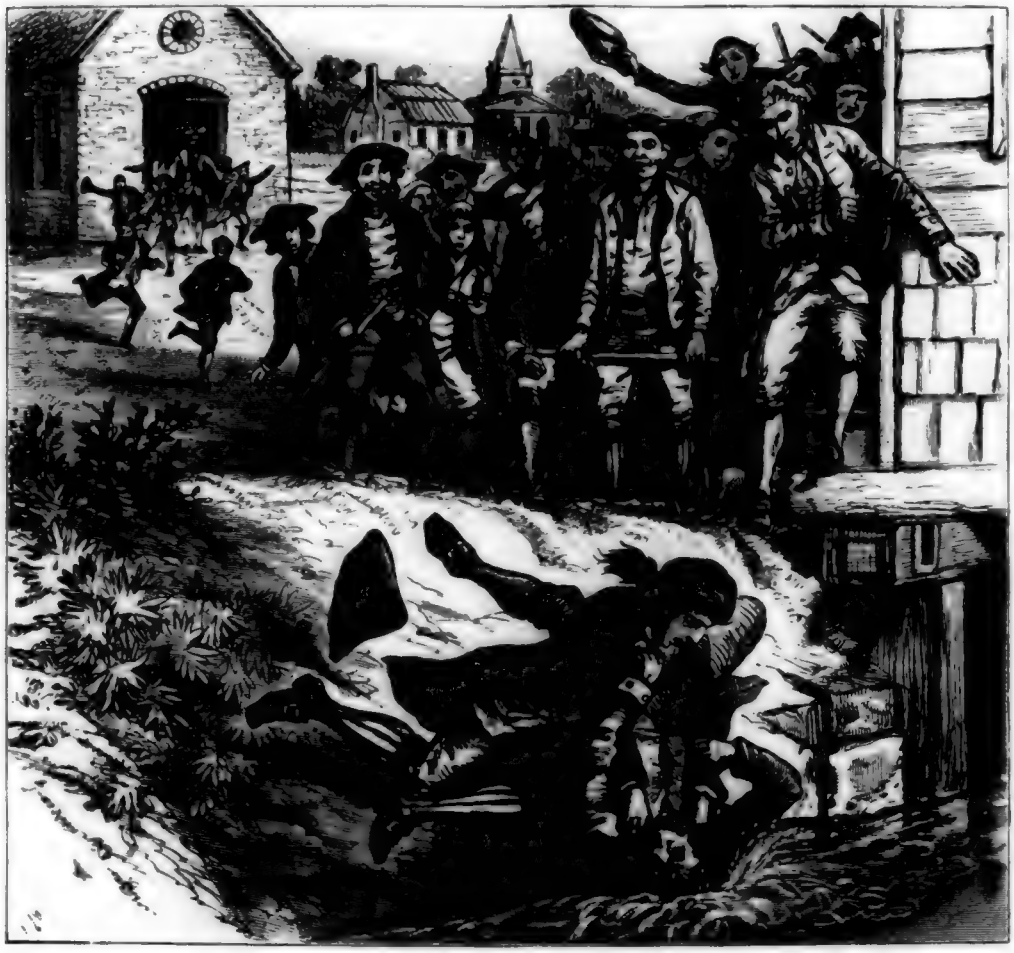
The western counties of North Carolina set up an independent Government, organizing themselves into the State of Frankland. There arose at once a local quarrel. The portion of Virginia which afterwards became Kentucky set up similar claims to independence. Maine, a province of Massachusetts, struggled for a separate government, and finally in Massachusetts the disorganizing and rebellious elements broke out into formal and armed insurrection. The accumulation of debts rendered the courts of justice, in the minds of many, mere "engines of destruction;" the increasing distress in private affairs, the depression in commerce, and the burden of Federal taxation, swelled the popular discontent. The old methods of opposition to British tyranny were resumed in this new opposition to what was imagined to be Federal tyranny. Local conventions were held, and committees formed, and the movement was spreading into the neighboring States.[1] Congress ordered troops to be raised, pretending

Quarrels over new States.

Shays's Rebellion.

[1] "The number of these people amounts in Massachusetts to about one fifth part of several populous counties, and to them may be collected people of similar sentiments from the States of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, so as to constitute a body of about twelve or fifteen thousand desperate and unprincipled men. They are chiefly of the young and active part of the community." — Knox to Washington, in *Writings of Washington*, ix., 207.

that they were for service against the Northwestern Indians. Fortunately the Government of Massachusetts had a man of force at its head in Governor Bowdoin. At Worcester and at Springfield an



A Scene in Shays's Rebellion.

attempt was made to prevent the sitting of the Courts, and at the latter place was ludicrously unsuccessful.[1] Here also the insurgents

[1] "Previous to Shays appearing at the head of an armed mob, so called, an attempt was made to stop the courts of justice. A court was to be held at Springfield; a few warm partisans had assembled about the court-house, in plain sight of the old brick school-house, where I attended school, and from my windows saw all that was going on. Mr. Sheriff Porter, with his insignia of office and side-arms, preceded the judges; and when the Sheriff came to the door-steps, which had been taken possession of by the mobility, he sung out at the top of his voice, 'Clear the way for the court!' But the party in possession did not budge an inch, until the Sheriff drew forth his glittering sword and made several bold and cutting thrusts upon the naked air. At this moment a young man full of zeal stepped forward, seized the leader by the collar, and drew him forth. The others gave way, the court entered, opened, and closed in due form, *O yes!* The two persons clenched each other, rough and tumble, and both rolled into the brook, which passed under the court-house. I had looked on with intense interest, but could no longer resist the impulse, but sung out, 'Master, they are at it!' detaching my hat from the peg, without leave or license, and

threatened the arsenal, under the lead of Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the Continental army. The State militia, under General Lincoln, drove the rebels from Springfield to Petersham, and finally dispersed them. At Exeter, N. H., two hundred armed men had assailed the Assembly and demanded the emission of paper money as a relief from unendurable burdens. They held the legislative chamber for a day, but gave way at the appearance of formidable opposition.

That the difficulties of the country sprang from the lack of a close and authoritative union in which all the members could rest, was forced upon the minds of men. At a meeting of commissioners from Maryland and Virginia, at Alexandria, for the purpose of regulating the navigation of the Chesapeake and the Potomac, a convention of the States was suggested. Five States sent commissioners to Annapolis in September, 1786. Alexander Hamilton, who had foreseen this necessity six years before, proposed a national convention to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787, "to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provision as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them, and afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State, will effectually provide for the same."[1] A memorial signed by Governor Dickinson, chairman of the meeting, was addressed to the legislatures represented by the Commissioners. Virginia at once responded in a grave and noble address, which recognized the crisis and accepted the proposed measure. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Delaware followed. In Congress the party which feared the consolidation of power was in the ascendancy; but it finally assented to a convention, provided it confined itself to "the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of Confederation." Delegates were elected from the other States, except Rhode Island, and the instructions given, or the character of the men elected, foreshadowed, in some degree, the probable result of the important labor on which they were about to enter.

Movement toward Union.

rushed out of the school to see the whole fun and mingle with the crowd. The master and whole posse of urchins soon followed." — Daniel Stebbins, in the *American Pioneer*, i., 385.

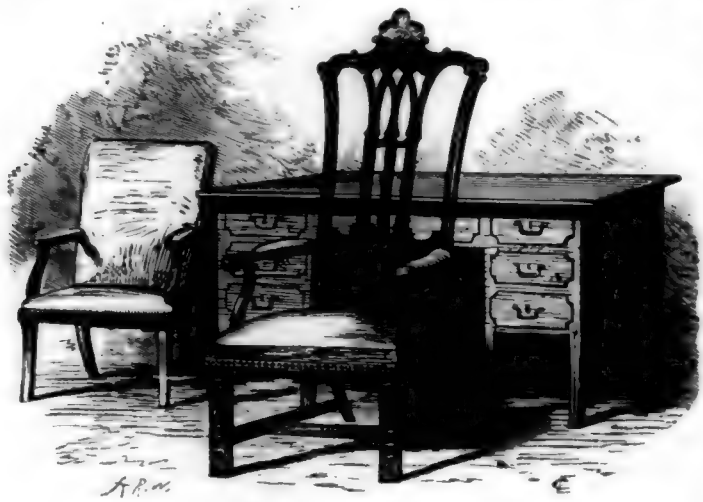
[1] J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, iii., 166.

CHAPTER V.

UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION. — INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON. — MANNERS OF THE TIMES. — ADJUSTMENT OF PUBLIC DEBTS. — GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES. — THE NATIONAL BANK. — PROTECTIVE TARIFF. — CULTIVATION OF COTTON. — CONSTITUTIONAL COMPROMISE WITH SLAVERY. — GENERAL EDUCATION. — WESTWARD EMIGRATION. — DEFEAT OF HARMAR AND ST. CLAIR. — WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INDIANS. — THE WHISKEY INSURRECTION. — FRIES'S INSURRECTION. — HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON. — FRENCH INFLUENCE. — GENET. — JAY'S TREATY. — POPULAR DISSATISFACTION WITH IT.

THE Convention met at Philadelphia, on the 14th of May, 1787, adjourned from day to day until enough delegates were present for organization, and began to work on the 25th day of the same month. It met in the chamber where the Declaration of Independence had been signed. The chair which had been filled by Peyton Randolph, when Johnson of Maryland had nominated the Commander-in-Chief of the army in 1776; by John Hancock, when presiding over the Continental Congress which affirmed the independence of the States; and by Henry Laurens, when the Articles of Confederation were signed, was taken now by the delegate from Virginia, George Washington. Many of these men assembled in Independence Hall had been members of the old Continental Congress or of succeeding ones. Those who had achieved independence were still leaders of public opinion. Langdon, Gerry, Sherman, Franklin, Morris, Clymer,



The President's Chair.

A convention of the States.

Wilson, Read, Wythe, Dickinson, Daniel Carroll, were in this Convention. With these were others of national note, including two young men who were to have preëminence in the councils of the nation — Alexander Hamilton and James Madison.

The members represented two unformed parties; yet as the Constitution slowly issued out of the contest of debate, the very names by which these parties were called seemed finally to be transposed. The rules of the body having been determined, including one enjoining secrecy, and one giving a vote to each State, Randolph of Virginia submitted fifteen resolutions, proposing a national legislature of two branches, a national executive, and a national judiciary embracing grades of courts. Pinckney of South Carolina brought in a similar but more elaborate plan. Both plans were discussed in committee of the whole. The Virginia plan, as it was called, gathered to itself those in favor of the national government. Its fundamental proposition was finally embodied in the first resolution adopted: "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee that a national government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme Legislative, Judiciary, and Executive." The debate was chiefly upon two points, — the power of the General Government to coerce the States, and that representation in Congress should be proportioned to population. The one gave Congress an unquestioned supremacy; the other referred all power directly to the people.

The Virginia plan.

The resolutions were re-committed to the Convention on the 13th of June. Two days later Patterson of New Jersey presented resolutions of the minority. They maintained that the Convention was only to revise the Articles of Confederation in accordance with the call of Congress; hence the Jersey plan, as it was called, contemplated the enlargement of the powers of Congress, without any radical change in the principles of the Confederation, recognizing the States as both equal to each other and superior to the Confederation. Those who supported this plan were at first called the Federal party, favoring a federal or league government; the supporters of the Virginia plan were known as Anti-federalists. Patterson's resolutions were referred to the committee of the whole, and at once Rutledge, seconded by Hamilton, moved a recommitment of the Virginia resolutions which had been adopted by the Convention, so that the two plans might be placed on an equal footing. The Virginia resolutions, by being first on the floor, had the advantage at the start. The opponents could now rally about an equally concrete plan. The larger States naturally favored the first, which based representation upon population; the smaller favored the other, which gave but one house and an equality of power to the States, irrespective of population.

The Jersey plan.

Hamilton brought in a proposition of his own, which went beyond the Virginia resolutions in providing for a centralized power, rather as a well-defined criticism of those plans which were before the Convention than as an independent system. Back of all the discussions lay the consideration that if the work of the Convention should be accepted, it would not be as the triumph of a party, but as the adjustment of practical difficulties, the very existence of which had called the Convention into existence. When the Constitution should be presented to the States for ratification, the question would turn upon its principles, not upon any abstract consideration of the power of the convention framing it. Hence the great questions which divided the Convention were settled, not by forcing the will of the majority, which would have been only a barren victory of debate, but by the discovery of a common ground which should give a practical trial to the controversy at issue. By giving the States an equal representation in the Senate, and assenting to the fatal compromise of permitting three fifths of the slaves to be counted in forming the basis of popular representation in the House, the Convention transferred the questions which agitated them to other arenas and to later days. It accomplished its work of providing a bond of union under which, if the people accepted it, the whole country might organize and present a single front to the world.



Alexander Hamilton.

The Constitution.

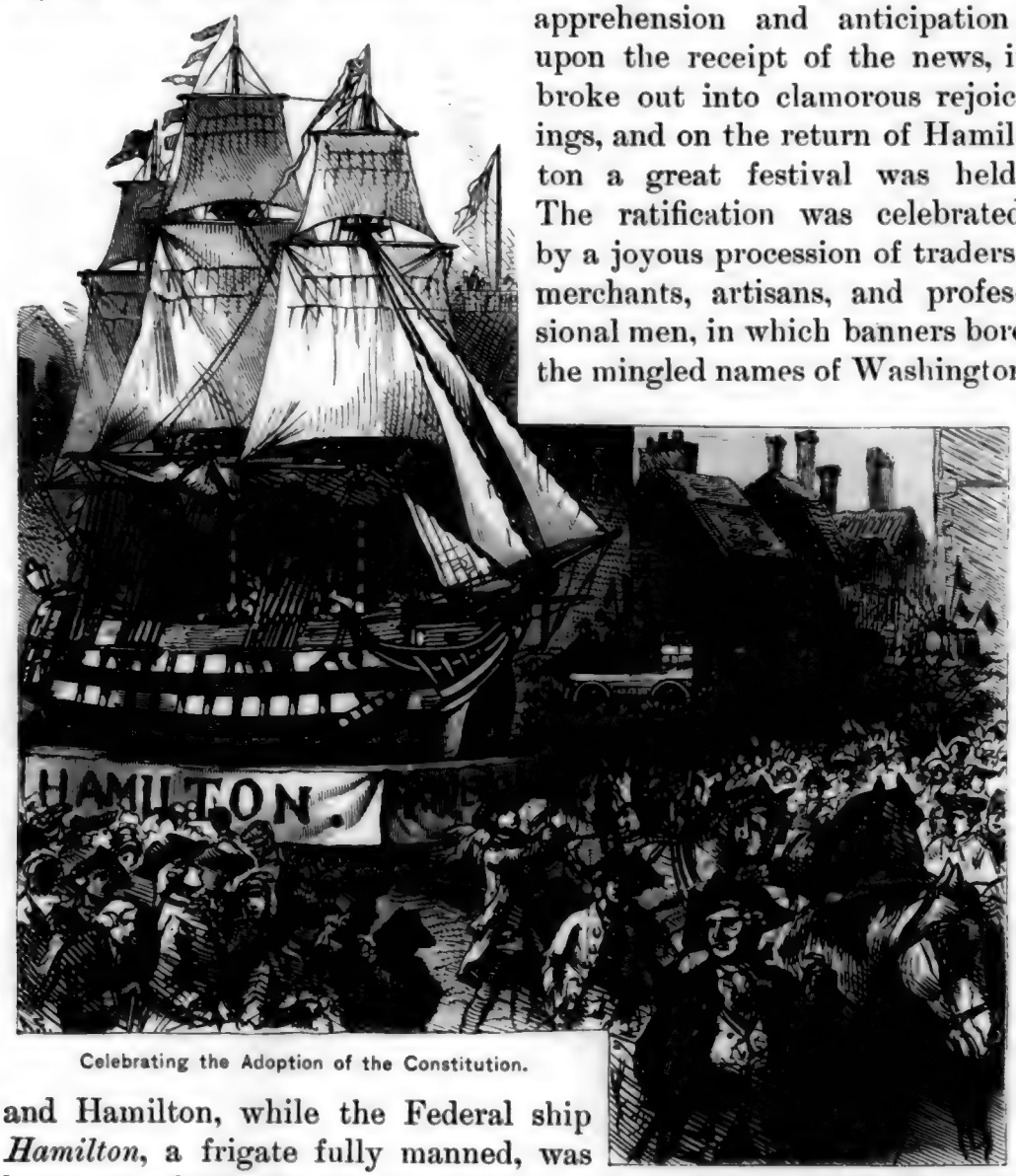
On Monday, the 17th of September, 1787, the Constitution, finally agreed upon, was signed by the delegates — Gerry of Massachusetts, and Edmund Randolph and Mason of Virginia, alone withholding their signatures — and submitted to Congress, which in turn called upon the States in separate conventions to act upon the instrument, the acceptance of nine States being requisite before it could be declared adopted. The debates, which had been secret, were now renewed, not only in the several State conventions but in the public press and by every fireside. The discussions of the winter of 1787–88

were the political education of Americans. The series of papers which have been collected under the title of "The Federalist" present the defence of the Constitution by those who had most to do with its formation. The name, which now became the name of the party maintaining national as distinguished from confederate principles, indicates, in spite of its anomalous application, the spirit of the dominant party. The contest was over the necessity of a strong central government; and those who thought this the paramount need of the country took the name of Federalists as the distinction between themselves and those who would have made State authority supreme. As the positive, aggressive, and structural party, they threw upon the opposition the necessity of accepting the negative title of Anti-federalists, a name which was accepted unwillingly, and finally left behind when those who had borne it found themselves in power.

The opposition to the Constitution was mainly in the large States. In the smaller States it was quickly seen that their only hope of security was in a general government so defined that the assumption of undue power by the larger States would be restrained by the Constitution and the laws. Various conventions tried hard to evade the naked issue, and to put limitations upon their consent. North Carolina drew up amendments, and made her assent conditional upon their acceptance; Massachusetts, giving a bare majority, strongly recommended certain amendments, and other States followed her example. One by one the States fell into line, until on the 21st of June, 1788, New Hampshire, the ninth State, ratified the Constitution. Two conventions were still in session at that date in the important States of Virginia and New York. When on the 25th of the same month Virginia ratified, it was under the supposition that her vote had finally decided the result. The vote was not reached without a hard struggle. The ratification was carried by a majority of only ten in a convention of one hundred and sixty-eight, and was hampered with several proposed amendments and a bill of rights.

The New York Convention was in session at Poughkeepsie while Congress was sitting in New York. But all interest centred about the Convention. The important geographical position of the State, and the dawning commercial greatness of her chief port, made her decision of the utmost importance. The opponents of ratification, ably led by Clinton and Lansing and Smith, fought bitterly to the last. Against them stood Alexander Hamilton, and behind him was a strong popular opinion. The unceasing activity of Hamilton, and his persuasive eloquence, gave the contest a dramatic interest. The opposition yielded inch by inch, taking its stand finally on a conditional acceptance. There the last struggle came, and a major-

ity of two was given in favor of the Constitution. The final decision was reached on the 25th of July, when the Constitution was ratified by a vote of thirty to twenty-seven. The man who at the age of thirty-one had achieved this victory, returned to his seat in Congress in New York, and presented the result of the Convention's work. During the last days of the Convention the city had been in a tumult of apprehension and anticipation; upon the receipt of the news, it broke out into clamorous rejoicings, and on the return of Hamilton a great festival was held. The ratification was celebrated by a joyous procession of traders, merchants, artisans, and professional men, in which banners bore the mingled names of Washington and Hamilton, while the Federal ship *Hamilton*, a frigate fully manned, was borne on wheels, its cannon saluting and receiving salutes throughout the course of the pageant.



Celebrating the Adoption of the Constitution.

The first Congress assembled in New York on the 4th of March, 1789, but it was a month before a quorum could be obtained, and the government was not fairly organized until the 30th of April. The votes of the presidential electors had been counted, and the unanimous first choice was for George

Inauguration of Washington.

Washington. Of the other candidates, John Adams received the largest number, thirty-four out of sixty-nine, and was declared Vice-president. Washington was notified of his election by a special messenger sent by the President of the Senate, and two days later he set out for the seat of government.[1] His journey to New York was through files, as it were, of uncovered heads, and when, on the 30th of April, he took the oath of office upon the balcony of the hall in which Congress was assembled, the vast concourse before him maintained a religious silence. Services had been held in all the churches of the city, and after the delivery of his inaugural speech, the President went on foot to St. Paul's Church, where prayers were read by Bishop Provoost. In the evening the city was brilliant with illuminations and fireworks.

Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury.

The work which most needed to be done pertained immediately to the office of the Secretary of the Treasury. Hamilton, strongly recommended by Morris, and proved by his own essays to be the fit man for the place, was appointed to the office, and his extraordinary administrative power was at once employed in organizing the department with such completeness of detail that subsequent officers have never found it necessary to modify his plans in any essential particular. An incredible number of minor affairs were submitted to the Secretary by Congress, or introduced by his own fertile brain, — as the sale of public lands, navigation laws, regulation of the coasting trade, the purchase of West Point, establishment of revenue cutters, number and condition of light-houses, petitions for claim and relief, plans for collecting the revenue, and various legal questions growing out of the hitherto confused relations of government and people.

Improvement in finances.

The great question of the day, however, was that suggested by resolutions of the House of Representatives, passed September 21, 1789, ten days after Hamilton received his commission, in which he was called upon to report such measures as he should deem expedient for providing for the national debt and sustaining the public credit. The debt of the Confederation, including the interest arrears, amounted to fifty-four millions; the debts of the States, incurred for general objects, amounted to twenty-six millions. Between January and November, 1789, the public securities rose thirty-three per cent., and by the beginning of 1790, when Hamil-

[1] On the day of his departure he wrote in his Diary: "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity; and, with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York in company with Mr. Thompson and Colonel Humphreys, with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

ton made his report, advanced still higher. The means which he proposed was, briefly, to fund the entire debt, issuing new certificates. The whole principle of Hamilton's measure was an emphatic notice to the world that the new Federal Government was the organic successor of the old confederation, assuming all its obligations and providing, as that could not, for their discharge.

The most important branch of the subject was the assumption of the State debts. Again the two great parties divided upon this question. Hamilton and those who thought with him were in favor of their assumption. The opposition, acting upon various grounds, but resting finally upon State supremacy, maintained a solid front not easily secured on any less vital point. They understood the immense cohesive power which lay in the assumption.[1] The Federal party was in the minority; but as the special upholder of the new Government it was the more forcible and determined. The Anti-federal party was in the majority; when it could act in concert it could defeat the measures of the minority; but the very constitution of the party as the aggregate of representatives of various local interests, made it lack cohesion. But the lines of party were not yet firmly fixed. Madison, for instance, who had been one of the principal writers in the "Federalist," was a leader now among those opposed to assumption. The question at issue was seen by Hamilton to be vital. He was once defeated, but gained success by a political manœuvre. Men who opposed assumption were still more eager to secure certain local ends. The question of the seat of national government was one appealing to some of these men with great force — especially to the Virginians; and Virginia, having a greatly reduced State debt, was opposed to assumption. White and Lee, from that State, under Hamilton's influence, changed their votes in consideration that Hamilton and Robert Morris should use their influence to secure the establishment of the capital upon the banks of the Potomac. By this bargain, Hamilton gained his point.

Political parties.



Signature of Richard Henry Lee.

In 1791, Hamilton carried another measure for the relief of government from financial embarrassment. There were at the time but

[1] "A greater thought than this of assumption," said Stone, of Maryland, an Anti-federalist, "had never been devised by man, and if put into execution, would prove to the Federal Government a wall of adamant, impregnable to any attempt on its fabric or operations."

three banks in the country — one in Philadelphia, one in New York, and one in Boston. These were all State institutions. He recommended the establishment of a bank which, under private direction, was yet to serve the Government, by making it owner of one fifth of the capital stock of ten million dollars, and a preferred borrower to the same amount. The subscriptions were to be paid, one quarter in gold and silver coin, three quarters in the six-per-cent. certificates of the national debt. This measure was also the signal for fresh antagonism between the two nascent parties, but the division took place mainly upon sectional grounds; the planting States opposing it, the commercial States favoring it, and gaining the point. The establishment of the bank gave occasion for a remarkable evidence of the strengthening of public credit; for the whole number of shares offered was taken up in two hours.

The National bank.

The borrowing of money, however, could be but a temporary expedient; it was necessary to make provision for permanent means of support. The adoption of the Constitution made a uniform tariff possible, and one of the first acts of Congress was to pass a tariff bill. The measure was necessarily temporary, and it was not until 1791 that Hamilton made his great report upon manufactures, in which he took ground distinctly in favor of a system of protection as the only one he thought possible in that stage of national life and in the condition then of the civilized world.

Protective tariff.

He proposed the exemption of the materials of manufacture from duties, prohibition of rival articles, and other methods which taken together were to comprise "one great American System, superior to the control of transatlantic force or influence, and able to dictate the connection between the Old and New World."[1] A bill embodying the recommendations of this report was passed February 9, 1782. The power of a sovereign state was also exercised in the coining of money, and a mint was established. A bill had also passed, imposing a duty upon imported and domestic spirits, for the purpose of bringing the revenue up to the required point.

There were circumstances in the times which gave a great impetus to American enterprise. The French Government, in 1787, issued a decree placing American citizens commercially on the same footing with Frenchmen, and admitting American produce free of duty; and as France had a free-trade treaty with England, this act practically nullified British hostility to American commerce. Then upon the breaking out of war between France and England, the carrying trade of the world fell into the hands of the United States, and an immense stimulus was given to the exportation of

Commerce.

[1] *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States on the Subject of Manufactures, presented to the House of Representatives.*

American produce. The trade with the West Indies, which England had manœuvered to keep in her own hands, became almost wholly American. French ships could not safely trade there, Spanish trade was carried on under a neutral flag, and even English merchants found it safer to employ American bottoms. At this time arose also those great commercial houses which sought out and held the China and East Indian trade, and American commerce nurtured a bold and hardy race of seamen who united mercantile sagacity with courage, honesty, and enterprise.[1]

During this period one industry received an extraordinary and momentous impetus. The export of cotton in 1792 was only 138,328 pounds; in 1795 it had risen to 6,276,300. So little attention did this export attract, however, that neither Jay nor the English ministers with whom he negotiated his treaty in 1794, remembered that cotton was a product of the United States. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as its culture had long been nurtured in the Southern States. Nearly twenty years before, the State of South Carolina had given to one of her citizens a reward of two hundred pounds for inventing a cotton card, and official measures were taken to bring it into use.[2] Whitney invented the cotton-gin in 1793, and from that moment the question of slavery assumed an importance which was to make it paramount to all others for the next seventy years.



The Cotton Plant.

[1] A view of the exports of the country shows a steady increase from $19,012,041 in 1791, to $67,064,097 in 1796. They fell off the next year, to increase again in 1798. The fisheries, which had suffered during the war and had not recovered in 1790, revived again under the impulse of a special bounty and the resumption of trade.

[2] The following report is from the original manuscript, in the possession of Samuel Wilde, Esq., of New York: —

"IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY,
the 22d day of August, 1777.

"Report of the Committee to whom the Petition of Thomas Lenoir was referred, as amended and agreed to by the House.

"That they have considered the Petition of Mr. Lenoir, and have had sufficient evidence to convince your committee that the said Petitioner is qualified to carry on the business

The continued existence of slavery was one of the most difficult questions of settlement and compromise in the formation and adoption of the Federal Constitution. The Convention hoped it had been put to rest forever by securing the termination of the slave trade in 1808. Opposition to that trade and to slavery was with many, and especially the Friends, a religious conviction. In the first year of the new government petitions were sent in from members of that society in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New Jersey, asking for its abolition. One from a Delaware Quaker, Warner Mifflin, for the abolition of slavery, was returned to the petitioner.[1] The ground was generally taken, however, that Congress had no power over slavery in the States. In the Territories, indeed, it had power, and it exercised it with geographical distinctions.

Slave labor.

In 1783, the several States claiming the right of domain in the region northwest of the Ohio River ceded those claims to the United States, and in March, 1784, a committee was appointed by Congress, with Jefferson as chairman, to report a plan for its government.[2] By that plan, slavery was prohibited, but not till the year 1800. This was Jefferson's famous Ordinance, for which so much credit has been awarded him; but fortunately this portion of it relating to slavery was defeated for want of Southern votes. Had the slaveholders been wise enough to accept it, and maintained the right of possession from 1784 to 1800, there can hardly be a doubt that the movement of half-a-dozen years later, led by William Henry Harrison,

both of drawing the wire and making as good wool and cotton cards as are usually imported into this State, and do therefore recommend that the sum of Two hundred Pounds be immediately given to Mr. Lenoir, as a reward, he being the first Person that has begun that business, and a farther sum of Eight hundred pounds advanced him on his giving an obligation *to deliver to Joseph Kershaw, Esquire, at Camden, and in case of his death or absence from the State, to such Person as may be appointed by the President for the time being to receive the same, to be sold on account of the public*, after giving twenty days Public notice of such Sale, *Forty pair of good cotton cards at the end of one year, and forty pair equally good at the end of the second Year, proved upon oath to have been all manufactured by the said Thomas Lenoir within this State.*

"Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Treasury be served with a copy of the foregoing Report, and that they advance the sums of money and take the obligation therein mentioned. "By order of the House. THO. BEE, *Speaker.*"

"Received, August 22, 1777, from the Com'srs of the Treasury, One Thousand Pounds of the within Resolution of the Gen. Assembly. "THOS. LENOIR."

[1] "As I do feel alarmed," — said Mifflin in commenting on the refusal to receive his petition, — "when I consider that the solemn professions so lately made in time of extremity and danger, and held up as the national faith, should so soon on this important occasion seem to be regarded as mere *tricks of State*, what can be thought will be the issue? May it not be considered as trifling with omnipotence?" — *A Serious Expostulation with the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States.*

[2] The Ordinance reported provided that the States into which the region was to be eventually divided should have the fanciful names of Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelesipia.

to make Illinois and Indiana slave States, would have been successful.

But by the Ordinance of 1787, all the territory northwest of the Ohio, then belonging to the United States, and comprising the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, was saved for free men and free labor by the interdiction of slavery then and forever. It was expected that this western country would be settled by emigrants from the Northern States, and millions of acres were bought for that purpose by a Massachusetts Land Company. and others, at the time of the passage of the Ordinance. It was probably for this reason that the Constitution and laws of Massachusetts were made the basis of the Ordinance, and the work of framing it was intrusted to Nathan Dane, a member of Congress from that State; and for this reason, probably, the Southern members of the committee, to whom the subject was referred, acquiesced in the prohibition of slavery in a region where they did not believe it would flourish.[1]

It was held by some that the Ordinance of 1787 applied to all the Territories; but when, in 1789, North Carolina ceded her western lands to the Union, under the condition "that no regulation made or to be made by Congress shall tend to the emancipation of slaves," the cession was accepted with that condition.

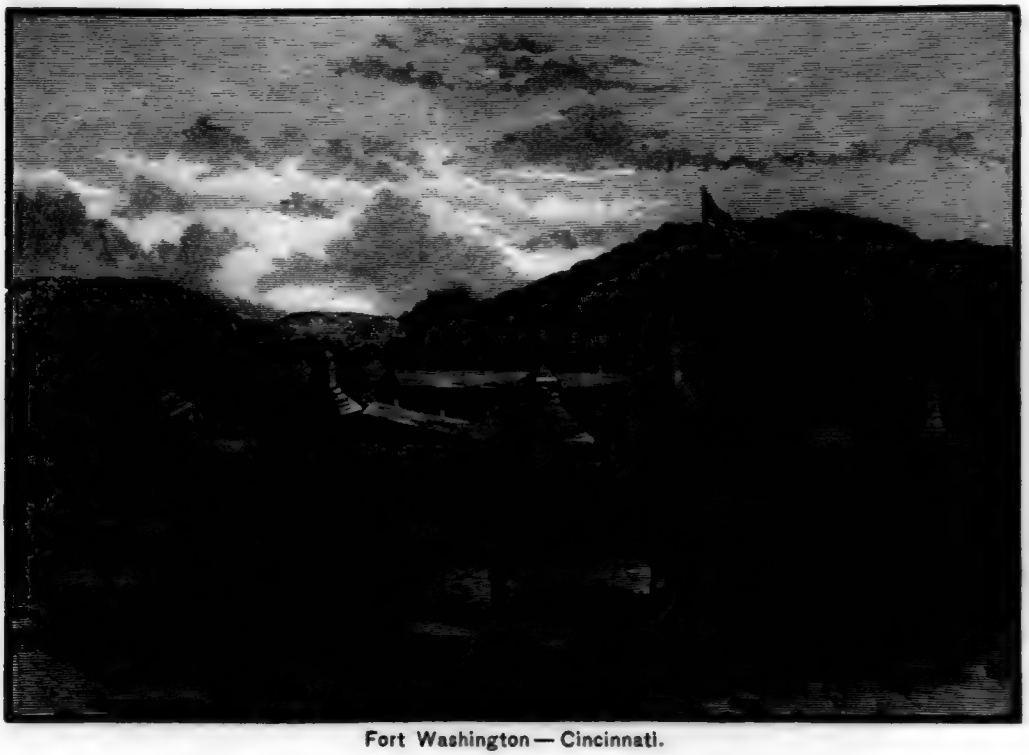
Education.

The necessity for general education had been recognized in the Ordinance of 1787, and the measures then taken were perpetuated in the States formed out of the Territories. In the older States the necessity had been felt, and provision made in different degrees; but in nearly all the new State constitutions, educational interests were acknowledged. The great movement for compulsory and universal education came at a later date; the people were still somewhat influenced by old habits which separated the great body of un-

[1] An attempt was made in *The North American Review* for April, 1876, by Mr. W. F. Poole, to show that Dr. Manasseh Cutler, and not Nathan Dane, was the real author of the Ordinance of 1787. Dr. Cutler was the agent of the Ohio Land Company of Massachusetts, and other proposed purchasers of Western lands, and the purchases depended, apparently, upon the character of the government to be established over that region. It is quite probable, therefore, that Cutler may have been permitted to read the Ordinance before it was reported to the House, and he may have suggested some changes. The evidence that he wrote the article relating to the prohibition of slavery depends upon the assertion of Dr. Cutler's son in 1849, that, forty-five years before, he heard his father say — twenty years after the date of the Ordinance — that the article relating to slavery was his. But the evidence that it was written by Dane is his own handwriting, on a printed copy of the instrument found among the archives of the United States. An earlier attempt to take away the honor from Dane, and to bestow it upon Jefferson, was made by Senators Benton and Hayne, in a debate with Webster in 1830, in the United States Senate. But the Ordinance of 1784, which Jefferson wrote, did not prohibit slavery till 1800, and even that never became the law, nor was there any essential similarity in the two ordinances.

educated from the small body of educated men. Nevertheless, the growth of free government was the growth of education for all. Noah Webster, a man of narrow but forcible intellect, in 1783 began the publication of elementary school-books, and continued his work amidst ridicule and against obstacles which would have appalled a man less obstinate and self-confident. He avowed his purpose to be "to diffuse an uniformity and purity of language in America, to destroy the provincial prejudices that originate in the trifling differences of dialect and produce reciprocal ridicule, to promote the interest of literature and the harmony of the United States." He preached a crusade of nationalism, and had dreams of an Ameri-

Noah Webster



Fort Washington — Cincinnati.

can language. Societies for the preservation of historical material began also to come into existence, and the scattered and feeble representatives of literature and science to combine into associations. Society itself was undergoing a change in manners and gradation, under the enthusiasm of republican ideas; but the distinctions of rank did not disappear suddenly. At Philadelphia, the seat of government, they were still rigidly insisted upon. The President rode out to take the air, with six horses to his coach, and two footmen. He held a republican court in which the unwritten laws of etiquette were carefully regarded. It was proposed, and the proposition debated with ardor, that he should be addressed as his "High Mightiness." His birthday was celebrated in the cities, and odes were often

addressed to him. Much of this state, however, grew out of the personal regard in which Washington was held. The judges of the Supreme Court wore robes of scarlet faced with velvet; clergymen wore wigs with gowns and bands; and gentlemen and ladies were distinguished by the richness and elaborateness of their dress. College customs imitated in miniature the ranks and grades of society in the outer world. The Revolution had made many inroads upon these customs, but the years following peace saw them still carefully observed by many people, especially in the cities.[1]

North Carolina had given in her adhesion shortly after the formation of the Government, and Rhode Island followed in a few months, — the last of the original thirteen. Vermont was admitted in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796.

Westward emigration.

In the North, the western part of New York was still the Great West; but the Ohio country was receiving settlers from New England, Kentucky from Virginia, and Tennessee from North Carolina. The removal of the western frontier was accompanied by the same conflict which had gone on since the discovery of the country. Every step taken over the mountains into the fertile lands of the West was taken in territory held by Indian tribes. John Cleves Symmes, afterward famous for his theory that the earth is hollow, with openings at the poles, obtained in 1788 a grant of one million acres bounded south by the Ohio and west by the Miami — extending twenty miles on the Ohio, and about eighty on the Miami. Here two principal settlements were begun, — North Bend and Cincinnati. The former seemed likely to become the centre of trade for the Miami country, but a personal incident decided otherwise. Ensign Luce, sent thither to make a fortification for the protection of the settlers, became enamoured of a beautiful woman, the wife of a settler, and the prudent husband presently removed with her to Cincinnati. Thereupon the Ensign began to doubt the strategic importance of North Bend, and against the protestations of Judge Symmes, he removed his command to Cincinnati, and put up a substantial block-house, and the necessity for protection soon drew after him most of the inhabitants of North Bend. A few years later the block-house was replaced by a work called Fort Washington.[2]

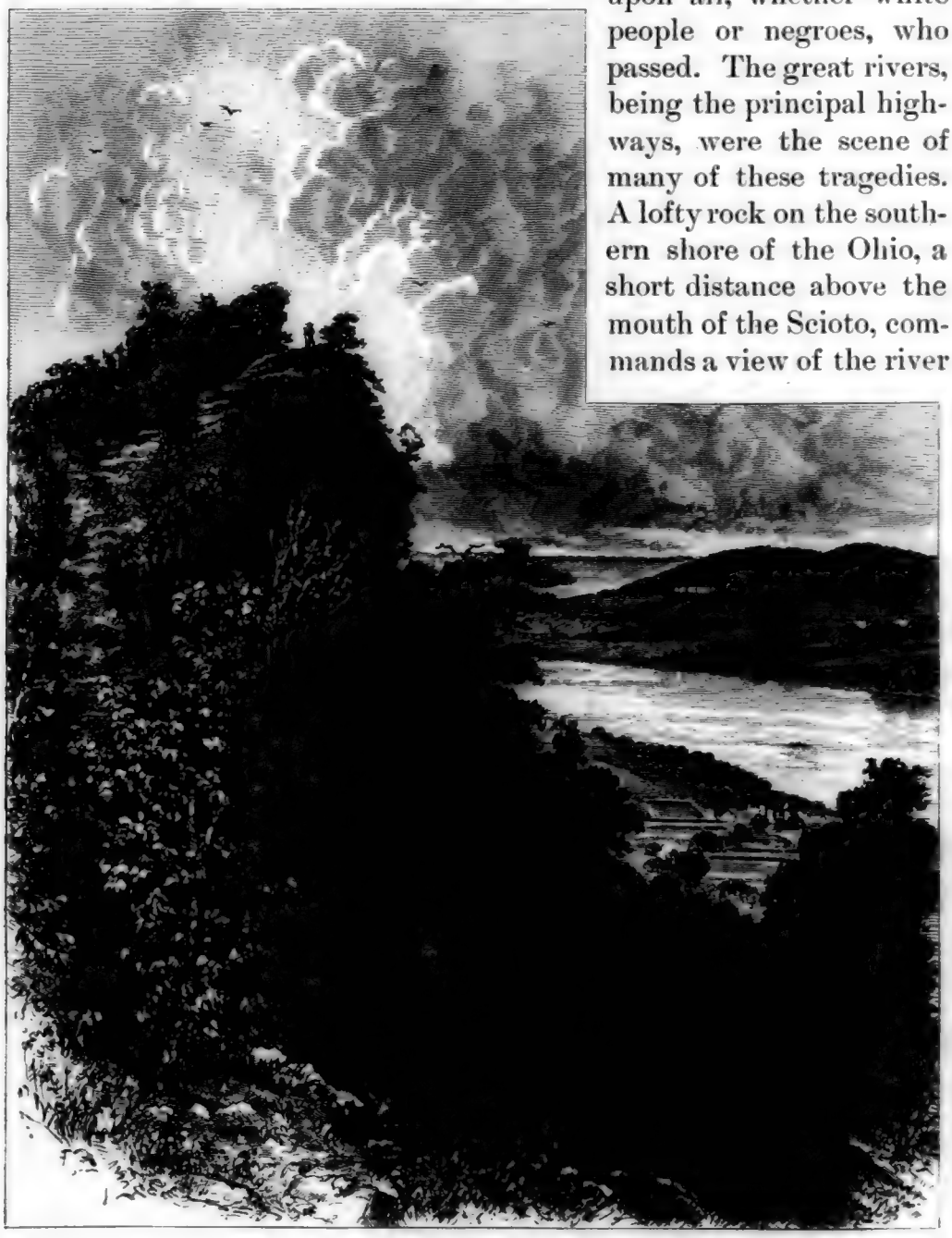
Hostilities in the West

Some of the frontier posts which, under the treaty of 1783, should have been surrendered, were still retained by England. From these posts, communication was kept up with the Indians, who were made to believe that the Americans had no claim to any territory beyond the Ohio, and were incited to continual acts of

[1] For many details on these points, see *Recollections by Samuel Breck*, *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*, and *The Harvard Book*.

[2] Burnet's *Notes on the Northwestern Territory*.

hostility. A cruel warfare upon settlers was gradually developed. Men went out in the morning to plough, and at evening were found dead in the furrow. Women and children were killed in their houses. The savages lay in concealment along the lines of travel, and fired upon all, whether white people or negroes, who passed. The great rivers, being the principal highways, were the scene of many of these tragedies. A lofty rock on the southern shore of the Ohio, a short distance above the mouth of the Scioto, commands a view of the river



The Indians' Rock, near Portsmouth, on the Ohio.

for a long distance, and was used as a watch-tower for the discovery of boats descending the stream. Often a white prisoner was sent to the water's edge, to decoy them to the shore, and after the bloody

work was done, the boat-load of corpses was sent adrift to tell its ghastly story to the settlements below. Several incipient villages were plundered and burned, and their scattered inhabitants never rebuilt them. Judge Harry Innis declared that to his knowledge fifteen hundred persons had been killed or captured by the Indians on or near the Ohio since 1783,[1] and the number of horses stolen was estimated at twenty thousand.

Antoine Gamelin, who had been an Indian trader, was sent out in the spring of 1790 to visit the disaffected tribes and invite them to enter into a treaty of peace with the United States, or confirm the treaty that had been made at Marietta the previous year. He found the older people generally disposed to be peaceful, but the young men were not so pacific. Said a chief of the Kickapoos, "You invite us to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British." All the tribes told him they could not give a final answer till they had conferred with the British authorities at Detroit. When it was found that peace through peaceable means was hopeless, Congress authorized General St. Clair, Governor of the Territory, to call for five hundred militiamen from Pennsylvania, and a thousand from Kentucky, and with these and a regiment of four hundred regulars under General Harmar, make a campaign against some of the principal Indian villages. By the 1st of October the expedition, commanded by Harmar, was fairly in motion. It passed up the valley of the Little Miami, and found the Indian villages at the head-waters deserted. Here the troops girdled the fruit-trees and destroyed the winter store of corn. Thence the line of march was westward, crossing the Great Miami at Piqua, and thence northwesterly about thirty miles, when a halt was made. The principal village, Girty's Town, was fifty miles distant, near the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Colonel Hardin was sent forward with six hundred men to surprise it. They found it deserted and burned, and went into camp to await the arrival of the main body. Four days later, October 20, Colonel Hardin was sent with a hundred and fifty militiamen and thirty regulars to destroy a town, six miles southward, on the St. Mary's. This detachment fell into an ambuscade, and the militia at once broke and fled. The regulars stood their ground, and fought bayonet against tomahawk, till all were killed but two officers and two privates, who escaped to a swamp. General Harmar immediately resolved to make his way back to Fort Washington; but he had only marched eight miles when intelligence came that the Indians had re-occupied their village. Hardin begged for an opportunity to retrieve his disaster, and was

Harmar's campaign.

[1] Letter to the Secretary of War, July 7, 1790.

permitted to turn back with six hundred militia and sixty regulars. He made skilful dispositions, and attacked vigorously; but the savages were more skilful than he. They pretended to be defeated, fell back across the Maumee, and then retreated up the St. Joseph, followed for two miles by the militia. But a portion of them had remained behind in ambush to intercept the regulars, and now fell upon them in overwhelming numbers. The fight was desperate, and largely hand-to-hand, and but eight of the regulars escaped. The militia were unable to overtake the Indians in their front, and on their return down the St. Joseph were annoyed by a continuous fire from both banks. The remnant of Harmar's force returned to Fort Washington, having lost one hundred and eighty-three killed and forty wounded, but had not killed more than fifty Indians. Harmar and Hardin were court-martialed, but acquitted.

The next spring, Gen. Charles Scott, of Kentucky, organized a brigade of mounted riflemen, crossed the Ohio at the mouth of the Kentucky, surprised and destroyed several Indian villages on the Wabash and Eel Rivers, laid waste their corn-fields, and returned in June with fifty-eight prisoners, without having lost a man, and with only five wounded. In August a similar raid, with similar success, was made by Colonel Wilkinson against the villages on the northern tributaries of the Wabash. Scott's raid.



General Arthur St. Clair.

Meanwhile General St. Clair was organizing a more formidable expedition, consisting of about two thousand men, with cavalry and artillery. Leaving Fort Washington on October 3, this force advanced twenty miles to Fort Hamilton on the Miami, thence twenty miles farther north, and erected Fort St. Clair, and thence twenty miles farther and erected Fort Jefferson, near the present boundary between Ohio and Indiana. The force was now considerably reduced, not only by the detachments for garrisons, but by numerous desertions. St. Clair pushed forward into the wilderness, and on November 3 encamped St. Clair's campaign.

on a wooded plain among the southeastern sources of the Wabash. Before sunrise next morning a horde of Indians, led by Blue Jacket, Little Turtle, and Simon Girty, fell upon the camp of the militia, who at once retreated in disorder upon the main camp, and threw it into confusion. The Indians pressed close after them, and attacked furiously, especially on the centre, where the guns were posted. Considerable execution was done by these; but the gunners were repeatedly driven from their pieces. Several bayonet charges routed the savages on either flank in succession; but each time they rallied and returned to the attack, their numbers apparently undiminished, while the American forces were constantly decreasing, the loss of officers being especially heavy. At last the artillery was silenced, half of the army had fallen,[1] and the remainder began a retreat that quickly degenerated into a disgraceful rout in which everything was abandoned. The Indians pursued only a short distance, and then returned to despatch the wounded and scalp the dead. Several of their prisoners were burned at the stake. During the fight, British officers in full uniform were seen on the field. They had come from Detroit to witness the exploits of their savage friends.

Wayne's campaign.

After these defeats, a peaceful settlement was more hopeless than ever. Repeated flag-parties sent out to open negotiations were treacherously murdered. The renegade Simon Girty, a Pennsylvanian in the British service, who had great influence with the savages, declared that he would "raise all hell to prevent a peace," and Lord Dorchester, in the autumn of 1793, issued a proclamation to the Indians, in which he said: "From the manner in which the people of the United States push forward, act, and talk, I should not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year. If so, a line will have to be drawn by the warriors." The only remedy was vigorous war, and the most vigorous man to prosecute it was Anthony Wayne.

This dashing soldier of the Revolution was appointed Major-general in 1792, and given the supreme command in the West, with power to raise three additional regiments of infantry and two thousand dragoons, for a term of three years. Early in 1793, he began to concentrate troops and supplies at Fort Washington; but recruiting was slow, and it was September before he could advance. Then he marched northward eighty miles, built Fort Greenville, — the present site of Greenville, Darke County, Ohio, — and went into winter quar-

[1] Thirty-eight officers and six hundred privates were killed or missing, and twenty-one officers and two hundred and forty-two privates wounded. Among the camp-followers were two hundred and fifty women, fifty-six of whom were killed, and most of the others captured.

ters. At the same time, Governor Simcoe marched from Detroit with a detachment of British troops, and established a military post at the rapids of the Maumee. All winter the Indians were vigilant, and they seldom failed to attack any small party that ventured far from the fortifications. They seemed to understand that a decisive struggle was at hand, and quotas were sent from nearly all the northern and western tribes. In June, a strong detachment sent out by Wayne to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, buried the bleaching bones of six hundred men, and built Fort Recovery. This work was attacked, on June 30 and July 1, by a large body of Indians, assisted by a considerable number of French Canadians with blackened faces, and encouraged by a few British officers whose brilliant uniforms were conspicuous on the field. The Americans lost twenty-five killed and thirty wounded; but the assailants were driven off with heavy loss. The Indians were employed two nights in carrying away their dead and wounded.



General Anthony Wayne.

In July, Wayne was reenforced by 1,600 mounted Kentuckians under General Charles Scott, and having now nearly four thousand men, he set out for the Indian towns on the Au Glaize. He had been minutely instructed by President Washington, whose experience of savage warfare dated back to Braddock's defeat, and the orders were carefully observed. He marched with open files, to secure quickness in forming a line in thick woods, or prolonging the flanks. He kept his army together, and always halted in the middle of the afternoon, encamped in a hollow square, and surrounded it with a rampart of logs. On the 2d of August he arrived at St. Mary's River, where he erected Fort Adams and left a garrison. Thence he crossed the Au Glaize, and marched down that stream, through villages and fertile fields, all deserted, to its junction with the Maumee, where he built Fort Defiance. Meanwhile the cavalry were laying waste the country for miles on either side the line of march. The next advance was down

the Maumee, to the head of the rapids, within seven miles of the British Fort Maumee, where Wayne built Fort Deposit. He now had two thousand regulars and eleven hundred mounted riflemen, all well disciplined. On the morning of August 20, the Americans advanced in three columns, and found the Indians and Canadians formed in three lines, their left resting on the river, and their right extending nearly two miles to a dense thicket. While the cavalry attempted to turn their flanks, the infantry advanced with trailed arms against the centre, roused the enemy with the bayonet, poured a volley into them as they turned their backs to retreat, and then continued the charge so impetuously that the line was completely broken, and the fugitives, pursued for two miles, took refuge under the guns of the British fort.

In this action Wayne lost forty-four killed and a hundred wounded. The loss of the enemy was not ascertained. The victorious troops were encamped for three days in sight of the British post, and destroyed all the houses and property in the vicinity. They then returned to Fort Defiance, laying waste the country as they went, and continued the march to the Miami villages, at the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's, where Fort Wayne was built. This campaign put an end to Indian hostilities for the time, and rendered the name of Wayne a terror to the savages, which no persuasions of their English friends could allay. In 1795 a treaty was made at Fort Greenville, by which the Indians ceded a large tract of land to the United States, and the close of these Indian hostilities marks the beginning of the rapid and safe settlement of the West.

The whiskey insurrection.

In the recommendation of an excise on distilled spirits, made by Secretary Hamilton in his report of 1790, he asserted that such duties were not novel, as several of the State governments had imposed them,[1] and that all ground for objection might be removed by giving the officers no summary jurisdiction, and restricting their search to depositories which the dealers themselves should designate. A bill drawn up by him was passed by Congress, in March, 1791, after a long debate, and went into operation in July. It increased the duty on imported spirits, making it from twenty to forty cents a gallon and laid a tax on distillation. The law met with violent opposition, especially in central North Carolina and Western Pennsylvania. The Legislature of Pennsylvania had instructed their representatives in Congress to vote against it, and the people of the western counties — sustained by several eminent men, among whom was Albert Gallatin — held meetings, appointed committees, and

[1] This was true. But it was also true, that in some of the States, notably Pennsylvania, it had been found impossible to collect them.

adopted resolutions demanding an unconditional repeal. So violent was the feeling, that General John Neville — who, at his own expense, had equipped and marched a company to Boston in 1776, who was known far and wide for his benevolence, and in years of scarcity had thrown open his wheat-fields to his poor neighbors — was insulted and mobbed, and finally had his house burned down, because he accepted the office of collector for Western Pennsylvania.

The counties west of the Alleghanies — Fayette, Washington, Allegheny, and Westmoreland — contained about 70,000 inhabitants,



A Mountain Still.

including a considerable number of recent Irish emigrants, who had brought with them their traditional hatred of excise laws and their habitual methods of opposing them. Several of Neville's deputies were tarred and feathered; others yielded to the clamor of the mob, and resigned. It was pleaded on behalf of the insurgents that the tax bore heavily upon the poor people of this region, who had no transportation over the mountains except by pack-horses, and had, therefore, no market for their grain unless they reduced it to spirits, — a fallacious argument, though even now believed in, since all taxes are added to prices and ultimately come out of the consumer. It was not the tax on the whiskey they sent over the mountains that really



View of Pittsburg in 1790.

troubled these people, but on that which they drank themselves, said to be no inconsiderable portion of their whole product.

The rebellion rapidly gathered head, till finally there was a thorough organization for resistance to the law. On July 15, 1794, General Neville's house, barricaded and occupied by his servants and a few friends, was attacked by forty armed men, who were fired upon and driven off, six of them being wounded. The next day the mob returned, increased to five hundred, and led by John Holcroft, who had become notorious as "Tom the Tinker," and under that signature had written seditious articles which the newspapers did not dare refuse to publish. But the party in the house had been reënforced by a dozen soldiers, and the demand for surrender was rejected. The rioters attacked the house, and received a volley which killed their chosen military leader, one McFarlane, and wounded several others. The outhouses

were then set on fire, the defenders, three of whom were wounded, were compelled to surrender, and the mansion itself was soon in flames. A few days later, the mail to Philadelphia was intercepted, and several letters which gave accounts of the riotous proceedings subjected their writers to special persecution.

The insurgents next summoned the militia to meet on Braddock's Field, August 1, armed and provisioned for four days, and seven thousand responded. William Bradford assumed command, and marched them into Pittsburg; but they were unwilling to carry out his design of capturing Fort Pitt, and gradually dispersed. Governor Mifflin, on various excuses, declined to call out the militia to suppress the insurrection, and it was spreading to contiguous States. President Washington, who feared that successful resistance to one law might be the beginning of rebellion against all law, called on New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia for 15,000 men, and sent commissioners to the scene of the disturbance with power to arrange for peaceful submission any time before September 14. Ten days after that date, they returned to Philadelphia, having failed to make a satisfactory settlement. The troops were promptly put in motion, the Governors of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia commanding their respective quotas. The left wing, marching by Braddock's route, captured more than a hundred insurgents at Hagerstown; the right, marching through Carlisle, had an encounter with the populace, and killed a man and a boy. It is said that many of the soldiers died of disease contracted while crossing the Alleghanies in inclement weather. On the appearance of the troops, the insurrection subsided. Some of the leaders left the country; many hastened to avail themselves of the proffered amnesty; others were arrested and brought to trial. Two only were convicted of treason, and they were pardoned by the President.

Five years later, a similar, but much less violent, insurrection took place in another section of Pennsylvania. Discontent with the window-tax began to manifest itself in 1798, and in the spring of 1799 a rebellion against it broke out in Northampton County, and quickly spread into adjoining counties. Most of the insurgents were Germans, or of German descent. The President promptly called out the militia, and in a short time the leaders, deserted by their followers, submitted to arrest. The chief of them, John Fries, was put upon trial in May, for high treason. The trial lasted nine days, and resulted in a verdict of "guilty." A new trial was granted, and held in April, 1800, with the same result, and Fries was sentenced to be hanged. Against the advice of every member of his Cabinet, the President not only pardoned him, but issued a gen-

Fries's insurrection.

eral amnesty for all the offenders.[1] Fries had declared that "great men were at the bottom of the business," but he gave no names, and there was only his own word to justify the statement. Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, in writing to the President, said: "B. McClenachan, of the House of Representatives, was certainly an agitator among the insurgents, but I do not know, nor do I believe, that the insurgents had any general views, other than to defeat the execution of the act of assessment." Fries subsequently opened a tinware shop in Philadelphia, and became rich and respectable. The pecuniary cost of this insurrection, to the government, was comparatively trifling — eighty thousand dollars. The Whiskey Insurrection had cost eleven hundred thousand.

Hamilton and Jefferson.

Hamilton's associate in office was Thomas Jefferson, who, as Secretary of State, represented the relations which the country held with Europe. It is true that so far as those relations were commercial, — as they chiefly were, — they belonged to Hamilton's department, and the two Secretaries were brought into close communion. That the contact was one of conflict was inevitable, both from the nature of the men and from the widely opposing views which they represented. Hamilton, possessed of the keenest intellect and the most aggressive nature in the Federalist ranks, boldly stood in the front upon all the great national questions. His leadership, moreover, was of men having a clear conception of the work needed in establishing the government. The opposing party blindly and fiercely attacked the Federalist measures, but not until it found its leader in Jefferson did it discover its own power as a party. Gradually it dropped the negative title of Anti-federal,

French influence.

and adopted that of Republican. Jefferson came back from France filled with the popular ideas, which were looked upon as the manifestation of a new humanity, and he found a large number of people ready to kindle to enthusiasm at the mention of France. His adherents were among those who were moved by a constant jealousy of a strong central government. France was establishing the "Rights of Man;" they had themselves taken part in the deliverance of their own country from British tyranny, and they feared in Hamilton and his associates a party which would forge new

[1] It was argued by the prisoner's counsel that resistance to a specific law was not high treason, but simply riot, — except in the case of the militia law, resistance to which was tantamount to resisting all laws, since they all depended upon this for their enforcement. Mr. Adams appears to have adopted this view, for which he was severely criticised by Hamilton. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, had written to the President: "Painful as is the idea of taking the life of a man, I feel a calm and solid satisfaction that an opportunity is now presented, in executing the just sentence of the law, to crush that spirit which, if not overthrown and destroyed, may proceed in its career and overturn the government."

chains for them. Clubs sprang up all over the country, in imitation of the French republican clubs, and the dress and names of the French heroes of the hour were enthusiastically copied in the streets of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

England's attitude.

The Federalists, reviled for their supposed English proclivities, were certainly not helped by those whose allies they were charged with being. England, in 1791, had tardily sent George Hammond to represent her in the United States; but she continued to treat them as if they were still rebellious colonies. The effort made by Hammond on his arrival to negotiate a commercial treaty was obstructed by Jefferson. The sharpest controversy between the two countries arose when England, at war with France, undertook to control the commercial movements of the world. In June, 1793, she ordered that the goods of a neutral power, if consisting of provisions for the enemy, were to be captured or bought up, unless shipped to a friendly port. In November, she declared all vessels laden with the produce of a French colony to be lawful prize, and claimed the right of search, with power to impress into her service all seamen of British birth, wherever found. These acts created the bitterest feeling against England, and fanned into a stronger flame the zeal of the French party.

Genet.

But the French were no less aggressive. In April, 1793, Edmund Charles Genet landed at Charleston, accredited to the United States from France. He came fresh from the councils which had sent Louis XVI. to the scaffold, and was received with enthusiasm by the French party in the United States. Without waiting to present himself at Philadelphia, he issued commissions to privateers and ordered that their prizes should be tried and condemned by French consuls in the United States. He fancied that the people who welcomed him constituted the Government of the United States, or at least could control it. He threatened to appeal to the people against the decisions of the officers of the administration, and became, at last, so violent in his insolence, that there was no decent or dignified course to pursue but to demand his recall. The Neutrality Act of 1794 was passed by Congress as a defensive measure at this critical juncture.

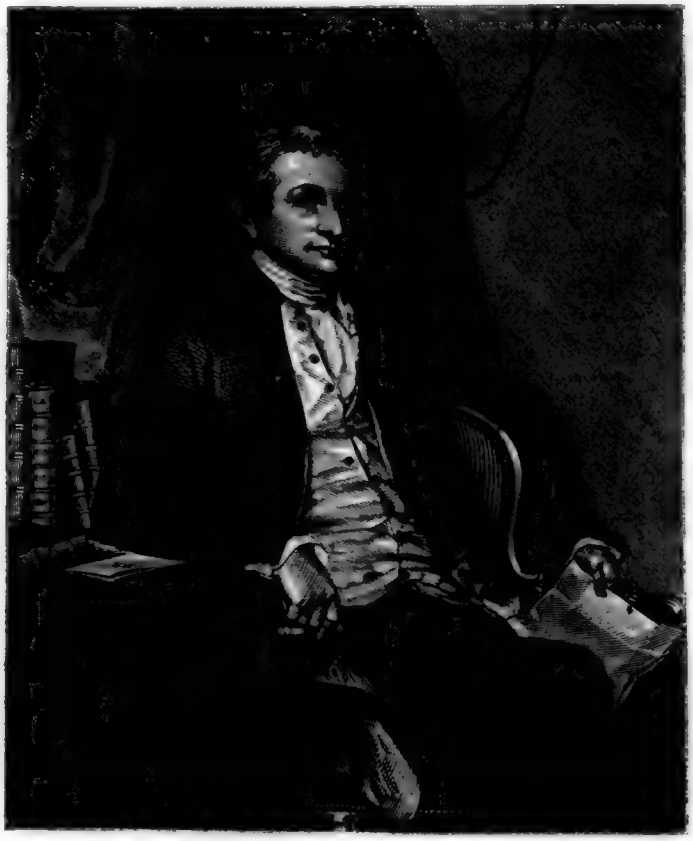
Danger of war.

A British order in council, issued in November of this year, directing the cruisers to make prize of any vessel carrying the produce of a French colony, or transporting supplies to such colony, became public two months later, and created great excitement in the United States. This was intensified by the speech of Lord Dorchester, already referred to. An embargo for thirty days, afterward extended to sixty, was at once laid by joint resolution of

Congress, and measures for strengthening the military power were introduced; a resolution for the sequestration of debts due to British subjects, was debated; and one to discontinue all commercial intercourse with Great Britain till the western posts had been surrendered, passed the House, and was only lost in the Senate by the casting vote. To avert war, Washington determined to send an envoy extraordinary to London to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce, and after careful consideration conferred the appointment upon Chief Justice Jay, who sailed in May, 1794.

Jay's treaty.

He found Lord Grenville, Minister for Foreign Affairs, apparently quite as anxious as himself to place the relations of the two governments on a better footing, and by November they had agreed upon a treaty which was ratified by the Senate in June, 1795, and went into operation in February, 1796. The first ten articles, which were intended to be perpetual, provided for the withdrawal of British troops and garrisons from the western posts by June 1, 1796; for free inland navigation and trade to both nations upon lakes and rivers, except that the United States were excluded from the domain of the Hudson Bay Company; for the admission of British vessels to the rivers and harbors on the seacoast of the United States, but closing to the vessels of the latter the rivers and harbors of the British colonies on the continent, except to small vessels trading between Montreal and Quebec; the Mississippi to be open to both; a joint survey of the head-waters of the Mississippi; a commission to determine what was meant by the St. Croix River, and fix the northeastern boundary; the United States to guarantee payment of debts to British creditors in all cases where they would be collectable by an



John Jay.

American creditor; Great Britain to pay for losses by irregular captures by British cruisers; citizens of either country to be permitted to hold landed property in the territory of the other; and no private property to be confiscated in case of war. By the twelfth article, which was to become void two years after the close of the existing war, trade between the United States and the West India Islands, in the productions of either, might be carried on on equal terms in both American and British vessels; but the former were prohibited from carrying West Indian products from the islands or from the States to any other part of the world. It provided for further negotiation at the end of the two years. The remaining articles, whose operation was limited also to two years, — unless the negotiation then under the twelfth article should decide otherwise, — provided that American vessels might trade to the East Indies, but in time of war must not take thence any rice or military or naval stores, without special permission, and must not carry anything to any place but the United States; established liberty of commerce between the British dominions in Europe and the United States; provided for the regulation of duties, the appointment of consuls, the proceedings with prizes captured at sea, and the rules of blockade, defined contraband of war, regulated privateering,[1] and promised to punish piracy; citizens of either country were not to accept commissions from any state at war with the other, on pain of being treated as outlaws; no reprisals were to be made till a demand for satisfaction had been refused; ships of war were to be received in each other's ports; foreign privateers were not to arm, or sell prizes, in the ports of either, if warring on the other; in case of war between Great Britain and the United States, citizens of either in the other's territory were not to be molested; and criminals escaping from one country to the other were to be delivered up.

This, as its friends admitted, was not altogether a good treaty; it was much more favorable to England than to the United States. But they argued that to the United States it was better than no treaty, better than war, better than a continual liability to war. Washington favored it, and all his cabinet, except Randolph, agreed with him. The opposition to it was very violent. Public meetings to denounce it, with riotous demonstrations, were held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and elsewhere. When it came before the House of Representatives, the opposition of the Democrats was bitter and unrestrained. The President's instructions to Jay, and all other papers relating to the treaty, were demanded. The President, with

[1] Mr. Jay had proposed an article abolishing privateering altogether, by citizens of either power against the commerce of the other; but Lord Grenville would not agree to it.

the assent of his Cabinet, denied that the House could rightfully make any such demand. and refused to comply with it. The treaty-making power was conferred by the Constitution exclusively upon the President and Senate; but the Democrats proposed to nullify the supreme law by withholding the necessary appropriations to carry out the terms of the treaty. Their ground was, that where the execution of any treaty — and treaties with Spain, with Algiers, and with the Northwestern Indians, as well as with Great Britain, were at this moment before the House — depended upon appropriations, they might be made or withheld at the pleasure of the House; that as regarded this particular treaty, it favored England, it was opposed to France, it was for the benefit of Northern trade, it failed to provide for the loss of slaves who fled with the British armies at the close of the Revolution. The resolution to make the needed appropriations, however, passed after a long and hot debate; but it was carried by Northern votes, only four votes from States south of the Potomac being given in its favor. The South was already quick to oppose anything that did not add to its own strength. The cloud, at first not bigger than a man's hand, was growing visibly larger.



Franklin's Grave in Philadelphia.

CHAPTER VI.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.

THIRD ELECTION OF PRESIDENT. — NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN JEALOUSY. — THE CHIEF OF ONE PARTY THE SUCCESSOR TO THE CHIEF OF THE OTHER. — SENSITIVENESS OF PUBLIC MEN AND VIRULENCE OF THE PRESS. — ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS. — THE CARRYING TRADE OF THE WORLD. — FRANCE AND AMERICA. — ENGLAND AND AMERICA. — THE CONDESCENSION OF FOREIGNERS. — ENVOYS TO FRANCE. — THE X. Y. Z. CORRESPONDENCE. — NAPOLEON'S ACCESSION TO POWER. — YELLOW FEVER IN AMERICA. — WASHINGTON'S DEATH. — THREATENING OF WAR WITH FRANCE. — PREPARATIONS AGAINST SPAIN. — NAVIGATION OF THE MISSISSIPPI. — WILKINSON'S CORRUPT INTRIGUES. — SPAIN'S DREAD OF THE UNITED STATES. — HAMILTON AND MIRANDA. — FOURTH ELECTION OF PRESIDENT. — THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA. — AARON BURR'S EXPEDITION. — HIS TRIAL FOR TREASON.

WITH the autumn of 1796 came the period prescribed for the third election of President. Through the summer it was not known, excepting to Washington himself, perhaps, and possibly to some confidential friends, whether he would serve for a third term. He had requested Madison and Hamilton to prepare drafts for a farewell address, — but this he had done in 1792, at the end of his first term. There was then no precedent which suggested that eight years was the period of a full presidency; nor do any of the authors of the Constitution seem to have committed themselves for or against such a suggestion. So far was it uncertain whether Washington would consent to serve that, in the nomination of electors, both parties aimed to strengthen themselves, if possible, by naming candidates who were certain to vote for him if he would stand. The other candidates were John Adams, who was supported by the Federalists, and Jefferson, who had received four electoral votes in the election for the second term.

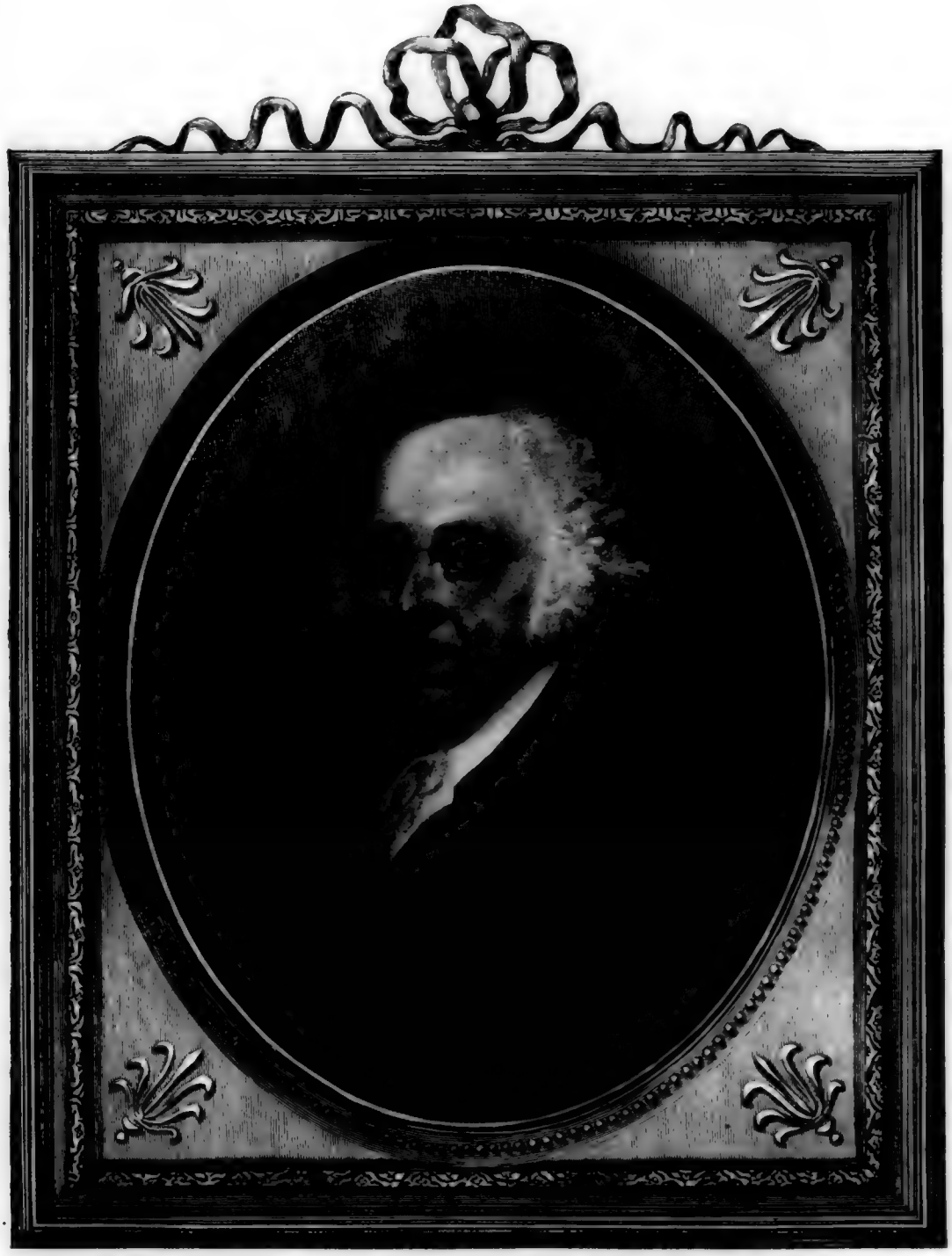
Election of John Adams.

It may well be believed that Washington permitted the doubt as to his purpose in the hope of strengthening the canvass of Adams's friends. And probably it had some effect in this direction. But it was easy for the Democratic leaders, who worked under very careful counsels from their own candidate, to name electors whose first vote would have been given to Washington. This was done in Virginia, and

probably in other States. The voters of the Federal party voted for electors with the intention of making Adams President, if they could, and Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, Vice-president. The intention of Democratic voters was to make Jefferson President, and to elect as Vice-president Aaron Burr, of New York, who had received, four years before, one electoral vote thrown away in South Carolina. The reader must remember, however, that it was impossible for the electors in the most distant States to confer with one another in the period between their own election and the day when they met to choose the President. The North was jealous of the South, and the South of the North. In the fear, therefore, at the North, that Mr. Pinckney might be chosen President at the South over Mr. Adams, the New Hampshire electors threw away their six votes for Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut. One elector in Massachusetts and four in Rhode Island did the same. Five of the Connecticut electors voted for Jay instead of Pinckney. In South Carolina, to have the whole government in the hands of Southern men, the electors, regardless of other party ties, gave their eight votes for Jefferson and Pinckney, though one was a Federal candidate and the other a Democrat. This was exactly what the Northern electors had feared. Pinckney also lost four votes in Georgia, which were given to George Clinton. The result was, that while Adams had seventy-one votes, just the number necessary for a choice, Mr. Pinckney had but fifty-nine. Jefferson, whose votes were all given by persons in opposition to Adams, had sixty-eight votes — not a majority. The Senate had to choose him or Pinckney Vice-president, and chose Jefferson. Thus the head of one party was chosen President, and the head of the other, Vice-president, of the Republic.

To the eyes of the actors in the politics of those four years, unaccustomed as they were to the larger movements of nations, their contests seemed of supreme importance; and certainly they were conducted with an acrimony that had never been known in America before, and never has been known since. The writers for the press were, unfortunately, in many cases, adventurers from other lands, who had nothing at risk, and were quite unacquainted with the traditions of America, and with those underlying and fundamental characteristics of a nation, which cannot be expressed, even in constitutions, but which need to be recognized in all its policy. To the bitterness of the invective and satire of such writers, the public men of the country were new. Of the impotence of such invective and satire they had no experience. Their letters and their public addresses, therefore, are full of such allusions to the venomous and hateful slanders of the press as must have de-

The bitterness of politics.



JOHN ADAMS.

(After a portrait by Stuart about 1800.)

lighted the assailants, really insignificant, whose spite thus gained far more influence than it deserved.

The violence of such invective drove the Government to propose a measure, passed by Congress, which was in fact aimed at these very writers. On the 18th of June, 1798, this act was approved. The facility of naturalization was restricted, and the President was permitted to send out of the country such aliens as he thought dangerous to the United States. He might give license to aliens to remain during his pleasure; he might require bonds for their good behavior. Aliens who had no licenses might be imprisoned; and masters of vessels who brought them might be fined for not reporting their arrival. This statute was certainly not in the tone of those trumpet proclamations which represented America as the home of the oppressed of all nations. It did not meet with a very hospitable welcome from those travellers — more remarkable for their former rank than for their numbers — who in the troubles of Europe sought America as the land of promise. Volney, Talleyrand, and Chateaubriand, and the son of Philippe l'Egalitè, the Duke of Orleans, are representatives of this class of travellers, some of whom had some thought of becoming citizens of the Republic. The framers of the law had not such men in mind, so much as men of whom Cobbett and Duane are the better types, who had brought sharp pens with them, which they were ready to use whenever they could sting men to madness or draw hot blood. It is still a question whether this law was unconstitutional.[1] Handled as it was by the writers whom it was meant to terrify, it certainly proved obnoxious.

The Alien and Sedition laws.

It was coupled in the popular opinion with what was called the Sedition Law. The "Alien and Sedition Laws" stood and fell together as monuments of what their friends called the courage, and their enemies the folly, of the Federal party. The Sedition Law made five offences penal, which have been briefly described as "defaming Congress or the President," "exciting the hatred of the people against them," "stirring up sedition in the United States," "raising unlawful combinations for resisting the laws," and "aiding foreign nations against the United States." It cannot be doubted that in

[1] Von Holst (*Constitutional History of the United States*) says, "for a long time they had been considered in the United States as unquestionably unconstitutional." This is too strong. But Chief Justice Marshall is said to have intimated it. There is a letter of Calhoun's which Von Holst probably had in mind, in which he says that "no constitutional question of a political character which has been agitated" — since the adoption of the Constitution — "has ever been settled in the public mind, except that of the unconstitutionality of the Alien and Sedition Laws, and, what is remarkable, that was settled against the decision of the Supreme Court." But the Supreme Court never gave any decision, although all the judges of the time, except Judge Chase, in different decisions pronounced them constitutional.

the organization of the government some legislation on such points was necessary. Such legislation has been silently approved and assented to in later times. But in the process of forming national opinion and a national life, this particular measure met the same storm of dissent which fell upon the Alien Act. That act had the additional misfortune of being based on an English model. The English Alien Law, indeed, had given to the English Government the power of banishing some of those strangers whose comfort here was now threatened by the sister act in America.[1]

The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.

Both acts, and the bitter discussion which accompanied them, might have fallen into the forgetfulness in which lie many other laws passed and repealed in times of great partisan excitement, but for the comments made on them by the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky. In resolutions which for half a century were celebrated, — referred to, indeed, more often than they were read, — these legislative bodies declared, that when Congress passed acts beyond its constitutional powers, the States were not bound to obey, and that each State had the right to determine the question of constitutionality. The resolves had the more importance because they were secretly dictated by Vice-president Jefferson, the leader of the Democratic party. In the Kentucky resolutions, the significant word "nullification" first occurs. In the original draft of the Resolutions of 1798, written by Jefferson himself, he says: "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy; that every State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact, to nullify, of their own authority, all assumptions of power by others within their limits." Though this passage was omitted in the resolutions of that year, it was restored, with some slight verbal changes, in those adopted a year later. The resolutions were transmitted to the legislatures of the other States. They became matters of eager discussion, and were for half a century the declaration of the "State Rights" theory of the Constitution. As, in point of fact, Jefferson became President, in an election where these resolutions made the programme of his supporters, as he never had any thought afterward of abandoning any power which the Federal Government could claim, and as his successors followed the same convenient precedents, the "nullification" resolutions never had any practical effect, until South Carolina, led by Mr. Calhoun, attempted to carry out the doctrine, a generation afterward. For the present,

Jefferson invents nullification.

[1] "During this debate, an Irish representative remarked to a stranger in the lobby, that nearly one fourth of the members then present were natives of Europe." — *American Annual Register*, vol. ii. The debate was on the stamp-tax on naturalization papers, July 1, 1797.

the resolutions gave the rallying-cry to the Republican or Democratic party for the overthrow of President Adams and his supporters.

Foreign negotiations, meanwhile, occupied attention and interest, such as belonged to a struggle in Europe in which every fundamental principle was involved. That struggle, from the very nature of the case, interested the sailors and merchants of the United States. It appeared already that a "carrying trade" was possible for American vessels, because they were neutrals, which might become a trade of very great value. Between Europe, America, and the East Indies, and between the different ports of Europe, American vessels could go and come, while the vessels of belligerent powers were restrained by frequent blockades. This profitable commerce gave a development which even later times would call large, to the ship-building and mercantile life of the United States, especially in those States whose people had most experience on the sea.

Foreign relations.

But it was fettered by many annoyances. England had never abandoned the custom, which now seems so barbarous, of impressing into the naval service of the King such seamen as might be needed, wherever they were found. In the voyages of English cruisers, the commanders did not scruple to search for English seamen on board of American merchant ships. They often abused a privilege which was at best but the right of the stronger, and would take from an American vessel American seamen, under the pretext that they were English. Commanders of blockading squadrons, also, when they had overhauled an American merchantman, did not readily abandon such a prize because she was a neutral. The vessel would be turned from her voyage, and sent into a convenient port for adjudication. Even if the court there pronounced the seizure illegal, and released the vessel, the delay of her voyage was an insult to the nation and a serious injury to her master, crew, and owners. As, generally speaking, half Europe was at war against the other half, every American vessel sailing from one belligerent port to another had to pass two blockading squadrons, if the blockades which had been proclaimed were enforced. It may readily be supposed that the unprotected merchantmen of a nation far away were by no means sure of friendly investigation by officers of such squadrons.

Restrictions on commerce.

The "right of search."

Nor were considerations of interest the only ones which brought the people of the United States into close relationship with European politics. The sympathy of France with America through the Revolution had been close and efficient. The present war was the result of an effort made by Frenchmen to establish a republic, and they

were eager to acknowledge that they had taken their first lessons in republican government in America. On the other hand, it was from a war with England that the United States was only now recovering. All along the coast were traces of the incursions of English soldiers or English sailors. War had assumed all those forms of personal resentment which are inevitable where hostile armies land on an unprotected coast, and where the first object of the invasion is to strip the farms of the food which may be necessary to the invader. Such memories do not die in one generation. In this instance they left a bitterness against England in the minds of the people of the United States, which was never vainly appealed to by the leaders of parties, till half a century had gone by.

Attitude of French envoys,

The proceedings of Genet, Adet, and Fouchet in representing the French Government in America had been exasperating to Washington. To that air of condescension still observable in all foreigners in America, they added the arrogance which reminded their hosts of the bounties of Louis XVI., — and an arrogance of their own, as representatives of pure republicanism, in comparison with which they considered that of America but a sham. More than one of these diplomatists met the rebuke of Washington and his cabinet. In these rebukes even Jefferson was obliged to join sometimes, though it was well enough understood that he and his party favored the French, and were willing to apologize for the indiscretion and insolence of their envoys. But to diplomatic insults, which aroused some indignation in the country, was added the blow to American commerce, as vessel after vessel was seized by one or another French cruiser, detained for examination, and perhaps condemned. Nearly a thousand vessels, thus detained or captured, were named in the authenticated despatches published by the Government.

and of the Directory.

The Directory of France justified such measures only by pleading their displeasure at the Jay Treaty. They went so far as to refuse to receive Pinckney, whom the American Government had sent out as its envoy, and ordered him to quit the Republic.

On this news the President called an extra session of Congress. He named Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry as a commission to renew the negotiation. In this appointment he not only tried to pacify France, but to satisfy the opposition to his own administration by naming Elbridge Gerry from the number of his opponents. The first news received from them was not favorable. It was a decree of the Directory and Council that all neutral ships bearing any English commodities should be good prize, and that French ports should be closed against all neutral vessels which had

touched ports under the English flag. The next report informed the Government that on their arrival in France they had been met by unofficial agents, who assured them that they would not be received until they had offered suitable bribes to officers of the government. Talleyrand himself, who was then Foreign Minister of France, was implicated in this disgraceful proposal.[1] Externally, any reception was refused to the three envoys by the Directory. Privately they were made certain that if they paid the bribes they would be received, with good probability of success; "money is needed, a great deal of money." Once received, the American Government would be asked to make a handsome loan to the French Republic, the credit of which was at a very low ebb. If this loan was granted, the Directory, on its part, would make concessions. The envoys rejected the humiliating proposal. They were then ordered out of the country, with the exception of Mr. Gerry, who, as an adherent of Jefferson's, it was supposed might prove more pliable.



Chief Justice Marshall.

The report made by its envoys was at once published by the Government of the United States, and republished in England and France. In place of the names of the three unofficial agents, the letters X, Y, and Z were substituted in the publication, and the correspondence has been known ever since as "the

The X. Y. Z. correspondence.

[1] Of this there can be no doubt. Gerry's letter proves it. Napoleon knew it to be true. Compare Sir Henry Bulwer's sketch of Talleyrand.

X. Y. Z. correspondence."[1] The disgraceful proposal aroused the whole country to indignation. Congress ordered an enlargement of the standing army by twelve regiments. It ordered the construction of a navy of twenty-four vessels, and authorized merchantmen to arm themselves against the French vessels of war. So far as the acts of their cruisers went, the two nations were, in fact, at war. It was not so long since the privateering of the Revolution but that seamen and merchants could fit out their ships for fighting in the most effective way. In the West Indies two serious conflicts took place. The *Delaware*, of the United States navy, captured a heavy French privateer, and the *Constellation* took *l'Insurgente*, a French frigate. Both vessels were sent into port as prizes.

Napoleon's policy.

Had that unwise and ill-fated body, the Directory, led France any longer toward her ruin, war would certainly have been proclaimed on one side or on both. But the young Napoleon, when he seized the reins of power, had sense enough to see the madness of the claims on which the Directory had insisted. He received, with the most cordial welcome, the new embassy sent out by Adams. It consisted of Chief Justice Ellsworth, William R. Davie, and William Van Murray. Napoleon had already learned that Talleyrand was not above suspicion in matters where pecuniary integrity was involved. He made his own brother Joseph the head of the three plenipotentiaries appointed to treat with the Americans.[2] Orders were immediately given to French cruisers to avoid the molestation of American vessels, and that cordial understanding between the countries began of which the important result was the cession of Louisiana two years later.

Meanwhile, in America, every step of the negotiation, and every turn in the politics of France, was marked by new appeals to the one political party or the other. The national feeling inevitably stood with the party which seemed, at the moment, most zealous for national honor. All political discussion was impregnated with sentiments which sprang from the sympathy of the parties with the different combatants in Europe. In the Federal party itself, great disaffection was aroused at every step by which the President attempted either to conciliate their opponents or to take a middle course between extremes. His appointment of another mission to France, without consulting his Cabinet, in spite of the contemptuous treatment of the late envoys, in spite of his own declaration that he would never send another minister to that government till he was

[1] X. was Hottingner, a banker; Y., Bellamy, of Hamburg; Z., Hautval, a Frenchman.

[2] Joseph Bonaparte, as Count de Survilliers, afterward resided for many years in America.

assured of a cordial reception, alienated the confidence of some of the most influential leaders of his party. The result of this disaffection, and of the unpopular Sedition Law, appeared in the issue of the election of 1800. By that issue the administration of government was taken out of the hands of the Federalists, to fall into and remain in the hands of the Democrats for the next quarter of a century.

The country had other interests of great importance which were quite independent of these European complications. In the summer of 1798, yellow fever, that disease which is still as mysterious in its movements as it was then, established itself in most of the principal seaports of the Atlantic coast. Congress fled from Philadelphia before its approach. The administration of the government was seriously affected by the absence of leading members. Trade of course suffered, especially commerce with foreign nations. In the negotiations with the Barbarians on the Moorish coast, our envoys even apologized to the Dey of Tripoli for the cessation of our government while the pestilence had driven men from the capital. In the summer of 1800 the capital was removed to Washington, "the Federal City" as it was at first called.

Yellow fever.



Elbridge Gerry.

While the preparations for war with France were impending, and for war with Spain under the pretext of war with France, the whole country was moved with profound sorrow by the announcement of the death of Washington, December 14, 1799, at his home at Mount Vernon. For some years past, his resolute sympathy with the national policy of the Federalists had brought on his head some of the most rancorous abuse of the opposition journals of Philadelphia. The English writers, who then attempted to lead public opinion, were, as they have often been in later cases of history, especially bitter. But all such abuse ceased when his death was announced. The whole country, even in its smaller towns, arranged

Death of Washington.

public solemnities by which to express its grief. From that time it has been difficult to discuss the character or exploits of Washington with the same impartiality with which those of any other man are regarded. It was felt at the time, and has been felt ever since, that his services through the war, and through the crystallization of the Constitution in its first years, were such as no other man could render. A single passage in the address made before Congress by General Henry Lee has become proverbial. It pronounced him "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." [1]



The Beginning of the Capitol. — From an old print.

The "war with France."

At the time of his death, Washington had been appointed Lieutenant-general of the enlarged army, with a view to its organization for what was called the war with France. But he did not suppose, nor did the President, nor did Hamilton, who was first in command under Washington, suppose that France would invade America. Of course they did not propose that America should invade France. Twelve new regiments were to be recruited and stationed at Fort Washington — now Cincinnati. At that post

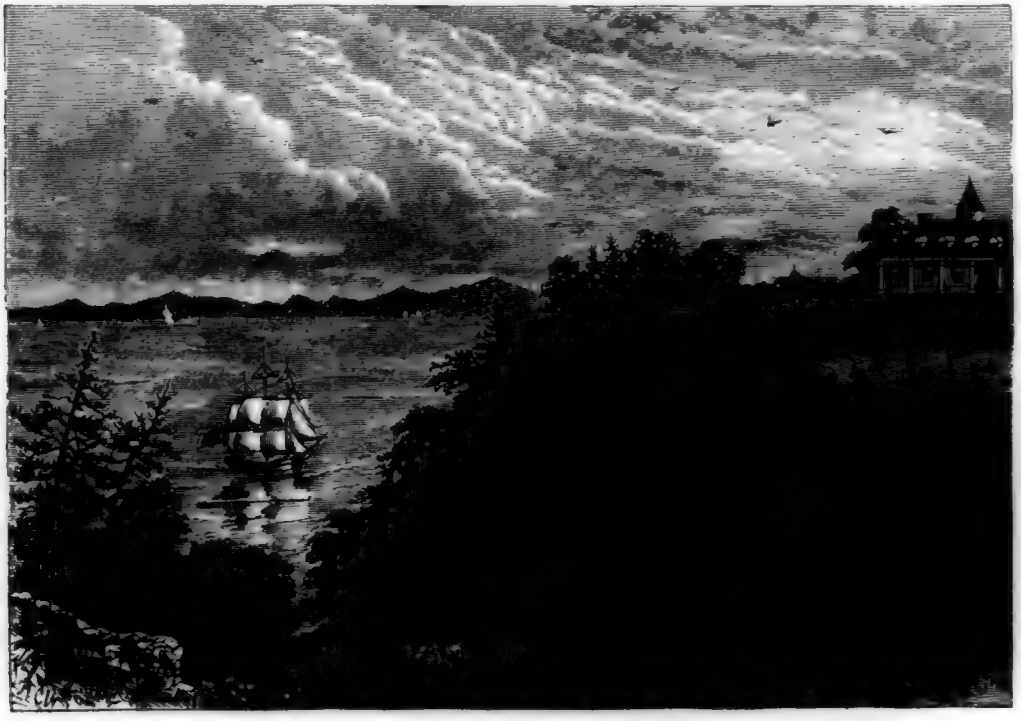
General Wilkinson.

Wilkinson, who commanded in the West, was directed to build flat-boats sufficient to carry the army thus formed down the Ohio and the Mississippi. The plan of the campaign was digested between Hamilton and Wilkinson by conference in part,

[1] The resolutions passed by Congress on the death of Washington, contained the words, 'to the memory of the man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." Marshall (*Life of Washington*) says the resolutions were written by General Lee, though read by another member. In the oration pronounced before both Houses of Congress by General Henry Lee, the words used were — "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." It is a fact worth noting that Henry Lee, the son of the General, in a note to the second edition of his father's *Memoirs*, says the oration before Congress was delivered by Marshall. It is a remarkable mistake to make, but that it is a mistake, there can be no question.

and in part by letters. Wilkinson was, in truth, the last person who should have been entrusted with any such business. He had left the army at the end of the Revolution, and settled in Kentucky. He had soon after entered into personal communication with Mirò, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana, which resulted in his receiving, regularly but secretly, an annual payment from the Spanish Government, to buy his services for detaching Kentucky and the Western States from the Union.[1] Such was the traitor into whose hands Adams and Hamilton gave with confidence the com-

His treason.



Mount Vernon in 1797. — From an old print.

mand of what was called "The Legion of the West." Such was the man who afterward had the fortune of arresting — if he did not first desert — the movement of Aaron Burr, and compelling him to that flight in which he became a prisoner to the United States.

The determination to strike at Orleans,[2] and wrest it from Spain, was forced on the Government by the exasperation of the people of the States on the Ohio and Mississippi, when their trade by the great river was suddenly arrested. From the time of the treaty of 1783 they had been ill at ease. Under that treaty Spain held the mouth of the river. For, though the eastern

Importance of the Mississippi.

[1] This treason, suspected at the time, is now made certain by the documents copied from the Spanish archives for the State of Louisiana. See Gayarré's *Louisiana*.

[2] So it was generally called till the cession of Louisiana, though the official name was "Nouvelle Orleans."

side of the Mississippi had been granted to the new nation, the western side was left to Spain, the ally of the United States as against England. Spain also had the eastern side, south of 31° N. latitude, partly because Orleans was on the eastern side, and partly because the boundary between Florida and Louisiana had never been determined. But, before 1783, there were settlers from the sea-coast States in the valley of the Mississippi. As they increased in number, the necessity for a route to the sea by the river was more and more manifest. Such was the severity of the Spanish colonial policy, that all goods sent down the river had to be transhipped at Orleans, and, indeed, to be sold to Spanish purchasers. Tobacco, a large part of the produce of Kentucky, could be sold only to the Spanish Crown, which assumed the monopoly of that trade. All these impositions enforced by the Spanish Government were regarded by the new settlers as the greatest hardship, as, indeed, they were. Many of the settlers had emigrated to escape taxation at the East; but they found their agriculture and commerce in their new home hampered by restrictions more severe than any Eastern taxation. Their disaffection showed itself from time to time in different forms.

Some men thought of independence of the United States, with close alliance with Spain; some proposed to submit to Spain, as a part of her colony of Louisiana; others dreamed of seizing Orleans, and making war with Spain, by the unaided force of the West; others hoped to induce Congress to declare war; and still others proposed an alliance with France, and to persuade her to reassert her empire over the valley of the Mississippi. Of course the great body of settlers were ignorant of such intrigues. But such schemes, more or less distinctly formed, were in the minds of all leading men. They did not lack counsellors from without. Mirò, the shrewd Spanish Governor of Orleans and Louisiana, held Wilkinson in his pay, as has been said, for many years. Nor was the Governor slow in bribing other politicians or employing other agents. Lord Dorchester, in Canada, known to the officers of the American Revolution as Sir Guy Carleton, — the ablest officer, except Cornwallis, whom Great Britain then employed in high command in America, — was on the alert to feel the dissatisfaction of the West by his agents. Genet, the envoy of the French Republic, freely issued commissions in the West, to such as adhered to the broad schemes of the Directory for the universal emancipation of mankind. Into the details of such intrigues it is not more necessary to go than into the history of the intrigues of any other self-seeking politicians, who, in the end, attain no object of public importance.

The relations of the United States with Spain came to one crisis

when Adams sent Ellicott, as a scientific commissioner, with an escort, to Natchez, to run the line of 31° N. latitude, in conjunction with the Spanish authorities. The Spanish Governor, still relying on his plans for separating the Western States from their allegiance, deferred, to the very last, the withdrawal of Spanish garrisons from territory which was confessed to belong to the United States. When Ellicott arrived with his escort at Natchez, the American troops occupied one cantonment, while the Spanish troops still held the old forts at Nogales.[1] The surveys went forward, and Ellicott, as American commissioner, steadily pressed the removal of the Spanish garrison. Castilian diplomacy and politeness exhausted themselves in the long delays, but these lasted till the end of March, 1799. Captain Guion, commander of the American forces, finally told Gayoso, the Spanish commander, that he would storm the forts if they were not evacuated before the 1st of April. This threat prevailed. The Spaniards sent their guns down the river, and, without any notice, either to the commissioner for the boundary, or to the military commander, withdrew silently and sullenly on the 29th of March, just in time to avoid a collision.

Troubles with the Spanish authorities.

A policy more likely to be effective on their part, would have been, to soothe the Western settlers by every concession possible. But the traditional severity of the colonial laws of Spain did not permit such concession; and there is mixed up in all the Spanish diplomacy of the period, a curious distrust of the future enmity of the people, whose good-will at the moment the governors at Orleans should have been attempting to obtain. As early as 1776, when, at the instance of Oliver Pollock,[2] Governor Unzaga was supplying powder to the American insurgents by way of Pittsburg, in obedience to commands from Madrid, he wrote to Madrid: "I suspect that at any moment the royalists and insurgents may make up their quarrel and unite to take possession of one of the domains of some European power." This was fifteen days before the Declaration of Independence. The same suspicion haunted the Spanish officers in all the after negotiations. In 1787, Navarro wrote home: "I see clouds rising and threatening us with a storm which will soon burst on this province, and the damage would be still greater if, unfortunately, the inundation extended itself to the territories of New Spain." Acting under this terror, he and his successors attempted to guard against the Americans by keeping them away. With a policy as wise as that which should have dammed the Mississippi itself, in dread of such an inundation as Navarro's metaphor suggests, the successive Spanish governors of Louisiana attempted to hold back

[1] Now known as "Walnut Hills."

[2] See vol. iii., p. 413.

the settlers from any access to the sea. Once and again, in the course of seventeen years, between the treaty of 1783 and the transfer of the province back to France, the indignant Kentuckians enrolled their hunters to go down on the flood of the river and take possession of the little capital. The French envoy, Genet, who founded Jacobin clubs in the West, whispered promises of similar invasion. In 1796, as a result of negotiation in Madrid, the preceding year, the malcontents on the river were in a measure satisfied by a concession on the part of Spain of the "right of deposit" at Orleans. This meant simply that the settlers might send their goods there, to store them and await a market.

But, in 1799, as soon as these three years had expired, Morales, who was the Intendant of Commerce at Orleans, announced, by an unexpected decree, that this concession would be allowed no longer. Once more the rage of the Western States burned hot. Once more they threatened to take law into their own hands. It was then that, under the pretext of the war with France, President John Adams began the enlistment of the twelve regiments for service in the West. They reported for duty at Fort Washington, and here flat-boats were built to convey them to the attack on Orleans. Spain had no force there to resist them. The garrison of Orleans was but a handful. Its defences were a bare picket fence. And, as was just now said, the commanding post at Nogales, near Natchez, had been abandoned at the pressing instance of Captain Guion of the United States army.

Contemplated attack on New Orleans.

In this willingness to attack the little Spanish post, it may be said that all parties of influence among the Americans joined. The Western men were eager; they filled the ranks of the newly-enlisted army. President Adams had been always determined to secure access to the sea by the Mississippi, and he had no hesitation in taking decisive measures. Hamilton, who was practically first in command, seems to have been led on not only by these considerations, but by the eagerness of a successful soldier, still young, for a field worthy of his ambition. He had become interested in Miranda, a Spanish adventurer, who only lacked success to earn a more honorable name in history. Miranda had persuaded Hamilton that the English Government would support him in a scheme for overthrowing the Spanish authority in the Spanish Main; and, without committing himself to the plan, in any public document, he entertained the hope of leading the armies of the United States in an attack on their Southern neighbors. It is interesting to observe that he had thus enlisted himself in an enterprise not differing widely from that which proved, a few years after, to be the crisis in the life of Aaron Burr.

Hamilton and Miranda.

Miranda's acquaintance in the United States was as early as the Revolutionary War. He was said to know more of its families and parties than any man in the country.[1] His talk of the resources of South America, and the ease with which the Spanish yoke could be thrown off, fascinated young men eager for adventure; and all the correspondence of the time shows that such schemes were largely entertained among adventurous people in the West.[2] The project took definite form when, in December, 1797, four men, who professed to be commissioners of disaffected South American constituents, prepared a "Convention" in Paris. These men were Miranda, Sucre, Salas, and Duperon. Their plan proposed a union of an English fleet and an American army with the Spanish rebels who were to throw off the yoke. The ninth article of this Convention proposed that the United States should be invited to join in a treaty. The possession of the two Floridas and of Louisiana was to be guaranteed to them, and, in exchange, the United States was to furnish to South America an auxiliary force of five thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. Miranda, in an "adroit letter" to President Adams, written on the 24th of March, communicated to him the probability of such an effort, without giving the details of the plan. To Hamilton he was more explicit: "It seems that the time of our emancipation draws near, and that the establishment of liberty in the whole Continent of the New World is entrusted to us by Providence. The only danger which I foresee is the introduction of French principles, which will poison liberty in its cradle, and will finish soon by destroying yours." Their plans.

While the President himself looked incredulously on a scheme so bold, three members of his cabinet approved it, and were in correspondence with Hamilton to carry it forward. In Hamilton's mind it involved the necessity that he should be the head of the movement. So soon, therefore, as the new army was ordered, he was eager to secure its real command. Adams wished to make him second, under General Knox, — Washington being the nominal head. But Hamilton refused subordination to any but his old chief. Washington had already pronounced in Hamilton's favor. Pinckney was made second, and Knox third, the President himself acceding to Washington's proposal.[3] Hamilton found himself, therefore, so near the object of his wishes as to be at the head of an army of West-

[1] John Adams to Lloyd, March 6, 1815.

[2] Thus Philip Nolan, quoted in Moor's deposition of 1797, said, "I look forward to the conquest of Mexico by the United States, and I expect my patron and friend, the General, will, in such an event, give me a conspicuous command." The General was Wilkinson.

[3] See a number of interesting letters on this subject from distinguished Federalists in chap. vi. of *Life and Letters of George Cabot*. By Henry Cabot Lodge. 1877.

ern riflemen, with easy access to Orleans, and a good cause of quarrel with Spain. Miranda gave good reason to hope that the English fleet, an important part of the combination, would be ready in time.

Influence of Napoleon.

But all these plans, fine-drawn at the very best, fell to pieces, when to the game of European politics, which thus far had been played by the coöperation of many bunglers, there came one master player. Napoleon Bonaparte took in one hand the varied enterprises which had confused the Directory, and which the Directory had so mismanaged. With his accession to power, the envoys of the American Government were again welcomed courteously. The seizure of American vessels ceased for a time. Navigation on the Mississippi was again permitted. Cause of war with France was thus removed from the complicated plan. The opposition to the Administration, and the national dislike of standing armies, were too intense to permit a large armed force at Cincinnati without an ostensible object. It has since been surmised, by some of the few persons who have paid any attention to this piece of history, which at the time was carefully concealed, that if Mr. Adams had promptly given his support to Miranda, the English Government would have done the same. In that event Hamilton and Wilkinson would probably have captured Orleans when the high water of 1799 raised the Mississippi. The invasion of South America would have followed, and Hamilton's after career would have been left to the chances of war in Venezuela. It is interesting to observe that one of his anxieties in assuming the command which Washington's favor had secured for him, was his fear that he might not have the choice of his subordinates, and in particular that he might have Aaron Burr as quartermaster in his new campaign. So sensitively do men dread the presence of those who hate them.[1]



Aaron Burr.

[1] It would seem as if all who were interested in this first "filibustering" expedition wished to conceal the record of it. The fact that the new army made rendezvous at Fort

As the nation became a nation, and grew unconsciously to that unity of life which the makers of the Constitution hoped for, but dared not expect, national parties took more definite form. When the election of 1800 approached, the Federalists named Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, with the general wish that Adams might be first and Pinckney second. With this critical election the Federal party lost its control of the nation, and it never regained it under that name. The loss is generally ascribed to that distrust of the people which, from the beginning, hampered the leaders of that party, and which deserved the recompense of failure. But this interpretation comes after the fact, and is not warranted by the details of the contest. There can be no doubt that the national position assumed by Mr. Adams in the controversy with France, increased his popularity in the nation at large. The distrust of him which was entertained by Hamilton and by other of the Federal leaders, rather improved his popularity in States not immediately under their control. The Sedition Act was the cause, and, so far as the final vote shows, the chief cause, of Adams's defeat, and it was only within a single State that that cause proved important. That State was New York. In the two elections of 1796 and 1800 she won the title of the "Empire State," by exerting the power which she has so often used since in determining the election of President. In 1796, her twelve electors, chosen by the Legislature, voted for Adams. As early as April, 1800, the new Legislature was chosen, which would elect the presidential electors in November of that year. This State election proved decisive. The city of New York had the year before given a Federal majority of nine hundred. This year it elected Republican members to the Legislature. This result was due in part to local contentions among the great families which then governed New York, and in part to the skill with which Aaron Burr conducted the canvass, he having had the address to see that his own name, which was at the moment unpopular, was not on the Republican ticket. More surprising to the Federalists was their loss of the western district of the State. This loss was due to the severity of proceedings under the Sedition Law. As the result of these elections, it was known, early in 1800, that the Legislature of New York would give all its twelve votes in the Electoral College for the Republican candidates. Only

The rise of parties.

Defeat of the Federalists.

Washington, was of course known at the time, and roused the jealousy of the Spanish ambassador. But no publication of the plans of Government was made in Congress or elsewhere. Even in the Life of Pickering, who was Secretary of State, no allusion is made to probable war in the West. The Life of Hamilton furnishes little information. But no doubt of the facts, as stated in the text, will rise in the mind of readers of John Adams's Life, of his letter to Lloyd, of Stoddard's *Louisiana*, of the letters of Miranda, and of Hamilton's unpublished private correspondence with Wilkinson.

the year before, the Republicans of the State had attempted to choose the electors by popular vote, by districts. They would gladly have acceded to such a plan, which, in practice, would have nearly neutralized the vote of the State. But the Federalists, confident in their strength, had refused to make this concession.

All Mr. Adams's gains elsewhere were insufficient to overcome this defection of the State of New York. In face of the discouragement of such an event, which made almost a foregone conclusion of the presidential election, his friends gave him seven more votes in Pennsylvania than he received in 1796, and three more in North Carolina. He lost two in Maryland, and that State gave one vote less than in 1796. The result of the election, therefore, gave Jefferson and Burr, the Democratic candidates, seventy-three votes each, while Mr. Adams had but sixty-five.

Burr and Jefferson.

Warned by the risks which the last contest had disclosed, the Republican electors voted "solidly" for each candidate. Burr had as many votes as Jefferson. This consolidation of the Democratic vote brought about a result which may have been anticipated by the makers of the Constitution, but was none the more acceptable to Jefferson. As he had received the same number of votes with Burr, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, under the constitutional provision. The Federalists were therefore called upon to say which of the two Democratic candidates they preferred. After some hesitation, they determined to support Burr. Hamilton used all his influence with the Federal leaders in Jefferson's favor. In Burr the Northern States, who had all supported Adams, had at least a Northern man to vote for. Here was also the best chance for the discomfiture of Jefferson, whom the Federalists hated with a very perfect hatred. A long and bitter contest in the House followed. Thirty-five ballots were taken, with the same result, — eight States voting for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two being divided. At last, at a Federal caucus, "all acknowledged that nothing but desperate measures remained, which several were disposed to adopt, and but few were willing to disapprove." The words are those of Bayard of New Jersey. On the thirty-sixth ballot, the Federalist votes of Vermont and Maryland were wanting. The result gave Jefferson ten States, and he was elected. He owed his election to the influence of Hamilton and the action of Bayard in caucus. The extreme Federalists wished to prevent any election, and leave the President of the Senate the acting President for an interregnum. But Jefferson and his friends were determined, "one and all, that the day such an act was passed, the Middle States would arm, and no such usurpation should be submitted to." These are Jefferson's words, and John

Randolph afterwards added the local color and detail. "Had we not," he said, "the promise of Darke's Brigade, and of the arms at Harper's Ferry, which he engaged to secure?" All such plots became unnecessary, when the Federalists, under Hamilton's and Bayard's influence, gave way. And in after years all parties would have been glad to consign such plots to oblivion.[1]

Jefferson's policy.

So soon as Jefferson was inaugurated, it proved that his dread of a consolidated government had vanished, now that it came under his control. The forecast of Hamilton proved true, that Jefferson would calculate on what would promote his own interest. The inaugural speech contained a phrase which afterwards became proverbial: "We are all Republicans; — we are all Federalists;" and as the nation became a nation indeed, and grew in strength, Jefferson, and his followers in the presidency, were as willing as any men to wield the national power. His first act, the purchase of Louisiana, was quite outside all constitutional provisions. It was wholly justified by the great necessity; and the results have shown that no single act of an American President, down to Lincoln's emancipation of the slaves, has been so important. But no strict construction of the Constitution permitted any such act, and this Jefferson and his advisers knew.

Purchase of Louisiana.

Indeed, the purchase of the immense region known as Louisiana was no plan of his, or of theirs. On his accession to office, he found the negotiation with France in the most promising condition which it had presented for many years. All immediate cause of quarrel with France was over. Jefferson, moreover, was ready to do anything that France asked because she asked it without asking questions. It soon became an open secret among diplomatists that, by a private article in the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, signed on the 18th of October, 1800, Spain had again ceded to France the territory of Louisiana, — meaning, as the reader must always remember, not merely the State now known under that name, but the region north of Florida, west of the Mississippi, and east of the Rocky Mountains and a line drawn though the Sabine, Red, and Arkansas

[1] To guard against such dangers in future, Jefferson provided for a change in the Constitution, and, since that time, the Vice-president and President have been designated by the electors. In this celebrated election, the vote of South Carolina was doubtful. The opposition to Adams in that State offered to unite on Jefferson and Pinckney, as four years before the State Legislature had united on Jefferson and the other Pinckney. But Charles C. Pinckney, loyal to his leader, refused to consent to such an arrangement. Had he agreed to it, he, and not Burr, would have had the second number of votes. Pinckney would have been Vice-president and Jefferson President. That is to say, the same condition of things that had resulted from the election of 1796 would now have recurred, but with the Democrats first and the Federalists second. Probably the makers of the Constitution foresaw such contingencies.

rivers.[1] At home the Government was goaded by constant appeals from the Western States to secure open passage to the Gulf of Mexico for their products. Actuated by a sort of madness, which has never been fully explained, the Spanish Intendant, Morales, in 1802, suspended a second time even the right of deposit at Orleans.[2] Again the Western States roused themselves, and protested that they would take the city and sweep the Spaniards, if necessary, into the sea. Impelled by their indignation, Jefferson sent new powers to Livingston, our Minister in France, to whom Monroe was joined, and bade the two propose to the First Consul the purchase of the island on which Orleans stands, and the right of passage to the sea.

The commissioners were authorized to offer the First Consul two and a half million dollars. Before Monroe's arrival, however, Liv-

[1] In the map, entitled "Acquisition and Transfer of Territory, 1780 to 1870," published in vol. i. of *The Ninth Census of the United States*, 1870, the "Province of Louisiana, 1803," appears as extending from the mouth of the Mississippi, on the southeast, to a northwestern limit, on the Pacific coast, including Oregon and Washington Territory. This map is erroneous, inasmuch as the Province of Louisiana did not extend, either under Spain or France, west of the Rocky Mountains. The mistake probably arose from want of care in distinguishing between the line agreed upon by the United States and Spain to mark their boundaries in the Florida Treaty of 1819, and that line understood to be the western boundary of Louisiana in the treaty of 1803. It is worth while to correct the error, as it has been repeated in popular school-books since the publication of the official map in the volume of the Census, and probably on its authority.

The original territory of Louisiana, as a French province, comprised, under the title of "The Government of Louisiana," in general terms, the valleys of the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Illinois. At the close of the French war in 1763, France ceded to Great Britain all that portion of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi and north of the Iberville, or Bayou Manchac, about a hundred miles above Orleans; and at the same time transferred to Spain all the rest of her territory on the western side of the Mississippi. In 1800, the province was retroceded to France by Spain by the treaty of St. Ildefonso, "with the same extent," so runs the treaty, "that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it." And it was precisely these words, quoted from the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, that were chosen to describe the Territory of Louisiana when Napoleon sold it to the United States in 1803. Its southern portion was bounded on the west by the region held or claimed by Spain; the northern portion by the mountain ranges which separate the Pacific slope from the region whose waters flow into the valleys of the Missouri and the Mississippi. In 1819, however, the United States and Spain agreed, in the treaty of Florida, upon the dividing line between their possessions west of the Mississippi, Spain agreeing to relinquish all claim to any territory east and north of it, and the United States surrendering her pretensions to all south and west of it. This line was from the mouth of the Sabine to the 32d parallel, thence north to the Red River, and along that river to the 100th meridian, thence north to the Arkansas, and along that river to its source in the 42d parallel, and thence west to the Pacific. It is this boundary which is erroneously designated in the census map of "Acquisition and Transfer of Territory" as the western boundary of the "Province of Louisiana, 1803." See an exhaustive discussion of the whole question in an article by Albert Salisbury, in the *Wisconsin Journal of Education* for May, 1880.

[2] October 16, 1802. The measure almost caused famine in Orleans. His own statement was, that, by the Treaty of Amiens, Spain had regained a direct commerce with England; that the "right of deposit" had only been justified by the state of war, and that it cease because peace had returned.

ingston was met by a proposal which astounded him. Napoleon was sure by this time that the existing peace with England would not last long. England had the supremacy of the sea, and so soon as war began, her fleet would seize Orleans and the mouths of the river. When the journals announced that the new American envoy was on his way, he sent for Marbois, his Minister of the Treasury, and bade him meet the commissioners immediately and offer to sell them the whole region for fifty million francs. Marbois was in every way a proper person for the negotiation. He had been an envoy of France in the Revolution, had lived in Philadelphia, and was intimate with Livingston, the head of the American mission, who at that time was American Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Marbois told the young Consul that the price proposed was too small, and obtained permission to name harder terms at the outset. Accordingly, as soon as Livingston arrived, Marbois met him with the proposal to sell him this empire for one hundred million francs, with the additional proposal that the United States should pay to the American merchants who had suffered from French spoliation all their fair claims against France.

Livingston was surprised at an offer so extraordinary. Marbois hastened to say that he knew the sum was exorbitant, but the Consul had suggested that the Americans could borrow it. Livingston and his companions asked time to send the proposal home. But delay was dangerous, for England might at any moment declare war by seizing the mouths of the river. Marbois pressed Livingston in turn to name a price, and finally suggested that he would try to persuade the Consul to accept sixty million francs. All this was the by-play of diplomacy. As we have said, Marbois was instructed to take fifty million francs, if he could get it. The bargaining ended when the American envoys agreed to give sixty million francs, in stocks bearing six per cent. interest, and to assume the payment of all that was due from France to her own merchants, not exceeding twenty million francs more. As the United States Government, for three quarters of a century, has neglected to pay these claims, they have proved to be only a feather-weight in the great negotiation. It is curious to see that, when Marbois went back to his principal, well pleased with his success in obtaining ten million francs more than he was authorized to sell for, Bonaparte rebuked him that he had not obtained a hundred million. But when the secretary reminded him of his own original proposal, he expressed himself delighted with the result. "There is nothing left to ask," he cried; "sixty million for an occupation that will not last a day, perhaps. Let France enjoy this unexpected capital." In fact, he dictated a

decree for the construction of five canals with it. But the American payment was sunk in the renewal of the fleet of transports gathered at Boulogne for the invasion of England, and in the equipment of the other fleet which was scattered at Trafalgar. Napoleon, however, had at heart a policy which looked further. In his joy of success he said, "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States. I have given England a rival."

How it was received.

The consent of the commissioners to this great purchase was not received in America with the enthusiasm which it deserved. They did not themselves in the least know how well they had builded. When, in the previous negotiation, Talleyrand had



Flat-boat going down the Mississippi

asked if the Americans wanted the whole, Livingston had stoutly said "No," and had said truly. In one of his letters, he was careful to impress on the French that the United States would not for a hundred years make any settlements west of the river. "I told him we had no wish to extend our boundary across the Mississippi." These were Livingston's words, and the same indifference to territorial aggrandizement may be observed in all the public utterances of the time. Before the invention of the steamboat, indeed, the regions acquired were so nearly inaccessible that statesmen may be pardoned who did not foresee their exceeding value to the nation.

It will be more convenient to the reader to anticipate in this chapter the course of events, so far as to trace the first results of this

great acquisition. The Government took possession of the new territory by a public act on the 20th of December, 1803. General Wilkinson, so long in the secret pay of Spain, was now commander of the American army, and, with Claiborne, Governor of the Territory of Louisiana, was authorized to receive possession. For this purpose the Spanish Government made the cession to the French Prefect, Laussat, who had been appointed, as it proved, for this purpose of ceremony only. The joy of the West was unbounded. At the East, the wisest men looked gloomily on the prospect of the depletion of the old States by emigration into these rich valleys.

The Burr-Hamilton duel.

With the next summer a new element displayed itself. Aaron Burr had been chosen Vice-president in 1800. But he had lost all his friends in both parties in the election. In the course of a bitter political quarrel in New York, in 1804, he challenged Hamilton to a duel. Hamilton was mad enough to accept the challenge, and was killed.[1] Even after this event Burr presided in the Senate; but, with the election of 1804, when Jefferson was reëlected and George Clinton became Vice-president, Burr lost office, as he had lost friends before. Moved by the very same spirit that had disposed Hamilton to coquet with Miranda, he took up the thread of the very same adventure which Hamilton had been forced to lay down, and after some private correspondence in the East with men who were to furnish money, and probably with Miranda, he went down the Mississippi River, almost as a conqueror seeking a new empire. To take the expressive phrase which the West has since invented, Burr was "prospecting" on this

Burr's mysterious scheme.

[1] There is a prevalent error in regard to the house in which Hamilton died, which is worth correcting, if only to show how little tradition is to be trusted. The duel between him and Burr was fought at Weehawken, in New Jersey; Hamilton, mortally wounded, was immediately taken back to New York, the boat landing at what is now the foot of Gansevoort Street, and he was carried to the nearest house, that of his friend, William Bayard. This house stood between the present Greenwich and Washington Streets, about the centre of what is now Horatio Street. The common belief is (see *Historical Magazine*, vol. x., 1866), that the house now standing at No. 82 Jane Street was the Bayard House where Hamilton died. But that house stood a block farther north — on Horatio Street, as we have just explained — and the house at No 82 Jane Street was another country residence known at that time as the Ludlow House. The estates joined on the line of Jane Street, and this house occupied the block south of the line, as the Bayard House did the block north of it. When, about half a century ago, the land of that neighborhood was filled in from about the line of Washington Street to the present bank of the river, and streets were opened and graded, the Ludlow House was turned round and placed on the south side of Jane Street — No. 82 — and the Bayard House was demolished.

The late Hon. Henry Meigs, long an eminent and highly esteemed citizen of New York, occupied both these houses alternately for many years. His children grew up in them, and from two of his sons, Henry and Charles, these facts are obtained. One of these gentlemen has preserved a water-color drawing by his father of the Ludlow House, while his family occupied it, and of its identity with the house No. 82 Jane Street, there can be no question.

journey. What his plans were, history is not yet able to say precisely. Probably they were not precise. Probably he would have found it as difficult to explain them clearly as it is to the historian after seventy years. Those who wanted to make their fortunes in adventure, thought he was going to take possession of Mexico. To those whose suspicions he wanted to disarm, he said he was going to settle on the Baron Bastrop's lands on the Washita River. Those who thought they knew, supposed he was going to take Orleans and



View on Blennerhassett's Island.

establish a Western empire. He undoubtedly interested adventurous people in the West, who still maintained the hatred for Spain which the Spanish authorities had so steadily fanned. Thus he would cultivate the indignation which had been roused by the violation of the safeguard of Nolan, and the death of that popular young adventurer. Philip Nolan was an agent of Wilkinson's, who had gone into Texas to collect horses for the Spanish post at Orleans, under a pass from the Governor of Texas and Coahuila.

Philip Nolan.

The Spanish Governor, alarmed by new orders from home, had sent to arrest him. In the skirmish which followed, Nolan was killed. All his companions were captured and sent to the mines. Eventually one was shot. From the time of La Salle down, Spain had been jealous of any interference from the East with her silver mines in New Mexico and Arizona. Her statesmen, although purblind, could foresee what has come in the present generation. To this jealousy Nolan and his companions owed their fate, and every such act of cruelty on the part of Spanish viceroys hastened the inevitable issue. The death of the Kempers in Florida was a similar transaction.

On such chords Burr played on his first voyage down the river. He visited Blennerhassett's Island, in the Ohio, not far from Marietta, and made the acquaintance of Harman Blennerhassett and of his charming wife. They had emigrated from Ireland in 1798, and had made of the island what the writers of that day describe as a paradise. Blennerhassett himself was quite ready by this time for new adventure, and, when Burr wrote to him afterwards, enlisted readily in the enterprise. From point to point, as Burr stopped on the river, he was received with enthusiasm. Public dinners were made for him; and, in vague terms, he intimated that he was to come again at the head of an army. When he met Wilkinson, he had long private conferences with him. These were followed through the next winter by correspondence in cipher. Of what passed in the conferences, the accounts differ absolutely. Burr declares that Wilkinson committed himself entirely to his views. Wilkinson declares that he declined all complicity. As we now know that Wilkinson was a traitor to his country long before, very little weight is to be given to his unconfirmed asseveration.

Blennerhassett.

Burr's progress.

Encouraged by his reception, Burr made the attempt, in the summer of 1806, of which he had given such fair warning. But Jefferson at last roused himself to take notice of an enterprise so audacious. The Spanish Government had been watching it from the first with the most intense curiosity. The best account of it would now be found in their archives, for all that the Government of the United States knew of it was destroyed when the State Department was burned in 1814, — if it had not been earlier destroyed by order of Jefferson. So vindictive did his treatment of Burr appear afterwards, that it seemed as if he wished to lure him to his fate by the indifference with which his first movements were met, and by the civility with which Wilkinson was permitted to treat him. However this may be, when Jefferson acted he acted decisively.

Jefferson's action.

Burr made his first rendezvous at Blennerhassett's Island. Blennerhassett himself had provided boats and provisions, and arms and ammunition were here placed on the boats. A considerable party of men joined the expedition here, and recruits were added at different points on the way. But Jefferson published a proclamation denouncing the whole scheme, and the United States marshals of Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky made attempts, more or less zealous, to arrest it. The expedition, as it advanced, was flying from pursuit while going



Parade of Burr's Force.

to conquest; and the danger from behind was such that the arrangements made to secure victory before were at best sadly hurried. Still he stopped at the various forts on the way, asked favors and received them, and gained a few recruits. At the mouth of the Cumberland River, two boats and a few men joined him. He now had thirteen boats and sixty men. He drew them up on the shore and addressed them, but did not reveal his plans. This parade was subsequently called the array in arms of a military force.

With this force Burr came within thirty miles of Natchez, to learn that Wilkinson had betrayed him. That is his way of stating it. Wilkinson says he had received Swartwout, an envoy of Burr's, had amused him by pretended sympathy, and had dismissed him. Wilkinson probably changed his mind at some period in the matter, and determined to stand by Jefferson rather than Burr; or, on Burr's first visit, he may have well supposed that all this was done with Jefferson's connivance. The little party found the militia of the Territory in arms to oppose them, and were all taken to Natchez as prisoners of war. A grand jury was impanelled at once. True to the general sympathy for Burr, they presented the military force raised against him as a grievance, and declared that he was guilty of no crime. Burr awaited no further inquiry. He disguised himself as a boatman, and disappeared in the wilderness. But in his attempt to cross the country to the Atlantic, he was recognized in Alabama, arrested, and sent home for trial. In 1807 he was tried at Richmond for treason. The Government attempted to make out that he had enlisted troops within its jurisdiction for an attack on one of its allies, the King of Spain. The charge was, that this constituted treason. Judge Marshall, who presided, instructed the jury that the overt act of embodying an army must take place within the State where the trial was held. On this point Burr was acquitted. Jefferson's rage at his escape could not contain itself. But from that moment Burr was without a shadow of his old power. After times have seen many similar enterprises attempted in the United States, mostly against Spain or Mexico; but none has ever attracted the universal attention of Burr's. Mystery has always surrounded its history. The downfall of a man who came within a single vote of holding the highest office in the state, to be an adventurer without friends, often literally a beggar, was a fall too profound not to be noted by the moralists. A complete absence of moral principle is enough to account for such utter failure.

End of the enterprise.

Burr's trial.

CHAPTER VII.

JEFFERSON AND MADISON.

THE BARBARY STATES. — WAR WITH TRIPOLI. — THE IMPORTANCE OF LOUISIANA. — INCREASE OF POPULATION AND WEALTH. — JEFFERSON'S CREED AND HIS POLICY. — SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST. — LEWIS AND CLARKE'S EXPEDITION. — FOREIGN COMMERCE AND ITS DIFFICULTIES. — THE BERLIN AND MILAN DECREES, AND THE ORDERS IN COUNCIL. — CONDITION OF THE NAVY. — THE AFFAIR OF THE "CHESAPEAKE." — THE EMBARGO. — MADISON'S ACCESSION. — THE "PRESIDENT" AND THE "LITTLE BELT." — BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE. — CLAY AND CALHOUN. — PREPARATIONS FOR WAR, AND ITS DECLARATION.

Relations with the Barbary States.

To Mr. Jefferson's administration was due a partial settlement of a long-standing grievance, the existence of which was not altogether creditable to the management of the foreign affairs of the government in its earliest years. American ships had been compelled to submit to spoliation by the corsairs of the Barbary States for twenty years, and from time to time large sums had been paid to redeem the captured crews from slavery. In 1787, a treaty was ratified with Morocco, for which Congress paid eighty thousand dollars; in 1796 another was made with Algiers, by which it was agreed to pay forty thousand dollars for the release of thirteen Americans held as slaves in that State, a large amount in cash besides, and an annual tribute of twenty-five thousand dollars as the price of exemption from future aggressions. Delay occurring in the first remittance, still further exaction was submitted to, and a ship of war, costing about a hundred thousand dollars, was sent to the Dey, ostensibly as a present to his daughter. Eventually the treaty was made to cost even more than these large sums; as the tribute was to be paid, when required, in naval stores at stipulated prices, and these were so far below the cost of the stores that the expenditure was often several hundred per cent. above the estimate.

The humiliation that was submitted to at the hands of these pirates was as remarkable as the consent to purchase their forbearance. The subsidy for 1800 was sent to Algiers in the frigate *George Washington*, commanded by Captain William Bainbridge. The Dey ordered his own tribute to the Sultan — consisting partly of slaves and wild

animals — to be taken on board and carried to Constantinople, and that the American flag should be hauled down and his own hoisted in its place. Bainbridge assented, by advice of the American Consul, but declared that he hoped, should he ever again be sent with tribute, he might deliver it from the mouths of his guns. Unless, as has been asserted, he ran up the national flag again after leaving port, the first American ship that ever passed the Dardanelles sailed as the vassal of a vassal. "You pay me tribute," the Dey had said, "by which you become my slaves!"

The next year (1801) war was declared by Tripoli, because the Dey was dissatisfied with his pecuniary relations with the United States. It was a war of naval engagements, — almost of duels, — and in these battles some of the men who in later

War with Tripoli.



Tripoli.

years placed their names highest in the naval annals of their country, won their first laurels. Indeed, these operations in the Mediterranean, for the next two or three years, were of importance, not so much for the immediate result — for that could have been secured at any time — as for the fact that in them and the men who conducted them we find the germ of that navy which in the next war saved the country from the most absolute humiliation, if not from political destruction. And nothing exemplifies so pointedly the extreme partisanship of the times as that Jefferson and his followers — who opposed the creation of an efficient navy because the Federalists demanded it — would not

or could not see that just so far forth as America had reason to be proud of her naval achievements in the Mediterranean, just so far she had reason to be ashamed of Jefferson's — emphatically Jefferson's — naval system at home. By that it was assumed to be sufficient for the defence of a continent that a small fleet of gunboats should be kept in dock-yards, carefully housed to protect them from the weather, ready to be floated in case of emergency.

Jefferson's gunboats.

The first engagement of note was fought in August by Lieutenant Sterrett, in the *Enterprise*, of twelve guns and ninety men, with a Tripolitan vessel of fourteen guns, off Malta. The enemy had struck after a two hours' fight, and then treacherously discharged another broadside when the Americans had left their guns and were cheering for their victory. The battle began again, and again the Tripolitans struck, when defeated in their attempt to board the *Enterprise*. Then ranging under her quarter, they once more resumed the fight, hoisting a bloody flag. Sterrett raked his treacherous enemy from stem to stern, shot away his mizzen-mast, riddled his hull, killed and wounded fifty of his men, and kept up this terrible fire till the captain begged for mercy with frantic gestures, and tossed his colors into the sea. He was ordered to throw overboard also all his arms and ammunition, his remaining masts were cut away, his ship was completely dismantled, and then, under a jury-mast and a single sail, he was left to make his way home, with Lieutenant Sterrett's compliments to the Dey. Notwithstanding the length of the fight, and the repeated attempts to take the Americans by surprise, they did not lose a single man.

As a naval power, these semi-barbarians were contemptible; what fighting faculty they had, they exhibited only in hand-to-hand encounters, just as they were formidable as pirates in boarding peaceful merchant ships. Naval engagements were frequent, in which their vessels and crews were destroyed, wholly or in part, without the loss of a man to the Americans. In July, 1802, the frigate *Constellation*, Captain Murray, fought nine gunboats, off Tripoli, and drove five of them ashore, while the others escaped into the harbor. In June, the next year, a Tripolitan cruiser of twenty-two guns was driven into a bay seven leagues east of Tripoli, where she anchored with springs on her cables, while nine gunboats were sweeping along the shore to her assistance, and a body of cavalry appeared on the beach. The *John Adams*, Captain Rodgers, and the *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Isaac Hull, stood in and gave battle at point-blank range. In three quarters of an hour the enemy's guns were silenced, and her people leaped overboard. The Americans manned their boats to take possession, when a boat-load of Tripolitans returned to

Minor engagements.

her and reopened fire. The *Adams* replied, and in a few minutes the Tripolitan's colors came down, then her guns were all discharged at once, and the next instant she blew up with an explosion that tore her hull to fragments.

In 1803, the squadron in the Mediterranean numbered nine ships, carrying two hundred and fourteen guns. The *Philadelphia* captured a Moorish cruiser which the Governor of Tangier had authorized to prey upon American commerce. Commodore Preble entered that harbor with four of his fleet, and demanded an explanation of the Emperor, who disavowed the act of the Governor, and the treaty between the United States and Morocco was renewed. The *Philadelphia* soon after struck upon a reef in the harbor of Tripoli, when in pursuit of a blockade-runner. In this helpless condition she was attacked by gunboats, and Captain Bainbridge was compelled to surrender. She promised to be a valuable prize to the enemy, when, floated by an unusually high tide, she was hauled off and refitted.



Stephen Decatur.

But Bainbridge's misfortune was remedied by the daring act of a young lieutenant, Stephen Decatur. Running into the harbor one night in February, 1804, in a small prize vessel which had been named the *Intrepid*, he made fast, under pretence of being a merchantman and that he had lost his anchors, to the *Philadelphia*. At a given signal, his men rose from the deck and poured over the frigate's side and through her ports. With a cry of "Amerikanos!" the terrified Tripolitans ran below or plunged into the water. In twenty-five minutes, Decatur cleared the decks, carried combustibles to every part of the ship, and set fire to them. Regaining his own vessel, he cast off and sailed out to sea as the flames ran up the rigging, and the heated guns of the burning ship fired her last broadside.

In July, Preble was off Tripoli with his fleet. On the 3d of August he entered the harbor, and for two hours bombarded the town from his mortar-boats, while his frigates and schooners attacked the

batteries. It was intended that the six gunboats should engage the enemy's boats at close quarters; but one of them fell off to leeward, another had her lateen yard shot away, and a third obeyed an erroneous signal of recall. The other three closed with the enemy. One of them, commanded by Lieutenant James Decatur, a brother of Stephen, attacked a Tripolitan gunboat, and fired a volley, when her antagonist struck. As Decatur stepped upon her deck, the Tripolitan commander shot him through the head, the boats drifted apart, and for the time being the enemy escaped.

Bombardment of Tripoli.

Stephen Decatur, in command of another boat, poured a shower of musket-balls into the nearest enemy, and then laying alongside, boarded. His men, dividing into two parties, charged around each side of the open hatchway, bayonetted all who resisted, or who did not leap overboard, and compelled the surrender of the rest. Decatur next turned to the boat where he knew his brother had just met his death. Throwing himself on board with his men, he singled out, after a general fight of twenty minutes, the Captain, who had shot Lieutenant James Decatur. He was a large and powerful man, and defended himself with a pike. As he made a thrust with this, Decatur attempted to cut off the head with a blow of his sword; but the blade struck the iron, and broke at the hilt. The next thrust he partially parried with his naked arm, but the point of the pike entered his breast. Tearing this out, he wrenched the staff from the Turk, and grappled with him, and they rolled upon the deck together. While the Turk strove to use his poniard, Decatur held his arm with one hand, and with the other cocked a pistol in his own pocket, and, without drawing it, shot his antagonist. The wound was mortal, and the dying Turk relaxed his grasp.[1]

Exploits of Decatur.

While this contest was going on, a Tripolitan officer aimed a blow at Decatur from behind; but a young sailor named Reuben James interposed his arm, — according to one version, his head, because both arms had been disabled, — and saved the life of his commander at the expense of the arm, which was shorn clean off. Of the eighty men in the two boats captured by Decatur, fifty-two were killed or wounded.

A similar desperate, personal encounter occurred upon another of the gunboats, commanded by Lieutenant Trippe, who, by the rebound of his own boat in an attempt to board another, was left on the deck of the enemy, with only ten men. The commanders met

[1] There are various versions of this famous encounter. The one here given, from Mackenzie's *Life of Decatur*, professes to have been obtained from the hero himself by two of his intimate friends.

and fought, — Trippe with a pike, his antagonist with a sabre. The American was forced to the deck, covered with wounds; but mustering all the strength that was left him, he succeeded in transfixing the Turk with his pike. At the fall of their Captain, the crew, of



Decatur and the Turk.

whom twenty-one were killed or wounded, submitted. The result of the battle was, three of the enemy's boats sunk, and three others captured, with a loss to the Americans of only fourteen killed and wounded.

Four other assaults were made upon the city in the course of August and September; but with little impression, because, as it was afterward ascertained, of the poor quality of the bomb-shells. Ex-

perience, moreover, had taught the enemy to avoid coming into close quarters with the American gunboats, and to fight at long range. In a cannonade which lasted three hours, Preble lost eighteen men; and a single hot shot from a battery, exploding the magazine of one of his gunboats, cost him more than would have befallen him in the capture of a half-dozen of the enemy's vessels. Though with her stern under water, her brave crew loaded and fired a last shot from their long gun, and gave three cheers as her decks sank under them.

Explosion of the Intrepid.

Meanwhile the bomb-ketch *Intrepid* had been fitted up as an "infernal," and the night of September 4 was selected as the time for sending her into the harbor. Two rooms had been planked up in the hold, and filled with a hundred barrels of powder and missiles. On the deck over this were piled a hundred and fifty heavy shells, and a large quantity of shot and fragments of iron. Captain Richard Somers, Lieutenant Henry Wadsworth, and eleven men were to take her in among the Tripolitan fleet, fire the combustibles, and escape in two boats. The stars were visible, but a thick haze overspread the water. The *Intrepid*, accompanied part way by several of the smaller vessels, made for the western entrance of the harbor, said a low farewell to her consorts, and disappeared in the darkness. As she passed out of sight of her friends, she came within view from the enemy's batteries, and they opened fire. One observer, who tracked her with his night-glass, presently saw a light move horizontally along her deck; then it suddenly dropped out of sight, as if carried down a hatchway, and the next instant there was a tremendous explosion; a great column of fire shot up from the vessel, the mast, with its rigging and canvas ablaze, rose into the air, and bomb-shells were seen flying in every direction. Two days afterward, thirteen mangled bodies, not one of which could be identified, were found — some in the hulk and some in the water. Several of them had been pierced by grape-shot. The cause of the explosion has never been ascertained. The *Intrepid* was at least a quarter of a mile from her destination when she blew up, and probably did no damage to the enemy.

On the 10th of November, Preble was superseded by Commodore Samuel Barron, who arrived with the *President* and the *Constellation*, making the Mediterranean squadron the largest force the United States had ever assembled at sea, — ten vessels, carrying two hundred and sixty-four guns.

The reigning Bashaw of Tripoli, Jussuf Caramalli, had gained the throne by deposing his elder brother, Hamet, who was now an exile in Egypt. William Eaton, the American Consul at Tunis, sought the deposed prince, and, with the sanction of the Govern-

ment, proposed to reinstate him. They got together a small force, — adventurers from various nations, — and early in 1805 marched upon Derne. Within three miles of the place, arms and ammunition were landed from the fleet, and several vessels took position in the harbor. On the 27th of April fire was opened on the town and batteries. After a bombardment of an hour, which drove the enemy from their guns, the land force, numbering about twelve hundred, carried the works by storm, hauled down the Tripolitan flag, and raised the American flag, — the first time it ever floated over a fortification on that side of the Atlantic. The guns were turned upon the town, which, being assailed at the same time from the other side, soon capitulated. The victors lost only fourteen men.

Alliance with Hamet.

Capture of Derne

The reigning Bashaw was now more than willing to make peace, and on the 3d of June a treaty was negotiated by Tobias Lear, Consul-general at Algiers. All payment of tribute was abolished; an exchange of prisoners was effected, and for those still remaining in the hands of the Tripolitans a ransom of sixty thousand dollars was agreed upon. Hamet retired to Syracuse, and the Bashaw retained custody of his wife and children, as hostages for his peaceful behavior in the future. Two years later, Hamet, justly thinking that he had not been fairly treated by his powerful ally, addressed a pathetic letter "To their Most Serene Highnesses," — meaning the United States Congress, — in which he said: "I have lost my family; I have lost my inheritance; my acquisitions and my fair prospects are lost also. . . . To my own individual sufferings I ought to annex also those of my faithful people, whose attachment to me has involved them in the same wretchedness. . . . . I will not, like the world, reproach the representatives of the American nation with ingratitude. I rather implore their commiseration toward me, — at least so far as to restore me to my family, and to grant me a competence."

Peace.

Eaton was as little satisfied as Hamet. That prince, Eaton believed and asserted, had only been used as an instrument by the United States to further their own purposes, to be abandoned, when these were attained, to an unhappy fate. This treachery he ascribed to Lear, the Consul-general, whom he accused at the same time of betraying the best interests of his own government. Tripoli, Eaton asserted, could have been easily taken, and the Bashaw compelled to submit to any terms that the United States had seen fit to dictate. On his return to this country, Congress and the Administration were reluctant to admit the merit of his services, and even the settlement of his accounts was delayed for years. Massachusetts was more grate-

ful; her Legislature, "desirous to perpetuate a remembrance of heroic enterprise," presented him with ten thousand acres of land in her province of Maine.

Eaton and Burr.

It was this Eaton who, in the Burr trial, was the most important witness. The plan of the proposed Southern expedition had been confided to him by Burr himself; and it is not at all unlikely that at the outset he was dazzled by an enterprise which seemed to promise so much of brilliant adventure, and offered a temptation to which he was peculiarly open from his African experience. But there seems no good reason for doubting his integrity of purpose when he turned against Burr, and, whether mistakenly or not, denounced him as having aimed, not only at foreign conquest, but at the subversion of the Federal Union.



The Sugar Plant.

Importance of Louisiana.

The acquisition of Louisiana was by far the most important transaction of Jefferson's administration. But it was not so regarded at the time, excepting by the settlers west of the Alleghanies, who made no loud expressions of their joy, and by those who thought the acquisition important because they believed it would prove disastrous. As in the preceding administrations, the politics of Europe engaged the chief attention of the people of the Atlantic States, who had not yet learned what was to be the true independence of the nation. Nor had any public man, so far as appears, any sufficient prescience of the power which his country had gained when she secured for every child rights often given to the first born only; when she provided for general education; when she put away the temptations and the expense of a standing army, and virtually gave to every man who asked it, a share of the public domain. It has proved that in those years, these privileges, and others closely connected with them, were working changes in the state of affairs so great and so rapid that history finds it difficult to record them. But the men in the midst of them had no sense of their grandeur. They were as prone as men always are, to say their country was going to ruin; and they mistook, as men are apt to do, some failure in their own plans, for a

Power of the new nation.

check in the general prosperity. Least of all, had the country learned the great lesson that the general administration ought not in strictness to be called the government of the country. In truth, it was governed not only at Washington, but in a thousand other places. It was governed in its town meetings, or in its State legislatures; in the assemblies which made its ecclesiastical rules, or in the agreements which set on foot its emigration. In a thousand ways, under the instinct for local government which has been the salvation of this race since its history began, these people were governing themselves. But the delusion still possessed most of them, as it possessed all the writers for the press, and many of the members of the national Administration, that they were governed by the President and Congress, as France was governed by Louis XIV. and Louis XV. The movements of local government are such as journals did not then record, while the speeches in Congress, and the messages of Presidents, had some chance for being circulated and read. The mistake is easily accounted for which rejects the element of power that is unseen and unheard.

Growth of the country.

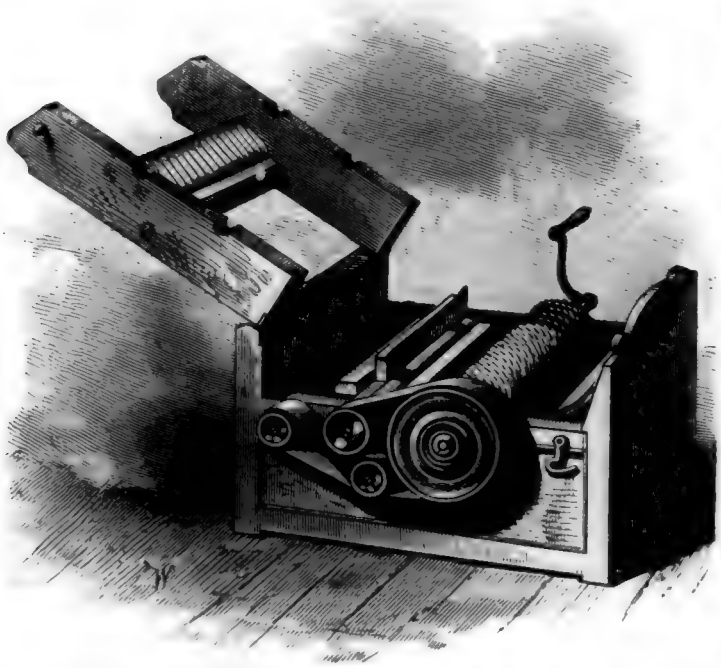
Meanwhile, the population of the country nearly doubled in twenty years, though there was, as yet, no such large number of emigrants from Europe as Washington and other far-sighted men hoped for. At the end of the first ten years of the century, the census showed a population of seven million two hundred and forty thousand. The Abbé Raynal, in his flattering prophecy of the greatness of the new nation, then much quoted, had fixed ten million as the maximum number of its people. Wealth was increasing in a proportion vastly greater. Reference has been made, in another chapter, to the rapid increase of the cotton crop, resulting from Whitney's invention. From the merely nominal amount of one hundred and eighty-nine thousand pounds exported in 1791, the export rose to sixty-two million pounds in 1811, the year before the war with England, and, so soon as that war was over, to eighty-three million. That is to say, this single export multiplied one hundred and sixty fold. There was no other important article of commerce in which the increase was so large. But the exports in all articles, which were valued at only eighteen million dollars in 1791, rose in value to one hundred and eight million in 1807 — increasing six fold in sixteen years. This increase was not steady. There was flux and reflux, caused chiefly by the wantonness of foreign wars and the follies of legislation at home. But, in face of all obstacles, and while private fortunes were often wrecked in changes so sudden, the nation was increasing in strength in a proportion larger than those ever dreamed who thought they were its rulers. Of what was visible in

The cotton crop.

its prosperity, the features most important were its foreign commerce, and the shipbuilding and fisheries which were tributary to this, the emigration to the West, and the exploration of the wilderness. The improvement of internal communications, and the development of manufactures were not, though begun, so obvious till the second decade of the century, though in both directions a beginning was made.

Jefferson's creed

In this first decade, it was the great good fortune of the country that Jefferson, elected President after a struggle of such bitterness, was committed, in every form of language, to the statement that the people could be intrusted with the management of their affairs. True, it proved on many occasions that Jefferson was not able to resist the temptations which press on all men in authority. He often thought he knew better than the people he had praised. But in his long antagonism with Washington and Adams, he had constantly owned, what was at bottom his political creed, that the less men were governed from above the better, and the more they governed themselves, the wiser would the government be. Whenever, therefore, he yielded to temptation, and forced a policy on an unwilling nation, he knew, and all men knew, that he contradicted his own theory, and he often blundered. His was a character of not uncommon type, which starts in life with lofty principles and purposes, but is ruled by circumstances, and often led into courses directly opposed to what were once cherished convictions.



Whitney's Cotton Gin (from the Original Model).

and character.

It was a misfortune that he fancied himself a philosopher; for he was not one, in any real sense of that word. But in his residence in France, he had made acquaintance with those fanciful speculators among the Encyclopædists, who thought that the world was to be at once made over on the plans of an advanced

philanthropy. Many of these men in Europe had come to an untimely end in the horrors of the Revolution. So soon as the young Napoleon took the helm, little indulgence was given to their dreams or fancies. Of the whole circle, Jefferson was the only one who, in a certain irony of destiny, had been promoted to be the chief of a state. He was too steadfast to abandon then the theories which, in a position less distinguished, he had proclaimed. To these fancies the country owed more than one of the absurdities which nearly paralyzed its energies during the years of his administration. And when he left the seat of the President he had to be satisfied with the poor reflection that, as a friend of peace, he had not made war himself, although he had done everything in the power of one man to drive the country into war under his successor.

In his inaugural address, with a comprehensive courage which gratified all parties, he accepted as his own the policy of the Federalists; and, from that moment, for a generation, nothing was really heard from his followers of the demands for State rights, which had been discussed for the last fifteen years, and theoretically maintained by the Democratic party. For, so soon as it held office, following his lead, that party assumed habits of national administration, such as no Federal leader even had ever dared to propose. For the next generation, the armory from which States or men in opposition should draw their sharpest weapons would be the resolutions of State rights framed by Jefferson and his companions in the bitter controversies with Adams. Majorities were to govern now that the Democrats were in the majority. "All will bear in mind," he said, "this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression." Again he said: "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans; we are all Federalists." . . . . "I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this government is not strong enough. . . . . I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. . . . . Let us, then, with courage and confidence, pursue our own Federal and Republican principles."

The policy of his party.

His inaugural.

In another part of the address he enumerates these principles. "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwarks against anti-

republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well-disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts, and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; and freedom of the person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus;* and trial by juries impartially selected."

As Jefferson and his friends interpreted these principles, they meant a strong central government. As the nation grew in wealth and power, that government grew in patronage and consideration. With every year the laurels and the prizes which any State government could offer to ambitious or to selfish men, became of less importance, in comparison with those the general government had in hand. Year by year the extreme doctrines of State rights, as proclaimed in 1798, were confined more and more to the eloquence of debating societies and public dinners. In practice, the Republican or Democratic party became the national party. Confident of popular support, the President and his followers were able to carry forward such measures as they thought the national interests required; and, for the first twelve years of the century, even while local irritations were strong enough to keep up very bitter partisan animosities, they fortunately never offered any hindrance to the maintenance of a definite national policy abroad, — had the President ever determined on such a policy, — nor any check on the development of healthy national sentiment at home.

In Jefferson's first years, a Federal majority in the Senate to a certain extent restrained the full adoption of such measures as a consistent fulfilment of the promises of the canvass would require. The checks of the constitutional system often give such fortunate delay in the work of eager partisans, affording a relief, which a seaman would call lee-way, giving the ship of state sufficient time to change her course. But success had its accustomed fruits. State after State turned out its Federal rulers, and took part with the Republicans.

Side by side with the legitimate political discussions of the people, ecclesiastical discussions of the first interest were going forward, in which the older order of church establishments were giving way to the more popular adjustment of what we now call the "voluntary system." In New England, the clergy — who in Massachusetts and Connecticut were settled for life, and, in a fashion, took on themselves some of the offices of an aristocracy, — were threatened by the change which has long since left the appointment and maintenance of the ministry to the order of the congregations. A very large major-



Monticello — the Home of Jefferson.

ity of the ministers, as of the lawyers of New England, had allied themselves to the Federal party; in truth, the ministers and lawyers had led it. The opposers of the system which maintained them, — a system clearly in opposition to the general drift of democratic institutions, — naturally allied themselves to the Republican party. In the newer regions of the country, at the same time, the most enthusiastic followers of the eager preachers of religious revivals were found in like alliance with the Republican party. Chilled by the suspicion or antagonism of the more decorous established clergy, they readily opposed any political scheme which that clergy was supposed to uphold. In one part of the country, therefore, Jefferson's friends had the assistance of the increasing body of what were called "Free-thinkers;" in another part, the ready support of religious enthusiasts. On the other hand, the former leaders of the Federalists were left with no

spell to conjure with. They could only appeal to the cultivated and thoughtful men with whom politics was a science, not an amusement or a game, — men who knew that in the long run government would succeed or would perish as it adhered to or abandoned certain great fundamental principles. Jefferson permitted himself to be governed by these principles when it suited his purpose, and, when it did not, was quite ready to set them at defiance to defeat his opponents on detailed questions of administration, which were often settled before the discussion of them could well be brought before the popular tribunals. Communication was difficult between different parts of the country; the seat of government itself was an outpost in a wilderness; and the diffusion of popular information by a vigilant press was in its infancy, — as we speak of it to-day, it was wholly unknown.

Settlement of the West.

The rapid increase of the settlements west of the Alleghanies had already shown itself in the results of the census of 1800. That part of the Northwest Territory which we now know as Ohio, was admitted into the Union as a State soon after Jefferson's accession to office. Its people adopted a Constitution by a convention which met at Chillicothe in November, 1802. In admitting the new State, Congress adopted some principles which have become precedents of the very first importance. In a wise determination to encourage settlement, the new State Constitution provided, by an ordinance which could not be repealed, that for four years after any settler purchased land of the United States, no local taxes should be laid upon it. Congress met this liberality of the new-born State by a gift more than princely in its munificence, which has been made a precedent in all subsequent legislation. The law granted to the State one township in each section of the survey for the establishment of its schools.

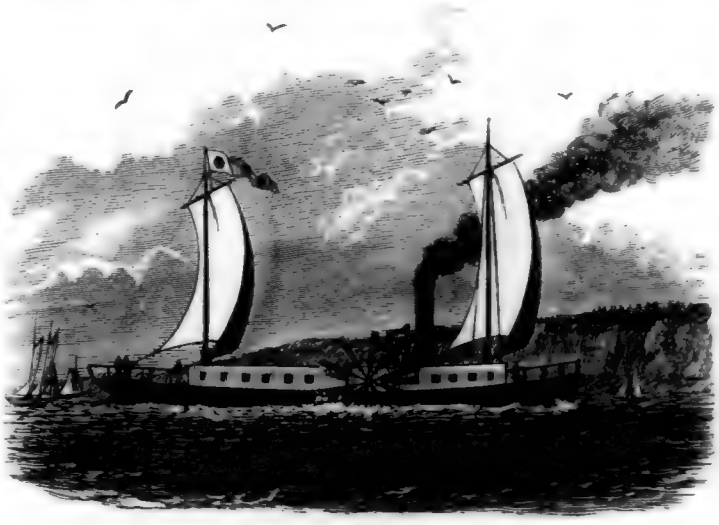


Courthouse at Chillicothe, O., 1801. — From an old picture.

Lands given for schools

That is to say, one thirty-sixth part of the public domain has been consecrated since that time to the purposes of public education. A grant so munificent, under a policy so large, has given to what are still called the "new States" in America, opportunities for a system of public education unequalled in the world. In some instances, where statesmen of prudence have been able to administer this fund from the beginning, such a system of public education has been attained.

With the acquisition of Louisiana and the consequent free right of navigating the Mississippi, the States in the valley of that river attained every advantage which the boldest of their leaders dared to ask. The increase of emigration into territories of such matchless fertility and luxuriant beauty was proportionate. Not one of those leaders, however, dared to forecast the great invention of the steamboat, which was necessary to give to their territory its full value. The experiments of John Fitch in driving barges by steam had been tried on the Delaware, where there was really no local trade sufficient to give much interest to his enterprise. In an early volume of the "American Philosophical Transactions," Mr. Latrobe, the engineer of most reputation in the country, expresses his regret that American inventors waste so much time in futile efforts to drive boats by steam, instead of turning their attention to the improvement of the steam-engine for its work on land. As early as 1804, the year after the United States had acquired Louisiana, the American Robert Fulton was urging upon Napoleon, in Paris, his own plans for the steamboat. But the experimental vessel was too slightly built; the boiler and engine, too heavy for it, broke through and sank to the bottom of the Seine, and the discouraged inventor was dismissed in disgrace. The first successful experiment was to be made in this country. In the summer of 1807, a boat called the *Clermont* made the trip from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours, and back again in thirty. This was at the rate of about five miles an hour; and, although the experiment was ridiculed as im-



Fulton's First Steamboat.

Steamboats.

practicable before it was made, and useless afterwards, it was, nevertheless, so conclusive from the start, that the speed attained on the first trip was nearly half as great as that at which many ferry-boats are run in the harbor of New York, more than seventy years later. "The morning I left New York," wrote Fulton, "there were not, perhaps, thirty persons in the city who believed the boat would ever move one mile an hour." It was not until 1812 that a steamboat navigated the waters of the Ohio.[1]

Lewis and Clarke.

Long before this time, however, Jefferson, in the spirit of scientific research, which gives dignity to every period of his life, had commissioned two officers of the army — Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke — to explore the waters of the Missouri River, cross the mountain range, and descend to the Pacific. This commission they successfully fulfilled in 1804 and the two following years. With a large party, they embarked on a considerable flotilla of boats, and stemmed the rapid current of the Missouri for twenty-six hundred miles. Leaving their flotilla there with a garrison, they crossed the mountains with the remainder of the party, mounted on horses which they had captured, and were thus the discoverers of the two streams still known as the Lewis and Clarke Rivers. They followed these rivers to their junction in Columbia River, which they then traced to the sea. This great river had already been discovered by Robert Gray, of Salem, Massachusetts, commander of the ship *Columbia Rediviva*, in May, 1792. On these two discoveries — first of the mouth of the river, and then of its course — rested, in part, the claim of the United States for its territories west of the Rocky Mountains.[2] In this journey, the party of explorers met many Indian tribes who had never before seen white men, — some who, it was supposed, had never heard of white men. It was the first journey ever made to the Pacific by the whites, north of the line of Mexico.[3]

Development of the West.

The rapid development of the Western country was really the feature of most importance in the history of the nation in the first decade of the century. But the great law held, under which men do not at the moment fully estimate the force of the deeper currents on which they are borne. Some of the

[1] This vessel was the *Orleans*, built by Fulton and Livingston, at Pittsburg. She had a stern-wheel and masts, and this seems to have been the first successful experiment with the stern-wheel.

[2] It eventually acquired by the Treaty of Florida all the claims of Spain to that region.

[3] The first, through northern Mexico, was that of Cabeça de Vaca, already described, vol. i., p. 156. By absurd errors, the biographical dictionaries often say that the same journey was accomplished by Carver in 1767, and by Chateaubriand in 1791. These errors are due to the ignorance of writers in Europe on points of American geography.

most thoughtful men in the country deprecated the Western emigration. They thought it would reduce the Atlantic States to insignificance, and endanger the permanence of the Union.

In the immense development of the physical wealth of the nation, the large increase of its foreign commerce attracted attention more general. The rapid increase of exports, which has been alluded to, was due not only to the increase of domestic

Foreign commerce.



Gate of the Mountains, on the Upper Missouri.

productions, but to the commercial necessities of the world, while the European wars lasted. Allusion has already been made to the great carrying trade which the European war almost forced upon the fortunate American merchants. For such an article as sugar, for instance, such countries as Holland, Italy, and France were largely dependent on importations in American vessels. To a considerable extent, the course of trade brought sugar from the West Indies to ports in the United States, — in accordance with the rule enforced by England, in regard to neutrals, — whence it was shipped again to

Europe. Of this single article, not then produced largely in Louisiana,[1] the export from the United States in the three years 1805, 1806, 1807, exceeded four hundred million pounds. The export of coffee from the United States was only less valuable, — the amount being one hundred and thirty million pounds. Although drawbacks were allowed at the custom-houses on the principal foreign articles thus exported, on foreign imports reëxported which had no drawbacks the treasury received four million dollars in those years. This single item of revenue, wholly paid by foreign consumers, was nearly equal to one quarter of all the expenditures of the national administration in the same time.

It would also happen in the course of trade, that an American vessel in a foreign port would find a profitable voyage to some other port, without returning home. Freedom from danger of capture was, of course, an immense premium in favor of the charter of such vessels. Once in the foreign trade, — or the "carrying trade," as it came to be called, — an American vessel might not return to the United States for many years. From a stimulus so remarkable, shipbuilding and maritime commerce increased in a ratio larger than that of the population, while the national prosperity was in every way quickened by such enlargement of the means for obtaining wealth. The earliest statistics are of the years when the Constitution went into operation, and even then the maritime activity of the new nation was considerable. From that time, in seventeen years ending with 1810, the increase of tonnage owned by citizens of the United States was nearly threefold. The amount increased from four hundred and eighty-nine thousand tons to one million three hundred and ninety thousand. It will be observed that while the population of the country doubled in twenty-two years, the tonnage, the best index of its maritime success, was almost trebled in seventeen. It was observed with pride that, in commercial rivalry with Great Britain, the new nation already almost equalled the old in her shipping on the seas.[2]

It was a matter of course that a trade so lucrative, which fell into the hands of the American merchants merely from the folly that kept the European sovereigns and states in constant war, should be looked on with jealousy by all nations. The great law insisted on

[1] In 1810, the production of Louisiana was about ten million pounds. The production of maple sugar in the Northern States was nine and a half million pounds.

[2] In 1807, the tonnage of American vessels engaged in foreign trade, which entered the ports of the United States, was one million one hundred thousand tons. That of Great Britain, which entered her ports, was one million five hundred thousand tons. In each case the repeated voyages were counted. But no estimate appeared of the large American commerce which did not return in the year to American ports.

by Catherine and the other neutral powers in the war of the Revolution, that neutral ships should make neutral goods, was hardly yet accepted as a part of the international code of the world. Even had it been accepted, its interpretation in practice was not left to jurists, but to the commanders of cruisers eager to make prizes, and often indifferent to the questions of national or personal privilege involved in the particular case in hand. In many instances, indeed, the seizure of a merchantman, followed by a reference to a prize court of the questions regarding her voyage, was in itself an injury hardly less than her confiscation. Her cargo might be perishable, or its value might depend on the rapidity of her voyage.

Difficulties of the carrying trade.

For such reasons, and a hundred others, it happened, with every day of this lucrative commerce of the Americans, that some indignity was committed by some commander of a blockading cruiser, which was fairly accounted an insult to the flag of the new nation, and involved serious loss to those engaged in the carrying trade. In such indignities and insults, as well as in the enforcement of real blockades, every belligerent nation that had a gun afloat participated. But of course it happened that England was the greatest offender, because her navy was the largest; and eventually, as the victories of Nelson and others of her admirals captured or swept out of existence the war-ships of other nations, she became indeed the monarch of the seas. In her relations with the United States, there were also other causes of antagonism. The older officers and seamen remembered the time, not distant, when the two nations were at war. The very trade which was so lucrative to America was trade that had been carried on by English ships in days of peace. A matter that proved very difficult of adjustment, and a constant cause of ill-feeling, was the identity of the language, not to say the habits, of the sailors of the two nations. In the impressment of seamen, already alluded to, officers who were seeking deserters from the King's service felt at liberty to overhaul American vessels, and look for such deserters there. The indignity of a search was, of course, in itself, exasperating to a proud people. And when, as sometimes happened, seamen who declared they were born in America, were taken from American vessels, the outrage touched the national heart most sensitively.[1]

[1] So indiscriminate were English officers in these outrages, that it sometimes happened that black men were seized as English seamen. At that time, the public opinion of the world was such that few statesmen troubled themselves much about the rights of negroes. But, in another generation, when it proved convenient in the United States to argue that free negroes had never been citizens, it was remembered that the cabinets of Jefferson and Madison, in their diplomatic discussions with Great Britain, had been willing to argue that the impressment of a free negro was the seizure of an American citizen.

Difficult of settlement as these various questions were, the fact should not be lost sight of that their discussion was governed by recognized principles of international law at that time, and the tremendous strain to which England was subjected by her wars with Napoleon and his rapid progress in the subjugation of all Europe. The natural right of the subject to change his national allegiance was not then acknowledged, and once an Englishman always an Englishman, was held to be a legal axiom. That England, however, was not disposed to push this to extremity, cannot be doubted in the light of the diplomatic correspondence of the time. She was not only willing, but anxious, that the question of the assumed right of impressment, and the assumption of sovereignty over her citizens who had repudiated their allegiance, should be reconciled, if possible, to the American demand of the inviolability of the American flag. In 1806, Monroe and William Pinkney concluded a treaty with Great Britain which, had it been ratified, would have essentially changed the relations of the two powers, and would, perhaps, have prevented a recourse to war and the calamitous measures which preceded it. In transmitting the treaty to the President, the ministers wrote on the subject of impressment: "That, although this Government did not feel itself at liberty to relinquish, formally, by treaty, its claim to search our merchant vessels for British seamen, its practice would, nevertheless, be essentially if not completely abandoned. That opinion has been since confirmed by frequent conferences on the subject with the British commissioners, who have repeatedly assured us that, in their judgment, we were made as sure against the exercise of their pretension by the policy which their Government had adopted in regard to that very delicate and important question, as we could have been made by treaty." But a treaty with England would have placed America in an inimical, if not hostile, attitude toward France, and it was Jefferson's policy, so far as he had any, that this should not be done. He quietly, therefore, put the treaty into a pigeon-hole and said nothing about it to the United States Senate.

The Orders in Council, and the Berlin and Milan decrees.

All these restrictions on American commerce, vexatious enough before, culminated in the proclamations, which were so fruitful a source of controversy and disaster, known in history as the "decrees of Berlin and Milan" and the "Orders in Council." By the Berlin and Milan decrees, Napoleon, in the pride of his power, declared the English islands to be in a state of blockade, and claimed the right to seize all vessels trading with England or her dependencies.[1] To the Berlin Decree the English

[1] The date of the Berlin Decree is November 20, 1806; that of the Milan Decree, December 17, 1807. The Orders in Council were dated November 11, 1807.

Government replied by the King's "Orders in Council," prohibiting all commerce with those ports of the Continent of Europe which were under the dominion of France or her allies. This meant, in substance, all Europe except Russia. By these decrees, American merchant ships were subject to seizure wherever they might be. If a naval commander of England suspected that a merchantman which he overhauled was on her way to a European port, he captured the vessel and sent her into an English port for trial. Or, if a French cruiser overhauled a merchantman, and suspected she was going to an English harbor, he arrested the voyage and sent her to France. Against these paper blockades the United States, now the chief neutral power, protested, as Russia and the neutral states had successfully protested in the war of independence. In its diplomacy, the United States maintained the position which is now accepted as fundamental in the public law of the world, that the blockade of a port must be maintained by a competent force upon the spot.

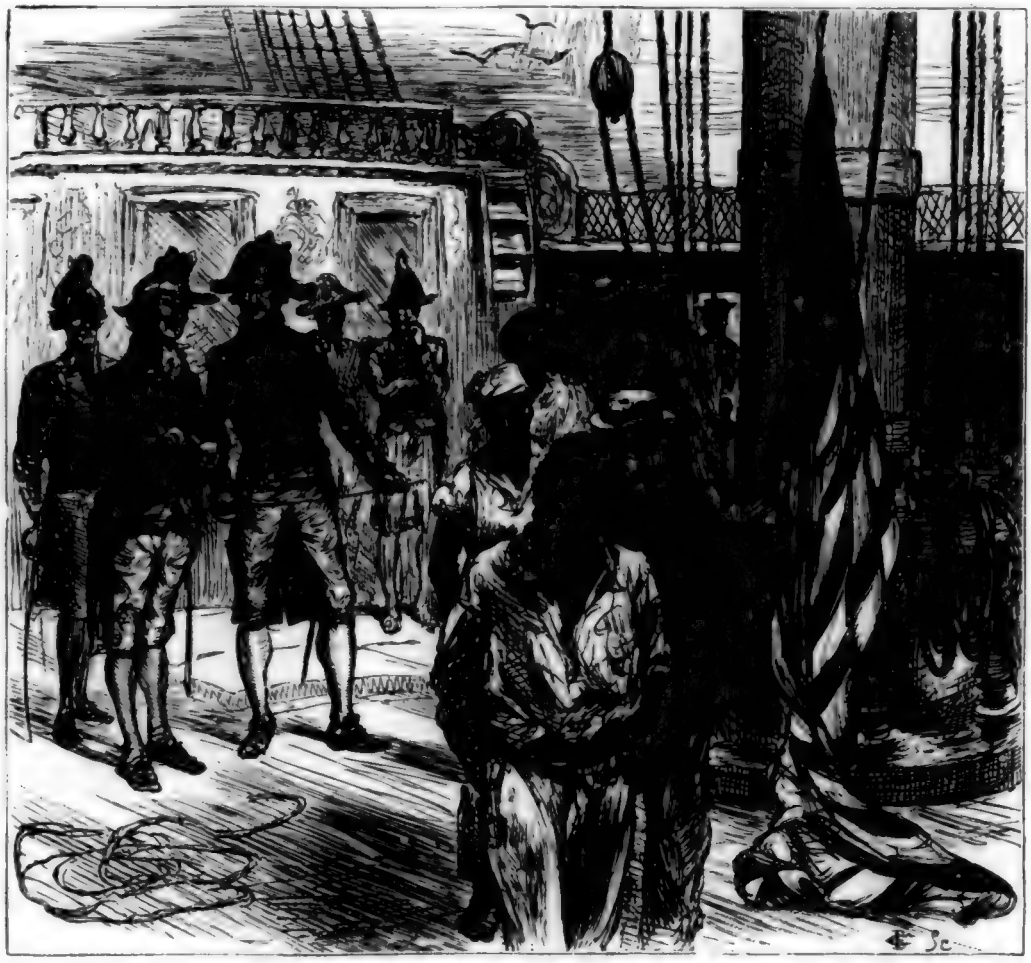
Unfortunately, the United States was in no position to give dignity to its diplomacy by a naval force of its own. The administration of Adams had made the beginning of a navy, and the Navy Department was separated from the Department of War as early as 1798. But one of the charges of extravagance made against the Federalists was connected with their building a few frigates, and preparing to build a few more. So soon as Jefferson's administration came in, the timber in the dock-yards was sold, with a certain affectation of economy. Thus it happened, that at a time when a proud government would have been glad to convoy its fleets of merchantmen with a protection competent against insolent cruisers, the Government of the United States, though the proudest of all, had almost no vessels of war for such a purpose. This Government was obliged, therefore, to see the carrying trade, which was really so profitable to all parties, bullied almost out of existence, and could only make its protests in well-argued and bitter despatches.

Condition of the navy.

Jefferson had more than parsimonious reasons for avoiding the building of a fleet. One of the theories on which he most valued himself involved the idea that war was unnecessary. He supposed, and he taught, that nations could be conquered by letting them alone. Like other patriots who remembered the beginning of the Revolution, he supposed, falsely in fact, that the non-intercourse acts of the colonies had largely affected public opinion in England. All Americans thought too largely of the place of their country in the councils of the world. The Virginians had more of this conceit than other Americans; and, of all Virginians, whether as an individual or as an American, Jefferson was the most conceited. His philanthropy, his

American pride, and this profound self-conceit, all united in directing a series of measures by which he hoped to gain the advantages of war without its disasters. In place of a navy fit to go to sea, he proposed, and Congress adopted, that system of gunboats for harbor defence already mentioned. Each vessel was to carry one heavy gun. Two hundred and fifty were to be built in ten years. They were to be kept under sheds in time of peace, and in war to be manned by the seamen or militia of the town attacked. No fortifications were to be required for harbors, which were to be protected by

The gunboat system.



Taking Deserters from the Chesapeake.

cannon on wheels, kept in readiness to be dragged from place to place when needed.

At the moment when the annoyances to merchants reached their height from the proclamation of the Berlin Decree, the insults offered by English naval officers to the American marine culminated. Berkeley, the English Admiral on the North American station, issued an order to his captains (June 1, 1807), re-

The affair of the Chesapeake.

quiring them, in case they met the United States frigate *Chesapeake* at sea, to search her for some deserters from the English navy who were on board. The men's names were given, and it was said to be matter of notoriety that they were on board the *Chesapeake*. As the result of this order, when the *Chesapeake*, after six months of preparation, went to sea from Norfolk, Virginia, whence she was ordered to the Mediterranean, the English ship *Leopard* accompanied her from that port. As soon as both vessels were well at sea, the captain of the *Leopard* hailed the *Chesapeake*, asking leave to send despatches on board. James Barron, commander of the *Chesapeake*, not having the slightest suspicion of violence, received the boat. It brought to him Admiral Berkeley's letter and a demand for the deserters, which demand, after half an hour's reflection, he refused. So soon as his note was received on the *Leopard*, her commander hailed; and, saying that Admiral Berkeley's orders must be complied with, fired several broadsides into the *Chesapeake*. Such was the encumbered condition of the American vessel, which had gone to sea without any expectation of war, that her officers were not able to fire a gun. No match could be found, even, when guns were loaded. At last Barron struck his flag, — at which moment one gun on the American ship was fired by a hot coal from the galley. Several English officers then boarded the ship, mustered her crew, and carried off four deserters. That they were deserters, there was no doubt; but they said they had been impressed from American ships. Three of them were black men, whose nation was the United States. Two of them were born in Maryland, and one had been brought up in Massachusetts, though born in South America.

An outrage like this, inflicted not by accident or the brutality of a separate commander, naturally excited the whole nation to the utmost. Jefferson interdicted American harbors and waters to all vessels of the English navy, and forbade intercourse with them. He sent a vessel of war with a special minister to London to demand satisfaction. On the other hand, the English Admiral hanged the deserter and dismissed the three black men with a reprimand, blaming them for disturbing the peace of two nations. So soon as his account of the affair reached England, George Canning, as foreign secretary, disallowed it, and offered reparation, recalling Berkeley from his command. But at the same time a royal proclamation was issued, directing commanders to make a "demand" for all English seamen serving on foreign ships of war, and, in case of refusal, to report such refusal. That the outrage did not end in immediate war, was due partly to Canning's concessions, and partly to the fact that the Americans had no navy to fight with. After the attack on the *Chesapeake*, the English fleet

anchored outside the capes of James River, brought to every vessel by firing, and even threatened to cut out the French frigate *Sybil*, which lay in Norfolk harbor. The whole transaction was one of the incidents most efficient in producing the situation that led to war.

The embargo.

In the midst of such irritation Congress met in the autumn of 1807. The Milan Decree had not yet arrived in America; but so soon as the Orders in Council were made certain, the President sent to Congress a message pointing out the results of the Berlin Decree, and other papers that showed the "dangers with which our vessels, our seamen, and our merchandise are threatened on the high seas and elsewhere from the belligerent powers of Europe." Jefferson asked Congress for an "inhibition of the departure of our vessels from the ports of the United States," on the ground that it was desirable to keep in safety our maritime resources. Congress immediately passed the act proposed, after short debate in secret session, by a strong party vote, — nearly two to one in the House of Representatives. It prohibited the departure from American ports of all American vessels, and of all foreign vessels except those in ballast. No merchandise whatever was to be exported. The act, therefore, was not, in fact, merely a law for saving American ships from danger, as the message suggested; it was a measure of aggression against England. It was a measure unpopular, of course, in proportion as men were or were not engaged in commerce. The men of New England and New York, whose ships and seamen were exposed, did not thank the philanthropy that kept them in port. But the planters and farmers of the South and West were pleased with the thought that they were making war against England without firing a gun or taxing themselves a dollar. The maritime States thought the agricultural States took a special satisfaction in a *quasi* war, of which all the burden fell at first upon commerce.



James Madison.

But it proved, of course, as a wiser political economy knows, that the burden at length became universal. True, the foreign powers, at whom this pacific war was aimed, were hardly aware of its pressure. It furnished one of the stimulants much needed for the manufacture of beet sugar in France;[1] England cared little for the loss of American products, which she could easily supply from other places; and in the immense convulsions of European politics, it commanded little notice. At home the men whose tobacco and cotton and corn could not be sent to market, soon learned that they also, as well as the carriers of those products, were paying a heavy tax by this interdiction of commerce. In the seaboard cities it was said, without a metaphor, that grass was growing in the streets and on the piers. What followed at once, to Jefferson's undying mortification, was rebellion from their allegiance to him of his partisans in the maritime States, and the disloyalty of many of those most relied upon in other quarters. A presidential election came on at this crisis. With the customary Virginian conceit, two Virginians, Madison and Monroe, offered themselves as candidates. To New York, Jefferson had owed his election, and George Clinton, of New York, appeared as a Republican candidate against the Virginians. Jefferson determined that Madison should succeed him. The election showed, however, that the Democratic party was everywhere losing the triumphant majority which had returned Jefferson for a second time, and in his last message to Congress he wrote with the knowledge that his favorite policy of war without fighting had not been approved by the country. The message stated briefly the failure abroad of that "candid and liberal experiment," to end the embargo by a proposition to Great Britain and France that they should first recall their orders and decrees against neutral commerce, and left to the "wisdom of Congress" a decision as to its continuance. Congress took the matter immediately in hand, and, in entire subservience to the President, passed resolutions for enforcing the act, by majorities even stronger than those by which it was passed.

Its effect.

This enforcing act proved the last straw on the patience of the maritime States. The vehemence of the protest of their towns showed itself in every form, not always pacific. The partisan majority vote, which was as strong as eighty-four to thirty on the 7th of

[1] An American epigram of the time is worth preserving.

"I've a substitute found," says Boney: "No more
Of your sugar will I taste the sweet."
"Very well," says John Bull, "while I hold the cane,
You 're welcome, indeed, to get beet."

December, 1808, vanished under the pressure of public opinion, and so sudden was the change that on the 2d of February the embargo was repealed. The Administration tried to stem the torrent so far as to fix the 1st of June as the day for reopening commerce, but its followers followed no longer, and on the 3d of February the 1st of March was agreed upon. This curious and immediate change of opinion was ascribed by Jefferson to a kind of panic among the New England and New York members. Joseph Story, afterwards Judge Story, had come on as a new member of Congress, and to his influence in the House Jefferson imputed the revolution. Jefferson left office with the mortification of seeing his favorite scheme of peaceful war abandoned, and with the additional mortification of seeing Congress reject the policy and plan of Madison, whom he had named as his successor.

Its repeal.

In the accession of Madison, the country had the advantage of choosing a magistrate who, if not endowed with genius, had still the temperate or judicial habit which a great statesman or legislator needs. The duties of the Executive, however, as many nations have learned to their cost, are not simply those of a legislator or of a constitution-maker. For an executive office, experience in action seems necessary, and of this, Madison's careful training at the bar and in diplomacy had given him little. There are, therefore, elements of pathos almost dramatic in his life. In the first half of it he was overshadowed by his great leader, Jefferson. After work of the first ability in making the Constitution and securing its adoption, he was forced for twenty years to work in public life as the subordinate of one who was absent in Europe when the Constitution was made, and who was always proud to say that he was not responsible for its details. At last, Madison was emancipated from such control. His master condescended to name him as his successor, and bade his junior, Monroe, wait his turn.

President Madison.

But at this moment a new generation was stepping upon the stage; the counsels and plans of that older generation, to which Madison belonged, were now to be pushed by as old-fashioned. And, through his administration, Madison, who had served so patiently under his master of the generation that was gone, was obliged to serve for eight years more under the young masters of the generation that was to come. Decrees of destiny, less bitter, have been chosen subjects with tragic poets. For this is not the world's accustomed lesson, in which a weak man is moulded by circumstances. This is the picture of a strong man, who seems fitted for better things, but who cannot avoid what the Greeks would have called his destiny.

The new President had been Secretary of State under the late ad-

ministration. But he and his friends found themselves powerless to direct the panic-stricken Congress, which went out of power at the same time with Jefferson. The best that could be done was, to accompany the repeal of the embargo by a provision which forbade imports from Europe. This partial continuance of the non-intercourse system diminished, of course, the joy with which the maritime towns received the news of their victory.

Effect of the non-intercourse policy.

From this policy of non-intercourse, and from the other difficulties which, in a state of war, hindered importations from Europe, was unexpectedly born that gigantic system under which the United States has become a great manufacturing nation. An interesting symbol of the new industry is observed in the fact that the new President, at his inauguration, was dressed in a suit of cloth of American manufacture, which had been presented by Chancellor Livingston for this use. Early in May, Madison met his new Congress. The Democratic majority in name was diminished; but that deceptive good fortune, which had always seemed to wait on him through life, did not yet fail him. Conciliatory despatches came from Canning. The younger Erskine, a gentleman of honor and liberal views, came over as English Minister. From a real and sensible hope for accommodation on both sides, such arrangements were made that restrictions on English commerce were removed. The maritime States were rejoiced. Again "men were all Federalists, and all Republicans." A fleet of more than a thousand merchantmen rushed across the ocean to take advantage of the conciliation. Everything seemed to become new.

Beginning of Madison's administration.

But all parties reckoned without their host. So soon as this news arrived in England, the Tory Ministry of the Duke of Portland rejected Erskine's treaty. He had exceeded his authority, and Madison was accused of having persuaded him to do so in the hope that the ministry would take the course they did. Mr. Jackson, known as "Copenhagen Jackson," was sent out as Erskine's successor — an appointment not agreeable in America, and probably not meant to be. The Government finally refused to deal with him, and when Congress met, at the close of 1809, it sustained the refusal. Madison's friends now brought forward an American Navigation Act. It excluded all French and English vessels from American harbors. It placed its restrictions on the Europeans, and not on the Americans. But to this bill the Senate could not be made to agree. The President could not control his own party. Commerce was thus finally left to take care of itself. Meanwhile the revenue from customs was diminishing. Seventeen millions of surplus with which the Administration had proudly gone into the embargo policy, was

absorbed. The English Government appointed no successor to Mr. Jackson. Everything drifted, in the relations between America and England, as might have been expected, when the Cabinet of one country disavowed the acts of its own Minister, and the President of the other could not direct the policy of Congress. That Congress went out of service amid the general contempt which attaches to bodies that have done nothing.

The President and Little Belt.

At about the same time it happened that the American frigate *President* had a collision at sea with the English sloop-of-war *Little Belt*. Following the presumptuous example of the *Leopard*, the *Little Belt* had thrown a shot into the *President*, which she answered by a series of broadsides that badly crippled her assailant. There was also a little war-cloud on the frontier. The Indian chief Tecumseh and his brother "the Prophet" had been for some time endeavoring to induce the western tribes to abstain from whiskey and return to the customs and weapons of their ancestors, — with no better success than attended the similar efforts of Pontiac, half a century before, — when they found a grievance in the treaty made in 1809 by William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory, with several of these tribes. For presents to the value of eight thousand dollars, and stipulated annuities, a tract on the Wabash, above Terre Haute, was ceded to the Government.



William Henry Harrison.

Tecumseh held that all the lands belonged to all the tribes, and none could be sold without the consent of all. Harrison invited the warrior and his brother to a friendly conference, which just escaped ending in a massacre. Depredations on the frontier suggested the propriety of a post on the upper waters of the Wabash, and in 1811 Harrison, with two thousand men, ascended that stream and established one at Terre Haute. An attempt to open friendly communications with the Prophet was repelled, and Harrison then marched against his town, encamping within ten miles of it, on the Tippecanoe. Before daybreak, on the morning of November

Battle of Tippecanoe.

7, the savages burst upon his camp with a terrific whoop. The soldiers put out their camp-fires, and stood their ground manfully in the darkness, while the Indians tried in vain to break the square in which they were formed. At sunrise the mounted men made a gallant charge, and the enemy withdrew, carrying off their wounded. The next day, Harrison found the Prophet's town deserted, and burned it.

Everything in the foreign relations tended to irritation; and the elections of 1811 showed the determination of the country to adopt a national policy, if anybody were wise enough to say what that policy should be. The President, in his message, proposed an "armor and attitude corresponding with the national spirit." If this had meant preparations for defence, — the assertion of the right to trade any-



Battle-field of Tippecanoe.

where, of any American to go where he pleased with arms in his hands to protect himself and his commerce, — the country to a man would have rallied at his call. But already, with the first two years of his administration, the control of affairs had passed from his hands. A party had come into power who meant to have war, but with England only. It was, moreover, a Southern, sectional party, ambitious of power, and believing that the surest way to attain to it was to "stand by their order" as slaveholders, against the intelligence and the free labor of the North. The leaders of this party who have since been best remembered, were Henry Clay, of Ken-

tucky, and John Caldwell Calhoun, of South Carolina. These two men, afterward such bitter rivals, stood together in the outset as the most eager advocates of war. By an error, which they long regretted, these young Hotspurs, as they have since been called, and the men who followed them, distrusted the power at sea of the young nation. Vainly did the New England speakers plead for a fleet, if it were only of thirty frigates. The West and the South would not trust New England, even when she offered to fight for them. Their plans were made for invading Canada, by the enlargement of the regular army and the help of the militia. A new embargo was ordered. New regiments were added to the army. The President was authorized to call out a hundred thousand militia, to invade Canada for the protection of sailors' rights and free trade at sea. Still Madison wavered. He still hoped for peace. But a committee, headed by Clay, waited upon him, and told him that if he did not declare for war, he should not be re-nominated as the candidate for the Presidency.[1] Both Monroe and Clinton were quite willing to accept the nomination as war candidates. The threat was sufficient; the President yielded, and war against England was declared on the 18th of June, 1812.

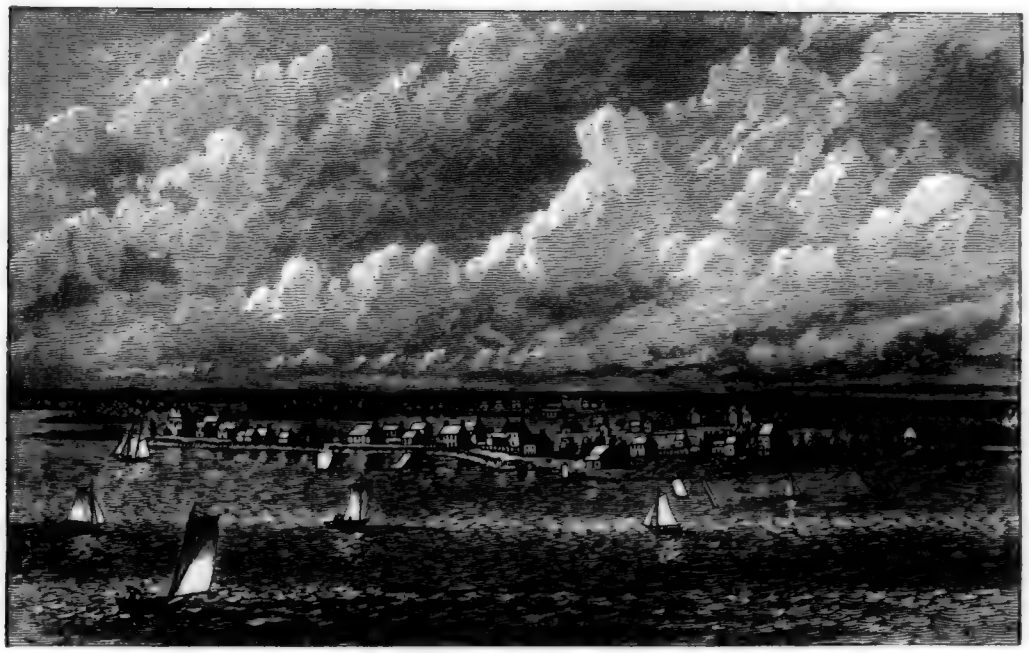
Clay and Calhoun.

Preparation for war.

[1] It was denied that any such bargain was made, but there can be no doubt that such was the understanding enforced by Clay's committee.



The Tomb of Washington.



Detroit in 1815.

CHAPTER VIII.

WAR WITH ENGLAND.

MESSAGE AND REPORT ON WAR WITH ENGLAND. — DIVISION OF PARTIES ON THE WAR. — RIOT IN BALTIMORE. — HULL'S SURRENDER OF THE NORTHWEST. — FIRST CAMPAIGN ON THE NIAGARA. — NAVAL BATTLES OF THE FIRST YEAR. — WAR ON THE LAKES. — DESTRUCTION OF YORK. — PERRY'S VICTORY. — HARRISON'S INVASION OF CANADA. — TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN RECOVERED. — WILKINSON'S DISASTERS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE. — SECOND CAMPAIGN ON THE NIAGARA. — INDIAN WAR IN THE SOUTH, JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN. — NAVAL BATTLES OF THE SECOND YEAR.

THE confidential message of President Madison on the 1st of June, and the report thereon of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, through its chairman, Mr. Calhoun, set forth at length the reasons for a declaration of war against England, with great force and distinctness. The modern reader of those documents, however, will look in vain in either of them for any evidence of unselfish patriotism, or of the grasp of the statesman; but he will be amazed at the boldness of the political partisan. There had been reasons enough, for more than fifteen years, for going to war with more than one nation, provided war was the only way in which the United States could protect her rights and her interests. In the mighty struggle of the great powers of Europe, the little power in America had been in danger of being crushed out of existence. It

The declaration of war.

was certainly true that the upper and the nether millstones of that terrible mill ground hard, but it was no less true that they ground alike; and the victim of their weight had persisted in the most fatuous way in remaining under their pressure, and, while groaning at its cruelty, had declared with obstinate persistence that it was only the upper stone that hurt. Whatever justification there was for war, applied equally to France and to England; whether the party trained by Jefferson — who so loved the doctrines and the action of the French Revolutionists — meant or did not mean to aid France at first, and then Napoleon, every step they took was in favor of France; but whether war was justifiable for any reason, with any power, it was plainly evident that Jefferson's naval policy — of gunboats under sheds, and a system of movable fortification by cannon on wheels — had put the nation in a condition as unfit for war as if the discipline and doctrine of the Society of Friends had been adopted as an amendment to the Constitution.

The decree, however, had gone forth, and the war of a faction, which was the price of Madison's nomination for reëlection, was to be declared. Mr. Madison in his message and Mr. Calhoun in his report, when both papers were stripped of specious argument, really presented the determination of a war with England as a party measure. The President acknowledged that the very outrages which called for that war "have been practised on our vessels and our citizens," and that quite recently, by France; but he added, "I abstain, at this time, from recommending to the consideration of Congress defensive measures with respect to that nation," because there might be further negotiation: implying that the possibility of negotiation with England was closed; though if it were, it had only become so by Jefferson's contemptuous rejection of the Monroe-Pinckney treaty. And Mr. Calhoun in his report, with equal obliviousness to the force of his acknowledgment, said "The committee do not hesitate to declare that France has equally injured the United States, and that satisfactory reparation has not been made for many of these injuries. But that is a concern which the United States will look to and settle for themselves:" — by which he meant, if he meant anything, that the United States would not be dictated to by Great Britain as to her policy toward France; forgetting, or not choosing to remember, that in their policy towards Great Britain they had submitted to the dictation of France.

Congress sat with closed doors to consider the confidential message.

Opposition to the war.

But even the Democrats were not of one mind. There were peace-democrats then, as in later years and more perilous times there were "war-democrats." In a full house the Democratic

majority was seventy; the bill for the declaration of war was carried by a majority of thirty only. In the Senate the vote was seventeen to thirteen, six Democrats voting with the minority to the end, and even then, Senator Bayard said, it would not have been carried but for a difference of opinion in the Senate on other proposed measures. A protest against the war, in the form of an address to their constituents, was drawn up by Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts, and signed by thirty-eight members of the House. They complained of the tyranny of the majority in passing in secret session a bill of so much importance, without permitting it to be debated; they denounced the war as a pretext to give aid to Napoleon against England; they showed how unprepared the nation was, without either army or navy, to begin a contest with the strongest nation in the world; and they warned their countrymen of the madness of that party policy which disregarded the danger of the dissolution of the Union, when the government was still "in no small degree experimental, composed of powerful and independent sovereignties associated in relations, some of which are critical as well as novel."

Intense opposition to the war, which showed itself in mass-meetings, in pulpits, in newspapers, and in pamphlets, was met, on the other hand, by support not less earnest. The first blood was drawn, not in military movements, but in domestic violence, and, as in a later and greater war, in the streets of Baltimore. In the night of June 22d a mob sacked the office of the "Federal Republican," edited by Alexander Hanson, and extended the outrage to dwellings of Federalists and vessels in the harbor. A month later the paper was reissued, and Hanson, aided by numerous friends, was prepared to defend his property. Again the office was attacked, but the defenders fired upon the mob, killing one and wounding others. The militia, tardily called out, arrested, not the rioters, but Hanson and his party, and lodged them in jail, where they were again attacked by the mob, who killed General Lingan in the most cruel and cowardly manner, lamed General Henry Lee for life, and assaulted others. The ringleaders were tried and acquitted.

Riot in Baltimore.

The regular army numbered six thousand men, but the enlistment of twenty-five thousand had been authorized, and now by another act the President was empowered to accept fifty thousand volunteers and call out a hundred thousand militiamen. Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed to the chief command.

The forces.

General William Hull, the Governor of Michigan, was appointed commander in the west, and was ordered to be in readiness to invade Canada in the event of war. He seems to have understood clearly enough the preparations and resources needed to

The opening movement.

give to such a project any promise of success; but, unfortunately for himself, accepted his appointment without waiting for the assurance of the Government that his counsel should be heeded and his necessities provided for. He marched from Ohio with about two thousand men, chiefly militia, more uncontrollable and insubordinate, even, than troops of that class usually are. When the declaration of war reached him he crossed the Detroit River, a few miles below Detroit, with the avowed purpose of taking Fort Malden, and issued a proclamation assuring the inhabitants of protection, but declaring that no quarter would be given to those who should be found fighting in company with the Indians. Had the Government taken the precaution to advise him of the declaration of war a few days earlier, and before the news of it could have reached Canada, Hull's first step might have had a different issue. But for the want of such advices the first step was the enemy's, not his; the fort at Michilimackinac was taken by surprise and compelled to surrender, and that first success decided the hesitating Indian tribes to join their large force to that side which promised to be the stronger. It was the fear of these savages that a few days later so influenced Hull and brought about the disastrous opening of the war.

Skirmishes.

A detachment sent out under Major Thomas B. Van Horne to guard a supply train was defeated by an overwhelming force of English and Indians at Brownstown. But another, under Lieutenant-colonel James Miller, sent to open communication with the base of supplies at Raisin River, found an ambuscade at Maguaga, and after a gallant fight of two hours routed the enemy, who took to their boats. Nearly a hundred Indians lay dead on the field, and the English lost about fifty men.

Battle of Chicago.

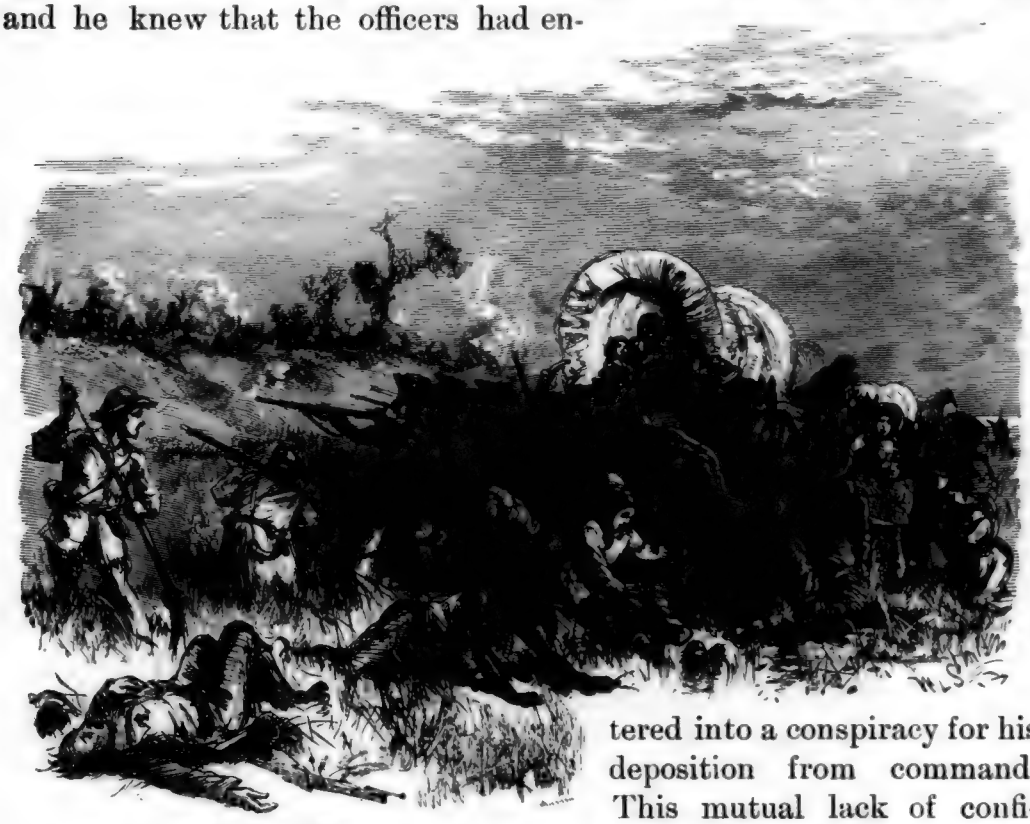
Captain Nathan Heald, in command of Fort Dearborn, where Chicago now stands, was ordered by Hull to abandon it and join him at Detroit. Heald promised the friendly Indians the property in the fort which he could not take away; but in the night he destroyed the fire-arms, gunpowder, and liquor, the articles they most wanted. On the morning of August 15th he set out, with fifty soldiers, accompanied by several families. As they moved down the shore of the lake they were suddenly attacked by a large band of Indians posted on a low range of sand-hills at a point now within the city limits. A battle ensued, in which the women fought as bravely as the men. After heavy losses, including a wagon-load of twelve children, who were all tomahawked by one Indian, the survivors surrendered, and of these all the wounded were scalped.[1]

On the 16th, General Isaac Brock crossed Detroit River with over

[1] The British Colonel Proctor, at Malden, had offered a premium for American scalps.

two thousand regulars and Indians, and demanded the surrender of that city, to which Hull had retreated. Hull, who had about eight hundred and fifty men, half his force having been detached on distant expeditions, made admirable arrangements for a stubborn defence; but at the moment when the conflict was expected to begin he hung out a white flag, and surrendered. Surrender of Detroit.

Brock, in demanding surrender, had declared he could not restrain his allies, the Indians, from rapine and murder in case the place should be carried by assault. Hull did not believe he could depend upon the militia for any serious, much less for any desperate, fighting, and he knew that the officers had entered into a conspiracy for his deposition from command. This mutual lack of confidence gave small promise of successful defence, and, if unsuccessful, he dreaded the fate that might await the women and children of the town, among whom were a daughter of his own and her children. In this stern conflict between the sense of soldierly duty and the feelings of a humane man and a father, the soldier yielded. Whether right or wrong, the act of the soldier could not be forgiven, and the popular clamor demanded a victim for the loss, not only of Detroit, but of the whole Northwest territory, and the failure to invade Canada. Hull was tried by court-martial, and condemned to be shot. Though his crime was compared, in the heated temper of the time, to Arnold's treason, he was nevertheless pardoned by Madison, in consideration of his past



Battle of Chicago.

services.[1] The President could hardly do less than grant his life to a man left in so terrible a position by the neglect of the Government; their own fault was acknowledged in permitting the Secretary of War, Eustis, to resign his office.

Battle of Queenstown.

The second attempt to invade Canada, more disastrous than Hull's surrender, — for more men were killed or wounded than Hull had in his entire command, — was made on the Niagara frontier. General Stephen Van Rensselaer, in command there, resolved to capture the heights of Queenstown, and on the morning of October 13th sent two small columns across the river. Several of the boats lost their way; others succeeded in landing, under a fire from the vigilant enemy. The regulars, under Captain John E. Wool, charged up the hill, and took position on the plateau. Here the enemy attacked him, but after sharp fighting were driven back. The whole American force then retreated to the beach, where Wool was reënforced and ordered to scale the heights, which was immediately done, and a battery at the top of the slope was captured. General Brock, who had ridden at full speed from Fort George, organized a force to retake the battery, and, after some fighting, the Americans were driven to the very edge of the precipice. At this critical juncture, Wool, by exhortation and example, inspired his men with courage for a charge so furious that the British broke and fled down the slope. Brock led a fresh attack, in which he fell mortally wounded. Three other officers, on whom the command successively fell, were all either killed or desperately wounded, and the attempt was abandoned.

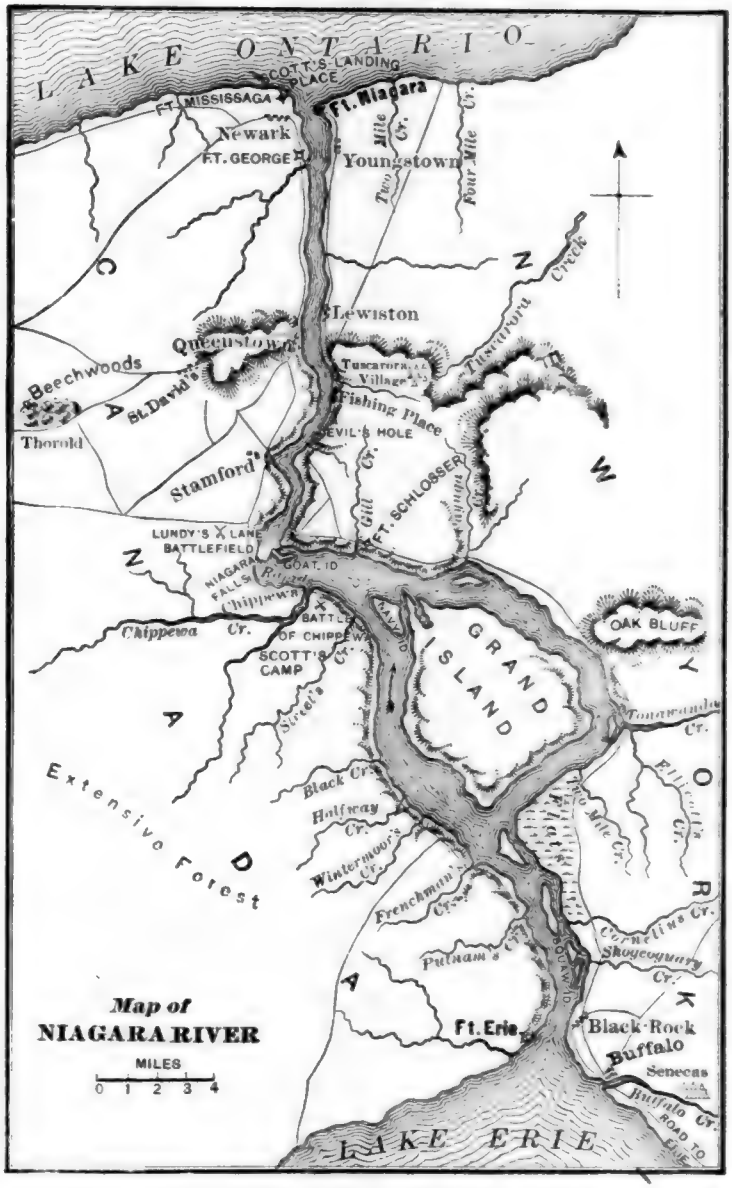
Lieutenant-colonel Winfield Scott now crossed the river with a small reënforcement, and assumed command on the heights. He expected to be followed by the militia; but the militia fell back upon their privilege, and stubbornly refused to be taken out of the State. While Scott was preparing the position for defence, he was attacked by a heavy force of British and savages. Twice he repelled them with the bayonet; but a fresh column approaching, the Americans were driven to retreat. Scrambling over the edge of the bank, they let themselves down from ledge to ledge and bush to bush, till they reached the water. But the boats were not there to receive them, and they were compelled to surrender. The entire American loss in this action was about one thousand.

The British navy at this time comprised more than a thousand ves-

[1] He had served through the Revolution with distinction. Much of the obloquy which has been heaped upon him is probably due to Lewis Cass, who hastened to Washington with the first news, and gave it a coloring largely supplied by his imagination. Cass's letters, written before and after the surrender, flatly contradict each other as to the state of affairs at Detroit.

sels, manned by one hundred and forty-four thousand sailors. The United States had twenty large war vessels and a few gun-boats, together carrying about three hundred guns. The war party, faithful to Jefferson's naval policy, and confident of the subjection of Great Britain by the easy conquest of Canada, rejected with scorn all suggestions of naval warfare. But in spite of this, and in spite of the advice of his cabinet, Madison yielded to the solicitations and earnest arguments of Captains Bainbridge and Stewart, and consented that the navy, small as it was, should not be allowed to remain idle.

The navy.



Map of Niagara River.

Within one hour after he was notified of the declaration of war, Commodore John Rodgers put to sea in the *President*, — remembered for her encounter with the *Little Belt* in 1811, — and on the morning of June 23d gave chase to the frigate *Belvidere*, which escaped, with the loss of seven men. The *President* lost twenty-two, — sixteen by the bursting of a gun. Rodgers continued his cruise across the Atlantic, captured an English privateer and seven merchantmen, and re-took an American prize. At the same time, an English squadron captured, off New York, several merchantmen and the brig-of-war *Nautilus*.

President and Belvidere.

The *Essex*, Captain David Porter, sailed from New York soon after

the *President*, captured several prizes, and, on the 13th of August, fought the *Alert*, which struck her colors in eight minutes. Only a week later, the frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull, fought the British frigate *Guerriere*. After rapid broadside firing and skilful manœuvring at close range, the ships grappled, and both parties attempted to board; but the sea was so rough and the musketry fire so deadly that this was found to be impossible. The *Constitution* freed herself from her antagonist and shot ahead, just as the *Guerriere's* mainmast and foremast came down. Her mizzen mast had already gone by the board, and, as the *Constitution* was in a position to rake her fore and aft, she struck. The Americans had lost fourteen men, the British seventy-nine.[1] The next morning it was found necessary to blow up the *Guerriere*, as she was in danger of sinking. The admiration and enthusiasm of the Americans at the result of this battle were only equalled by the astonishment and anger of the English. It was true that the American vessel was slightly superior in men and metal, but the essential difference between the two ships was in seamanship and gun-practice. The fact remained that frigate had met frigate in a contest for which both were ready and willing, and in half an hour the one with all the prestige in her favor was reduced to a helpless wreck, while the other, whose defeat would have been confidently predicted, lost less than one fifth as many men as her antagonist, and only returned to port to dispose of her prisoners. When Captain Hull landed in Boston, the whole population turned out to welcome him; the streets were gay with bunting, triumphal arches were erected, and he and his officers were entertained at a public dinner. New York and Philadelphia paid him like honors; Congress voted him a gold medal, and his crew fifty thousand dollars.

Constitution and Guerriere.

In October the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain Jacob Jones, fought the brig *Frolic*. The firing was at close range, and the spars of the *Wasp* were soon shot away, while the *Frolic* was hulled at every discharge. When the vessels grappled, and the Americans sprang upon the deck of their antagonist, they found only the man at the wheel and two or three officers, who at once surrendered. The loss of the *Frolic* was frightful; fewer than twenty of the crew were unhurt. The *Wasp* had lost only ten men. But before night the British man-of-war *Poictiers* captured both vessels.

Wasp and Frolic.

A week later (October 25th) Commodore Stephen Decatur, cruising in the frigate *United States*, after capturing a packet with a large amount of specie, fell in with and en-

United States and Macedonian.

[1] The Americans had placed sights upon large guns, which the English, as yet, had not adopted. Hence the greater accuracy of the American firing.

gaged the frigate *Macedonian*. The fight lasted two hours, when the enemy struck. She had lost one hundred and four men; Decatur but twelve. The prize reached New York on New Year's Day, and Decatur met another such reception as had been given to Hull.

It was Bainbridge's turn next. He sailed from Boston, in the frigate *Constitution*, in October; but it was December before he fell in with the British frigate *Java*, off the coast of South America. After two hours of alternate firing and manœuvring, the *Java* struck. She was a complete wreck, every spar having been shot away, and she lost a hundred and twenty men, her captain being among the mortally wounded. The *Constitution* lost thirty-four men only. The wounded were transferred to the American ship, and the *Java* was blown up. This action gave the *Constitution* the title of "Old Ironsides,"[1] and Bainbridge was received on his return as enthusiastically as his brother captains had been.

Constitution and Java.

Thus in the first six months of the war, that had brought only defeat to the land forces of the Americans, their little navy, which the Administration had proposed to lay up, which had no friends but the party out of power, for which Congress had done nothing, and of which nothing was expected, had six encounters with the enemy, and in every one came off victorious. England was astounded at the successful dispute of her supremacy on the sea, and her naval histories abound with ingenious excuses to explain away what their authors want the manliness to acknowledge.

Besides these victories, nearly three hundred British merchantmen had been captured and brought into American ports. The prisoners numbered over three thousand. In this service the navy had been largely aided by privateers, which not only seized merchantmen, but sometimes fought with armed cruisers. If the joy of the war-party at these brilliant achievements was tempered by their mortification at the repeated defeats on land, that of the opposition party was unalloyed at successes obtained where, they had maintained, if war was justifiable at all, the provocation for it had been given.

Early in the winter of 1812 a new army, of about ten thousand, enlisted almost entirely from the Western States, was put under command of General William Henry Harrison, whose military reputation had been gained by his victory at Tippecanoe. His immediate object was to concentrate the militia of the Western States for an expedition against Detroit and Malden, for the recovery of the territory lost by Hull's surrender. An advance detachment, occupying Frenchtown (now Monroe, Michigan), was, on January

Battle of Frenchtown.

[1] English journals, in ridiculing the American navy, had described this vessel as "a bunch of pine boards under a bit of striped bunting."

22, 1813, attacked by fifteen hundred British and savages, under Colonel Henry Proctor. The Americans were partially sheltered behind the "puncheon" fences that inclosed the village gardens, but the enemy had the advantage of six pieces of artillery. The American right wing was soon broken, and General Winchester became a prisoner. The left was more stubborn, and inflicted heavy loss upon the English. Of sixteen men in charge of one howitzer, thirteen were killed by the Kentucky sharpshooters. Proctor, seeing little opportunity of success, so wrought upon the fears of his prisoner by threats of wholesale slaughter that Winchester sent word to Colonel Madison, his successor in command, to surrender, which Madison did, under Proctor's solemn promise of protection against the Indians. The pledge was broken, and, although the fact has been disputed on English authority, the evidence is beyond question that the British commander left the wounded to the mercy of his savage allies, who not only killed all the prisoners, but subjected them in many instances to cruel torture. "The Indians are excellent surgeons," said a half-breed chief, named Elliot, who was in Proctor's army, when an appeal was made, before the massacre, that surgical aid be sent to the wounded Americans.

Siege of Fort Meigs.

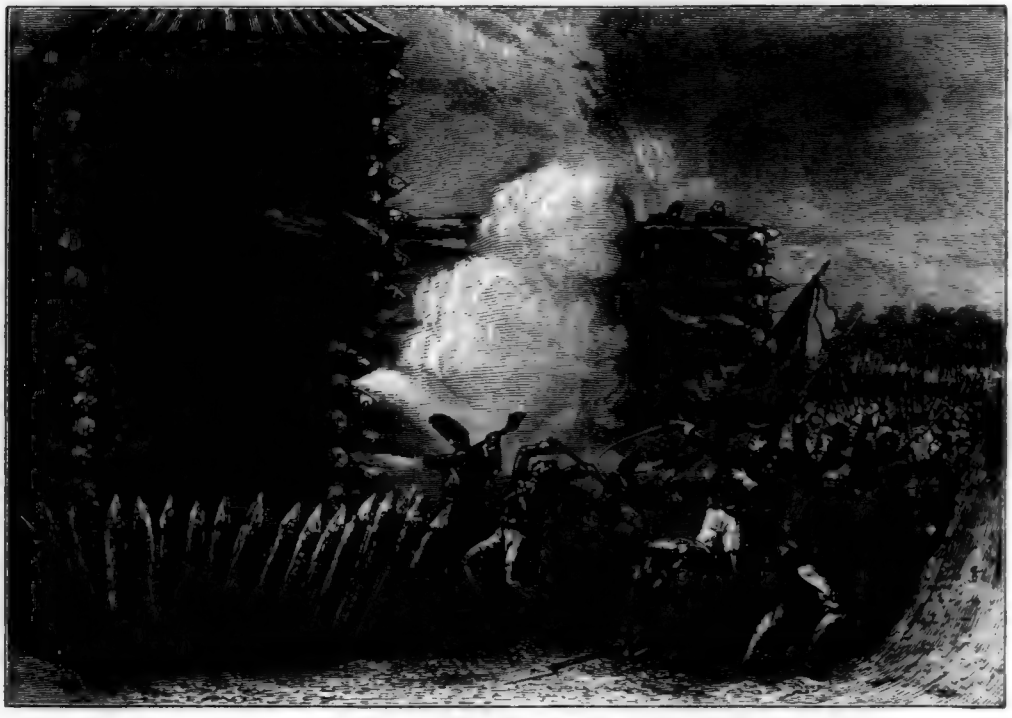
In consequence of this disaster Harrison built Fort Meigs, at the rapids of the Maumee, on the right bank. Proctor laid siege to this work in April, with his usual threat of massacre in case of resistance. Harrison sent back a defiant reply, and hurried forward reënforcements, under General Green Clay. Clay's detachment came down the river in two bodies, one on either bank. Those on the left carried the batteries gallantly, and spiked the guns, but were drawn into a fight in the woods with the Indians, and were finally dispersed or captured. Those on the right fought their way through to the fort, and at the same time a strong sallying party carried and spiked the enemy's lower battery. With his means of offence so crippled, and the fort made stronger by the reënforcement, Proctor was compelled to raise the siege.

Attack on Fort Stephenson.

Three months later, Proctor and Tecumseh, with five thousand English and savages, attacked Fort Stephenson, on the Sandusky, where Fremont now stands. The garrison, commanded by Major George Croghan, numbered but one hundred and sixty men, and had but a single gun. To the summons to surrender and threat of massacre, Croghan replied that when the fort should be taken there would be none left to be killed. After a long bombardment from gunboats and field artillery, the British advanced to the attack on two sides simultaneously. Croghan had placed his single gun where it would enfilade the north ditch, loaded

it to the muzzle, and masked it. The attacking party leapt into the ditch, led by a lieutenant, who shouted, "Show the damned Yankees no quarter!" The next moment the discharge of the gun swept down nearly every man, including the lieutenant, who at once raised his handkerchief on the point of his sword to ask for quarter. Another column entered the ditch and met the same fate; and the remainder of the storming party retreated in confusion before a sharp fire of musketry. A single volley repelled the attack on the other side. The battle was ended, and Proctor retired at night.

Neither belligerent could suffer the other to attain supremacy on the lakes, if it could be prevented, for on that must depend largely the successful invasion or defence of Canada. Had Hull's advice been



Battle of Fort Stephenson.

listened to in season on this point, his disgrace and the loss of his army might have been avoided; but measures to remedy the blunder were not long delayed. Neither energy nor money was spared on either side to occupy the lakes with formidable fleets by the spring of 1813, and on these all movements by land were to depend. Isaac Chauncey was the American commodore and Sir James Yeo the British admiral.

Late in April, 1813, Commodore Chauncey's fleet carried General Dearborn and fifteen hundred men from Sackett's Harbor, and landed them two miles west of York (now Toronto), at the other end of the lake, which was then the capital of Upper Canada. Ostensibly

this was the first movement of a new campaign for the invasion of Canada; in reality it was an expedition for the capture of a large ship then building at York, the possession of which Chauncey thought would give him command of the lakes. It was the plan of the Secretary of War, Armstrong, to open the campaign by an attack upon Kingston, the headquarters of both the army and navy of the enemy, where even partial success would have been a telling blow, and complete success would have secured the command of the St. Lawrence. Excepting that some stores were captured, — to be lost again before the month was over, — the expedition against York was not merely a mistake as the first step of invasion, but a waste of time, by which nothing was gained. The ship which Chauncey coveted had sailed before his fleet arrived there.

Capture and destruction of York.

When the landing was made, under the protection of a schooner commanded by Captain Elliot, the body of English and Indians under General Sheaffe, who had disputed it, fell back behind fortifications near the town, closely followed by the Americans, led by General Zebulon M. Pike. Here a halt was called to wait for the artillery to come up and aid in the assault, when suddenly a magazine near the works, containing a hundred barrels of powder, exploded, killing or wounding two hundred of Pike's men — he himself among the fatally injured — and a few also of the enemy.[1] The check, however, was only for the moment, as the Americans quickly rallied, and pressed forward into the town. After holding the place four days, they fired the government buildings and departed.[2]

With the spoils of York, Chauncey returned to Sackett's Harbor, on his way, however, landing Dearborn and his force near the mouth of Niagara River. At this point they remained nearly a month awaiting Chauncey's return with an additional force, when Fort George was taken.

Capture of Fort George.

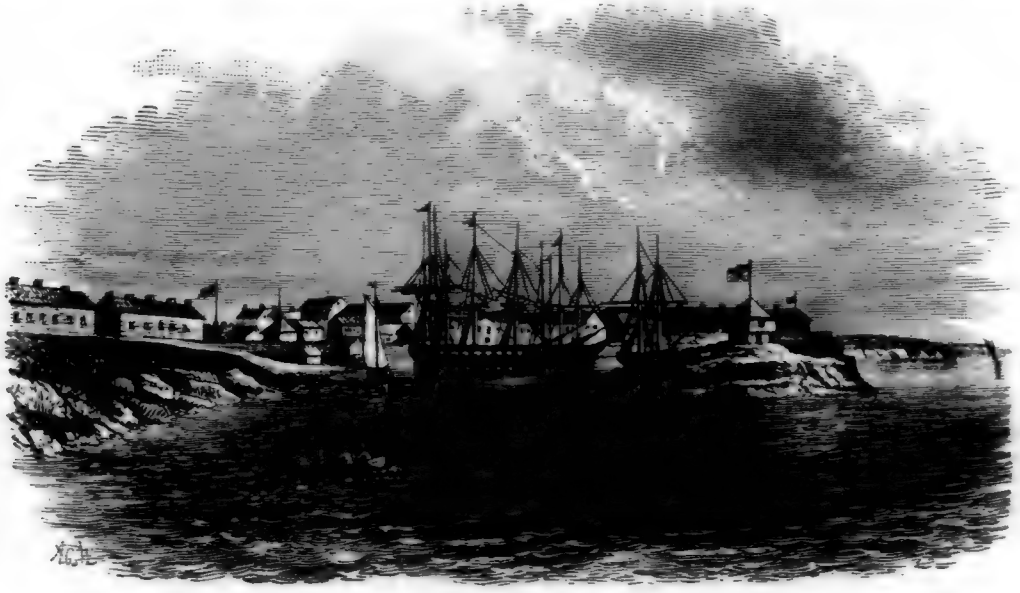
While this was going on at the west end of the lake, Yeo, with General Prevost, at the east end was on his way to Sackett's Harbor, which Dearborn left almost defenceless. When Colonel Electus Backus, in command of the post, heard of Yeo's approach he sent for General Jacob Brown, a militia officer of the neighborhood, who in a few hours gathered the militia from the surrounding country, to be

[1] It has been affirmed and denied that the magazine was fired by the defenders. Except as a question of accuracy, there is no reason why, according to the usual English method of conducting war, there should be any denial.

[2] It is a disputed question whether this was done under orders. A human scalp was found hanging as a trophy on the wall of the legislative chamber; and it has been suggested that the sight of this ghastly reminder of a merciless warfare prompted the destruction of the buildings. The scalp, together with the Speaker's mace and a British standard, was sent to Washington, where the English soldiers found them when they in turn destroyed the American Capitol a year later.

added to the small force of regulars and volunteers. A body of Indians was put ashore in the night from the British vessels to attack the Americans in the rear, and on the morning of the 29th a landing and advance was made in front under fire. The militia broke and fled at once; but the regulars and volunteers, with a few pieces of artillery, stood till pressed back by sheer weight of numbers, when they took refuge in the log barracks. As the English advanced, General Brown, who had rallied a few of the militia, made a feint of marching for the boats; and General Prevost, fearing that his escape would be cut off, ordered a retreat. It was made in great disorder, two hundred and sixty dead and wounded being left behind. The loss on the other side was hardly less severe; both the colonels, Mills and Backus, were killed, and a hundred and

Sackett's Harbor attacked.



Sackett s Harbor, 1814.

thirty others either killed or wounded; the stores, worth half a million dollars, were destroyed, set on fire by a frightened lieutenant.

As Dearborn did not land in person till the day after the fall of Fort George, General Vincent, its commander, had ample time to put himself in a defensive position at Burlington Bay. Here he was overtaken by two brigades sent in pursuit under General Chandler. The Americans took a strong position on the eastern bank of Stony Creek where it crosses the great highway that skirts the lake shore, and posting a guard at a little chapel a quarter of a mile in advance, one regiment encamped in the meadows on the west bank of the creek, but withdrew after night-fall to the heights above, leaving their camp-fires burning. This final movement Vincent had not observed, and he believed, therefore, that he

Battle of Stony Creek.

could surprise and destroy the camp by a stealthy attack at night. At midnight his men advanced without firing, and dispatched the guard at the chapel. When the deserted camp-ground was reached, they rushed upon it with a shout, expecting to arouse the bewildered soldiers from their sleep to become an easy prey. But they came only upon the deserted camp-fires, and as they halted in their waning light they suddenly found themselves a target for artillery and musketry from along the whole American line. But they soon rallied and pressed on, broke over the intrenchments, captured several guns, and became intermingled with their foes. A few shots in the rear alarmed General Chandler, who faced about a portion of his line to meet an expected attack from that quarter, and the confusion was hopelessly confounded. In the darkness and tumult, Generals Chandler and Winder became prisoners; and as the British retreated bearing them off, they left behind their own commander, General Vincent, who lost his way in the woods and was found next day in a pitiful plight. The Americans returned to Fort George, Colonel Burn, on whom the command devolved, hesitating, unfortunately, to follow the advantage which his troops had manifestly gained.

One more mishap remained to finish the campaign for that season on the Niagara frontier. Colonel Charles Boerstler was sent at the head of his regiment of six hundred men to take a British post seventeen miles distant from Fort George, commanded by Colonel Bishopp. When about to attack the stone house in which Bishopp was intrenched, Boerstler's force was suddenly surrounded by a body of Indians and English, and compelled to surrender. Three weeks afterward Bishopp made a similar attempt on the American post at Black Rock, on the Niagara River, but was intercepted, as he was about to retire with his booty, by a small force from Buffalo, and he and many of his men were killed. On the 15th of July Dearborn retired, by permission of the Secretary of War, and the army under General Boyd remained shut up in Fort George, constantly threatened by General Vincent till late in October.

But, inglorious as the summer's work was on the shores of Lake Ontario, Lake Erie was the scene of an exploit as brilliant as it was decisive. Early in June a squadron at Presq' Isle (now Erie) was placed under command of Captain Oliver Hazard Perry. By August he was afloat with ten vessels, carrying fifty-five guns, and went in search of the British squadron of six vessels, armed with sixty-five guns and commanded by Captain Barclay.

On the 10th of September, while at anchor in Put-in Bay, the enemy was seen approaching, and Perry made ready for battle. The British line was drawn up with a small vessel in advance, and the

flag-ship *Detroit* next. Perry placed two of his small vessels in a similar position, the flag-ship *Lawrence* following. The American line was somewhat straggling, and several of the enemy concentrated their fire on the *Lawrence*. They used long guns, and before the flag-ship could get near enough for effective fire she suffered terribly. In two hours she was reduced to a wreck, and dropped out of the action, and Perry, taking a boat, made his way amid a shower of balls to the *Niagara*. By great effort his line was closed up and brought to close quarters, and the fortune of the day presently turned. In attempting to form a new line of battle, the British squadron was thrown into some confusion, and the *Niagara*, favored by a sudden breeze, sailed through it, delivering broadsides right and left; then luffing across their bows, she raked two or three of them, while the small vessels came up and poured in grape and canister. Twenty minutes of this work decided the contest, and the whole British fleet surrendered. Perry announced his victory in a despatch to General Harrison which has become famous: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

Perry's victory on Lake Erie



Commodore O. H. Perry.

Harrison, meanwhile, had prepared to invade Canada at the west, by collecting his forces on the peninsula near Sandusky. A mounted regiment, commanded by Colonel Richard M. Johnson, was sent to Detroit by land; the remainder, transported by Perry's fleet, were landed on the Canada shore of Detroit River. As these advanced on Malden, the English General, Proctor, set fire to that place, and retreated rapidly, intending to make his way to the Niagara. Johnson's regiment having rejoined him, Harrison started in pursuit, Perry carrying his baggage and supplies through Lake St. Clair and fifteen miles up the Thames. Sixty of Proctor's Indians deserted him in a body, and offered themselves to Harrison, who declined their services.[1] On the 5th of October Proctor faced his pursuers, and re-

[1] Not solely because they were Indians; for two hundred friendly red men accompanied Harrison.

solved to give battle at a point about forty miles up the Thames, near Moravian Town.

Battle of the Thames.

The road from Detroit here skirted the river on the right or northern bank. The edge of a marsh, five hundred yards distant, ran parallel with it for two miles, and midway between this and the road was a smaller marsh. Proctor planted his guns in the highway, deployed his regulars between that and the little marsh, placed a body of British and Indians, under Tecumseh, between the two marshes, and threw forward the remainder of the Indians in the edge of the larger. The ground was nearly covered by an open growth of trees, without underbrush. Harrison placed his mounted infantry in front, behind them two thirds of his remaining troops, and the rest on the left flank, turned at a right angle to face the Indians in the marsh. At the sound of the bugle the horsemen advanced. Moving slowly at first, though under fire, they increased their pace, till with irresistible force they rode through the enemy, killing, capturing, or scattering the regulars in a few minutes. Proctor — fearful of being called to account for his cold-blooded massacres — drove away in his carriage; but, being hotly pursued by a dozen well-mounted men, abandoned the carriage, took to the woods, and escaped. Between the marshes the fighting was more protracted. Tecumseh's Indians stood their ground till their chief was killed, and then, at the advance of three or four fresh regiments, they broke and fled. The savages posted in the marsh escaped into the woods.[1] This battle restored to the Americans what Hull had surrendered, the Territory of Michigan. Three weeks later, Harrison and his troops returned to Buffalo.



Tecumseh.

General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, chagrined at the failure of the summer campaign on Lake Ontario, and attributing it to the neglect of his own plan for the invasion of Canada, arrived about this

[1] Whether Tecumseh was shot by Colonel Johnson, who was wounded in this charge, is one of those unimportant questions that have been made interesting merely by being disputed.

time at Sackett's Harbor, determined that the attempt should be renewed under his immediate direction. Dearborn had retired, with his high military reputation, gained in the Revolution, almost as completely shattered as Hull's had been the year before. Wilkinson, Dearborn's successor, was soon to meet a similar fate. Wilkinson had been called from the south to take command of this Northern army, consisting of Harrison's force at Buffalo, Boyd's at Fort George, Lewis's at Sackett's Harbor, and the right wing on the Vermont frontier, under the command of Wade Hampton, numbering altogether about twelve thousand men. With the exception of detachments left behind to garrison two or three posts, Wilkinson was to move down the St. Lawrence with the left wing in boats, while Hampton was to advance overland to some point on the river, where a junction was to be made, and the whole army to move on Montreal.

Expedition down the St. Lawrence.



Signature of Richard M. Johnson

It was not till late in October that Wilkinson had gathered his forces together at Sackett's Harbor, and some days later before they were fairly embarked on three hundred boats. Chauncey cleared the way by driving Yeo into port and keeping him there, and it was not apprehended that the British could muster men enough on shore to impede the progress of the expedition. Disaster, nevertheless, attended it from the start. The weather was unpropitious, the lake and river rough; many of the boats were unfit for service; some were driven ashore, and some went to the bottom, to the inevitable delay of the whole flotilla to supply their places. Every mile of the way was disputed by the enemy, in front and in rear, sometimes on the river and sometimes from its banks; the general-in-chief was always ill and frequently drunk, and with such a head the body was generally discouraged and often inefficient. At Prescott the whole army was debarked to march around that fortified post, while General Brown undertook to take the flotilla through the river at night, — which he did with great coolness, losing only a single man, and not one of his three hundred boats receiving a shot from the constant fire through which they passed.

At Williamsburg, dangers thickened. Troops were brought up from Kingston and other places to the number of from fifteen hundred to two thousand, and farther progress was stayed unless these could be dispersed. General Boyd was ordered out with fifteen hundred men, — at a place known as Chrystler's, — and for two hours the

ground was contested with great spirit. It was so far a drawn battle that both parties retired from the field in good order, with a loss of about a hundred killed and two hundred and forty wounded on each side, — among the Americans General Covington. It would have been probably anything but a drawn battle, had not Brown been detached, and he and Boyd parted at this critical moment by a fifteen miles' march. A victory at this point would have secured the way to Montreal, almost without further opposition But Wilkinson was neither in a mental nor physical condition to conduct such an expedition, and when, the day after the fight at Williamsburg, word was received from the other imbecile General on the right wing, Wade Hampton, that he would not make the junction agreed upon, Wilkinson eagerly seized upon that pretext to go into winter-quarters. Hampton had started from Lake Champlain with nearly or quite five thousand men to march on Montreal at the same time that Wilkinson's flotilla had left Grenadier Island. Lieutenant-colonel de Salaberry, with a force of four or five hundred men, — hundreds to Hampton's thousands, — had successfully baffled his advance.

Fort George abandoned.

With the main army thus disposed of, the commander-in-chief in Canada was at liberty to turn his attention to other points on the border. General Drummond appeared, in December, on the peninsula west of the Niagara River, between Lakes Ontario and Erie. At his approach the costly acquisition of the preceding summer, Fort George, was abandoned, the garrison ruthlessly burning the village of Newark as they fled to Fort Niagara for refuge. This the enemy captured at night, a week later, without resistance, killing eighty of the garrison, even those in the hospital, without mercy. Lewiston, Youngstown, Tuscarora, and Manchester — now Niagara Falls Village — were destroyed, and all the farms of that region laid waste by the invaders. At Buffalo and Black Rock a militia force made some resistance ; but this was soon dispersed, and Riall's regulars and savages sacked the two villages and laid them in ashes, putting to death most of the few inhabitants who had not fled.

The Creek war.

While the campaign, on the whole so disastrous, was going on along the northern border, there was more successful fighting elsewhere, though only of local importance, except that it was the beginning of the career of Andrew Jackson. Wilkinson, before removing from the Southern Department, had taken Mobile from the Spaniards without resistance. This was in accordance with the claim which the United States maintained and Spain denied, that the eastern boundary of Louisiana was the Perdido River. The seizure of Mobile was resented, and, though Spain professed to be neutral, the powerful tribe of the Creeks were aroused to hostilities by supplies

of arms and ammunition distributed at Pensacola. Whether this was instigated by England or not, it is at least probable that Tecumseh was encouraged to go, if he was not directly sent, from Canada to inflame the Southern Indians against the Americans by his influence and eloquence. Though the Creeks had attained to some degree of civilization, and their old men were averse to war, the young men listened eagerly to the persuasions of the powerful Northern chief and to temptations held out to them by the Spaniards.

The militia of the Southwestern States were called out to meet this emergency, and at the first encounter, at Burnt Corn Creek, a body of them were defeated. At Fort Mimms, on Lake Tensas, a stockade erected by a farmer of that name to protect his buildings and cattle, a large number of the inhabitants of that neighborhood took refuge, and Governor Claiborne sent for its defence a garrison of a hundred and seventy-five volunteers. This place was surprised on the 30th of August by a band of a thousand Creeks, under the command of a noted half-breed, William Weathersford. The garrison had been repeatedly warned, but when the savages appeared before the fort there were no sentinels, the arms of the men were stacked, and the outer gate stood wide open. The defence, nevertheless, was obstinate and prolonged for hours, for men were fighting, not merely for their own lives, but that their wives and children might escape death by torture. Large numbers of the Indians were killed, but when they succeeded in setting the buildings on fire it was no longer a fight, but a massacre. Twelve only of the garrison escaped across the lake, and of the rest they were fortunate who had fallen early in the day in fair fight.

Massacre at Fort Mimms

For these atrocities the Creeks suffered a severe and speedy retribution. The Legislature of Tennessee appropriated three hundred thousand dollars for the campaign, and placed five thousand men under command of General Andrew Jackson. For the work in hand, no better material could have been asked than these Western pioneers; many were mounted, and all were skilled in forest-fighting. Among them were Sam Houston and Davy Crockett, afterward so noted. The most serious trouble was in forwarding supplies, and to secure these Jackson built Fort Deposit, on the Tennessee. He foraged on all sides, and burned every Indian village in his path.

Jackson's campaign.

The enemy were first found at Talluschatches (now Jacksonville, Alabama), where Colonel John Coffee, with a thousand mounted men, attacked them. No quarter was asked, and none was given, and not an Indian was left alive, except the squaws and children, who were taken prisoners. At Fort Talladega Jackson killed three hundred out of a thousand who had surrounded a body of friendly Indians.

At the same time General John Floyd moved from Georgia with a force of four hundred Indians and a thousand whites. The Creeks were between two fires, and Floyd was as relentless as Jackson, and not much less successful. From the West also came an avenging force, under General F. L. Claiborne. He discovered a town of refuge, called Econochaca, on the Alabama. It was built on holy ground, and no path led to it. Here the women and children had been sent for safety, and here, in a little square, the prophets performed their religious rites. Captives of both sexes were standing bound to stakes,



The Canoe Fight.

ready to be burned, when Claiborne's columns appeared. The Indians fought desperately for a while, and then scattered in every direction, while Claiborne sacked and burned the town. It was now late in December; the forces were melting away by the expiration of enlistments, and operations for that season were closed.

Among the many episodes of the campaign, and characteristic of this frontier fighting, is the story of Captain Sam Dale's canoe fight. He saw floating down the Alabama a large canoe containing eleven Indians. Five of these were shot from the shore, and Dale then pushed off in a small boat, with three men, to finish the work. Or-

dering one of his companions to hold the boats together, Dale attacked the Indians, with a foot on each canoe, till the current drifted them asunder, leaving him on the larger, confronting four of the enemy. One was shot from the other boat; two Dale killed; the only one then left alive was a famous Indian wrestler, Tar-cha-cha. "Big Sam!" he shouted, "I am a man — I am coming — come on!" Clubbing his rifle, he dealt Dale a blow that dislocated his shoulder, and at the same moment he received Dale's bayonet through his body.

The brilliant naval achievements of the year 1812, — which had aroused the enthusiasm of both parties, and had almost reconciled many to the war who had hitherto opposed it, — were wanting in 1813, and there was nothing, therefore, to compensate for the continued disasters on the Northern frontier. In March, a blockade, previously declared, was extended from Montauk Point, on the eastern extremity of Long Island, to the mouth of the Mississippi. A British squadron, under Admiral Warren, of six seventy-fours, thirteen frigates, and eighteen sloops-of-war, was, of course, altogether inadequate to guard so extensive a coast, but was quite sufficient for serious interference with commerce and the distress of unprotected maritime towns. Admiral Cockburn, Warren's second in command, was the terror and scourge of the people along the shores of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. He waged a predatory warfare upon an almost defenceless people, letting his sailors loose upon little villages and farms, who robbed, and burned, and harried, often, apparently, for no other reason than mere wanton barbarity, without restraint from their officers. In some places, where there were the means of defence, as at Lewes, on Delaware Bay, and Craney Island, near Norfolk, they were repulsed; but where this was impossible, their depredations lost the character of war, and became simply those of freebooters. They enticed away the slaves, not to emancipate, but to sell them in the West Indies. They were accused of atrocities of which even savages are seldom guilty, and though, perhaps, the charges were exaggerated, there is evidence enough to prove that Englishmen showed themselves here, as they have often done elsewhere, to be in war the most brutal and merciless of civilized nations. In July, the squadron threatened Washington, and but for the want of energy in Admiral Warren it could have been taken as easily then as it was a year later by Ross and Cockburn.

The coast blockaded.

Congress authorized, in the course of the year, the building of four ships of the line, six frigates, six sloops-of-war, and as many vessels on the lakes as the operations there might require. A large number of privateers were commissioned, and these vessels sometimes did more honorable service than the capture of unarmed merchantmen.

The privateer *Decatur* captured the war schooner *Dominica* in an action in which both vessels fought with great spirit. A still more signal adventure was achieved on the 5th of July off Sandy Hook by a fishing-smack, named the *Yankee*. With forty well-armed men concealed below, but showing on deck only three men, a calf, a sheep, and a goose, she sailed out of New York, and soon met with the British sloop-of-war *Eagle*, in want of fresh provisions. When the *Yankee* was safely along-side, her forty men sprang on board the sloop-of-war, and, by a well-directed fire, killed several of her men, drove the rest below, and took possession. They sailed up the bay with their prize, and were welcomed by the cheers of thousands on the Battery, who were celebrating the anniversary of American independence.

There were other naval engagements, watched by spectators on shore with the intensest interest. The brig *Enterprise*, on a cruise along the coast of Maine in search of privateers, fell in with the English brig *Boxer*, and the fight between them, which lasted three quarters of an hour, was within sight of Portland, Maine. The *Boxer's* colors were nailed to the mast, and when she surrendered that explanation was given for not hauling them down sooner. Both Lieutenant Burrows, commander of the *Enterprise*, and Captain Blythe, of the *Boxer*, were killed, and buried side by side in Portland. The American brig *Argus* was less fortunate. She cruised off the coast of England, taking many merchantmen, till at last she captured one laden with wine. In transferring the cargo, the crew were allowed to help themselves, till all were drunk. The prize was set on fire, and the light was seen by the English brig *Pelican*, who bore down upon the *Argus* and captured her; not, however, till after a gallant resistance and the killing of the English captain.

Chesapeake and Shannon.

The assumed blockade of the coast was soon practically extended to all New England, and in June several ships were cruising in Massachusetts Bay. The *Chesapeake* was getting ready in Boston harbor to go to sea, under the command of James Lawrence, who had won fame when, as Captain of the *Hornet*, he sunk the English sloop-of-war *Peacock* off the coast of British Guiana. One of the English fleet, the *Shannon*, stood off and on at the entrance of Boston harbor for days, challenging Captain Lawrence to come out and fight him. The written challenge, offering the choice of time and latitude, unfortunately did not reach Boston till after the *Chesapeake* had put to sea; for, had Lawrence felt at liberty to postpone the encounter till his ship and crew were in a condition to meet it, whatever might have been the result, there would have been, at least, some equality between the antagonists. As it was, the

fight was between ships, one of which was in perfect sea-going condition, in thorough fighting trim, her officers and crew, familiar with and confident in each other and their ship, under admirable discipline; the other, not ready for sea, with a new crew, many of whom were discontented and almost mutinous for want of prize-money already due, with officers wanting experience and unknown to each other and to the men, and all without the discipline so absolutely essential for a naval battle. If unwritten tradition may be trusted, both the officers and men of the *Chesapeake* were seen about the streets of Boston on the morning of the day she sailed, in a condition that rendered it easy to foresee the result of the impending battle. The popular excitement and enthusiasm, however, hardly left to Lawrence any alternative but to accept Broke's evident defiance. As the *Chesapeake* got under way, on the morning of the 1st of June, multitudes watched her from the high hills along the coast, saw both ships enveloped in the smoke of battle, and knew the result when the smoke cleared away and both stood out to sea.

The *Shannon* opened fire as soon as her guns could be brought to bear upon her opponent, but the *Chesapeake* was silent till a broadside could be effective, and then for about eight minutes the roar was continuous. By this exchange the British frigate appears to have been the greater sufferer in men, but the American was so injured that she became unmanageable; her mizzen-rigging fouled with the *Shannon's* forechains, and she was open to a raking fire. The boarders were called; but at this moment Lawrence was shot through the body, and, as he was carried below, his last commands, it is said, were: "Tell the men to fire faster, and not give up the ship. Fight her till she sinks!" The order was given, "Boarders away!" — but in the absence of all discipline, before the boarders could be brought to quarters, the enemy had swarmed over the decks, and were pouring a destructive fire down the hatchways. The ship was theirs after an engagement that lasted only fifteen minutes. For so short a battle, the loss of life was unusually large, as the *Chesapeake* had forty-eight killed and nearly a hundred wounded; the *Shannon*, twenty-three killed, and over fifty wounded. Broke was badly wounded, and Lawrence died in a few days.

On the same day with this unfortunate encounter in Massachusetts Bay, which aroused more despondency on one side and more exultation on the other than such a catastrophe warranted, Decatur was chased into New London with the *Macedonian*, the *United States*, and the *Hornet*, by a larger force of the blockading squadron. Nor did any of the ships get to sea again while the war continued. They were not in danger of capture, for the militia of Connecticut

rallied to the defence of the harbor in such numbers as to render any attack upon the ships hopeless; but the naval commanders chafed under their enforced idleness, and made more than one attempt to evade the ships of the enemy. Decatur complained that all these attempts were defeated by traitors on shore, who warned the ships outside of his proposed movements by burning blue-lights. He and his brother officers unquestionably believed that this was done, though it was as emphatically denied by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the town that any such signals were given. It was probably true, though less frequently, perhaps, than was asserted. But if true, it is far more likely that the treachery was confined to some very few persons, if more than one was engaged in it, than that it was the act of many. Nevertheless, so violent, bitter, and unreasoning was the partisan rancor of the time that the whole Federal party was held responsible for this aid given to the enemy, and all Federalists stigmatized henceforth, so long as the party had a name to live by, as "Blue Lights." That Decatur's ships remained safely at anchor till the end of the war, protected from a powerful British squadron by the Federal State of Connecticut, was lost sight of in the determination to make those obnoxious who believed the war was unwise, that nothing would be gained by it, and who gave to it, therefore, no voluntary support.



The Graves of the Captains, Portland, Maine.

CHAPTER IX.

WAR WITH ENGLAND.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE. — JACKSON'S MOVEMENTS AT THE SOUTH. — THIRD CAMPAIGN ON THE NIAGARA. — BATTLE OF LUNDY'S LANE. — BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG. — CAPTURE OF WASHINGTON. — EXPEDITION AGAINST BALTIMORE. — NAVAL BATTLES OF THE THIRD YEAR. — BITTERNESS OF PARTY FEELING. — THE REMEDY OF DISUNION. — THE HENRY CONSPIRACY. — THE HARTFORD CONVENTION. — DEFENCE OF NEW ORLEANS. — THE TREATY OF GHENT.

AT the opening of the year 1814 the prospects of the war were gloomy in the extreme. The power of Napoleon had been broken at Leipsic, the British armament in American waters was gradually increasing, and there seemed to be no reason — unless she was tired of war — why England might not, with unlimited reënforcements of veteran troops, speedily overwhelm the Americans. It was only after much debate that an act was passed to increase the regular army to sixty-six thousand men, enlisted for five years, with a bounty of a hundred and twenty-four dollars to every recruit. That this increased army should not be used for purposes of invasion, but should be confined to defensive measures for the establishment of rights infringed upon by Great Britain, was voted down by a strictly party vote. Congress also authorized a new loan of twenty-five million, and a re-issue of ten million in treasury notes.

Condition of affairs in 1814.

Three times during the war, the Russian Government had offered its services as mediator for peace, which had been declined by England. But now a proposition was offered for direct negotiations, either at London or at Gottenburg. This was accepted at once; Gottenburg was chosen as the place, and John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell were appointed commissioners, to whom Albert Gallatin, then in Europe, was afterward added. Their instructions were at first to insist upon an absolute discontinuance of search and impressment, and to repeat the offer, made at the beginning of the war, to exclude British seamen from American vessels and to surrender deserters, — a compromise which, had it been offered any time during the ten previous years, would have made war almost impossible.

Negotiations for peace.

Jackson's campaign.

Active preparations were made, meanwhile, for the campaigns of the new year. At the South, Jackson, who had been commissioned a major-general, was left at Fort Strother in January with nine hundred raw recruits, his late army having gone home at the expiration of their term of service, in spite of all entreaties. With his fresh recruits and two hundred Indians he marched into the country of the Creeks, fought two battles, and lost about a hundred men. In February his army was increased by fresh enlistments to five thousand men, including a regiment of regulars.

At Horseshoe Bend, in the Tallapoosa, where a peninsula of a hundred acres, with a neck not more than five hundred feet wide, is enclosed by the stream, a thousand Creek warriors had encamped and thrown up a rude breastwork across the neck. While Jackson marched directly against this with nearly three thousand men, he sent General Coffee, with the mounted men and friendly Indians, to gain the enemy's rear. A two hours' cannonade had no effect on the breastwork; but when a cloud of smoke showed that Coffee had crossed the river and set fire to the village, Jackson's men stormed the work, fought hand to hand through the loop-holes for a while, and then, leaping the defences, charged with the bayonet, and the Indians broke and fled. They neither asked for quarter nor received it. Whether attempting to hide themselves in the thickets, or to swim the stream, they were hotly pursued, and if overtaken were mercilessly shot.

The opening movements at the North were discouraging, and seemed to promise a repetition of the failures of the two preceding years. An attempt was made to recover Michilimackinac, which ended in the repulse of the force landed on the island, and the capture afterward by the English of the two schooners sent upon the expedition.

Canada again invaded.

Wilkinson ended as he had begun, in imbecile efforts which accomplished nothing. Advancing from his winter-quarters on Salmon River to Lake Champlain, he planned an expedition into Canada which should cut off the upper from the lower province. As the first step he proposed to take La Colle Mill. A considerable force was sent from Champlain Village over a difficult road when the whole country was buried in a foot of snow, and though the assault was made with much spirit it was easily repulsed. The act was the last of Wilkinson's military career. A spring freshet forbade farther advance movements, and he withdrew his army within the boundaries of the United States.

Wilkinson tried by court-martial.

He was called to answer for his many mishaps and want of generalship before a court-martial, and though he was acquitted by the court he was condemned at the bar of public opinion.



PORT OF BUFFALO IN 1815.

The Secretary of War, General Armstrong, still adhered to his plan for the invasion of Canada by the river St. Lawrence, and, as a necessary preliminary step, the taking of Kingston. To mask this movement, and that he might leave no enemy in his rear, General Brown, who had been made a major-general, commenced operations on the peninsula between Erie and Ontario. On the evening of the 2d of July he crossed the river from Buffalo, invested Fort Erie, and compelled its surrender. Following up this advantage, he pursued a British corps of observation down the river, till it crossed Chippewa Creek and united with the main force under Riall. The American advance fell back across Street's Creek, where it was joined by the main body on the morning of the 5th. In the afternoon Scott ordered out his brigade for a dress parade in the little plain beyond the creek. As he approached the bridge, General Brown, riding in from the front, exclaimed, "You will have a battle!" and galloped past to bring up Ripley's brigade. The head of the column was scarcely on the bridge when the British, concealed by the woods that fringed the creek, opened fire. "Nothing but Buffalo militia!" said Riall, as the Americans came into view; but when he saw them pass the bridge without wavering, and deploy under fire, "Why, these are regulars!" he exclaimed, with profane emphasis. General Peter B. Porter, with a force of militia and Indians, pressing forward on Scott's left, attacked the British right. Porter's men fought well till a heavy column charged them with the bayonet, when they gave way. But Major Jesup moved up and covered the exposed flank, and the fighting became furious along the whole front. When Scott observed that the British right wing had separated from the line to engage Jesup, he put himself at the head of a regiment and charged obliquely against the exposed flank, while at the same time, and in the same manner, Leavenworth's regiment charged the left. Through the gap between these charging columns, Towson's battery poured in canister with rapidity and effect. The British line first crumbled, and then retreated in great disorder. Jesup at the same time defeated the detached wing, and the rout was complete. Riall sent a portion of his troops to the forts at the mouth of the Niagara, and with the remainder retreated to Burlington Heights. His Indians, disgusted at the defeat, all deserted him.

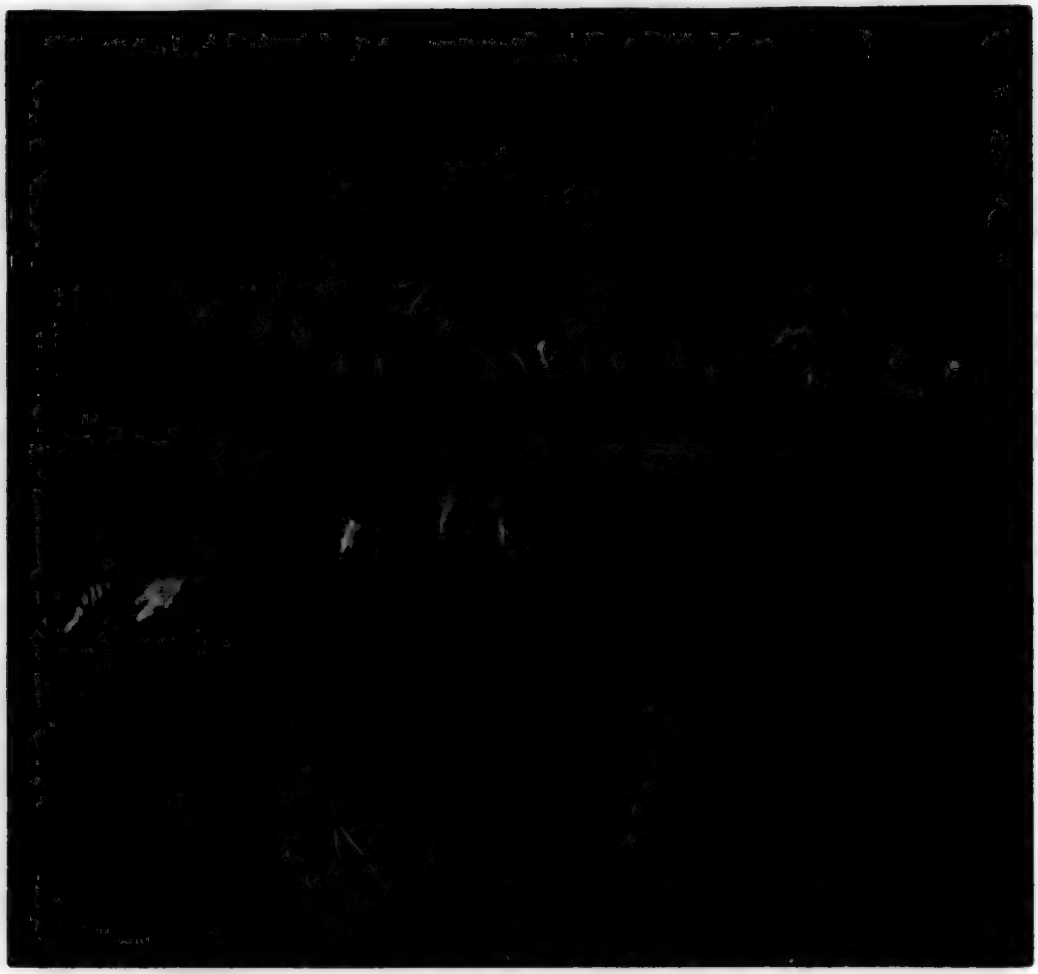
Battle of Chippewa.

With this well-fought battle the invasion of Canada seemed more promising. Brown determined to move upon Kingston along the lake shore, trusting to the coöperation of Chauncey's fleet. "For God's sake, let me see you," he wrote to Chauncey. "All accounts agree that the force at Kingston is very light. . . . . We can threaten Forts George and Niagara, carry Burlington Heights and York, and

proceed direct to Kingston and carry that. We have between us sufficient means to conquer Canada in two months, if there is prompt and zealous coöperation, before the enemy can be greatly reënforced." But no coöperation came; Chauncey was ill in body, — still more ill in mind. He had something better to do, he thought, than carry provisions and stores for the troops on shore, — and did nothing.

Battle of Lundy's Lane.

To move down the lake without the aid of the fleet, was manifestly impracticable, and Brown was compelled to turn back upon learning that Riall was at Queenstown, and had been reënforced by General Drummond from York. Scott — now a brigadier-general — was sent forward with a corps of observation.



Miller's Charge at Lundy's Lane.

As his troops emerged into a cleared space, bounded on the north by Lundy's Lane, — a road that runs at right angles to the river, nearly opposite the Falls, — they were confronted by the entire British force, drawn up in the lane. The Americans deployed in line of battle, and Scott at once engaged the right wing, sending Jesup's battalion to

turn the left. Both movements were successful, Jesup taking between two and three hundred prisoners, among them General Riall and some other officers, though most of the men soon afterward escaped. The fight had continued for an hour before reënforcements reached the ground, General Brown leading the way. But notwithstanding the discomfiture of the enemy, the General saw, on a survey of the field, that no permanent impression could be made upon their position while their centre held an eminence on which they had planted seven guns. Colonel James Miller, being ordered to take this battery, answered briefly, "I 'll try, sir," and put his men in motion. It was now dusk, and their approach was hidden by a fence. The gunners were standing with lighted matches in their hands, when Miller's men, in obedience to whispered orders, crept silently up to the fence, thrust their muskets through it, shot down every man at the guns, rushed forward in the face of a sharp infantry fire, and captured them. The American line was re-formed, at right angles to its first position, facing west. The British also re-formed, and made two desperate but vain attempts to retake the battery. Generals Brown and Scott were wounded, and the command devolved upon Ripley, who, after waiting half an hour in expectation of a fresh attack, withdrew from the field, carrying off his wounded. The enemy returned, and encamped on the deserted ground. The battle of Lundy's Lane — or Bridgewater, or Niagara, as it is variously called — was one of the hardest ever fought, considering its numbers. Of the two thousand Americans engaged, seven hundred and forty-three were killed or wounded; of the four thousand British, eight hundred and seventy-eight. Brown, Scott, and Jesup were all seriously wounded, — Scott so severely as to withdraw him from active service for the rest of the war.

The army was compelled to fall back upon the camp on the Chippewa, for want of food and water, and the enemy claimed the victory as the latest occupants of the field. Ripley, who wanted energy and perseverance, but not courage, left the guns captured by Miller upon the hill, and the enemy recovered them. For this negligence, and for an unnecessary hasty retreat to Fort Erie, when he should have held the banks of the Chippewa, Ripley's command was given to General Edmund P. Gaines, till the Major-general's wounds should permit him again to take the field. Drummond followed up the army to Fort Erie, where a midnight assault on the 14th of August cost him nearly a thousand men, and proved an utter failure. In the regular siege that followed, Drummond brought his works so close that shells and hot shot were thrown daily into the fort. One of these disabled General Gaines, and General

Siege of Fort Erie.

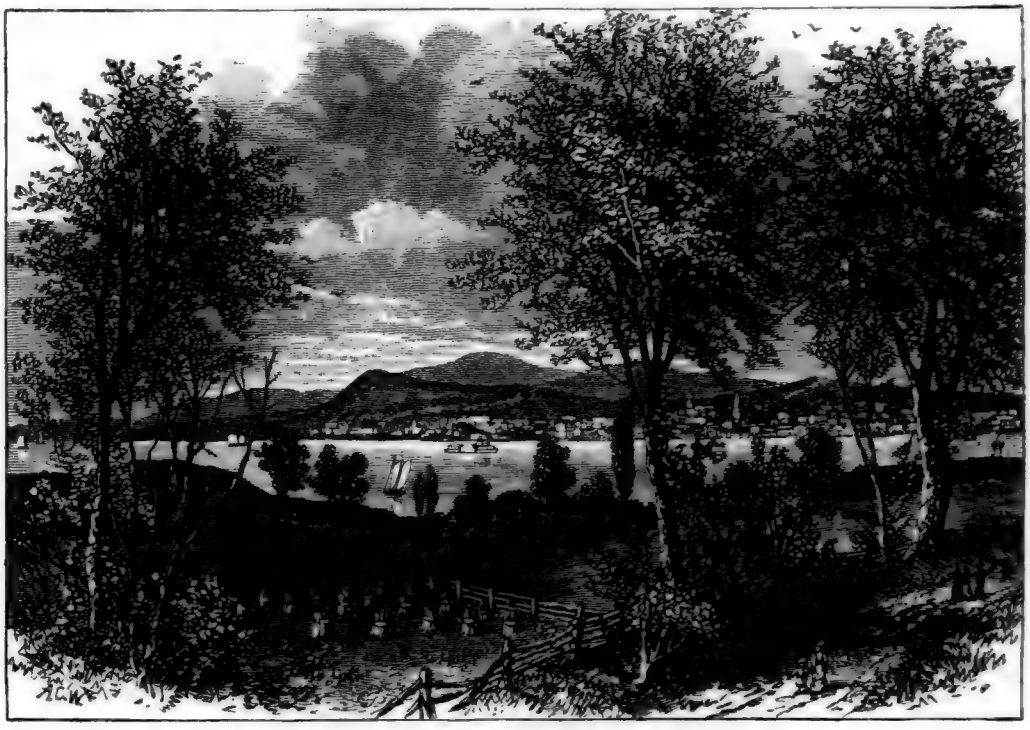
Brown resumed the immediate command. The enemy's camp was two miles in the rear, and one third of his force was thrown forward each day to work on the parallels. On the 17th of September a sudden sortie with two thousand men overwhelmed the working party, dismounted the guns, and destroyed the works. But this was not done without hard fighting, in which the Americans lost nearly five hundred men, and the British nine hundred. Four days later, Drummond abandoned the siege, and in October the Americans destroyed Fort Erie, and returned to their own shore. This campaign on the Niagara had indeed no practical result, except the destruction of a village or two and the digging of a thousand graves; but it served to dispel the despondency to which even the war party had yielded under the reverses of the two previous years, and aroused a hope in those who opposed the war that, though it might be unwise, it was not to be dishonorable.

But the summer passed away, and both armies — the British being now much the larger — still stood on the defensive on their own side of the border. Sir George Prevost proposed, or was ordered by the Home Government, to invade New York as far as Crown Point, at least, by the pathway contended for so often in previous wars. Chance favored him early in September, for General Izard, who had succeeded Hampton in the command of the right wing of the American army, was ordered, late in August, to relieve General Brown, beleaguered at that time in Fort Erie by General Drummond. Izard moved reluctantly — indeed he never moved in any other way — from Plattsburg, leaving General Alexander Macomb behind him in command of a small force, with the cheerful and encouraging prediction that it and the commander would soon be in the hands of the enemy. Before advancing to Crown Point, Prevost believed it to be absolutely necessary to reduce Plattsburg, and Macomb — not in the least influenced by Izard's prophecy, unless it were that he was stimulated to prove it false — prepared with great skill and energy to give the enemy a warm reception. In all that he did he was ably sustained by Lieutenant Thomas Macdonough, with a fleet of ten barges or gunboats and four larger vessels on the lake. Izard had left not more than about twenty-five hundred effective men at Plattsburg, and to these Macomb added three thousand more of volunteer militia by appeals to New York and Vermont. Prevost advanced with fourteen thousand men along the shores of the lake, accompanied by four ships and twelve barges, under the command of Captain Downie.

At Plattsburg the Saranac runs nearly parallel with the lake shore for a short distance, and then turning sharply flows into the Bay. On

the little peninsula the Americans had constructed three redoubts and two block houses, and these the British proposed to carry by an approach from the rear, while Downie should engage Macdonough on the lake, and fleet and town be taken together. Battle of Plattsburg. In accordance with this plan, when, on the 11th of September, the British flotilla rounded Cumberland Head and the naval fight was begun, the troops on shore, under a heavy artillery fire, attempted to cross the Saranac at several points, at all of which they were either speedily driven back, or soon recalled by intelligence of Downie's utter defeat.

When the British Admiral advanced to the attack he found Macdonough's four vessels drawn up in line nearly across the mouth of



Plattsburg.

the harbor, with his ten galleys inside and opposite the intervals between the larger vessels, calmly awaiting his opponent.[1] The English bore down steadily, firing as they advanced. The first American gun, pointed by Macdonough himself, raked the deck of the English flag-ship *Confiance;* then the whole line opened, and for an hour everything was ablaze, and the fire only slackened as gun after gun was disabled. The first broadside from the *Confiance* struck down forty men on the flag-ship *Saratoga*, and ultimately every gun of her

[1] Macdonough had eighty-six guns and eight hundred and fifty men; Downie ninety-five guns and a thousand men, and two more barges than Macdonough.

starboard battery was disabled. But Macdonough had laid a kedge broad off each bow, by means of which she was now swung completely round, and the larboard battery brought to bear upon her antagonist. The same manœuvre was attempted on board the *Confiance*, but unsuccessfully, and she was soon compelled to strike her colors. Those that had not already surrendered followed her example, though most of the galleys drifted out into the lake, before they could be taken possession of, and escaped. The victory was complete both on the water and on shore. Prevost immediately recalled his troops and abandoned his plan of invading New York.

As the British army in Canada had been largely reënforced by troops released by the close of the war in Europe, the result of the attack on Plattsburg, where many of these veterans were so signally defeated, renewed the spirits of the war party; and it was sadly in need of encouragement, for along the sea-coast the summer was one of disaster. Ships, as well as land forces, were released by peace abroad; the blockading squadron was increased; the whole coast was kept in a state of perpetual alarm at every appearance of a sail in the offing. Sir Thomas Hardy ran into Eastport in July, captured that place without resistance, and declared by proclamation that the islands of Passamaquoddy Bay were restored to the Crown. The frigate *Adams*, which had gone into the Penobscot to refit, was destroyed at the village of Hampden, and Castine, a few miles below, was taken by General Gosselyn, after the small garrison at that post had blown up the fort and retreated. At Machias the fort was abandoned, and the place taken without much resistance by General Pilkington. There was no force in that part of the country to resist so formidable an invasion, except the militia, not half armed, and without discipline, and the valley of the Penobscot was seized as a conquered province.

In August, Hardy appeared off Stonington, Connecticut, but met there with another kind of reception. He gave the inhabitants one hour to remove the women and children, and then bombarded the little town steadily for three days, throwing into it fifty tons of iron in solid shot, bomb-shells, carcasses, and stink-pots. The defence was gallantly conducted by about a score of men, who handled two or three old guns so well, particularly an eighteen-pounder at the point of the peninsula, as not only to prevent the enemy from landing, but to inflict upon him a loss of seventy men, killed or wounded. Of the defendants seven only were wounded.

But an event more disastrous than the loss of the villages and a portion of the domain at the eastern extremity of the country, and in striking contrast with the stubborn defence of Stonington, occurred

in the capture of Washington. On the eastern coast the enemy appeared suddenly when he appeared at all, would make, or threaten to make, a landing as he found the militia more or less ready to receive him; and these were more or less ready as their towns were likely, for any reason, to be attacked. In all cases the attacks were surprises. But at Washington, in all the complication of miserable circumstances, there was no element of suddenness, no palliation possible for want of warning, no excuse for want of time. The capture of the city was an absolute and unmitigated disgrace, involving in dishonor every member of the Gov-

Ross's march to Washington.



Stonington Bombarded.

ernment, and inflicting upon the people a humiliation which no other nation, in the loss of its capital under like circumstances, was ever called upon to bear.

In August, General Ross, with thirty-five hundred men, the finest regiments from Wellington's army, arrived in the Chesapeake, where he was reënforced by a thousand marines from Cockburn's blockading squadron. The whole force was landed at Benedict, on the Patuxent, about forty miles below Washington. There was nothing surprising in this approach of a formidable force. Cockburn's fleet for more than a year had commanded and harassed the coast of the Middle States, expeditions from it continuing to descend at will upon defenceless villages, plundering without mercy and destroying with-

out reason, with small regard to the ordinary laws of war, the farms and plantations near the shore. The year before, as has been already related, this fleet had moved up the Chesapeake, and so infatuated was party feeling that a proposition in Congress to adopt some measures to avert a threatened danger was denounced as an attack upon the Administration. It was better to suffer from fear of the enemy than to owe safety to the suggestion of the opposition. Even two months before Ross landed at Benedict, the Government had been warned by Mr. Gallatin in London of the object of the reënforcements sent to Chesapeake Bay, and, though the subject was brought before a cabinet meeting by the President, no efficient steps were taken. There needed to be still more "braying in a mortar" before the driving out of foolishness. Madison consented to be alarmed, but would not condescend to take advice from Armstrong, the Secretary of War, whom he personally disliked. The Secretary of State, Monroe, was too wise to accept warning from either circumstances or persons.

But when Ross had actually landed at the head of forty-five hundred veteran troops, with the evident purpose of marching either upon Annapolis, Alexandria, or Washington, there was a sudden awakening to the necessity of defence. Brigadier-general William H. Winder had, indeed, been placed in command, a few weeks before, of a district where, at most, there were only five hundred regulars and two thousand militia to respond to his orders. No effective preparations, however, were made to put even this small force in a condition to take the field, and no requisitions were made, till too late, for forces from the neighboring States.

Ross advanced up the peninsula with great caution, and even hesitation. He could not believe that the path was open before him to go where he pleased without let or hindrance, and the concurrent testimony of all English narratives of that march is, that it could have been turned back any day had a few determined persons obstructed the road by felled trees.[1] It was not till Cockburn joined Ross that

[1] The late Judge William Cranch, of Washington, an eye-witness of the invasion, wrote on the 11th of September, 1814, to his sister in Massachusetts: "On Thursday, August 18, information was received that the Enemy was ascending the Patuxent in large force, and the militia of the District and adjacent parts of Maryland and Virginia were called upon to turn [out] *en masse*. The requisition was obeyed slowly. The Fairfax militia, being that nearest to Alexandria, was not ordered to muster untill the Tuesday following (the 23d). On Saturday, the 20th, information was received that the enemy was disembarking, and had landed a large force. Reports varied as to their number from 3,000 to 17,000, and what is astounding is that General Winder had no correct information on that subject." Further on, in the same letter, he says: "The number of the British forces which were in the expedition to Washington is not yet satisfactorily ascertained. I am inclined to believe from all I hear that the number did not exceed 4,000. Winder had

some energy and determination was put into the General's movements by the Admiral's advice to push on to Washington. It is by no means certain that Ross had proposed at first to do anything more than to destroy Admiral Barney's flotilla of gunboats, which had been a constant annoyance to the British in Chesapeake Bay, but had now been compelled to withdraw for safety up the Patuxent as far as Marlborough. Instead of protecting these boats by troops and staying Ross's progress at that point, the Secretary of the Navy, Jones, saved the British General the trouble of removing this impediment out of his way, by ordering the fleet to be burned, and Barney and his men to retreat toward Washington. It was only that frenzy of terror which had seized all official persons that could have prompted an act depriving the Americans of their best arm of defence, and giving the invaders an advantage which alone would have been worth the risk of the expedition.

Barney's flotilla burned.

Inspirited by this success thrown at their heads, Ross and Cockburn pushed on to Bladensburg, where Winder had formed his line of battle in a commanding position. The General had no confidence in his troops, and little in himself, and listened to conflicting advice on all sides, when he should have turned a deaf ear to everybody; permitted Monroe to change his disposition of troops, almost at the last moment, without remonstrance; more anxious that his officers should understand which way they should take in retreat than zealous in urging them not to retreat, but to fight, and fearful, apparently, lest somebody should be hurt. Madison and his cabinet were on the field, all anxious to instruct the unfortunate and perplexed General, except the President, who occupied himself with pencilled bulletins to his wife at Washington, urging her to flight, and who said, — as Wilkinson asserts, — "Come, General Armstrong, come, Colonel Monroe, let us go, and leave it to the commanding General." In truth, it mattered but little to whom it was left, for Winder was quite right in assuming that no dependence could be placed on the crowd of men gathered upon the hills with arms in their hands, but utterly without military discipline and confronted by veteran soldiers.

They fled as the Congreve rockets of the enemy burst in their faces, and the real fighting was left for Commodore Barney and Captain Miller of the marines, with six hundred men, who rushed for-

5,000, but they were principally raw militia huddled together not an hour before the battle, without any confidence in each other. Yet, I believe the fault was in the officers. But the great fault was in the Administration in taking no measures of defence after the repeated menaces and warnings they have had. There has been a wanton sacrifice of the public property and the national pride. A wound is inflicted which ages will not cure, and a scar will be left which time will scarcely efface." — *MS. papers in the possession of Judge Cranch's daughter, Mrs. Erastus Brooks.*

ward to dispute the passage of a bridge. The artillery they served swept down the advancing British column, and compelled it to give way. For more than an hour this small band of seamen and marines held the enemy, outnumbering them three or four to one, at bay, returned charge for charge, and again and again broke into their serried ranks. Had the least support been given them, the fortune of the day might have been turned; but the only body of militia which covered their flank, and had not already run away, broke and fled at the first charge. Barney's men, thus exposed, were surrounded; he and Miller were both shot down and severely wounded, and were compelled at last to surrender. Around them lay as many dead of the enemy as the sailors and marines numbered at the beginning of the fight.

The Americans fell back upon Washington, if that can be said of a precipitate flight, when many were seeking for safety, no matter where, like the President and other official gentlemen, many making their way to their homes. When Washington was reached, however, — and the British followed close that evening upon their footsteps, — Winder, still true to his one comprehensive rule of military tactics and the art of war, ordered farther retreat, and the city was abandoned to the destroyers, — the destroyers that came, as well as those who remained, the chief difference between them being that one side destroyed what was their own, the other the property of an enemy. The worst the British could have done to the navy yard below the city, if they could have taken a place so easily defended, would have been to destroy it; and in anticipation of that possibility the Secretary of the Navy ordered that it should be given to the flames. The loss in provisions, in marine stores, in guns, in munitions of war, in ships on the stocks or afloat, in buildings, in arms, was enormous; but it did not seem to occur to President, generals, or cabinet officers that even if this great accumulation of property was not saved by defence, there was at least the chance of its being spared by accident. But in the frenzy of a popular panic like this, men take leave of their reason.

The spirit of wanton destruction seemed to be aroused by the craze of wild affright. The lurid glare of the burning of the largest navy yard in the country by those who should have protected it at all hazards, was responded to by the glow of the lesser fires kindled in the city by the enemy. There were orders to spare, and some attempt to save, private property, and the Post-office building was permitted to remain unharmed because it contained the Patent Office, which was of value to civilization. But the President's mansion and the unfinished Capitol were burned, — one of the stories of the time

being that Cockburn leaped into the Speaker's chair, as his followers filled the halls of Congress, and shouted, "Shall this harbor of Yankee democracy be burned? All for it will say Aye!" The public libraries and such of the public archives as had not previously been removed to a place of safety were burned. Nothing was spared, except the Patent Office and jail, that could be considered public



Cockburn in the Chair.

property, or that could be put to public use.[1] The next night the invaders retired with the utmost caution and without beat of drum, leaving their camp-fires burning brightly, lest they should be pursued by the force which Ross believed the destruction of the capital must needs arouse to overwhelm him. But he regained his ships without molestation, except some annoyance from the country people.

[1] "They destroyed everything public except the Patent Office and the jail. The Patent Office was spared at the intercession of Doctor Thornton who superintends it, and who assured the officer that it contained nothing but private property and models of the arts of the utmost use to the world." — *Letter of Judge Cranch.*

It was a natural, almost inevitable, consequence that this exploit should be followed by some other of a similar character. On the 6th of September Cochrane's fleet moved up the Chesapeake; on the 11th entered the Patapsco, and landed nine thousand men at North Point, a dozen miles below Baltimore. They were not unexpected. Sir Peter Parker, some days before, had landed a force on the eastern shore of Maryland, and in a skirmish with militia was killed The citizens of Baltimore, warned in time, had put up fortifications, and Major-general Samuel Smith, in command, called out the available troops to repel invasion. Ross, on landing at the head of his advance, was picked off by a sharp-shooter, and, mortally wounded, carried to his boats, where he died in a few minutes. There was to be no repetition here of the experiences below Washington. For three hours the three thousand volunteers, from Maryland and Pennsylvania, led by General John Stricker, withstood the enemy, till the right wing was turned, when they fell back upon the intrenchments. The British did not follow till next day, but finding their opponents reënforced and strongly placed, retired in the darkness of the ensuing night.

Expedition against Baltimore.

Battle of North Point.

Meanwhile sixteen vessels moved up the bay, and opened fire upon the immediate defences of Baltimore. For twenty-four hours they poured an uninterrupted stream of rockets and shells into Fort McHenry, Fort Covington, and the connecting intrenchments. Fort McHenry was compelled to bear this bombardment almost in silence, as its largest guns could not reach the enemy's vessels, anchored at a safe distance.[1] At night a strong force was landed to attack the forts in the rear; but, being discovered, it was subjected to a fire of red-hot shot, that inflicted severe loss and thwarted the project. The enterprise was then abandoned, and Cochrane retired with his fleet.

Of the four notable battles this year on the ocean, all but the first resulted in victory for the Americans. Captain David Porter, in the frigate *Essex*, had made a long cruise round Cape Horn, creating terrible havoc with British commerce in the Pacific, and securing many rich prizes, one of which he converted into a war-ship, and named her the *Essex Junior*. But the English Admiralty sent out the frigates *Phœbe* and *Cherub*, under Captain James Hillyar, with orders to destroy or capture the *Essex* at all hazards, and by these two ships Porter was blockaded in the harbor of Valparaiso. On one occasion the hostile vessels almost fouled, and Porter called away his boarders, and in a moment more would have been on the Englishman's deck; but Hillyar so earnestly pro-

Naval engagements of 1814.

[1] While watching the flag on this fort, Francis S. Key, who had gone to the British fleet to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, wrote the first draft of the *Star-Spangled Banner*.

tested he had no intention of attacking in a neutral port, that he was permitted to withdraw his ship from her suspicious position. At length, on the 28th of March, Porter attempted to put to sea; but the *Essex* was suddenly disabled by a heavy squall, and being pursued, he tacked about and reëntered the harbor. The enemy followed, and, regardless of the neutrality of the port, took position under the stern of the *Essex*, and opened fire. The American ran out three long guns at the stern ports, and in half an hour compelled both of his antagonists to draw off for repairs. On returning to the attack, they took position on Porter's starboard quar-

Essex and Phœbe.

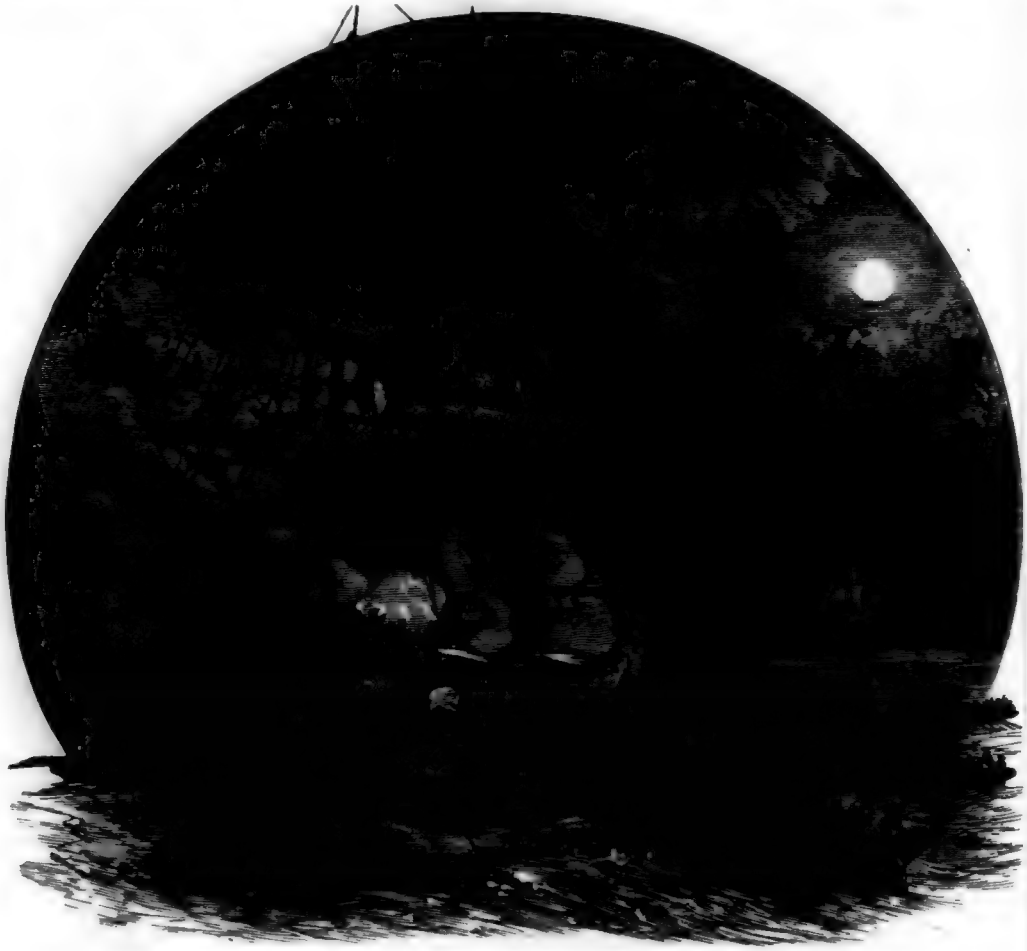


Fort McHenry.

ter, out of reach of carronades, and with their long guns fired at the *Essex* as at a target. Porter then ran down upon the *Cherub*, and after a short but lively action at close range, she was driven off. But the *Phœbe* edged away, and kept up a steady fire; at one gun on board the *Essex* three whole crews were swept away in succession. Porter tried to run her ashore; but the wind suddenly shifted, the springs on his cables were repeatedly shot away, and, to complete his misfortunes, the ship took fire. As the flames burst up the hatchways, he ordered all who could swim to jump overboard and make for the shore. The helpless wreck was easily raked, three fifths of her men were killed or wounded, and at last Porter struck his colors.

Other engagements.

The sloop-of-war *Peacock*, Captain Warrington, captured the British brig *Epervier*, on the 29th of April, after an action of forty minutes; and her sister ship, the *Wasp*, Captain Blakeley, captured the brig *Reindeer*, after a hot battle, in June, and in September so badly injured the brig *Avon* that she sank. Within twenty days the *Wasp* took three more prizes, and she was never heard from afterward. The American privateer, *General Armstrong*, Captain Samuel C. Reid, had put into the port of Fayal, Azores, in



The Armstrong at Fayal.

September, when three British cruisers entered the harbor, and sent four boats to cut her out. But they were driven off with heavy loss. The Governor remonstrated with the English commander against this flagrant violation of neutrality, but was answered that the privateer must be destroyed, and if she were protected he would bombard the town. At midnight, fourteen launches, each containing fifty men, were sent against her. She opened on them with murderous effect, and when two or three of them succeeded in getting alongside, a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, which left scarcely a man in them alive.

Next morning, one of the cruisers engaged the privateer, but was soon obliged to haul off for repairs. Captain Reid, seeing that the ultimate destruction of his vessel was certain, destroyed her himself, and went ashore with his men. Only two of his crew had been killed, and seven wounded, while the ascertained loss of the British was a hundred and twenty killed, and ninety wounded. The English commander had the effrontery to demand that the authorities deliver to him as prisoners the gallant crew whom he had failed to capture. This, of course, was refused, and Captain Reid and his men took possession of an old convent, declaring they would defend themselves to the last. An apology was made to Portugal for the violation of neutrality, but the owners of the *Armstrong* never obtained any indemnity.

Destruction of the General Armstrong.

There were other actions at sea in the course of the next few months, which added new laurels to the American navy. Decatur, in the *President*, fought the *Endymion*, and reduced her to a wreck, when, three other ships coming to her aid, he was compelled to surrender to this overwhelming force. Stewart, in the *Constitution*, was more fortunate, as he captured the *Cyane* and the *Levant*. Biddle, in the brig *Hornet*, fought one of the most brilliant naval battles of the war with the *Penguin*, and took her. All these actions, however, in the winter or spring of 1815, were after peace was declared in December.

But naval exploits, however brilliant, only served to convince those who from the beginning had opposed the war, that its conduct on shore was unwise and its aim misdirected. Henry Clay at the outset had declared that with volunteers from Kentucky alone he could in a short time overrun Canada; but Canada, at the opening of the winter of 1814, was as far from being a conquest of the United States as when, in the summer of 1812, Hull had been driven out of it and compelled to surrender. The disasters of two years on the northern frontier had been atoned for in some degree by the later battles on the Niagara peninsula and before Plattsburg. But these comparatively small successes — which only showed that Americans had not yet lost the faculty of fighting — did not seem to the opponents of the war to justify so enormous an expenditure of means and of men for a purpose that not only had failed utterly, but, they believed, should never have been attempted; and much less did such successes reconcile the maritime and commercial people, especially of New England, to a policy which was proving their ruin. To the want of any better result on the northern borders, was added, moreover, the loss to Massachusetts of a considerable portion of her eastern territory, which the Administration had neglected to defend;

Opposition to the war.

the humiliating reflection that the whole country had been outraged by the capture and destruction of its capital, the mortifying spectacle of a fugitive government, too imbecile to take proper measures for defence, and too destitute of spirit to atone for its blunders by some show of courage. Those who had opposed the war were not only more than ever persuaded that it was conceived for a sinister purpose, but that the result showed how incompetent the Administration was to carry it on, — equally incompetent either to continue it with success or to end it with honor.

The strife of parties.

The feeling on the other side was not less bitter. The Federalists were denounced as the British party. The accusation told with terrible force upon the minds of ignorant and unreflecting Democrats, and was used, therefore, without scruple for years by those who knew that sympathy with Great Britain, at that period, only meant abhorrence of that monstrous military despotism with which England was in deadly encounter. The charge of British sympathy and of a wish to be reannexed to the Crown, carried with it, of course, a charge of a purpose to dissolve the Union. And enmity to the Union was now, for the first time, looked upon as a crime, because of this supposed ulterior object.

A separation of the States, up to the time of the immediate events which led to the War of 1812, was the familiar remedy suggested for all differences between the States. It originated in the fruitful brain of Jefferson, who, notwithstanding his abstract love of peace, declared that the tree of liberty must be watered with the blood of patriots and tyrants once in twenty years,[1] — who was opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, who meant by the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 to provide for its nullification, and to secure the right of a dissolution of the Union whenever it should seem good to any single State. It was a threat always on the lips of Democratic orators, whenever any new step was proposed, or any new measure carried by the Federalists, to consolidate and strengthen the Government of the Union; and the menace was as promptly resorted to by the Federalists when they in their turn saw, or thought they saw, a determination on the part of one portion of the States to encroach upon another. The suggestion, made indifferently by either party, was more or less serious, according to the seriousness of the occasion that called it forth; but that it was a perfectly proper and legitimate one to make, was never questioned till party cunning

[1] "God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a [Shays] rebellion. . . . . What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure." — *Jefferson's Works*, vol. ii., p. 267.

managed to confuse a proposition of disunion with a design to betray popular government by the restoration of colonial dependence upon England. That there was never the slightest truth in this accusation, may be asserted with entire confidence.

It should be remembered that the serious question in the minds of the wisest of American statesmen, at the end of the last century, was, whether a popular government was not a chimera. When, after a few years' trial, it was concluded that such a government might be possible under favorable circumstances, it was next doubted whether a republic resting upon a union between the slave and free States could be permanent, — if, indeed, such a government could be called a republic. Very few years passed away before such men as Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, Timothy Pickering, Rufus King, Josiah Quincy, George Cabot, and other distinguished statesmen of the time, earnestly and frankly discussed the character of such a union, and its evident failure as a just and rational form of government. Some of them were eager to abandon the attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable; others, with that timidity and hesitation which have been so marked a characteristic of American politics from the beginning, preferred rather to temporize, and postpone, and compromise, — to do anything rather than face an evil to-day, if it could be put off till to-morrow. Naturally, this want of boldness provoked and invited aggression from those with whom audacity had to do service for right and justice. Merely to denounce the Federalists as disunionists was, by itself, a feeble accusation; for, if they were disunionists simply because it was plain to their minds that there could be no just and equal commingling between mediæval and modern civilization, so their accusers were equally disunionists when they feared that the supremacy which the slaveholding representation in the Government gave them was threatened by the progress and the power of a free people. But when disunion was made to seem a crime against republicanism, by the charge that it was only the first step to a restoration of monarchy, an appeal was made to the passions of the people, which was overwhelming. Monarchy was known and hated; slaveholding despotism was an abstract dread, which faded away in the presence of a possible, immediate, and known evil.

The formation of a Northern Confederacy was undoubtedly considered by some of the wisest and the best of the Federal leaders as not merely possible, but desirable. But, it should not be lost sight of, this was only as a means to an end; it was disunion for the sake of a more perfect union; the creation of an independent Northern Confederacy, which the weaker Southern States, in self-defence, would be compelled to join on terms of reconstruction which would secure

equality of representation, and give the greater weight to liberty, and not to slavery. It was the misfortune of the Federal party that unscrupulous opponents had the opportunity to invent evidence to show that the desire to create such a Confederacy covered a design to make it a part of the British Empire. Mr. Madison eagerly seized upon a pretext of this sort not long before the declaration of war in 1812, partly to strengthen his own party, but mainly to heap obloquy upon the opponents of this war.

John Henry.

An adventurer of the name of John Henry appeared at Washington, with a marvellous tale of a conspiracy by which New England was to be detached from the United States and restored to the British Crown. This man — an Englishman by birth, but married to a respectable American lady, and familiar with American affairs — had persuaded the Governor of Canada, in 1809, to send him as a political spy to Boston, believing that he would find there the materials for organizing a plot — if it did not already exist — for a revolution in favor of England. The papers laid by him, three years later, before the President, by the President laid before Congress, and afterward published, proved conclusively that the man was of that vulgar class of knaves, known in the detective slang of our day as "confidence-men." He was not the accredited agent of the British Government; he had discovered nothing; he had nothing to relate but what he might have heard at any time in the common talk of men in the streets of New York, or Philadelphia, or Boston, or even Washington, or might have read in any Federal newspaper; nothing to reveal that was not quite as well known to Mr. Madison as to himself, of common Federal opinion; not a single item of evidence, whether hearsay or confidential, to bring against any individual of any complicity in any plot; nor any shadow of proof that any plot existed either in England or America.

In the interval between his visit to Boston and his appearance at Washington, Henry had been to England, and presented a claim for services. It may be that he originally proposed only to persuade the Ministry that he had acquired some valuable and important information in New England, for which he deserved a large reward; and his want of success there may have suggested the more promising scheme of pandering to the party purposes of Mr. Madison and his friends. At any rate, the English Ministry repudiated him and his pretended revelations; and when it was clear that nothing was to be gained in that quarter, the adventurer appeared in Washington, where he was eagerly welcomed by the President and his Secretary of State, Monroe, who imposed him upon the American people, — as he would have imposed himself upon the English Ministry, — as one charged with

a marvellous tale of conspiracies, plots, and treasons. The tale itself would have been laughed at by all right-minded men for its evident and absolute failure to fulfil its promise, but for the pretence that it covered a design of Great Britain to recover some of her lost colonies. Partisan passion and credulity, however, were large enough for the deglutition of anything on that subject. The Federalists, of course, made no reply, for the case was beyond the reach of any appeal to argument, common sense, or common justice. The story was told, not because he who invented it, or they who promulgated it, could have maintained before any justice of the peace that there was any truth in it, but because the one had hit upon an ingenious plan to raise fifty thousand dollars, and the others were ready to pay fifty thousand dollars for anything, true or false, that would bring odium on the opposition party. To propagate this purely partisan calumny, Mr. Madison paid one sixth as much as the House of Representatives appropriated for the support of the navy at the outbreak of a war with the strongest naval power in the world.

Question of a new Union.

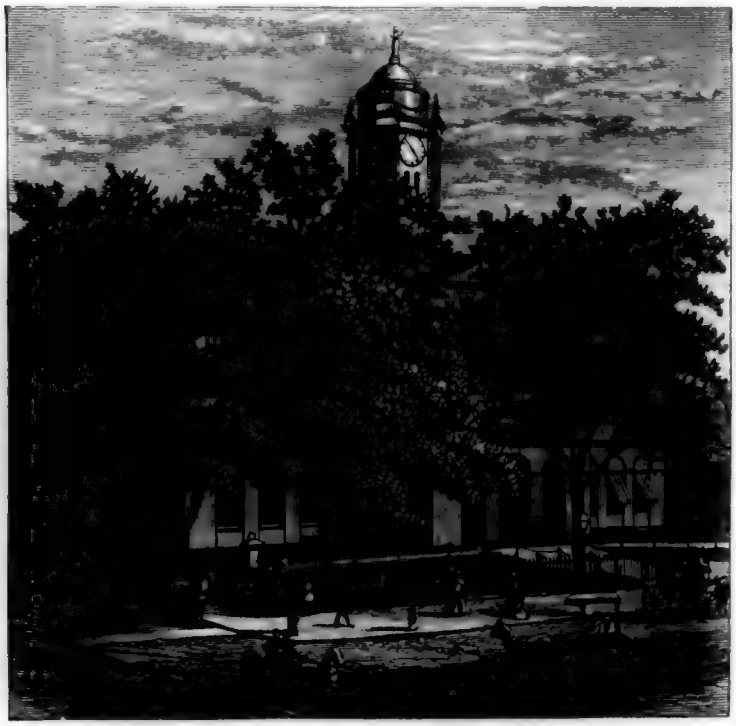
The influential men among the Federalists, who sincerely questioned whether the Union had not proved a failure, and whether the only remedy was not a reconstruction of States on a new basis, were not likely to be reconciled to the existing condition of things by an attempt to prove that because they held to this belief they were therefore disloyal to a republican form of government. Their hostility to the war and to the war-party was intensified by antagonism so unscrupulous, and, because it was an appeal to prejudice and passion so hard to meet. Massachusetts refused to respond to the call for troops at the outset, on the ground that it was for the Governor of a State, and not for the President, to decide whether in any given case there was good and sufficient reason for calling upon the militia; and Connecticut, as well as Massachusetts, refused to put the State troops under the command of United States officers. On the second point both States were only maintaining a right reserved to the States under the Federal Constitution; but on the first point Massachusetts simply took her stand upon the unalienable right of revolution, asserted in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798; for her act was clearly one of nullification.

It was a natural and easy step to the Hartford Convention, two years afterward. The war, which had proved disastrous, and till recently — except on the sea — uniformly disgraceful to the American arms, had fallen with peculiar severity upon New England. Most of her people believed that, bad as the war was, it was still more badly conducted — that the Administration was as imbecile as it was unprincipled. The ruin of the country, they thought and said, could

only be averted first by the overthrow of such an Administration as an immediate measure of relief, and then by such radical changes in the terms of union between the States as should secure at least the chance of a free and virtuous government in the future.

The Hartford Convention.

The Convention was called by a resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature, passed in October, 1814. Twelve delegates were appointed "to meet and confer with delegates from the other New England States, or any other, upon the subject of their public grievances and concerns . . . . of defence against the enemy; . . . . and also to take measures, if they shall think it proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States, in order to revise the Constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of all the people, by placing all upon the basis of fair representation." It was ordered that the resolution, of which this is the essential substance, should be sent to the Governors of all the States. In the letter written in obedience to that order, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives were careful to say that "the general objects of the proposed conference are, first, to deliberate upon the dangers to which the eastern section of the Union is exposed by the course of the war, which there is too much reason to believe will thicken round them in its progress; and to devise, if practicable, means of security and defence, which may be consistent with the preservation of their resources from total ruin, and adapted to their local situation, mutual relations, and habits, and not repugnant to their obligations as members of the Union." This was the immediate object of the Convention; but the ulterior object — that which went beyond relief from the temporary evils of a disastrous war — was to inquire "whether



Old State House — Hartford.

the interests of these States demand that persevering endeavors be used by each of them to procure such amendments to be effected in the national Constitution, as may secure to them equal advantage, and whether, if in their judgment this shall be deemed impracticable under the existing provisions for amending that instrument, an experiment may be made without disadvantage to the nation, for obtaining a convention from all the States in the Union, or such of them as approve of the measure, with a view to obtain such amendment." This only meant — put in briefer words — a proposition to amend the Constitution, if possible, with the assent of all the States; but if that was not possible, then the formation and adoption of a new Constitution by so many of the States as agreed upon the necessity. In the last analysis, this was disunion, as the corollary of reconstruction, — but disunion that a free and equable republican government, a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

This, it should not be lost sight of, was peaceful disunion for the sake of union. For it was never doubted that a slaveholding oligarchy, strong only by an alliance with a weak minority at the North, would assent, by the necessity of the case, to the just demands of a Northern majority when a refusal involved the creation of an independent Northern confederacy. In the relative conditions of the free and slave States, and in the clean-cut line between geographical parties at that period, this calculation upon speedy Southern submission was probably well founded. Nearly half a century was to pass away before the slaveholding oligarchy was strong enough to take the bold ground that the extension and perpetuation of human slavery was the price of union. The new Union, which the Hartford conventionists aimed at only as a political policy, was then achieved with a broader and higher purpose, but at enormous cost. Not, however, that the North of 1814 was less in earnest than the North of 1860; had the war with England continued a year or two longer to widen the breach between the North and the South, the War of Rebellion, perhaps, would never have been fought. The new Union was delayed by the peace for half a century.

The Convention met on the 15th of December, and remained in session for three weeks.[1] It sat with closed doors — an unfortunate

[1] The delegates were: From Massachusetts — George Cabot, William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Stephen Longfellow, Jr., Daniel Waldo, George Bliss, Nathan Dane, Hodijah Baylies, Joshua Thomas, Joseph Lyman, Samuel S. Wilde. From Rhode Island — Daniel Lyman, Samuel Ward, Benjamin Hazard, Edward Manton. From Connecticut — Chauncey Goodrich, James Hillhouse, John Treadwell, Zephaniah Swift, Calvin Goddard, Nathaniel Smith, Roger Minot Sherman. From New Hampshire — Benjamin West, Mills Olcott. From Vermont — William Hall, Jr. The last three were not appointed by their State governments, but by committees of certain towns.

necessity, if a necessity at all. It was watched with great interest,—on one side with hope, on the other with anxiety and apprehension. Madison, always more than half doubtful of the policy of his own party, was in trepidation, and Major Jesup was sent to Hartford, ostensibly to fill up his regiment by recruiting, but in fact to watch the Convention and send bulletins of all he could gather to the Secretary of State. But in truth there was nothing to fear, if any overt act was looked for to justify the interference of either civil or military authority. In revolutions, discussion must precede action; this Convention was not only met for deliberation and counsel; it was probably meant in some degree to stave off rash and hasty action.

There was material enough in the report which the members of the Convention made to their constituents to serve as a basis for future revolutionary action, should future events call for it. For abuses, it said, "reduced to a system, and accumulated through a course of years," clothed in "the forms of law," enforced by an executive, and spreading corruption everywhere, there was no "summary means of relief" but "direct and open resistance." But only necessity could sanction such resistance when, after full deliberation, the people were "determined to change the Constitution." Though many believed that "the time for a change is at hand," there were considerations which still held out a "hope of reconciling all to a course of moderation and firmness which might avert the evil, or at least insure consolation and success in the last resort." There might yet be "a reformation of public opinion, resulting from dear-bought experience, in the southern Atlantic States. . . . . They may discard the influence of visionary theorists, and recognize the benefits of a practical policy." But "events may prove that the causes of our calamities are deep and permanent;" and when that shall appear, "a separation by equitable arrangement will be preferable to an alliance by constraint among nominal friends, but real enemies, inflamed by mutual hatred and jealousy, and inviting, by intestine divisions, contempt and aggression from abroad." A separation, then, was to be the ultimate remedy, unless dangers and grievances could be averted by measures which the report discussed at length and embodied finally in a series of resolutions, proposing: That unconstitutional drafts of militia should be prevented; that the States should be empowered to defend their own territory; that only the free inhabitants of a State should be counted in the apportionment of representatives and direct taxes; that a two-thirds vote should be required to admit a new State, to interdict commercial intercourse, or to declare offensive war; that embargoes for more than sixty days should be forbidden; that naturalized citizens should not be eligible to federal

offices: that the President should be ineligible for a second term, and should not be chosen from any State twice in succession; and finally, that if these ends were not attained, and peace not concluded, another convention should be held in Boston in June.

But that convention never met. Some of the immediate causes of discontent were removed by the sudden termination of the war, which soon followed; and in the universal rejoicing at the return of peace the radical evil which threatened the permanence of the Union was for a little while lost sight of, and left to be dealt with by another generation in another way.

Operations on the Gulf coast.

The British forces, meanwhile, had taken virtual possession of the Spanish town of Pensacola, and used it as a station to fit out expeditions against Mobile and New Orleans. To this place they invited their savage allies, equipped them for war, and attempted to drill them in military organization. The commander also offered Lafitte, the so-called pirate of Barataria Bay, a captain's commission and liberal grants of land from the territory to be conquered, together with the less substantial boon of "the blessings of the British Constitution," if he would assist with his fleet in the capture of Mobile and New Orleans.[1]

With new levies of troops, raised principally in Tennessee and Kentucky, Jackson marched southward to meet this new invasion. In September an attack on Fort Bowyer, at Mobile, by the British, was repulsed, with a loss to the enemy of one ship and many men. At Pensacola they blew up and abandoned Fort Barrancas at Jackson's approach in November, and he took possession of the city. The next month he was at New Orleans, where he made vigorous preparations to defend that port, which, if taken, would give to Great Britain possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, and, it was hoped, the command of the western territory of the United States.[2]

Jackson at New Orleans.

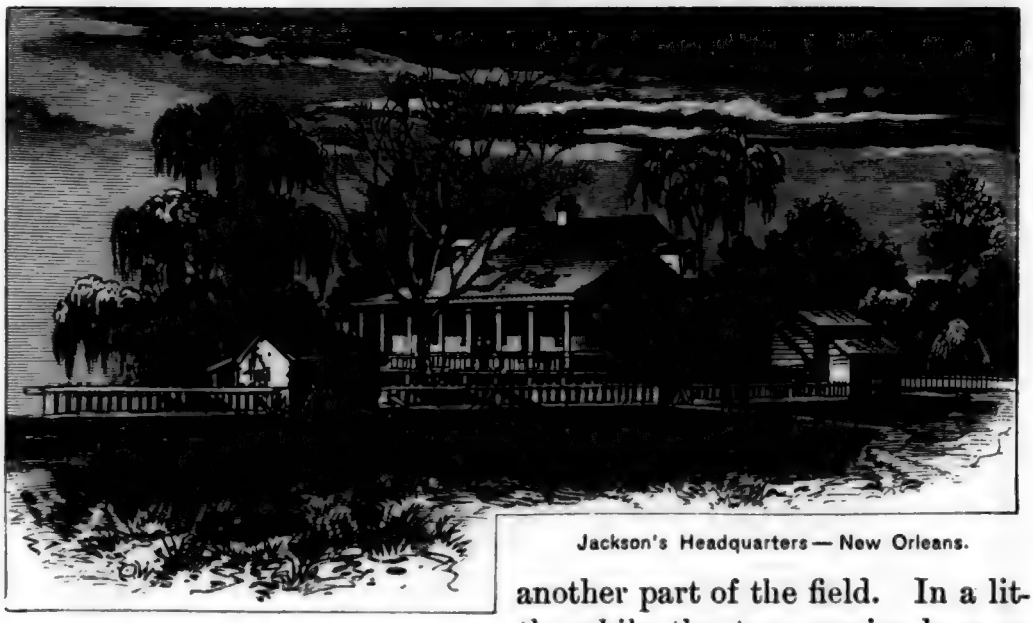
Jackson was not in the least appalled at the magnitude and importance of the work before him. He called out the militia; he appealed to the free negroes, who enlisted in considerable numbers; he enrolled the convicts; he accepted the services of Lafitte and his followers; he hurried Coffee with two thousand men

[1] Lafitte was not strictly a pirate, but a receiver of goods captured by half piratical privateers. When he had obtained from the British commander a full committal in black and white, he sent the letters to Governor Claiborne, and offered his services in defending the coast, on condition of an act of oblivion as to his past offences. A council of military and naval officers decided that the letters were forged, and an expedition under Commodore Patterson broke up his establishment.

[2] An officer in the expedition, after describing the Mississippi and its tributaries, wrote: "Whatever nation, therefore, chances to possess this place, possesses in reality the command of a greater extent of country than is included within the boundary-line of the whole United States."—Gleig's *Campaigns at Washington and New Orleans*. The London

from Mobile to New Orleans; he inspected every rood of ground about the city; he made intrenchments, proclaimed martial law, inspired the people with his own confidence, and animated them with his own energy.

The British had captured the American gunboats in Lake Borgne, and landed twenty-four hundred men nine miles below the city. With about two thousand, Jackson went down to meet them. It was late in the day — December 23 — when he reached his enemy, and the attack was made after dark. The schooner *Carolina*, lying in the Mississippi, discharged a broadside which enfiladed the British left wing, and this was the signal for the onset. There was almost absolute darkness, except as the flashes of the guns lighted up one and



Jackson's Headquarters — New Orleans.

another part of the field. In a little while the two armies became largely intermingled, and, as a participant wrote, "no man could tell what was going forward in any quarter, except where he himself chanced immediately to stand." After two or three hours of fighting, the Americans withdrew to their fortifications four miles from the city. Each side had lost more than two hundred men.[1]

Hardly was this action over, when heavy reënforcements of British troops arrived, and with them Generals Sir Edward Pakenham and Samuel Gibbs. Pakenham was a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, and had won distinction in the Peninsular war. He found the army he had come to command encamped on a narrow strip of low and level land; on one side was a broad river where it had no

Times announced that "most active measures are pursuing for detaching from the dominion of the enemy an important part of his territory."

[1] Unofficial reports by British officers made their loss over five hundred.

shipping, on the other a morass; in front were fortifications, manned by an enemy of unknown strength; two vessels in the river annoyed the camp day and night, and frequent frost and rain filled up the catalogue of miseries.

Pakenham brought a few heavy guns across the Peninsula, and with hot shot destroyed one vessel and drove the other up stream. After a costly reconnoissance, he determined upon siege operations, and in a single night erected bastions of hogsheads of sugar, and mounted thirty guns. On the morning of the new year fire was opened upon these bastions; sugar offered small resistance to cannon-balls, and in a little while the whole treacherous rampart crumbled away. Jackson had used cotton bales, which, though impenetrable by shot, were knocked out of place and set on fire. But they answered a temporary purpose till he could construct earthworks a mile and a half in the rear.

In the week that followed, both sides were reënforced. The British dug a canal across the isthmus, and dragged boats through from the lakes to send a force against the batteries on the west bank of the river. On Saturday, January 7, Pakenham climbed a tall pine tree and surveyed the American lines, while at the same time Jackson, standing on a high building, with an imperfect spy-glass in his hand, was watching the operations of the enemy, whom he saw making ladders and binding up sugar-cane into fascines.

Pakenham intended to attack on both sides of the river, before dawn of the 8th. But there was delay in the passage of the river; the sun rose; the fog began to roll away, and he impatiently sent up the signal rocket and ordered his men forward long before those on the west side were ready. The Americans, as well as their enemy, understood the signal, and as many fire-arms as could be laid across the parapet were pointed down the Peninsula, while a thirty-two pounder was loaded to the muzzle with musket-balls. The enemy advanced in two columns, each preceded by a regiment bearing ladders and fascines, while midway between were placed a thousand Highlanders ready to support an attack on both wings of the Americans; and in the rear was a strong reserve. Jackson's men were unerring with the rifle, and the artillery was served with coolness and precision. When the thirty-two pounder discharged its bushel of musket-balls, the entire van of one column melted away. Both of the pioneer regiments wavered, and there was no means of crossing the ditch till the men could be rallied and the lines re-formed. In the attempt to do this under a withering fire, Pakenham was killed. General Gibbs was wounded mortally, General Keene seriously, and Colonel Dale fell at the head of his Highland regiment. Three offi-

cers who reached the breastwork were instantly shot, and fell into the ditch together; of three others who reached it at another point, two were riddled as they mounted it, and when the third demanded the swords of two Americans who confronted him, he was smilingly told to look behind him. He turned, and found that the men he supposed to be following him had utterly vanished away. In twenty-five minutes the action was over, and the British had lost seven hundred killed, fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred prisoners, while the American loss was but seventeen. The force on the right bank of the river had carried the American works, and were pursuing the militia, when they were ordered to return. The British fleet, ascending the river, failed to pass Fort St. Philip, and General Lambert, on whom the command had devolved, disheartened at the disasters which had befallen the enterprise, abandoned it and retreated to his shipping.

Peace.

So brilliant a campaign, with the successes at the North, under General Brown, would certainly have given a more hopeful start to a third year of war, had the war been continued. But peace was concluded at Ghent on the 24th of December, a fortnight before the battle of New Orleans. The glory of the battle was the glory of the skilful, successful defence of raw militia against the best veteran troops of Europe, and from that there can be no detraction. But it had no influence, either upon continuing the war or upon ending it.

Execution of six militia-men.

Two incidents, occurring toward the close of this campaign, illustrated Jackson's despotic and violent temper as well as his stern, though often narrow, sense of duty. Both became formidable weapons in the hands of partisan opponents when, in later years, he became the head of a political party. After the unofficial news of peace had reached New Orleans, and when the official announcement was daily expected, six militia-men, sentenced by court-martial to be shot for desertion, four months before, were executed near Mobile, with Jackson's approbation. These men — one of them a simple-minded, conscientious Baptist preacher, who had enlisted that he might be near a son of sixteen who was also in the army — had gone home after the expiration of their three months' service, believing that to be the full time for which they could be legally held. One of them — a captain — was not even guilty of this crime, if it was a crime, but was condemned on some very doubtful evidence of having incited others to desertion. Three months' service had been up to that time both the law and the custom, and these men were clearly ignorant of any law that could hold them longer, though there was a recent six months' enlistment act of Congress

under which, it was assumed, they had been enlisted on proclamation of the Governor of the State. The question involved — an honest misunderstanding of the terms of enlistment — was essentially the same as that which led to the revolt of the whole Pennsylvania line in the War of the Revolution, which Washington settled by conciliatory measures. But Jackson was not Washington. The stern sense of justice in Jackson was not mollified by mercy. He saw only disobedience to military law, and was unmoved by the consideration that the war was probably over, and that the service would not be harmed by the pardon of men who had erred through ignorance. They were all shot.

Contest with the civil authorities.

In New Orleans the General came into conflict with the civil authorities. The citizens were impatient of the continuance of martial law, when there was little doubt that peace had been concluded, though the authoritative announcement had not yet been received. The newspapers were forbidden to publish any statement upon the subject until authorized to do so by orders from headquarters. French citizens, who had not been backward in the presence of real danger, sought to escape military service when they thought it no longer necessary, by asking the protection of the French Consul. He, and all who had taken certificates from him, were ordered to leave the town as if they were public enemies. A Mr. Louaillier, a member of the Legislature, distinguished for his zeal and activity in the presence of the enemy, was arrested and imprisoned for protesting, through the columns of a newspaper, against the arbitrary proceedings of the commanding General. Judge Hall, who issued a writ of *habeas corpus* in Louaillier's favor, was also arrested on a charge "of abetting and exciting mutiny," imprisoned, and then banished beyond the city limits. He, however, was of a no less determined temper than Jackson himself; when, a few days after, peace was officially declared, he summoned the General before him for contempt of court, and fined him a thousand dollars, which Jackson had the good sense to pay without resistance, even refusing to avail himself of some popular tumult that was raised on his behalf. The country learned from these early incidents in his career the character of the man, and they were not forgotten. Four years afterward President Monroe thought of appointing him minister to Russia, and asked Mr. Jefferson's advice. Jefferson's answer was — "Why, good God! he would breed you a quarrel before he had been there a month!" [1]

[1] Diary, when Secretary of State, in *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams.*



Washington, from a Sketch made about 1830.

CHAPTER X.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE NEWS OF PEACE. — ITS EFFECT UPON THE HARTFORD MOVEMENT. — CHARACTER OF THE TREATY OF GHENT. — RESULTS OF THE WAR. — THE ALGERINE WAR. — CONDITION OF THE UNITED STATES. — FINANCIAL QUESTIONS. — EFFECT OF THE TARIFF UPON NEW ENGLAND CITIES. — CHARACTER OF MADISON. — ELECTION OF MONROE. — THE FIRST SEMINOLE WAR. — REASONS FOR ANNEXING FLORIDA. — THE AFFAIR AT AMELIA ISLAND. — JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN. — HIS EXECUTION OF PRISONERS. — HIS DISPUTE WITH MONROE. — CESSION OF FLORIDA.

The news of peace.

THE enthusiasm and joy at the news of peace were absolutely hilarious among all classes of the people. There was no waiting to know the terms on which it had been concluded; it was enough to know that, honorable or dishonorable, advantageous or disadvantageous, just or unjust, wise or foolish, terms of some kind had been agreed upon, and the war was over. In truth, it was better to rejoice first and reflect afterwards. Federalists and Democrats could exult that there was war no more; middle-aged gentlemen of both parties, eminent for the grave dignity and quiet respectability of their lives, could mount the tables at public dinners and dance together in white-top boots, among the empty bottles, in token of amity and fraternity. There was time enough for sober after-thought when the

Government should see fit to give more definite intelligence. In the mean while both parties had reason enough for rejoicing: one, that it was extricated from a war which had proved to be as unwise and as useless as its opponents had declared at the outset it would be; the other, that their wisdom was justified, and the prophet's reward was theirs; and both were glad to agree to disagree no longer. The news from Ghent met the delegates from the Hartford Convention at Washington. It was not a time to present their report of grievances, and they made no sign. It was thoroughly American to seize the opportune moment to silence the solemn appeal to reason by an appeal to the national love of humor and the national love of forgetting anything serious. Otis and his companions were advertised by the Democrats as strayed or stolen,[1] and a suitable reward offered for their return to their anxious friends in Boston. The men who could have bravely faced a gibbet, trembled and fled before a joke.

Effect upon the Hartford movement

The real absurdity of the situation, nevertheless, attaches to their opponents. The war had been carried on upon a single issue. The Orders in Council had been revoked almost at the outbreak of hostilities, and Dearborn and Admiral Warren had even agreed upon a temporary armistice in the summer of 1812, which the Administration had overruled mainly on grounds of diplomatic technicalities. This left the impressment of seamen the sole cause of quarrel. The Committee of Foreign Relations in Congress, in a report upon the war, in January, 1813, said: "The impressment of our seamen being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until the cause was removed," notwithstanding the repeal of the Orders in Council. When, early the same year, commissioners were appointed to negotiate a peace on the proposed mediation of Russia, if England should accept it, Secretary Monroe said in his instructions to the Commissioners: "If this encroachment [impressment] of Great Britain is not provided against, the United States have appealed to arms in vain. If your efforts to accomplish it should fail,

[1] ADVERTISEMENT. — MISSING. — Three well-looking, responsible men, who appeared to be travelling towards Washington, disappeared suddenly from Gadsby's Hotel in Baltimore on Monday evening last, and have not since been heard of. They were observed to be very melancholick on hearing the news of peace, and one of them was heard to say, with a great sigh, "Poor Caleb Strong!" [Federal Governor of Massachusetts.] They took with them their saddlebags, so that no apprehension is entertained of their having any intention to make away with themselves. Whoever will give any information to the Hartford Convention of the fate of these unfortunate and tristful gentlemen by letter (post-paid) will confer a favor upon humanity. The newspapers, particularly the Federal newspapers, are requested to publish this advertisement in a conspicuous place, and send in their bills to the Hartford Convention. — P. S. One of the gentlemen was called *Titus Oates* [Harrison Gray Otis] or some such name. — *National Advocate*, February, 1815.

. . . . you will return home immediately." It was next proposed to open negotiations at Gottenburg, and the Secretary wrote again in the same tone: "This degrading practice must cease; our flag must protect the crew, or the United States cannot consider themselves an independent nation." The changed accent of the same voice, a few months later, is in ludicrous contrast with the eagle-scream of these war-cries. Early the next year — in February — Monroe wrote to the same Commissioners that "should peace be made in Europe, as the practical evil of which we complain in regard to impressment would cease, it is presumed the British Government would have less objection to a stipulation to forbear that practice for a specified term, than it would have, should the war continue. In concluding a peace . . . . it is important to the United States to obtain such a stipulation." The mind of the Secretary changed like the colors of the chameleon. Three months later he wrote to the Commissioners: "You may concur in an article stipulating that the subject of impressment . . . . be referred to separate negotiation." And two days after ordering that concession the still more significant instructions were sent, to "omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment, if found indispensably necessary to terminate it" [the war]. Thus, "the principal cause of the war," as the Democratic Congressional committee declared it to be in 1813, — the grievance which by war alone could be settled, if the United States, as Secretary Monroe said in 1814, were to "consider themselves an independent nation," — was deliberately abandoned.

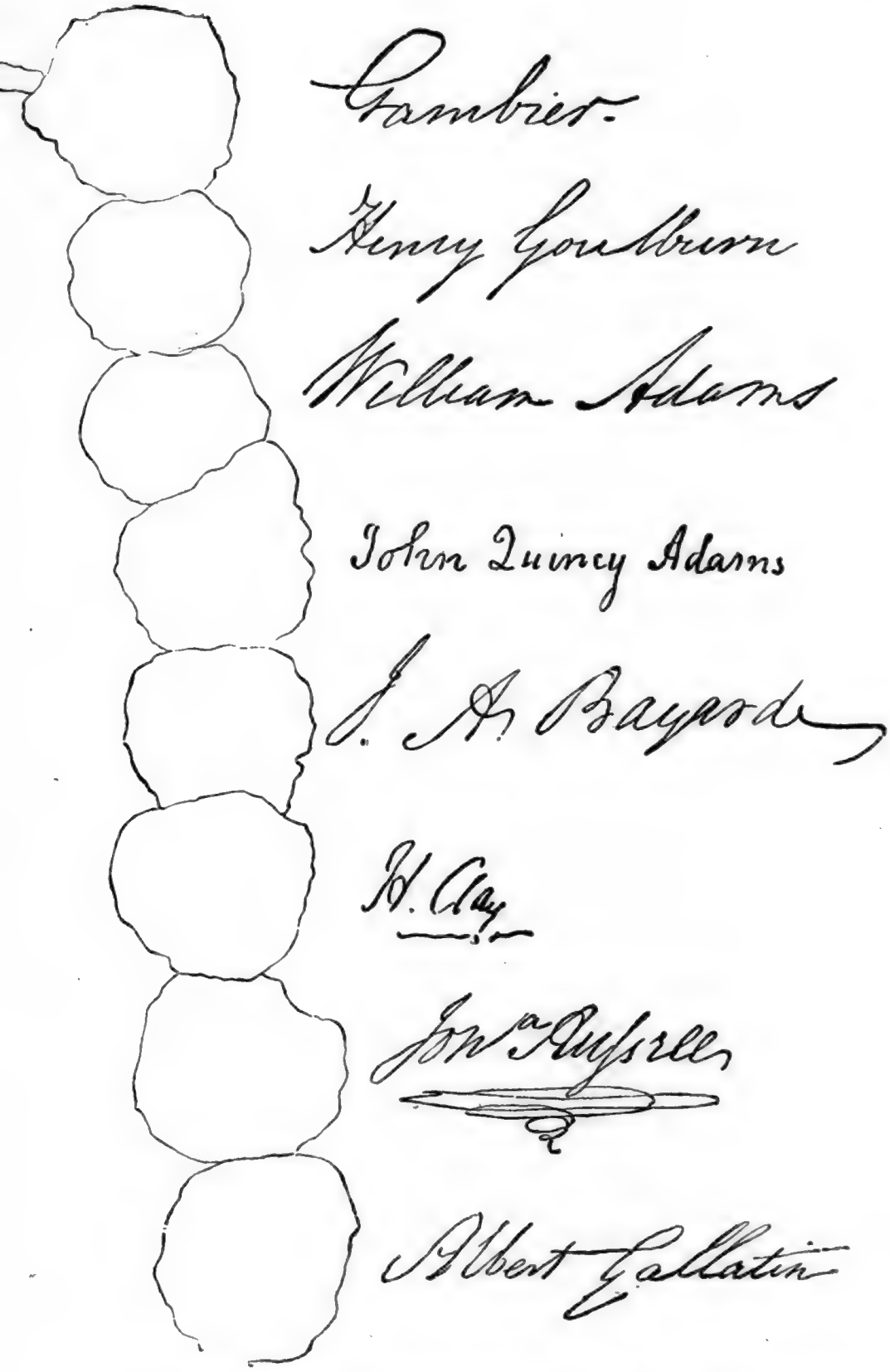
Instructions to Commissioners.

The American Commissioners at Ghent[1] implicitly, in the letter and in the spirit, obeyed their instructions. In the course of the negotiations with the English Commissioners they declared that "the causes of the war having disappeared by the maritime pacification of Europe, the Government of the United States does not desire to continue it in defence of abstract principles" — meaning by abstract principles the impressment of American seamen — "which have, for the present, ceased to have any practical effect." Accordingly, in the treaty then and there made, the subject of impressment was not even alluded to. The cost of the war in human life was thirty thousand men; in money expended, and represented by a national debt, one hundred million dollars; the loss in public and private wealth, in the paralysis of industry and prosperity, was beyond any estimate. In the official volume of Treaties and Conventions, published by the United States, the subject of the Treaty of

The treaty of Ghent.

[1] The American Commissioners were: John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin.

Done in triplicate at Ghent the twenty fourth day of December one thousand eight hundred and fourteen



FAC-SIMILES OF SIGNATURES TO TREATY OF GHENT.

Ghent is indexed as "Peace, Boundary, Slave-trade." Peace it certainly secured; the question of boundaries was left to be further considered by commissioners to be subsequently appointed, and to vex both governments for another thirty years; on the abolition of the slave-trade, by an empty generality it was agreed that "both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object." The treaty in fact was not so good as that concluded by Jay in 1794, for negotiating which he was burned in effigy in the streets of New York; nor was it so favorable to the United States as that sent home in 1806 by Monroe and Pinckney, which Jefferson refused to submit to the Senate. It concluded peace, and it concluded nothing else.

The negotiations were prolonged for five months. Mr. Adams in his diary frequently alludes to the insolent and supercilious tone assumed by the English towards the American Commissioners, and often predicts, in the earlier stages of the discussions, that they could last only a few days longer, and must end in disagreement. But both parties were sincerely desirous of peace, and it was easy to agree upon that when at last it was determined that all questions between the two nations should be left essentially where they were when the war began.[1] Six months afterwards, however, a commercial convention was entered into, which provided for reciprocity of trade between the two countries, but otherwise was, for the most part, a repetition of the Jay Treaty. In one essential particular, however, it differed from the Jay Treaty. One strong, if not the strongest, objection urged against that treaty was, that it failed to settle the question of the payment for slaves who had escaped to the British at the time of the Revolution. Now Mr. Monroe, though he could abandon the rights of Northern sailors, on whose behalf, it was pretended, the war was begun, did not forget the interests of the slaveholders. "The negroes taken from the Southern States," — he instructed the Commissioners at Ghent, — "should be returned to their owners, or paid for at their full value." This was insisted upon by the Commissioners, and, it was thought, secured. The English commanders of vessels, however, when the rendition of the slaves was demanded, would only return those who had been taken prisoners, refusing to surrender those who had sought protection on board their ships. On such a point the Government was unyielding. The demand was insisted upon for a dozen years with unbending pertinacity, till at length, Russia construing the treaty in favor of the United States, England paid about twelve hundred thou-

[1] Mr. Clay said, in a conference of the American Commissioners the day before the final agreement, that "We should make a damned bad Treaty, and he did not know whether he would sign it or not." — Diary in the *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*.

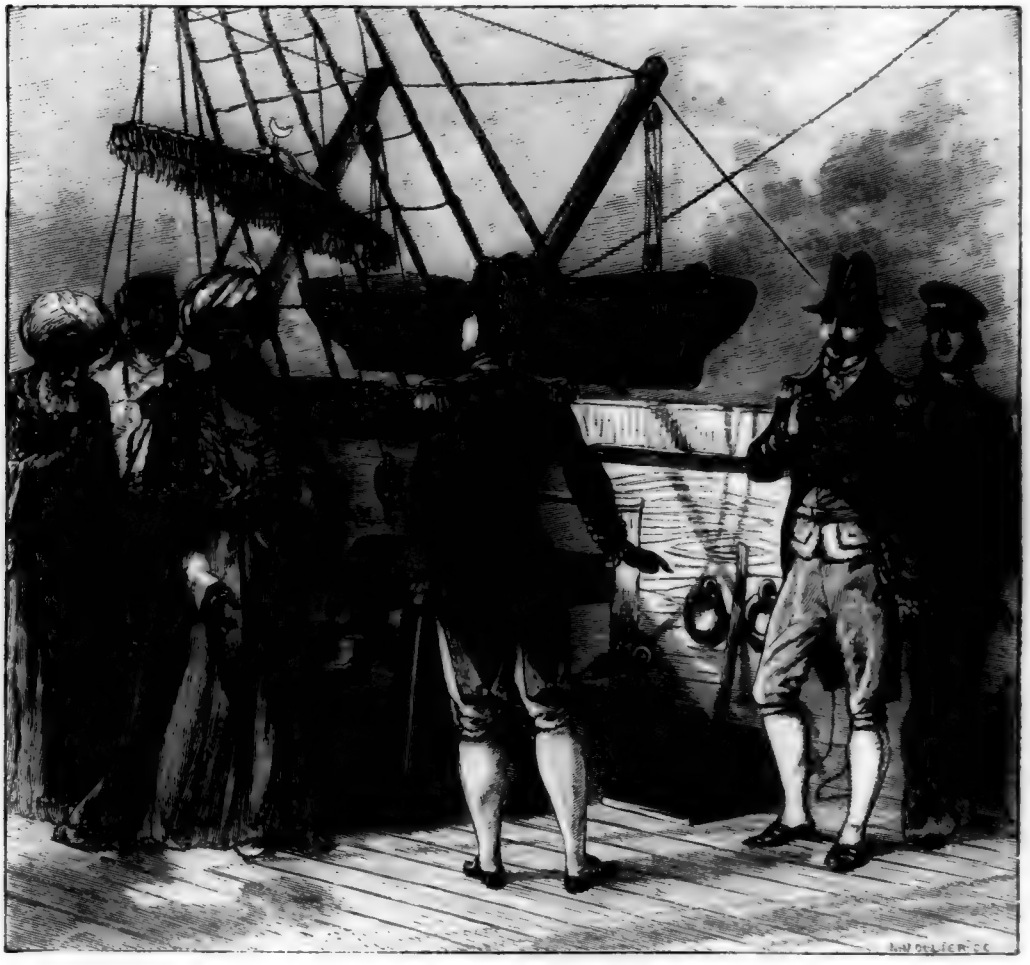
sand dollars to remunerate the slaveholders, principal and interest, for their loss in slaves.

Effect of the war.

The end of the war was as inconclusive as the beginning was unwise, and its conduct imbecile. To all this it is both an inefficient and illogical answer that nevertheless out of so much that was evil there came some good. Whatever there was of good, it had been the policy of the Federalists to strive for, as it had been the policy of the other party to oppose, through the sixteen years of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. The two parties had not changed places; but the Federal party — partly through their own mismanagement, partly through the essential unity of a "solid South," with a Northern minority — was overcome; while the Democratic party was forced by the progress of events, and their irresistible pressure — the war among them — first, to succumb to, and then to accept and maintain as their own, the political ideas and principles they had so long resisted. From the close of the war of the Revolution to the close of the second war with England, the Federalists maintained that the United States, to be respectable and respected, must be a strong government, literally one and indivisible, not merely a confederation of thirteen independent States; — a nation free from the entanglement of European politics, with a navy strong enough to maintain its neutrality, to protect its foreign commerce, and defend its rights upon the sea. Great revolutions have not been often successful without a second struggle; and it was, perhaps, absolutely inevitable that there should be a second war with England, not merely to wipe out old grudges, but that the people of the United States should be brought to understand that their independence was not achieved till they were united as one nation.

It did not hurt England so far as her desperate struggle with Napoleon was concerned, but the war, nevertheless, had its lesson for her also as well as for her opponent. Her supremacy as a naval power was no longer unquestioned. Though her navy was the largest in the world, she could boast no longer that she ruled the seas, when a young nation, that three years before was almost without any navy at all, could meet her on equal terms, and beat her in better seamanship and in the better fighting qualities of captains and men. It was a humiliation to all England, — not to be rejoiced in on that account, though even in that not altogether unpleasing to the unregenerate mind, — and a thing to be proud of, inasmuch as it secured to the United States that respect which is always accorded to the strong. The Democrats exulted that this was the result of their war; the Federalists — while not reluctant to remind their opponents

that they for years had done their best to make that impossible of which they now boasted — rejoiced in that naval prowess the possibility of which they had never doubted. Though no acknowledgment was asked for, and none given, that the visitation of American ships and the impressment of American seamen were national outrages; and though no stipulation was required, nor any offered, that henceforth they should cease forever, they were not likely to occur again, now it was seen with how much vigor they were sure to be resented.



Decatur and the Dey of Algiers.

Before the country could settle down into absolute quietude there was one other question of foreign hostilities to be disposed of, which related, in some degree, to the late war. The Dey of Algiers, dissatisfied with the measure of the usual tribute, had declared war against the United States, and renewed his depredations upon American commerce. In the spring of 1815, Decatur was sent with a squadron of nine vessels to the Mediterranean. In June he fell in with an Algerine frigate and a brig of twenty-two guns, and

War with Algiers.

captured both within a day or two of each other. A few days afterward his whole squadron anchored in the harbor of Algiers, and Decatur demanded the immediate negotiation of a treaty. This was acceded to, and the negotiation was carried on on the quarter-deck of his own ship. The Dey begged hard that there might be a continuation of tribute, if only a little powder, for form's sake; for the humiliating deference paid to these piratical principalities, he well knew, if boldly broken by one nation would no longer be submitted to by the rest. "If you insist upon receiving powder as tribute," Decatur replied to the Dey's demand, "you must expect to receive balls with it," — a threat to do that which, fourteen years before, Bainbridge wished might be done, — the payment of tribute from the mouths of cannon. The threat was enough, and a treaty was concluded with Algiers, to be followed by others with Tunis and Tripoli; and these put an end to that remarkable submission of civilized nations to semi-barbarous states, which had existed so long and with so little reason.

Condition of the United States.

The country was left in a deplorable financial condition as a result of the war, and to provide some remedy for this was the first work of the Administration. The banks, excepting those in Boston, had suspended specie payments; the paper currency was at a large discount, with the consequent derangement of the business of the country; foreign commerce had been almost suspended, and the people were burdened with taxation. A. J. Dallas, the Secretary of the Treasury, proposed as a measure of relief for the universal distress, that a new national bank should be chartered, with a larger capital and enlarged powers, and that the tariff should be readjusted. This plan was adopted; a bank was chartered for one and twenty years, with a capital of $35,000,000, a portion of the stock to be owned by the Government, and to be represented in the management by five government directors in a board of twenty-five. By the tariff he recommended, the average duties on imports amounted almost to a prohibition, and were avowedly intended as an encouragement and protection to American manufactures.

Financial measures.

Conflicting interests.

This policy was sustained by the Democratic, or Southern, party, and opposed by the Federalists, especially of New England. It was not so much a question of abstract political economy that divided the parties, as one of sectional interest. The capital of New England was invested in commerce, and she deprecated the adoption of a policy which in repulsing articles of foreign production would ruin the carrying trade and compel those engaged in it to find a new use for their capital. The South, on the other hand, were



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

(From a portrait by King at the Corcoran Art Gallery.)

anxious to create a home market for their great staple, cotton, — against which there was a discriminating duty in England, — and to encourage the domestic manufacture of those coarse fabrics indispensable in a cotton-growing and slave-holding region, which were now imported and made of India cotton. The question really was one of slave labor against free labor, though it was wrapped up in the euphemism of protection to American industry — the free trade party being led by Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, and the tariff party by John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. So immediate was the effect of this policy, that the value of the imports fell off the first year about thirty-two per cent, although the increase the first year of peace, — by which the renewed prosperity of the country was measured, — had been about nine hundred per cent. Nor was this the whole of the price which Northern commerce had to pay, that cotton might have a wider market at home by the increase of domestic manufactures. In the adjustment of capital and trade to an enforced industrial policy, the country was compelled to pass through a commercial crisis of great severity, and a paralysis fell upon the flourishing seaports of New England, from Portsmouth to Long Island Sound, from which they never recovered. Newburyport, Salem, Plymouth, New London, Newport, and other places which had been centres of an important and lucrative foreign commerce, sank into insignificance, or, if they recovered some measure of prosperity, acquired it in other ways. It is true, Manchester, Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, Pawtucket, Waterbury, and many other places became, in the course of years, the seats of great manufacturing enterprise and wealth, but they owe their existence to the indomitable energy and industry of a people



The Old United States Bank, Philadelphia.

Effect upon New England cities.

which no legislative interference with the natural laws could suppress.

The ensuing Presidential contest was decided by the result of the war. Not only was the anti-war party annihilated, but power remained in the almost undisputed possession of that faction which had taken it from the Federalists sixteen years before, and had held it ever since. As Madison had succeeded Jefferson, so it was determined that Monroe should succeed Madison. The sovereignty of the Union was in the South, and the South was Virginia. The Northern wing of the party was strong enough as an ally to make it all-powerful; it was not strong enough to assert any ascendency of its own. It would have made a Northern man President if it could, and its choice would have fallen upon Daniel D. Tompkins of New York. Tompkins was the "war-Governor" of that period. By his energy, executive ability, and personal pecuniary sacrifices, he had done as much, perhaps more, than the Administration itself, in conducting the war on the borders of Canada. His qualifications for the chief magistracy were far superior to those of **Monroe,** who, though an amiable man, had little strength of character, and little aptitude for affairs of moment; was more anxious for personal popularity than the independence and dignity of his administration; tenacious upon petty questions of Presidential etiquette, which he was more fitted by nature to control than affairs of state. But **Monroe** was a Virginian, devoted to the slave-power, while Tompkins, the war-Governor of New York, was disqualified by Northern birth.

Political power.

Nominations for the Presidency and Vice-presidency were at that time made in a Congressional caucus, and, — as under the equally pernicious system of national conventions now in use, — the only share the people had in filling those high offices was in going through the formality of voting for the choice of the party leaders. The vote in the Electoral College for Monroe as President, and for Tompkins as Vice-president, — for the Northern Democrats were permitted to have that honorary, but otherwise insignificant and powerless office, — was one hundred and eighty-three, while only thirty-four were given to the opposing Federal candidate, Rufus King.

Election of Monroe.

The tranquillity of Monroe's administration was soon seriously threatened by the renewal of trouble with the Southern Indians; or, rather, such measures were taken by General Jackson in dealing with the hostile movements of a handful of savages, that grave and well-founded apprehensions were felt that the country was about to be forced into a war with both Spain and England. The origin of the difficulty was twofold: first, the injustice which has always marked the treatment of Indian tribes whose lands

The first Seminole war.

were coveted by the whites; and secondly, the revival of the old grievance, that Florida was a refuge for the fugitive slaves of Georgia and South Carolina. The treaty made at Fort Jackson at the end of the campaign of 1814, by which the Creeks were compelled to surrender a large portion of their territory in Georgia and Alabama, was repudiated by many of them. They resented any encroachment upon those lands, and it was easy to kindle that resentment into open hostility. Naturally they made common cause with the Seminoles of Florida; and they, ever since their expulsion from Georgia in the colonial wars of the previous century, had been objects of hostility to the planters of that State. The greed of land and the greed of slaves combined were the most powerful incentives to an Indian war.



Daniel D. Tompkins.

The Seminoles had never withheld a welcome to the Georgia negro who preferred their wild freedom to the lash of an overseer on a cotton or rice plantation. The Georgians could never forget that the grandchildren of their grandfathers' fugitive slaves were roaming about the Everglades of Florida, mere unproductive capital, and that to these there were constant additions of other ignorant creatures who stupidly abandoned the lovely and ameliorating influences of the Christianity and civilization of the plantation, for life among the Seminoles. The American Revolution was a mockery, and republicanism a snare, if this state of things was to continue. The first duty of the Federal Government, the Georgians thought, was to catch all these runaway negroes; and the Federal Government only needed to be reminded of its duty. The first treaty made by the United States, in 1790, after the adoption of the Constitution, was one with the Creeks for the return of fugitive slaves; and to give the form of legality to any steps that might be taken for their reclamation, it was assumed that the Seminoles were a party to the treaty, though not a man of that tribe had anything to do with the negotiation. But the Government of the United States has always been remarkable for the ingenuous simplicity of its devices to accomplish its ends where slavery was concerned. So long as there were Seminoles in Florida, and so long as Florida belonged to Spain, just so long would the negroes of Georgia find an asylum in Florida with

the Seminoles. If at any time it should be desirable to declare war against these Indians, and prudent to invade the Spanish province in pursuit of them, what could be more convenient than to have somewhere about the Secretary of State's office a violated Seminole treaty?

A war with the Indians of Florida, therefore, was always literally and emphatically a slave-hunt. A reclamation for fugitives was always repulsed by the Seminoles and the Spaniards, and, as they could be redeemed in no other way, Georgia was always urging the Federal Government to war. It was, of course, desirable for other reasons, that Florida should become a part of the United States; but the paramount reason for all movements against either the Seminoles or Florida, was the determination to capture negroes who had been running away, for several generations, and to deprive others, who might escape in future, of a place of refuge. This was, of course, perfectly natural on the part of the Georgia slaveholders; the point to be observed is, the recognition, almost unquestioned, of the assumption that the protection of slavery was the great duty of the Federal Government, and that it was never to be permitted to fall into the hands of those who did not believe this to be its chief end and aim.

Seizure of Amelia Island.

In 1811 a secret act was passed, authorizing the seizure of Florida, and a General Mathews of Georgia took possession of Amelia Island. Spain remonstrated, and Madison disavowed the act of Mathews, and recalled him, probably because the foreign relations of the Government were too critical at that moment to admit of any other course. But the project was only postponed, not abandoned.

"Negro Fort."

After the departure of the British army, in 1814, Colonel Nichols remained in Florida, induced to do so, apparently, from sympathy with the Indians. He built a fort for them on the Appalachicola, not far above its mouth, and within the boundaries of Florida, supplying it with large quantities of arms and ammunition. On his return to England, — taking with him some of the chiefs with whom he had pretended to negotiate a treaty on behalf of the English Government, but without the slightest authority, — he left the fort in the hands of the Seminoles. From their possession it soon passed into that of the negro refugees, and for a year or more General Edmund P. Gaines, who was in command on that frontier, was unwearied in his complaints to the Government at Washington of the dangerous character of this "Negro Fort." It is quite likely that the complaint was well founded; for such a post outside of the boundaries of the United States was so convenient, and apparently so safe a refuge for fugitive slaves as to be a serious threat to the quiet possession of

slave property. Gaines's complaints were listened to by the Administration, and the subject was referred to General Jackson. There was no doubt on his part as to what should be done. He wrote with entire frankness to Gaines, that the fort "ought to be blown up, regardless of the ground on which it stands," — in the territory of a friendly power, — and "the stolen negroes and property returned to their rightful owners."

This was the real reason for an advance upon the fort by a detachment under Colonel Duncan L. Clinch, in July, 1816. The pretext was, that a fleet of boats, then coming up the river from New Orleans with supplies for the American Fort Scott, might be interrupted in its progress. Clinch's advance, with an evidently hostile purpose, would, of course, provoke such an interruption, whether it had been previously intended or not. A boat's crew was fired upon as the fleet approached.

The gunboats, under Sailing-master Loomis, then warped up stream and made an attack. It did not last long. A red-hot shot from the fleet entered the magazine of the fort, where were stored nearly eight hundred barrels of gunpowder. The explosion that instantly followed laid the fort in ruins, killed immediately two hundred and seventy of the three hundred and thirty-four inmates, — negroes and Indians, men, women, and children; and of the sixty-four left alive, all were so grievously wounded that most of them soon died. Of the few survivors, an Indian chief, and Garçon the negro commander, were given to some friendly Seminoles in Clinch's detachment, to be put to death after the Indian manner. This was in retaliation of the death by torture of one of Loomis's men, who had been taken prisoner a few days before.

Neither Seminoles nor negroes needed other warning or other incentive to the most desperate hostility than this signal chastisement. A year passed, however, before Gaines found another pretext for attack. Now and then settlers were murdered and settlements robbed by the Indians; but, said King Hatchy, "while one American has been justly killed, while in the act of stealing cattle, more than four Indians have been murdered, while hunting, by these lawless freebooters." He probably spoke the truth. Gaines accused him of receiving "a great many of my black people among you." "I harbor no negroes," answered the King; and, he added, "I shall use force to stop any armed Americans from passing my lands or my towns."

At Fowltown, on Flint River, the Indians erected the war-pole, and danced the war-dance around it. The chief warned Colonel Twiggs, in command at Fort Scott, not to cross the Flint River. "That land is mine," he said. "I am directed by the pow- Fowltown destroyed.

ers above and the powers below to protect it. I shall do so." Gaines arrived at Fort Scott with a reënforcement of regular troops, and summoned the chief before him. He refused to obey. Twiggs marched upon the town, and killed some of the people. Gaines, soon after, burned the village to the ground.

For this act there came swift vengeance. A few days later the Seminoles lay in ambush on the river near Fort Scott, surprised a passing boat containing forty soldiers under Lieutenant Scott, besides some women and children, and — except four of the men, who swam



Indians in Ambush.

to the opposite bank, and one of the women, who was held as a prisoner by a chief — killed them all.

Affairs were now ripe for the appointment of Jackson to bring this border war to a conclusion. Not that there was any want of soldierly ability in Gaines, nor any lack of earnestness in driving Indians from the lands they claimed as their own, or in running down the slaves who had escaped from their masters. But he was ordered upon another service.

Amelia Island.

Amelia Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's River, on the coast of Florida, had long been the resort of lawless men, whence goods were smuggled to the mainland, where fugitive slaves were supposed to find a refuge, and slaves imported from Africa were landed. As the foreign slave-trade was prohibited by law, its exist-

ence — if it did exist to any extent — on Amelia Island was a specious ground of complaint against its people. But it was only a hollow pretence of national virtue; for negroes were imported from Africa at the rate of from ten to twenty thousand a year long after that trade was declared illegal; no serious effort was ever made by the Federal Government to put a stop to it, and Southern members of Congress openly defied any attempt to enforce the law. If the island, therefore, was of any essential aid to that traffic, Georgia and South Carolina would have insisted that it be let alone. There were other and more imperative reasons for its seizure.

It was probable that Florida might soon be transferred by Spain to the United States, provided the spirit of revolution and independence,



Amelia Island.

which was rapidly stripping Spain of all her American possessions, should leave her Florida to transfer. It was for the interest, therefore, of the United States to permit no outrages but her own to be visited upon Florida. The South American revolutions had attracted thither European adventurers of various nationalities, and some of them at length, when the revolutionary business was dull in other places, found their way to Amelia Island. Some of them bore South American and Mexican commissions, and, with that island as a fulcrum, Florida was to be shot, as a star of lesser magnitude, into the constellation of new republics. Sir Gregor McGregor, a Scotchman, whose lieutenant was one Woodbine, an English officer, declared that he meant to hand over the province, when its independence should be achieved, to the United States. Nobody seems to have believed him; but his intentions were of small consequence, for he was driven

off by an Englishman named Hubbard. But next came a Commodore Aury, an associate of McGregor, and he drove off Hubbard. The Administration at Washington now thought it time to interfere; for these adventurers were too strong for the Spanish authorities of Florida to cope with, and if the province was to be acquired by treaty, its safety must be insured against the designs of the South American revolutionists. To aid in carrying out this policy, Gaines was sent to the coast, though, before he arrived, Aury had surrendered to Commodore Henley.

Jackson's opinions on the war.

A few days before Jackson received orders from the Secretary of War, Calhoun, to take command of the expedition against the Seminoles, the General wrote a private letter to the President, in which he plainly set forth the plan which he thought should be adopted in conducting the campaign. The letter was written as a commentary upon the orders sent to Gaines, — which Jackson had read, — authorizing him to cross the frontier in pursuit of the Indians, "but to halt and report to the department in case the Indians should shelter themselves under a Spanish fort." "Permit me to suggest," wrote Jackson, "the catastrophe that might arise by General Gaines's compliance with the last clause of your order." Should Gaines, he said, defeat the Indians, and they should take refuge with the Spaniards at Pensacola or St. Augustine, and he should then halt there for further orders from Washington, the discontented militia would desert him, leaving him only the regulars with which to defend his position. Then the Indians, reënforced by the Spaniards, perhaps by Woodbine's partisans, or by Aury, with a force from Amelia Island, might attack Gaines, and the result would be probably "defeat and massacre."

To guard against this possible catastrophe consequent upon certain improbable contingencies, — that is, the desertion of the militia, and Gaines's neglect to retreat, as an act of common prudence, when thus abandoned; the renewal of hostilities by the beaten Indians; the initiation of war with the United States by the Spaniards; an alliance with Woodbine or Aury, who had invaded Florida that they might wrest it from Spain, — to guard against the "defeat and massacre" which was to follow this concatenation of events, Jackson declared that "the arms of the United States must be carried to any point within the limits of East Florida where an enemy is permitted and protected." This would be to leave it to the discretion of a young general to involve the country in a war with Spain, perhaps with other powers, without waiting for consultation with the Government at Washington, without authority from the President, without regard to that provision of the Constitution which restricts the right to declare war to Congress alone.

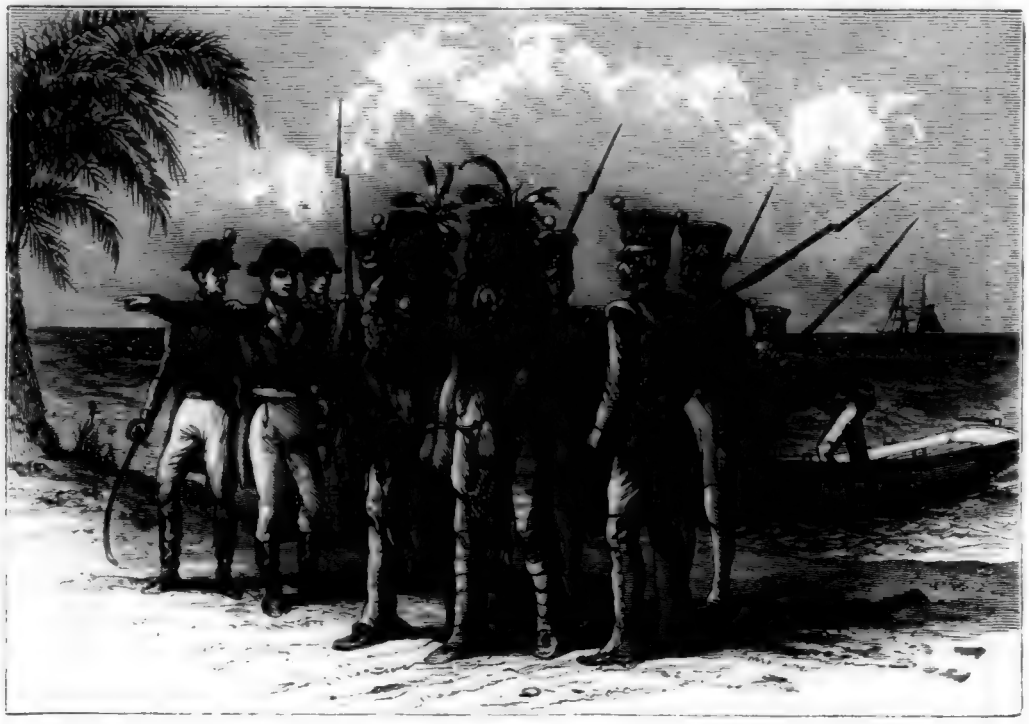
The great soldier was always more frank than clear-headed. All East Florida, he said, ought to be seized simultaneously with the seizure of Amelia Island, — forgetting, or, if not forgetting, indifferent to the fact that Amelia Island was to be taken, not because it was a part of East Florida, but because the authorities of that province were not strong enough to hold the island against the revolutionary adventurers, who were to be driven out of it by a friendly force, partly that it might be restored to Spain. But he was clear enough as to his own motives, declaring that the province should be "held as an indemnity for the outrages of Spain upon the property of our citizens." And those outrages were — what? Solely that the fugitive slaves of Georgia were free when they crossed the border-line of Florida. He was clear, also, in this: that this act of war against Spain might involve us in "a war with Great Britain or some of the Continental powers combined with Spain." His method of avoiding this difficulty was perfectly characteristic. "This [the seizure of Florida] can be done without implicating the Government. Let it be signified to me, through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea), that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished." If, in other words, the Government wished to outrage and rob Spain, but wanted courage to assume the responsibility, with its probable consequences, he, Andrew Jackson, who was not responsible to other governments, was ready to help his own to commit an act of war without incurring the penalty, if the Government would only give him a private hint.

In this letter is the plan, baldly and frankly laid down, of his campaign against the Seminoles. When the order to assume command reached him, regardless of the direction to call upon the militia of the border States through their governors, he raised a volunteer force among his old companions in arms in Tennessee, who would follow him anywhere. With these and the troops left by Gaines, he marched into Florida. On the site of the Negro Fort he built and garrisoned another, which he called Fort Gadsden. From that point he advanced towards the Bay of St. Marks, almost without resistance, and easily dispersing the few Seminoles who ventured to impede his progress. The Spanish Governor of the fort at St. Marks was in no condition to make a defence, and Jackson, on the plea that some of the enemy were harbored there, marched in on the 7th of April, hauled down the Spanish flag, and raised the American in its place. An American armed vessel had arrived in the bay a day or two before, and, by displaying English colors, had enticed on board two well-known Seminole chiefs, the prophet Francis, and Himollemico, who was supposed to have been the leader in the mas-

His campaign in Florida.

sacre of Captain Scott's party on the Appalachicola. They were brought on shore, and immediately hanged by Jackson's orders.

After two or three days' delay the march was resumed, a strong garrison being left at St. Marks. The intention was to surprise and destroy the chief Billy Bow-legs and his band at the Indian town Suwannee, a place of resort for negro refugees. The town was a hundred miles distant, and Jackson was too late. Warning of his coming had been received from St. Marks; the women and children had



Capture of Indian Chiefs.

been sent to a place of safety across the river, and the men, after some slight resistance, followed.

Arbuthnot and Ambrister.

At St. Marks Jackson had taken prisoner, as he was about to mount his horse to escape, one Alexander Arbuthnot, a Scotchman and an Indian trader. He had a dépôt of goods near Suwannee, and had written his son to remove them to a place of safety. By this means the Indians were warned of the advance of the Americans. Jackson chose to look upon this man as an enemy, and he was kept in confinement till the army, on its return march, reached St. Marks. At Suwannee, an Englishman, Robert C. Ambrister, an officer of the British army who had been suspended from duty for a year for being engaged in a duel, blundered into the camp, intending to join the Indians, and was also detained as a prisoner. On his arrival at St. Marks, Jackson ordered both men to be tried by a court martial, over which Gaines presided.

Both were found guilty. Arbuthnot was sentenced to be hanged, and Ambrister to be shot. The verdict in Ambrister's case, however, was reconsidered by the court, and a sentence for the infliction of fifty lashes and a year's imprisonment substituted for that of death. Jackson preferred the first sentence; or, rather, he chose to reject the final decision of the court, and the man was shot by his orders. He approved the finding in the case of Arbuthnot, and he was immediately hanged.[1] Their execution.

Neither in the law of nations, the laws of war, the law of necessity, nor the laws of the United States, was there any justification for these executions. There was hardly even the respectability of a "Lynch" court attached to the court martial; for that wild form of justice sometimes has the excuse of the absence of any other law for the punishment of crime, or the aroused indignation of a community refuses to restrain itself and await the slower process of law. No such plea could be made in these cases. Neither Arbuthnot nor Ambrister was a dangerous criminal, if they were criminals at all. The offence of the latter was that in an idle mood he had come to Florida from New Providence, — his uncle was the Governor of the Bahamas, — and in the mere love of adventure had joined the Indians, whose wrongs aroused his sympathy. Taken in arms against the United States, though not within her territory, he was a prisoner of war, and the rights as well as the penalties of that condition were his. Arbuthnot's case was far stronger even than this. He was not a soldier, but a peaceful trader. His sympathies also were enlisted on behalf of the Indians; but, whatever influence he had gained over them was exercised always to restrain them from going to war. There was no evidence produced before the court to show that he had urged them to hostilities that was not either clearly false, — as the testimony of unscrupulous rivals in trade, — or absolutely inconclusive; and the proof was abundant and irrefragable of his earnest efforts to preserve the peace. But Jackson's mind was incapable of weighing evidence, and with him headlong credulity and headstrong passion usurped the seat of judgment.

[1] Jackson, who could shoot or hang prisoners of war without regard to the law of nations, the laws of his country, or the laws of humanity, when a negro was taken at Suwannee, whose acts were those of an open and dangerous enemy, could only see in him the chattel personal who had run away. The General took to himself great credit for having restored to a lady in Georgia her fugitive slave, whom, as an able military leader, he would have hanged without ceremony had the negro been either a white man or an Indian. That heroic impetuosity of character, that exalted sense of duty, which his worshippers delight in believing so completely governed all the actions of his life, at this time hid from his sight so momentous a possibility as involving nations in war; but these great qualities which, it is declared, always distinguished him, always palliated his errors of judgment or of passion, were under the calmest and most complete control in the mollifying presence of a thousand-dollar negro.

Jackson had reached Fort Gadsden, on his return march, when a protest against this invasion of Spanish territory was sent him by the Governor of Pensacola. He turned back on the instant, occupied Pensacola, and then took, with slight resistance, the fort of Carrios de Barrancas, to which the Governor had fled. He regretted afterward, in a letter to a friend, that he had not stormed the fortress, taken the Governor, and hanged him, for an alleged atrocity perpetrated by a band of Indians.[1]

Seizure of Pensacola.

The execution of the Englishmen, the act of war against Spain by the invasion of Florida, the building of a fort within her boundaries, and the occupation of her own forts, were all subjects of warm and protracted debates in Congress. Jackson's defence was, that the Secretary of War had given to him full power to conduct the campaign as should seem best to himself. Spain, he said, had failed to fulfil that article of the treaty by which she was bound to restrain the Indians within her borders from hostilities against the United States; and assuming to himself the right to judge whether the treaty had been violated, and what should be the remedy in case it had, he determined that the punishment of the Seminoles should be used as an occasion for outraging Spain, though that act, if resented, might bring on war not only with her but with one or more of her European allies. The obvious and unanswerable reply was — that it was for the Government, not a general in the field, to decide whether a friendly power had disregarded a treaty; that the sovereign prerogative of deciding upon war or peace could not be usurped either by the President or the Secretary of War, much less by a major-general of the army; that the assumption of these rights, and the arbitrary hanging and shooting of prisoners, were acts of military despotism not to be tolerated by a free people under a constitutional government. Partisan feeling, nevertheless, was strong enough to permit Jackson to escape even a Congressional rebuke.

But it was not till thirty-five years afterward that Jackson's real defence was made known in an "Exposition" written by him, and published after his death.[2] The letter to Monroe — the substance of which we have given — and an answer to which Jackson declared he received, he fell back upon as the real justification of his conduct. As in that letter he had stated, in the most unequivocal terms, what he believed should be the conduct of a campaign against the Seminoles, so now he maintained that the Administration knew precisely what he would do when it gave him command; and that in the absence of an answer, he had the right to as-

Jackson's "Exposition."

[1] See letter to G. W. Campbell, in Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*, vol. ii.

[2] In *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*, by Thomas H. Benton, vol. i.

sume that silence was an implied assent to all that he proposed to do. But he was not left even to draw an inference. "Let it be signified to me," he had written, "through any channel (say Mr. J. Rhea), that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished." And Mr. Rhea,—a member of Congress from Tennessee,—Jackson avers, did write him "a confidential letter," and, by direction of the President, assured him that "he [the President] approved of his suggestions."



James Monroe.

If this were true, then it was Monroe who was responsible for the outrageous violation of the Constitution perpetrated by Jackson, for his contempt of the faith of treaties, his disregard of the dangers of foreign wars, his relentless cruelty which trampled all law under foot. But unfortunately the letter could not be produced. Rhea declared that he had written it; another person averred that he had read it; but it had been destroyed, Jackson says, at the President's request, in the spring of 1819, lest "it should fall into the hands of those who would make an improper use of it." The gentle and compliant General, though at that moment his conduct was under debate in the United States Senate and before the whole country, though it was a question whether his utter ruin and utter dishonor were not impending, meekly burnt the letter which was his complete justification.

The question of responsibility.

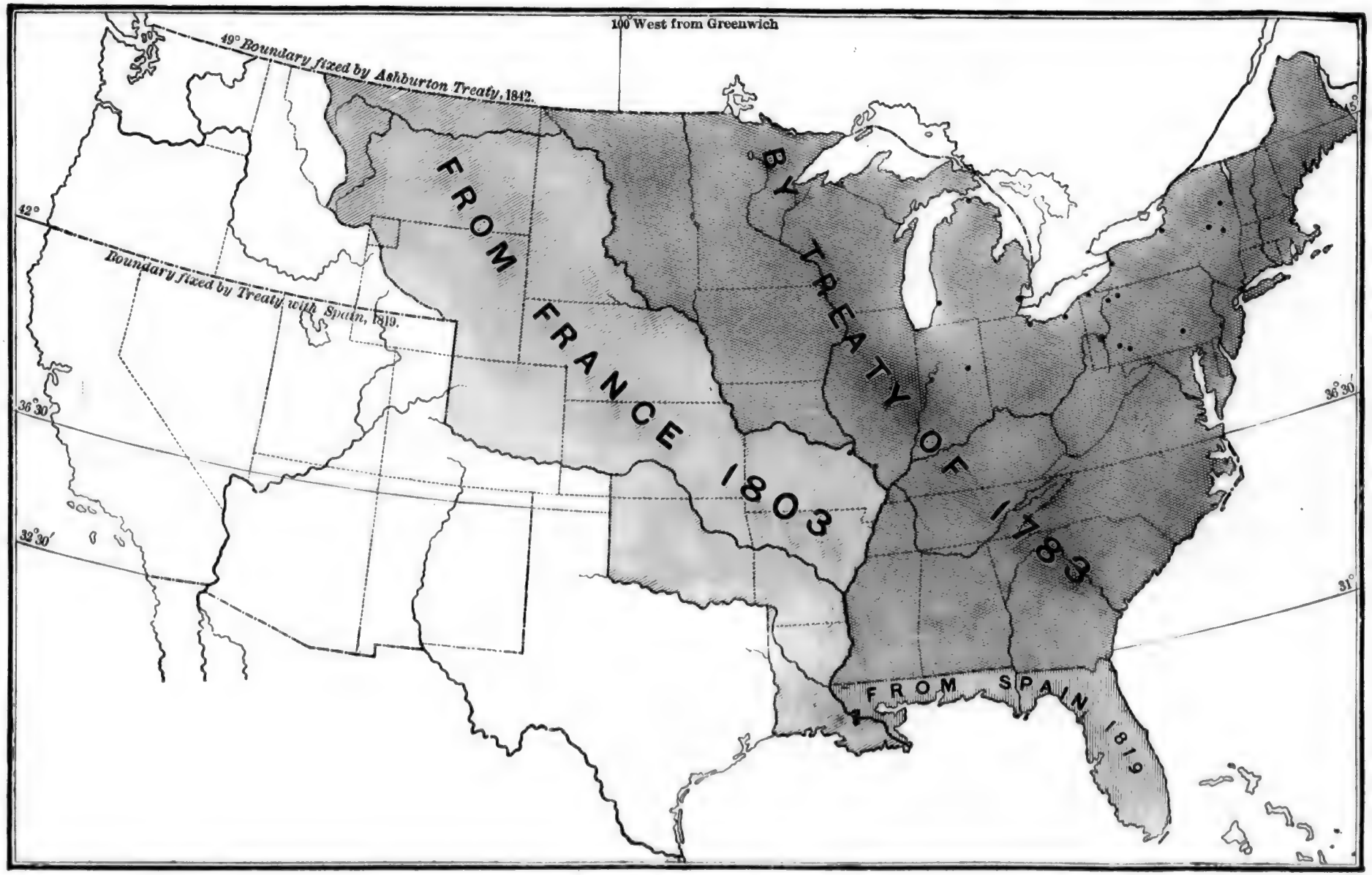
The account which others gave of this correspondence is not less remarkable. Monroe acknowledged that he had received the General's letter, but that, being ill, he gave it to Calhoun, who read and

returned it, remarking that it was confidential, and that the President must answer it. The President declares that he did not answer, that he even forgot its existence, and did not read it till long afterward. The question is thus narrowed down to one of veracity, or accuracy of memory, between Monroe on one side, and Jackson, with his two friends, on the other. Perhaps the President forgot; perhaps he lied. He was not a very strong or a very wise man; but he was a weaker man than he has ever been accused of being, if, knowing Andrew Jackson as he must have known him, he threw aside and forgot a letter which his Secretary of State had read, and said was confidential, and "he must answer."

But whether Jackson's letter was answered or not, it was quite sufficient for his purpose that it should not be answered. When Calhoun read the bold proposition of this man to seize Florida on his own responsibility, if the Administration feared to have it done by their orders, he could hardly have failed to know what was about to happen unless hindered by prompt and energetic interference. But he did nothing; the President did nothing; and the moral responsibility for this was hardly less than if they had approved directly of all they knew Jackson would certainly do.

In this entanglement of assertion and contradiction, the truth will probably never be known. Either Jackson and his two friends asserted what they knew to be absolutely false, in regard to the letter, or Monroe failed to remember what it would seem impossible for him to forget, or else deliberately denied what he knew to be true. Even then, there remains the enigma of Calhoun's course, who, knowing precisely what Jackson proposed to do, did nothing to prevent it, and yet gave it afterward, in all the cabinet discussions, according to Mr. Adams's Diary, his unqualified disapprobation. Was he honest in this disapprobation? This at least is certain — that the acquisition of Florida was determined upon by the Administration. During all these months the Spanish Minister in Washington, Onis, and the Secretary of State, Adams, were in negotiation upon a treaty. An irresponsible seizure of the province might hasten Spain to come to terms lest there should be nothing left her to come to terms about. Should she refuse to come to any terms, and the Administration be determined to take Florida by force, it would be a good initiative war measure to have American garrisons in several of her important forts. If this was the policy of the Administration, no more effectual instrument to carry it out could be found, though he might be an unconscious one, than Andrew Jackson.

The Spanish Minister protested against the invasion of the territory of his sovereign, but he, nevertheless, hastened — whether it



TREATY BOUNDARIES.

was intended or not that he should be so influenced — the negotiations for a treaty. In February, 1819, it was concluded, though the ratification was delayed for two years by Spain. The Floridas were ceded to the United States, the latter agreeing to pay the claims of American citizens upon Spain to the amount of five million dollars. The Sabine, instead of the Rio Grande, was agreed upon as the dividing line between the territories of the two governments west of the Mississippi ; — that line to run from the mouth of the Sabine to the 32d parallel, thence north to the Red River and along it to the 100th meridian, thence north to the Arkansas and along it to its source on or near the 42d parallel and thence west to the Pacific.[1]

Cession of Florida to the United States.

[1] See page 146, *supra*.

CHAPTER XI.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE MISSOURI QUESTION. — EXTENSION OF SLAVERY. — DOMESTIC SLAVE-TRADE. — INCREASE OF THE SLAVE POWER. — THE COMPROMISE LINE OF 36° 30′. — A NORTHERN MEASURE. — CONGRESSIONAL STRATEGY. — NO ADMISSION OF FREE STATES WITHOUT SLAVE STATES. — RANDOLPH'S "DOUGH-FACES." — COMPROMISES IN CONGRESS AND CABINET. — LIMITED MEANING OF FOREVER. — CLOSING YEARS OF MONROE'S SECOND TERM. — THE TARIFF. — INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS. — STEAM ON THE LAKES. — FIRST OCEAN STEAMER. — THE "MONROE DOCTRINE." — ELECTION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO THE PRESIDENCY.

Slavery receives a new impetus.

WHILE the Florida question was under consideration in Congress, there suddenly arose another, not less significant as to the actual character of the government, and far more momentous in its influence upon the welfare of the people and their future history. The two antagonistic elements struggling for mastery in the Union — the civilization of the North achieving results in intellectual, moral, political, and material happiness that only the labor of the heads and hands of free men can achieve; and that rude condition of society at the South where the laborer was little more than a beast of burden, existing for the convenience of a small privileged class which recognized neither the dignity, the beauty, nor the power of an equality of rights as the true order of human society — these two forces were brought for the first time fairly and squarely face to face. The compromise agreed upon in framing the Constitution, which unfortunately had acknowledged that slavery might have a legal existence, was about to do its perfect work. The permission to exist unmolested was thought, at first, all that the Constitution granted; but with toleration the system had grown strong enough to assert that it had, not merely the right to exist, but the power to govern.

"Let us alone," the slaveholders had cried out at the formation of the Constitution. Some of them really believed, as all the North was sincerely persuaded, that so unprofitable a system as that of slave-labor would soon be abandoned when the cheap supply from Africa ceased, and there were no longer any fresh and virgin lands to retreat

to from the worn-out fields of the Atlantic States. Whatever force there was, if there were any, in this view of the subject, was nullified first by Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin, and next by the acquisition of Louisiana. The demand for cotton for manufacture was enormously increased when the seed could be freed from two hundred pounds of the fibre in a single day by the gin, whereas only a single pound or two could be so cleansed in a day by hand. The value of slave-labor rose in proportion, though this would have soon reached a limit had not the new lands on the lower Mississippi opened a vast field for the profitable employment of slaves in the production of sugar and tobacco, as well as of cotton.

In the eastern portion of the older States, where the soil was already exhausted, or was sure soon to be, slaves became a more valuable possession than ever. A market that it seemed almost impossible to over-stock, was opened for the surplus production of men and women on the worn-out lands where they soon would have been a burden. The extension of slavery saved it from gradual extinction, in this opening of a new slave-trade which no foreign legislation could render precarious, and no domestic legislation would be permitted to touch. Its importance to eastern stock-breeders, when fully established, was shown in a report of a southwestern agricultural society, which avowed it to be a sound principle, in the management of a plantation, to work up a gang of negroes in seven years, and supply its place by new purchases, rather than attempt to prolong the lives of a gang in hand by moderate labor. The demand for slaves, in a market so active as that, was as certain as the demand for beeves in the shambles of a great city.

The domestic slave-trade.

There was some avowed natural abhorrence, even among those who profited by it, to this inter-State traffic in the colored natives of the South. The leading men of that part of the country and their subservient followers of the North — remembered chiefly for that subserviency — maintained, indeed, with increasing zeal the comprehensive doctrine announced many years before by a Northern man, — Sedgwick, a member of Congress from Massachusetts, — who said, "to propose an abolition of slavery in this country would be the height of madness." But there were some among the slaveholders, like the eccentric John Randolph of Virginia, who, while upholding slavery, denounced, without restraint, the traffic carried on at the kitchen-doors and in the huts of Southern plantations, regardless of any other consideration than the market price and the soundness in wind and limb of the young men and women torn from their homes for the allotted seven years of life and service in the southwest.

Thus in the progress of mechanical invention in the production

and manufacture of cotton, and by the acquisition of new territory, slavery had come to put on quite another aspect from that which it presented when Southern statesmen had wept over it as a burden imposed on the colonies by a tyrannical step-mother. They had, indeed, never taken any effectual steps to rid themselves of that burden, and if they were not quite frank enough to thank England for her share in the bestowal of what they now accepted as a blessing, there were many who were grateful for the foresight that had cherished it. It was for the children now to avail themselves of the wisdom of the fathers. Of what value would the compromises of the Constitution be to them if, by the admission of new free States, — while the number of the slave States remained unaltered or only slightly increased, — they should be shorn of political power? There must be new slave States in which five slaves should be counted as three Northern freemen in the representation of the South in the lower house of Congress — new slave States to keep the balance of State representation even in the Senate. As an industrial system, slavery would sting itself to death if not permitted to uncoil and expand; as a political system, it would be strangled in the hands of the young giant by its side, if checked in its growth for want of nutriment.

Necessity for extension of slave territory.

The South could not, therefore, afford to give up, without a valuable equivalent, a foot of territory whose soil was suitable for the products of slave-labor. By the Spanish treaty, at this time under discussion, the claim to all the region between the Sabine and the Rio Grande was abandoned; and, though Florida was to be gained for the occupation of slavery, and that safe refuge for self-emancipated slaves was to be broken up forever, yet the surrender of all claim to the southwestern region was looked upon as a great sacrifice. The possible area of the extension of slavery was by so much limited, and the South was all the more determined to defend the remaining territory, where slaves could be profitably used, against the encroachments of free men and free labor.

The Missouri question.

In March, 1818, the citizens of Missouri asked permission of Congress to form a State constitution, and to be admitted to the Union. It was too late for any action, beyond the report of a committee, at that session; but when action should be taken it would settle the question whether the fundamental principle of the Republic was liberty or slavery; whether the rights of free men and of free labor must yield to the privilege claimed by slaveholders for the exclusive — necessarily exclusive — occupation of the soil by their slaves whenever a conflict should arise between these two forces; and whether the government of the country should

be in the hands of the people or in the hands of a class who derived their power from their ownership of slaves. By the adoption of the Federal Constitution the people had consented to leave the responsibility for the continuance of slavery to those States where it then existed. It was maintained, as a just consequence of that agreement, that slavery might be carried into territory on the eastern side of the Mississippi, belonging originally to those States, and that new States created out of that territory should be admitted to the Union with the right to hold slaves unquestioned. But the purchased Territory of Louisiana, on the western side of the river, belonged to the United States, not to several States; and the question now was,



Choteau's Pond, 1820, — now in St. Louis.

whether the Federal Government should deliberately establish slavery by law where hitherto it had existed, if it existed at all, by sufferance only.

The clumsy pretence had been, that the responsibility for slavery did not rest upon the whole country, in spite of the constitutional provisions — the toleration of the foreign slave-trade for twenty years; the representation of property in slaves by the three-fifths rule; and the rendition of fugitives, which made the law of slavery paramount to the natural law of freedom, to the remotest corner of the Union. This soothing figment, that the North had nothing to do with slavery, lulled the sluggish Northern conscience and befogged Northern intelligence; and it was a convenient plea for the slave-

holders to assert, when it suited their purpose, that the Federal Government had nothing to with the system. But to establish slavery *de novo* in territory belonging to the United States, by the action of Congress, would be to take away both pretence and plea. The purpose of the Constitution was primarily "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty." The enslavement of a portion of the people was to violate justice, jeopard domestic tranquillity, interfere with the general welfare, and deny the blessings of liberty, either directly or indirectly, to all who were not slaveholders. The framers of the Constitution had weakly consented to let slavery alone; but neither in accordance with the principles of that instrument, nor by any rightful exercise of power pertaining to human governments, could such a system be created as a legal condition by act of Congress or by State legislation.

Power of the slaveholders.

Nevertheless, the fathers had eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth were set on edge. The Constitution had put political power into the hands of the slaveholders as a class, and the alternative presented now, as when the Constitution was adopted, was submission, or a dissolution of the Union. The North, though in the majority in Congress, were defeated, after a long and anxious struggle, first, by superior organization, and secondly, by the adherence of a few Northern allies to the party determined upon the extension of slavery. "The slave-drivers, as usual," — wrote John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, in his Diary, — "whenever this topic is brought up, bluster and bully, talk of the white slaves of the Eastern States, and the dissolution of the Union, and oceans of blood; and the Northern men, as usual, pocket all this hectoring, sit down in quiet, and submit to the slave-scourging republicanism of the planters." They were not many who thus submitted, but they were enough.[1]

[1] Mr. Adams doubted if, under the Constitution, Congress had the right to prohibit slavery in a territory where it already existed. But he did not shrink from a consideration of the question of dissolution. "If," he wrote, "the dissolution of the Union should result from the slave question, it is as obvious as anything that can be foreseen of futurity, that it must shortly afterwards be followed by the universal emancipation of the slaves. . . . A dissolution, at least temporary, of the Union as now constituted, would be certainly necessary [for emancipation], and the dissolution must be upon a point involving the question of slavery, and no other. The Union might then be reorganized on the principle of emancipation. This object is vast in its compass, awful in its prospects, sublime and beautiful in its issue. A life devoted to it would be nobly spent or sacrificed." He nevertheless approved of the Missouri Compromise, while foreseeing its consequences, believing it the only way then of meeting the difficulty. But after it was passed he said, "Perhaps it would have been a wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction upon Missouri, till it should have terminated in a Convention of the States to revise and amend the Constitution. This would have produced a new Union of thirteen or fourteen States, unpolluted with slavery; with a great and glorious object to effect, namely, that of

In February, 1819, a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives, for the admission of Missouri. James Tallmadge, Jr., of New York, proposed as a condition of admission, that from that moment there should be no personal servitude within the State, except of those already held as slaves, and that these should be manumitted within a certain period. This proposal he subsequently modified by moving as an amendment to the bill that the introduction of slavery into the State should be prohibited, but that those already slaves within the territory should remain so, and their children after them to the age of twenty-five years. Here at the outset was a weak concession, for instead of the absolute exclusion of slavery, it permitted the enslavement of a generation as yet unborn. The bill was passed with the amendment, however, by a small majority, and sent to the Senate, where it was rejected. As the two Houses could not agree, the question went over to another year.

The bill to admit Missouri.

The debate from the beginning had been, on the part of the North, an earnest appeal to reason, to patriotism, to humanity, and to fundamental law; on the part of the South, which presented a stern, unbroken front, impassioned, overbearing, defiant, and threatening. The North was told to "beware of the fate of Cæsar and of Rome;" a Northern member was denounced as "no better than Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and deserves no better fate;" Cobb of Georgia said that this attempt to interfere with slavery was "destructive of the peace and harmony of the Union;" that those who proposed it "were kindling a fire which all the waters of the ocean could not extinguish. It could be extinguished only in blood!" For that prophecy he deserves that his name should go down in history. While the debate was in progress, a striking illustration of what the South was contending for was — said Tallmadge in his speech — "witnessed from the windows of Congress Hall, and viewed by members who compose the legislative councils of Republican America!" Missouri must be secured as a negro-market. "A slave-driver," he said, "a trafficker in human flesh, as if sent by Providence, has passed the door of your Capitol, on his way to the West, driving before him about fifteen of these wretched victims of his power. The males, who might raise the arm of vengeance, and retaliate for their wrongs, were handcuffed and chained to each other, while the females and children were marched in their rear, under the guidance of the driver's whip!"

rallying to their standard the other States by the universal emancipation of their slaves." Had the "wiser and bolder course" been persisted in, and the question of disunion met and settled in 1820, who can doubt that civilization and free and intelligent government would have been advanced forty years, without the enormous sacrifice which waiting forty years demanded?

The Missouri question being thus disposed of for that session, the cognate question of the establishment of a government for the southern part of the Missouri Territory, south of 36° 30′ — the Arkansas country — was taken up. Both in the House and in the Senate an amendment to prohibit slavery therein was moved and lost, and the first step in the controversy was gained by the South.[1] In the course of the debate Louis McLane, a representative

The Arkansas Bill.



A Slave-Coffle passing the Capitol.

in the House from Delaware, suggested as a compromise a division of the Western territory between the free and slave States.

The next session, convened in December, the contest was renewed,

[1] Wilson, in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, is in error in assigning the action of Congress on the Arkansas Bill to the following December. This is not merely an error in date: — the passage of the bill would have lost much of its significance had it been postponed ten months. It should be remembered that on the 16th of February, Tallmadge's amendment to the Missouri Bill, prohibiting slavery, had passed the House. Immediate alarm was taken; the Arkansas Bill was introduced the next day, and before sunset the perpetuation of slavery south of 36° 30′ was assured in the territory west of the Mississippi. It was a great point gained. The precedent was secured of establishing slav-

the North, meanwhile, in resolutions of State legislatures, and the unequivocal expressions of public opinion, condemning the extension and perpetuation of slavery under the protecting power of the national government. A northeast wind could not have been less heeded at the South. "They may philosophize and town-meeting about it as much as they please," said Macon, a North Carolina Senator, with contemptuous insolence; "but, with great submission, they know nothing about the question."

Sentiments of the North.

In the House, the question was presented, as at the previous session — a bill for the admission of Missouri, with an amendment, proposed by John W. Taylor, of New York, prohibiting slavery, except in regard to those who were already slaves in the Territory. The anti-slavery men, led by Taylor, kept that issue clearly in view for several weeks of hot and passionate debate, and did not permit themselves to be turned from their purpose by propositions and resolutions, some of which were treacherous and some only stupid. These, however, it should be said, came often from Northern members, who, having determined to betray the North, aimed to do so by rendering service as conspicuous as it was possible to make it, compatible with the degree of ignominy it was their aim to avoid. Chief among these were John Holmes, from the Maine district of Massachusetts, and Henry R. Storrs, of New York. The bill was finally passed by a vote of ninety-one to eighty-two, the prohibitory amendment being first adopted by a majority of eight.

The struggle over Missouri.

But this was a defeat only of the advanced guard. The real struggle was in the Senate, where the final victory was by parliamentary strategy, which first confused and divided, and then dispersed the weaker Northern column. To a bill for the admission of Maine the admission of Missouri was attached as an amendment. The Maine bill was sent to the Senate from the House, possibly before it occurred to anybody that use might be made of it to influence the other question. The suggestion of a resort to this stratagem was, at any rate, first made in a speech in the House by the Speaker, Henry Clay, on the 20th of December, who declared "that he did not mean to give his consent to the admission of the State of Maine into the Union, so long as the doctrines were upheld of annexing conditions to the admission of States into the Union from beyond the mountains." It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that there was no just parallel in the two cases. The right of Maine to admission as a

ery by positive legislation in territory not belonging to the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution; and the difficulty was avoided, in the further consideration of the Missouri question, of there being free territory, or territory still to dispute over, south of the parallel of 36° 30′.

part of one of the original thirteen States, with a republican form of government, was absolute under the Constitution. The question with regard to Missouri was whether, under the Constitution, Congress had the right to create a new State out of purchased territory, and admit it to the Union without a republican form of government.

But Clay's threat in the House was improved in the Senate. The memorial from the Legislature of Missouri was taken from the files of the last session and referred to the judiciary committee of the Senate. A few days afterward, a bill for the admission of Maine was received from the House, and that was referred to the same committee. In accordance then with a suggestion from Barbour, of Virginia, — in a notice of a proposed motion, — the judiciary committee reported the House bill for the admission of Maine, but adding to it an amendment for the admission of Missouri.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to defeat this trickery. Jonathan Roberts, of Pennsylvania, moved to amend the amendment by prohibiting slavery in Missouri. This was rejected by a majority of eleven, six of the number being Senators from free States. Had the six Northern votes been added to the sixteen given in favor of the amendment by the other Northern Senators, it would have been carried by a majority of one. There was still, however, a chance to defeat the bill on the proposition to make the admission of Maine dependent upon the admission of Missouri. But that also was carried by Northern votes. The majority was two in the affirmative, the Senators from Illinois, Edwards and Thomas, and one of the Indiana Senators, Taylor, voting for it. The whole forty-four votes of the Senate were cast on this question; as Van Dyke and Horsey, of Delaware, voted with the North, the majority would have been four against the bill, had the three Senators from Illinois and Indiana been faithful to the cause of the free States.[1]

Division of the votes.

The two Houses now stood directly opposed to each other. The Representatives would not recede from their decision to prohibit slavery in Missouri, nor accept the Senate's amendment to make the admission of Missouri the condition of the admission of Maine. The Senate was equally determined that Missouri should come into the Union as a slave State, and that unless that point was yielded, no free State should be admitted. Had the House maintained its ground, the United States, for the next half century, would have had another history.

But Thomas, of Illinois, who had voted thus far with the South, now came forward with the compromise measure, in accepting which

[1] The vote on prohibition was 27 to 16; that on adding the admission of Missouri to the Maine bill, 23 to 21.

the North gave up the essential principle that the opponents of slavery had all along contended for. Present peace, indeed, was gained, — if peace were really in jeopardy, — but it was only by smothering a fire which at a future day was to break forth with a violence and destructive force of which it was at that time incapable. The gain on one side was the extension of slavery and the admission of a new slave State; on the other was the promise of a prohibition of slavery in future States, the fulfilment of which was only secured, when the time came, by fighting for it.

The compromise.



A Sugar Plantation.

Thomas's proposition was, to prohibit slavery in all that portion of the Louisiana purchase lying north of 36° 30′, excepting Missouri. This make-shift was acceded to by twenty Northern Senators, two only voting against it; and by fourteen Southern Senators, eight voting against it.[1] A second vote on this proposition — on a motion to recede from it — was the same, except that Senator Sanford, of New York, voted against it instead of for it, as on the first ballot. Yet, when the bill came up for its final passage, two days later, it was

[1] The vote was 34 to 10.

passed by a majority of four only, — Edwards and Thomas, of Illinois, Hunter, of Rhode Island, and Parrott, of New Hampshire.

A committee of conference from the two Houses had met in the mean time, and recommended that the Senate recede from the amendment which added the admission of Missouri to the bill admitting Maine, and that the House recede from its amendment prohibiting the introduction of slavery into Missouri, and accept, instead, the compromise line of 36° 30′ adopted by the Senate. But this the House had already done before the committee of conference had reported, — receding from its own amendment by a vote of ninety to eighty-seven. Twelve Northern men voted in the affirmative, — three times as many as were needed to secure a majority. The compromise measure was then passed by the overwhelming vote of one hundred and thirty-four to forty-two; and among the forty-two, thirty-seven were from the slaveholding States, leaving five opponents only from the free States. The more radical of the slaveholders denied the right of free labor to any territory whatever.

The measure was a Northern measure, carried by Northern votes. With some the threats of disunion were a sufficient influence;[1] some, whom in the debate Randolph called "dough-faces," did not need even that. The Southerners stood by their order without failure and without faltering. The threat to keep out Maine, unless Missouri were admitted, did its work, nor did the Senate recede from that menace till the House had succumbed. There was even another trick still in reserve. Before the House bill was sent to the Senate, Randolph moved a reconsideration, that the question might be reopened, in the hope of defeating the compromise and saving the territory north of 36° 30′ for slavery. Clay, the Speaker, declared the motion out of order till the ordinary business of the House — the reading of the journal — was disposed of. While this was going on, the Speaker hurried off the bill to the Senate, and, when Randolph renewed his motion, pronounced it again out of order, as the bill was no longer in possession of the House. Randolph's anger was unrestrained. He moved that the clerk had been guilty of a violation of the privileges of a member; and, when that was negatived, he moved that the rule securing to members the privilege he had exercised in regard to a motion of reconsideration be expunged as useless. The question was serious enough to call for an

How it was secured.

[1] "In the hottest paroxysm of the Missouri question in the Senate, James Barbour, one of the Virginia Senators, was going round to all the free-State members and proposing to them to call a Convention of the States to dissolve the Union, and agree upon the terms of separation and the mode of disposing of the public debt and of the lands, and make other necessary arrangements of disunion." — Adams's *Diary*.

explanation from Clay, at the next session of Congress; but the only true explanation was, that the victory having been once gained, it was not to be jeoparded by another struggle through obedience to parliamentary law.

There was still another compromise to be made, and that was in the Cabinet. When the bill came to the President, he asked advice on two points. First, whether Congress had a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a Territory? The Cabinet were agreed that the right existed. Then he asked if the section prohibiting slavery "forever" referred only to the territorial condition, or was also applicable when a Territory should become a State? The Cabinet, except Mr. Adams, agreed that "forever" applied only to the territorial condition; but the Secretary of State maintained that "forever" meant literally forever, whether in Territory or State. The President wished the answers to be in writing; to which Mr. Adams said that, as he stood alone, in his reply to the second question he should wish to give his reasons. To escape this, it was proposed to avoid the question of "forever" as relating to States, and ask only whether the section prohibiting slavery in the Territories forever was constitutional. And on this the order of proceeding was reversed: Mr. Adams was only to reply in the affirmative without his reasons, while the rest were to explain in writing, that the prohibition was constitutional, but "forever" meant only while the territorial condition existed. With this mental reservation on the part of the President and his Cabinet — Mr. Adams excepted — the bill was signed, and in it was the whole pith and meaning of the Missouri Compromise, as the country learned thirty-five years afterward. It was a promise and agreement given to the ear and broken to the hope. When at that later time these written opinions of Monroe's Cabinet were searched for in the Department of State, "it is a singular circumstance," says Mr. Charles Francis Adams, in a note to his father's Diary, "that nothing was found but what appeared to have been an envelope referring to them as enclosed."

Action of the President and his Cabinet.



John Randolph.

But even yet the pretended compromise was not quite finished.

The next session Missouri sent her Constitution to Congress, and asked admission. An article of that Constitution declared that "it shall be the duty of the Legislature to pass laws to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State, under any pretext whatsoever." The question of the admission of the State was reopened, though upon new ground. Her Constitution must be in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and that declared that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the immunities and privileges of the several States." Were free negroes and mulattoes citizens? If they were, the Constitution of Missouri was not in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and she was not entitled to admission.

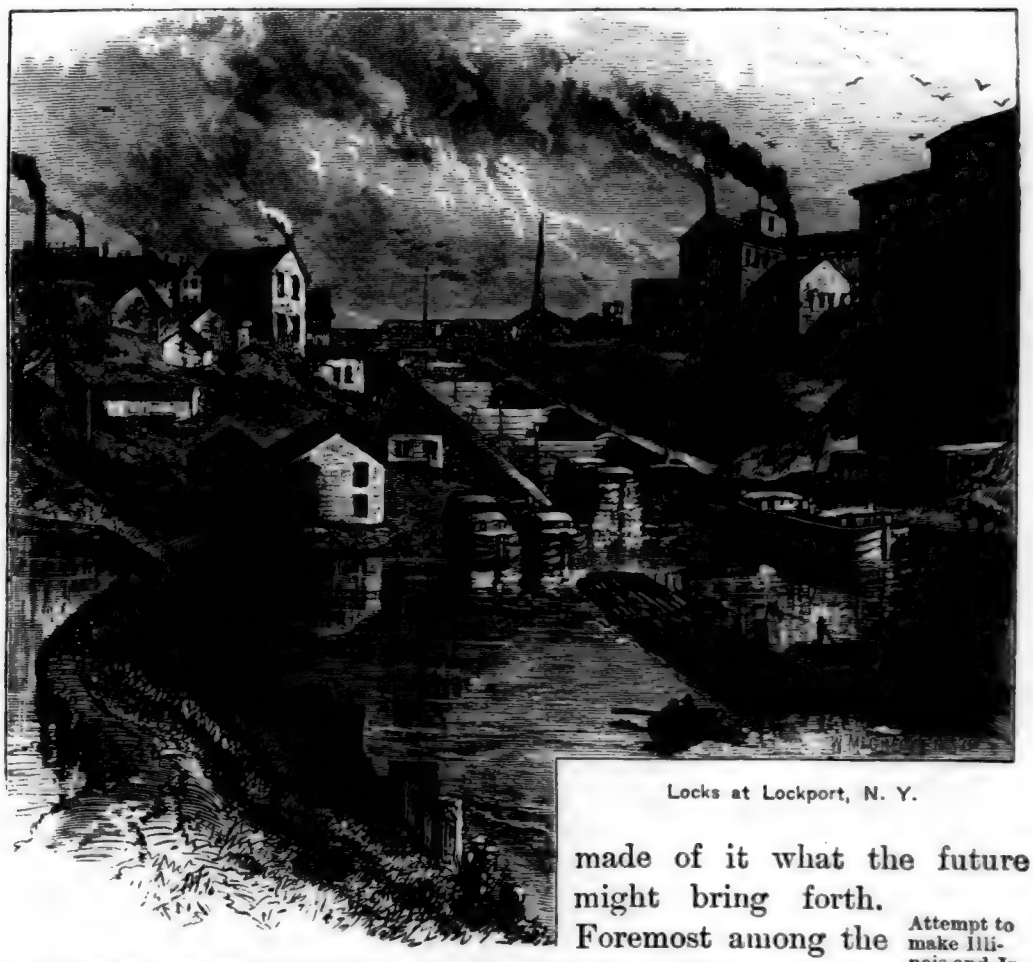
Missouri's Constitution.

For three months the debate on this question continued in the same spirit, with much of the same asperity and menace on the one hand, and the same faltering on the other. The House was for a while as firm as it was before against the admission of Missouri as a slave State, and the Senate was equally firm that the colored citizens of other States should be denied citizenship by her if she so pleased. It came at last, as before, to a conference committee, and the question, as before, under the leadership of Clay, was compromised. It was decided that the State should be admitted when her Legislature should agree that the section of the Constitution in question should not be construed as authorizing a law excluding any citizens of other States from any immunities and privileges to which they were entitled under the Constitution of the United States, and that no such law should be passed. Such a pledge the Legislature of Missouri gave; but the objectionable clause remained in her Constitution, and the power remained with her, notwithstanding the act, to decide whether free negroes and mulattoes were citizens in other States, and, if they were not, to deny them citizenship in Missouri under her Constitution.

It was three years from the time the Missouri question first came before Congress (March, 1818) to this final compromise (February, 1821), by which the slaveholders gained all they contended for, and the Federal Government made itself responsible, not merely for the toleration of slavery, but for its establishment where it could exist only because it was so established. The slaveholders had learned how to govern, and the secret lay, first, in the perfect organization of their own order, and secondly in holding in their pay a menial party at the North, — called sometimes by one name, sometimes by another, — on whose obedience they could always count, and with whose aid they were almost always invincible. In the admission of Missouri there was, for the first time, a clean-cut, unmixed issue on the ques-

tion of a free government or a slaveholding government in the United States; and the slaveholders trampled the principles of the Constitution and the rights and interests of freemen beneath their feet. Henceforth the inevitable conflict between freedom and slavery was an open one, and it could only end in the dissolution and reconstruction of the Union. Cobb's prophecy was to come true, though not in the way he meant.

The completeness of the triumph of the slaveholders was plain to all men, and those who were wise saw in the almost immediate use



Locks at Lockport, N. Y.

made of it what the future might bring forth.

Attempt to make Illinois and Indiana slave States.

Foremost among the treacherous representatives of the Northern States in the late struggle had been the Senators of Illinois and Indiana, and that treachery was followed up, as the next step, by an attempt to make them both slaveholding States, notwithstanding the fundamental and binding law of the Ordinance of 1787. The project was defeated, however, by a popular movement, led in Illinois by Governor Edward Coles.

But even this failed to arouse a suspicion of the price the future was to pay for the Missouri Compromise, and that what had been so fatu-

ously mistaken for a bargain was meant to be a gigantic fraud. The mass of the people in 1820, at the North at least, were, without doubt, heartily sick of the subject, and were anxious for peace on almost any terms. Missouri was then, and was likely to continue to be, a far-off and unknown land to most of the people of the Northern Atlantic States. Why need they care whether there were slaves there or not? Why, especially, need they be troubled that free negroes were to have no rights in Missouri? Was it quite certain that free negroes had any rights anywhere, though in some States they were tolerably secure in the privilege of not being slaves? The question was soon forgotten.

> "So with a sullen 'All 's for best,'
> The land seemed settling to its rest."

Topics of more immediate interest, and generally esteemed of more importance, engaged the popular attention. The question of internal improvements grew in importance year by year, and nothing marked more distinctly the departure of the dominant party from the principles by which it had been governed in its earlier days. It was a favorite doctrine of the earlier Federalists, that, both for the good of the people, and for the sake of consolidating the Union, such improvements were a legitimate object of the fostering care of the Federal Government. The strict constructionists — as the Democrats assumed to be — opposed this doctrine. The Jeffersonian party held no more positive principle than that works of public improvement should be left to the States or to private enterprise, and that there was nothing in the Constitution that warranted the assumption of such a duty by the Federal Government. One of Madison's last acts was to veto a bill passed by Congress "to set apart and pledge certain funds for internal improvements."

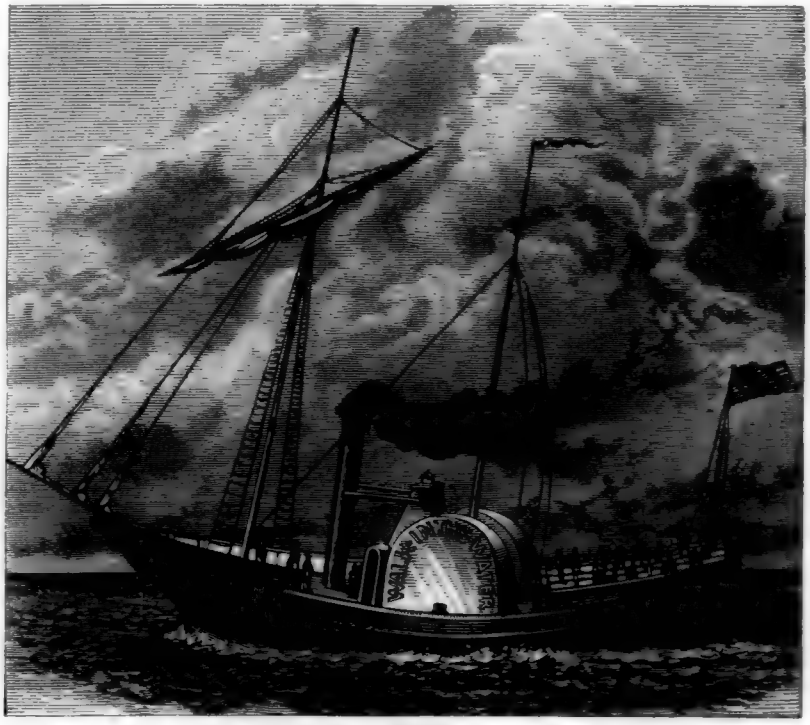
Internal improvements.

But it was not difficult for strict constructionists to find sufficient authority in the general purposes of the Constitution to warrant the interference of the Federal Government when it suited them to change their policy. More than a million dollars were expended during Monroe's administration to build the national road from Cumberland, in Maryland, to Ohio; other roads and canals were projected then, or a little later, in different parts of the country, which, before they were finished, received of the Government still larger sums. It would be an instructive inquiry to examine the cost, the usefulness, and the end of some of the works thus undertaken for the public good at the public expense, and to learn how far they have been outstripped and superseded by works built by private energy, with private capital.

But whether Federal legislation was wise or foolish under the impulse of material progress, that progress was rapid and general during

this period, sometimes with the aid of State Legislatures, sometimes through the unassisted labors of private citizens of large brain and iron will. In the face of unsparing ridicule, De Witt Clinton dug his "ditch" three hundred and sixty-three miles long, connecting Lake Erie and all the upper lakes with the tide-water of the Atlantic. On the 4th of July, 1817, the first spade-full of earth was turned in this great work, and in October, 1825, the largest canal in the world was open for traffic. Its route was through a region of almost unsurpassed fertility, much of it then a wilderness, and new towns sprang up along its banks, some of them to grow, in a few years, to large cities. Its original cost was seven million six hundred thousand dollars, and its annual earnings have sometimes been nearly half that sum, while the amount of traffic has surpassed that of the River Rhine.[1]

The Erie Canal.



Steamboat "Walk-in-the-Water."

Steamboats were no longer a novelty and an experiment in eastern waters, where they were coming gradually into favor. At the West, in 1818, the long smoke-pennant floated over Lake Erie from the steamer *Walk-in-the-Water*, which ran regularly to Detroit. The next year a more memorable event occurred, in the first passage of a steamship across the Atlantic. On the roll of honored names of those who gave their energies to the successful application of steam to navigation belongs, among the first, that of Moses Rogers, of New London, Connecticut. It was he who first ventured out to sea in command of the steamboat *Phœnix*, sent by John Stevens, of New York,

First steamboat on the lakes.

[1] The project of the Erie Canal is believed to have been originated by Jesse Hawley, who in 1807–8 published a series of articles upon its feasibility and value.

in 1808, from that port to Delaware Bay. In the summer of 1819, in command of the ship *Savannah*, of three hundred tons, he sailed and steamed — for he used both sails and wheels — from New York to Savannah, thence to Liverpool, and thence up the Baltic to St. Petersburg. His ship carried seventy-five tons of coal and twenty-five cords of wood, and to economize these he depended on his sails when the wind was favorable. When under sail, and in stormy weather, the wheels were unshipped and taken on board.

First ocean steamship.

The voyage was nine days to Savannah from New York, and twenty-five days from Savannah to within sight of the coast of Ireland. When seen from on shore, she was supposed to be a ship on fire, and a revenue cruiser went out from Cork to offer her relief. The *Savannah* was built in New York, and her engines made at Morristown, New Jersey. The enterprise was purely American, but its importance found no recognition by Congress. Captain Rogers visited Washington in his ship, after his return from Russia, and an attempt was made to sell her to the Government. The ship and her remarkable voyage seem to have been utterly unnoticed by that body of men, who could hardly give themselves rest for a single session from months of discussion upon American industry. This transatlantic voyage had no immediate influence upon the commerce of the world, and the attempt was not repeated for twenty years; it was, nevertheless, an advancement in the art of navigation, as important in the intercourse of nations as that obtained by the invention of the mariner's compass.[1]

The last two years of Monroe's administration were crowded with political intrigues for the presidential succession. The President himself sank almost into insignificance as his power waned; and it is pitiful to see how the man who, from the very birth of the Republic, had been among the most distinguished of her statesmen, was pushed aside, as his long career drew towards a close, and is hardly visible at all except in the attitude of a suppliant to the new men for some arrearages of pay for forgotten services. In his Cabinet were three candidates — Adams, Crawford, and Calhoun — for the chair he was about to vacate; for the early rule had not yet fallen into desuetude, that the fit person to fill the office of chief magistrate was to be found among those whose unquestioned ability, faithful public service, and long experience in other responsible positions, entitled them to the confidence of their fellow-citizens. It was not

Close of Monroe's administration.

[1] Captain Rogers died within two years of his return from this voyage. His log-book, from which we make a fac-simile extract, was kindly lent me by his daughter, Mrs. S. A. Ward, of New York.

Winds	Log	Remarks on board Wednesday 16th June 1819
WbN W		These 24 hours begins with light breezes and Cloudy at 8 50 M Calm and a heavy Sea got Steam up and Set the wheels to going took in all Sail at 9 M Lee Mizon head on Ireland bareing East. 6 Leagues distant at 9 took in the wheels and Set Sail at meridian light breezes and pleasant Variation 2½ 8° Westerly Lat by Obs 51.. 22 North

FAC-SIMILE FROM THE LOG-BOOK OF THE SAVANNAH.

till years afterward that this wise unwritten law was departed from in the nomination of James K. Polk. From that time till now, however, its violation, under the despotism of the National Convention, has been rather the rule than the exception, the selection of a President depending, not upon the wishes or the will of the people, nor the eminence for character, ability, and distinguished services of a candidate, but upon the combinations — matured or momentary, but always selfish and often corrupt — of party leaders.

Presidential candidates.

But besides the three Cabinet candidates, there were two others — Clay and Jackson — and around each clustered many warm and earnest partisans. Fortunately this large number to choose from made it possible to get rid of the imperious power of dictation which had grown out of the method of presidential nominations by the Congressional caucus. As Crawford had the largest following among the members of Congress, a caucus nomination, should it be accepted, was a foregone defeat of all his competitors. The first necessity, therefore, was to set aside such a nomination, and Crawford's opponents could unite in this if they could agree in nothing else. When, in due season, the caucus was called, they refused to attend it, and the decision of the followers of Crawford was held to be not binding upon the party. The people were free to vote for whomsoever they pleased. The other candidates were all, it should be remembered, of the same party; although that "era of good feeling," — which was held to be significant of Monroe's administration, really because the Federal party was finally exterminated, and the Republicans, or Democrats, were left in unquestioned possession of power — had resulted in dividing the Republicans into as many factions as there were acknowledged leaders. But beneath this division lay a deeper discord, — the hidden consequence of the Missouri Compromise, which the "era of good feeling" had made possible, — that the time had come for the end of the twenty-four years of the Virginia dynasty, and the election of a Northern President.



William H. Crawford.

There were cabals, intrigues, and, no doubt, bargains without number in this struggle of factions, this strife of ambitious politicians,

amid the final explosion of fraternal amiability.[1] This condition of things had its influence upon all subjects which came before Congress for discussion and settlement. The revision of the tariff, which occupied the attention of both Houses for nearly three months in the session of 1823–24, was decided, more than ever, by considerations of geographical interests. With more distinctiveness and determination than ever, it was maintained that duties upon imports should be enforced for the encouragement and protection of manufacturing industry at home, rather than with reference to the easiest way of providing a revenue for the necessities of the government. Revenue, indeed, needed no consideration, provided the tariff was so adjusted that the price of all foreign manufactures should be made sufficiently high to give a large profit to the domestic competition, but not so high as to prohibit importation.

A new tariff.

The South had already changed her mind upon this subject. It had become evident that slave-labor could only be used in the rudest kind of manual industry; intelligent artisans could not be made from a people whose only incentive to diligence was the lash, and the imparting to whom even a knowledge of the alphabet was a penal offence by statute. The Federal Government had, in the Southern mind, only one reason for being — to protect slavery and enlarge the area for the cultivation of its coarse products. To develop those varied industries to which the labor of freemen only could be profitably applied, was an iniquitous policy if it enhanced the price of negro-cloth and cotton bagging. New England still adhered to the doctrine of free trade, partly because the larger portion of her capital still remained invested in foreign commerce, and partly because she believed her infant manufactures would develop into as healthy a growth as they were capable of, without any legislative nursing. But the

[1] The jealousies of rival candidates greatly disturbed the harmony of the Cabinet. The more earnestly Mr. Monroe strove to maintain an attitude of perfect neutrality, the more he was suspected by at least one of his secretaries — Crawford, — perhaps by more than one, of partisanship. The significance of an anecdote told by Mr. Adams in his Diary is a curious evidence of this alienation between the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, due partly to Crawford's resentment on this subject. He had waited upon the President to ask for certain appointments to office among his followers, to which Mr. Monroe, on good grounds no doubt, objected. The Secretary's reply was so disrespectful as to call for rebuke. Whereupon — relates Mr. Adams — "Crawford, turning to him, raised his cane, as in the attitude to strike, and said, 'You damned, infernal old scoundrel!' Mr. Monroe seized the tongs at the fire-place for self-defence, applied a retaliatory epithet to Crawford, and told him he would immediately ring for servants himself, and turn him out of the house; upon which Crawford, beginning to recover himself, said he did not intend, and had not intended to insult him, and left the house. They never met afterwards." Mr. Adams tells this story after his own election, on the authority of Samuel L. Southard, who had received it from Monroe immediately after the occurrence. The writer adds, "If I had known it at the time, I should not have invited Mr. Crawford to remain in the Treasury Department." To that invitation, Monroe, when consulted, had made no objection.

Western and Middle States, with a few votes from other parts of the country, were strong enough to give to the new tariff-bill a small majority. From that time the imposition of protective duties marked the dividing-line between political parties, and the tariff policy thenceforth lost, in a great degree, the character of a scientific question, properly discussed only in the light of the invariable laws of political economy.

The Monroe Doctrine.

To no act of his life was Monroe so indebted for the preservation of his name from oblivion as to a passage in his annual address to Congress in 1823, announcing what has ever since been called "The Monroe Doctrine." The doctrine was not the less excellent because it is so often supposed to be American international law, or mistaken for a principle rather than an opinion; nor is it the less creditable to Monroe that it was first suggested to him by his Secretary of State, Mr. Adams, and carefully discussed and approved by every member of the Cabinet. Its annunciation was called forth by a conjunction of circumstances which has never occurred since and is never likely to occur again, and is therefore as little applicable as the old Articles of Confederation are to the condition of our time, or, probably, of any time to come.

But the declaration then had a peculiar fitness. The allied sovereigns of France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria had seen fit to restore, in 1822, through the arms of France, to the Spanish King, Ferdinand, those royal prerogatives of which he had been deprived by the Cortes three years before. The Holy Alliance assumed thus to check in Spain what was conceived to be a dangerous defiance of the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and succeeding in this first measure, it was next proposed by Ferdinand that the Alliance should aid him in reducing to obedience those revolted colonies of his in America, which had not only thrown off their allegiance to him, but, following the example of the United States, had resolved themselves into independent republics.

It was to this condition of things that the declaration of Monroe was addressed. In the war between Spain and her colonies the United States, he said, had observed and should continue to observe, the strictest neutrality. "But," he added, "with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." Hardly less than this could be said, if anything was said at all, by the lead-

ing power among the republics of the Western hemisphere when the possible interference of the Holy Alliance with those of South America was contemplated; and it was hardly possible to avoid saying something, for England — disapproving from the beginning of all that had been done by the allied sovereigns on behalf of Ferdinand — had invited the United States to join with her in some effectual measure for the protection of the independence of the new American republics. The declaration was altogether cautious; it might mean much or it might mean little — a threat of armed resistance, or an expression only of harmless and pacific sentiment; what it really did mean was the subject of long and hot debate in the first year of the next administration, when Mr. Adams proposed to send ministers to a congress of representatives of American states to assemble at Panama. The President, in another paragraph of the same message, informed Congress that an agreement had been made with England and with Russia to settle, by amicable negotiation, any question of conflicting rights on the northwest coast. In the discussions upon this subject it had been proper to assert, he said, as a principle, that the American continents were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." This also is sometimes held to be a part of the Monroe Doctrine. But it seems to have had no deeper meaning — considering it in connection with the topic to which it specifically related — than that thereafter it should be considered that the unsettled country within the acknowledged boundaries of American states was exclusively their own, and not subject to foreign occupation. It certainly was no new doctrine, though it might be proper to repeat it on such an occasion, that the United States would always protect her own territory.

Election of Adams as President.

In the presidential election there was no choice by the Electoral College. Adams received the popular vote of all New England, and a majority of that of New York, with a minority vote from Delaware, Maryland, Louisiana, and Illinois. The popular vote in three of the Northern States, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, was given to Jackson, and this, with that of seven Southern States, gave him a majority in ten States. The votes in other States were divided between Crawford and Clay, and the election, therefore, was thrown into the House of Representatives, where a choice was to be made between the three highest candidates, Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. Adams was elected by a majority of the States voting by their delegations — thirteen. In addition to those States whose votes he received in the Electoral College, he now received the three which had been given to Clay, two which had been given to Jackson, and one which had been divided

in the choice of electors. Calhoun, whose name had been withdrawn from the list of presidential candidates, had been already chosen Vice-president in the Electoral College.

Jackson, who in the House had been voted for by seven States only, had received a plurality in the vote for electors, both as to States and as to the popular vote. There had been charges of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay, even before the election. These charges were now pressed with added bitterness when the States which had chosen Clay electors gave their votes for Adams in the House, the Kentucky delegation disregarding the instructions of the State Legislature, — as they had a perfect right to do. But when Clay was appointed Secretary of State by the new President, the act was considered, by the party in opposition, as conclusive proof that the two highest offices in the Government had been bought and sold. There was, however, no other evidence than these circumstantial coincidences on which to found this partisan slander. It was a slander, however, that did not easily die, and it played an important part in the next presidential canvass. But it was always met with the most positive and indignant denial by both the gentlemen accused, and by unquestionable proof of the avowed determination of Clay, previous to the time of the alleged bargain, to use his influence — if not available for his own election — on behalf of Adams. One must have a very imperfect comprehension of the character of Adams to accept as true that which gives the lie to every other act of his long and eventful life. He sometimes erred in judgment; and sometimes, like all other men that ever lived, he committed acts of weakness; but he was the wisest and purest of the statesmen of the middle period of the first century of the Union. He must look with distorted vision upon the career of this remarkable man, who believes him capable of even entertaining the thought of condescending to any political baseness under any possible temptation.

Political calumny.

Character of Adams.

CHAPTER XII.

ADAMS AND JACKSON.

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING. — ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. — THE PROPOSED CONGRESS OF SOUTH AMERICAN STATES. — OPPOSITION OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS. — POLITICAL EDUCATION, NORTH AND SOUTH. — A SOLID SOUTH. — INDIAN TROUBLES AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY IN GEORGIA. — THE TARIFF MADE A SECTIONAL QUESTION. — THE BLACK HAWK WAR. — JACKSON'S CHARACTER, AND HIS POPULARITY. — HE ESTABLISHES THE SYSTEM OF REMOVALS FROM OFFICE. — THE EATON SCANDAL. — THE CONTEST OVER THE UNITED STATES BANK. — RE-ELECTION OF JACKSON. — ANTI-MASONRY. — NULLIFICATION. — PREPARATIONS FOR WAR IN SOUTH CAROLINA. — THE COMPROMISE BILL. — THE PUBLIC LANDS. — MATERIAL PROGRESS. — INCREASING USE OF STEAM POWER. — THE FIRST RAILROADS. — EARLY MANUFACTURING.

Political transition.

THE administration of Monroe was a period of transition in which the old party divisions upon questions having only a temporary interest gradually disappeared. But beneath the apparent calm of the "era of good feeling" new parties were slowly forming upon essentially radical principles, on the overthrow or establishment of which must ultimately rest the stability of the Government and the welfare of the people. Not that these differences were at first distinctly seen or generally understood; but under the force of circumstances — the increase of population; the settlement of new country; the increase of material prosperity; the new applications of industry; the greater earnestness of the struggle for political power between the two systems of society, one resting on the rights of freemen, the other on the privileges of the holders of slaves — parties took new and more positive forms. Nor was it that in that process of growth either party was absolutely wrong or absolutely right, whether upon fundamental principles or upon questions of temporary interest; but that a marked division-line was drawn, growing ever wider and deeper, leading at last to a dissolution of the Union and to civil war. That dividing-line even civil war and the reconstruction of the Union has not yet obliterated.

Accession of Adams.

On the accession of Adams to the Presidency, parties were reörganized, on the single question at first, of supporting or opposing his Administration. On the surface there was apparent, for the moment, no other cause of political difference than whether

he should be reëlected or whether he should be succeeded by Jackson or Calhoun. That, indeed, was comprehensive enough, for the real question was the old one of a Northern or a Southern President. The opposition to Adams at once drew together the party composed mainly of Southern slaveholders, which, with a sufficient Northern alliance, has been able, with occasional interludes, to maintain always the political ascendency under whatever party name. To the support of the Administration, on the other hand, rallied that instinctive antagonism to a slaveholding Democratic party, which survived as a living principle, often feeble, its existence often denied, or not recognized, but still always active in various political organizations, whether known as National Republican, or Whig, or finally as the Republican party.



The Adams Mansion, Quincy, Mass.

Mr. Adams, in his first message to Congress, presented an opportunity for concerted opposition which was instantly seized upon; and it was the more significant of how earnest that opposition was to be, that there was, on his part, no intentional provocation. The South American states had agreed to hold a Congress at Panama, the purpose of which was to consider their relations to each other and to foreign states, political and commercial, and the expediency of a league among themselves. In this Congress the United States had been invited to be represented, and Mr. Adams announced that the invitation had been accepted, and that ministers would be sent to take part in the deliberations, "so far as may be compatible with that neutrality from which it is neither our

The South American States.

intention, nor the desire of the other American States, that we should depart." As the mission would involve the United States in no alliance with these South American states without the assent of the President and Senate, while it gave the ministers who should attend the Congress the opportunity of understanding and of influencing its purposes, no harm, at least, could come of the President's decision. Had the decision been otherwise, there would have been quite as much reason for hostile criticism, and it would have been seized upon with equal eagerness, probably, to oppose the Administration.

The papers relating to the subject were sent confidentially to the Senate, and considered in secret session. It was determined, obviously for the influence that might be exercised upon the popular mind, that the debates and the documents should be made public. The President was asked if the removal of the injunction of secrecy would be injurious to any pending negotiations. A negative answer was expected, as no negotiation was pending. But Mr. Adams was too wary a man to be entrapped into any assumption of a responsibility which did not belong to him, but which the Senate proposed to throw from their own shoulders upon his. His reply was, that that body was the best judge of how their proceedings should be conducted. Here was new cause for complaint, and the answer was denounced as little else than insolent. It had to be accepted, however, and the Senate opened the doors which the President declined to open for them.

Randolph raises the slavery question.

What the character of the debate should be — what it was that the people were to be called upon to listen to — was settled beforehand. A Virginia Senator sounded the key-note. There was often method in the madness of that political mountebank, John Randolph; as he himself once said in debate with a Congressman who had been a carpenter, he "knew a hawk from a handsaw." Before the Senate determined to discuss the Panama mission with open doors, he moved a resolution — which could only be meant to be laid on the table, and was laid on the table, with his consent, when his speech upon it was finished — that the President be requested to give the Senate any information in his possession, "touching the principles and practice of the Spanish American states, or any of them, late colonies of old Spain, in regard to negro slavery." That the President could have any information to give upon such a subject that was not open to all the rest of the world as well, neither Randolph nor any other member of the Senate could suppose for a moment. The Spanish American states, like the United States, professed a belief in the natural right of all men to liberty; and their practice — unlike that of the United States — was in accordance with their principles, and had been to sweep negro slavery, so



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

(From a portrait by Stuart.)

far as they could, from off the face of the earth. But the object of the resolution was gained when Randolph, in a characteristic speech, denounced the proposal to send representatives to a Congress of those foreign states who had set the pernicious example of giving freedom to negroes; where the black Republic of Hayti might be recognized; where the independence of Cuba, so dangerously near to our own shores, and the possible emancipation of her slaves, might be discussed. To send representatives to such a Congress was to touch slavery, and slavery must be "let alone." That it would not be let alone, Randolph said, was "a great danger — a danger that has increased, is increasing, and *must* be diminished, or it must come to its regular catastrophe;" and therefore the consideration of all other interests which the United States might have in common with the South American republics must be put aside that slavery be protected from the danger even of discussion by foreigners in the presence of Federal representatives.

The Monroe doctrine.

For nearly the whole session the Panama Congress was debated in the Senate under one or another pretext; it came before the House on the question of an appropriation, and a large portion of the time was given to it there from January to April. That the neutrality of the United States might be jeoparded by the official recognition of the Congress, was urged as one reason for rejecting the nominations of the President; but, inasmuch as it was expressly provided that such neutrality should remain intact, that argument had little weight. The attack on the Administration was pressed with much more vigor on the proper interpretation of "The Monroe Doctrine." A meaning was given to it, it was declared, which its terms did not warrant, by the assurance of Mr. Poinsett, the Minister to Mexico, sanctioned apparently by Mr. Clay, the Secretary of State, that in that declaration a pledge of protection was made to the South American states in the event of European aggression. It was denied, and the denial generally accepted, that "The Monroe Doctrine" was meant to convey an assurance so dangerous to the future peace of the country.

But all this was, for the most part, a skirmish of words. The question more important than all others was the question of slavery, and on this the debate was in dead earnest. A Congress of American nations, some of whom believed in the right of all men to liberty; a Congress that would recognize Hayti as a sister republic; a Congress that might lead to the independence of Cuba and Porto Rico, and to the emancipation of their slaves, was not a body in which the United States should be represented. The one interest in the United States, absorbing and supreme, was the interest of slavery. It must govern

in the foreign relations of the Government, as it was meant it should govern at home.

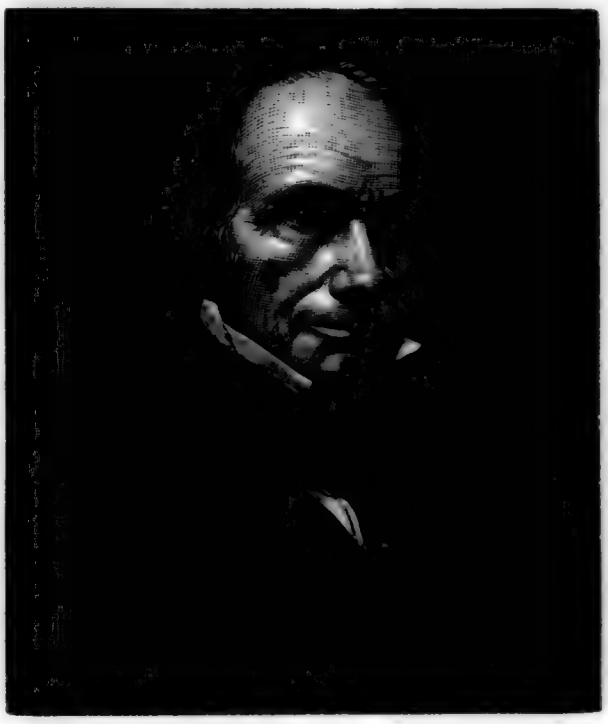
To enforce this doctrine was the object of the debate; the Congress itself was only a secondary matter. The South has always understood the importance of political education, and the necessity of inculcating great primary principles. These were, that the true foundation of democratic government was negro slavery; that the supreme power should rest in the hands of a few thousand white men — generally about one per cent. of the whole population of the country — by virtue of their ownership of negro slaves; that the highest and most imperative function of the Constitution and the Union was the support of a government so constituted; and that the Union must cease to exist the moment the Federal Government was perverted from that end, and the sanctity and peace of slavery were imperilled. From generation to generation the young men of the South have sat at the feet of their prophets to learn this lesson. The divine right of kings was never enforced, even when taught as an article of religious faith, with the earnestness that the cognate doctrine was enforced at the South. But there was no political education to answer to this in the North. The strength of firm convictions and abiding faith, on the one hand, was met with hesitation and doubt on the other. The South believed in slavery with its whole soul, and knew what it wanted; the North was not quite sure whether it believed in it or not, and was by no means certain of what it was that the South was aiming at.

Political education of the South.

When enough had been said in both Houses to show, as had been so often shown before, and would be so often shown again, that slavery must never be meddled with, but that all moral and political forces must be bent to its support, the nomination of the delegates to Panama was confirmed, and the appropriation made. In itself the act was of no consequence, for the Congress never met. But some of the Southern senators were quite willing that the delegates should be appointed, if instructed to use their influence as representatives of the United States to prevent the recognition of Hayti, and arrest any movement in aid of the independence of Cuba. In reality there was no anxiety on either point. There could be no misconception of the position of the Government, as represented by the Secretary of State. Mr. Clay had earnestly urged the intervention of Russia with Spain, to induce her to recognize the independence of her late colonies, that she might retain Cuba; and he had persuaded those colonies to delay any movement against Cuba, in the hope that recognition would leave that island and Porto Rico in the possession of Spain. Mr. Clay was an enthu-

Clay's position.

siast in the cause of liberty in South America; nor did he stop to ask what races — white, black, or copper-colored, pure or mixed — might enjoy that liberty in those far-off countries. But his enthusiasm was under perfect control, and the new republics were made to understand that no pernicious example of the abolition of slavery was to be tolerated so near the United States as in Cuba. Nor was there the slightest reason to suppose that the Government under Mr. Adams would interfere with slavery; but with that wise forethought which the South never lost sight of, the opportunity was seized to set forth by months of debate the radical doctrine that the Union only existed for the support of slavery, and that when it ceased to do that it must cease to exist.



Henry Clay.

The Republic was already nearly a half century old, and once before there had been a Northern President, and he chosen against the will of the South. In this fact there was danger, and it was time to rally a "solid South" in an opposition party. Innovations must be met at the outset. "I will cry out *obsta principiis*," said Randolph. In this first encounter with a Northern Executive, he said, "The step you are about to take is a match" — to so much gunpowder — "enough to blow, — not the first of the Stuarts — but the last of *another dynasty*, — sky-high — sky-high." And Hayne replied, that when "the policy of that portion of the Union [the South] should be called in question, or their safety endangered, ... the whole South will be *as one man*."

A solid South.

The doctrine of State Rights — however precious and true it may be when rightly interpreted in a union of really free States — meant nothing in this slaveholders' organization but the supremacy of slave States. Georgia soon made this manifest in her conduct in regard to the Indians still within her boundaries. A condition of the cession of her western territory to the Federal Government was, that the title to the Indian lands

Indian troubles in Georgia.

should be acquired by the United States and transferred to her. The Government was willing to redeem this promise; but it had been long deferred because of the unwillingness of the Creeks and Cherokees to part with their land. A council of Creek chiefs resolved, as firmly as men could resolve, not to sell a foot, and to visit the penalty of death upon any chiefs who should disregard the resolution. Commissioners were appointed, and in 1825 they concluded a treaty with McIntosh and some other chiefs at Indian Springs, by which the lands were conveyed to the United States; and thereupon the Creeks made good their word by putting the signers of the treaty to death. The State of Georgia meanwhile had ordered a survey of the territory occupied by the Indians, and if this were carried out a conflict between the surveyors and the Indians was inevitable. The treaty, which had been ratified by the Senate and the President, continued the Creeks in possession till September 1, 1826, and there could be no color of right under the treaty even, much less outside of it, for interference by Georgia. But the Governor, George M. Troup, assumed at once a position which ignored laws and treaties, and rested upon the title of a sovereign State. In his correspondence with the Government, he assumed in the baldest and boldest language the independence of Georgia, and insolently informed the President that the survey would go on. The Governor professed to see in the attitude of the Government a secret hostility to slavery, and called upon the Legislature to act in self-defence.[1] A committee of the Legislature reported, in very tempestuous language, that the time had come for united action on the part of the South in resistance to the Federal Government.

Beginning of the State Rights contest.

A long discussion then ensued, between the Governor on the one side and General Gaines, who had been sent to Georgia to keep the peace, and the Secretary of War, on the other. The President was firm, and near the end of July, 1825, he instructed the Secretary of War to write to the Governor that, pending a new consideration of the treaty by Congress, the terms of the recent treaty were such as to forbid the survey. "I am, therefore," writes the Secretary,

[1] "Soon, very soon, therefore," said Governor Troup, "the United States Government, discarding the mask, will openly lend itself to a combination of fanatics for the destruction of everything valuable in the Southern country; one movement of the Congress, unresisted by you, and all is lost. Temporize no longer; make known your resolution that this subject shall not be touched by them but at their peril. But for its sacred guarantee by the Constitution, we never would have become parties to that instrument. At this moment you would not make yourselves parties to any constitution without it. Of course you will not be a party to it from the moment the General Government shall make that movement. If this matter be an evil, it is our own; if it be a sin, we can implore the forgiveness of it; to remove it, we ask not either their sympathy or assistance; it may be our physical weakness — it is our moral strength." — *Niles's Register*, xxviii. 240.

"directed by the President to state distinctly to your Excellency that, for the present, he will not permit such entry or survey to be made." A new treaty was negotiated at Washington, and new cause of complaint loudly declared in Georgia. Troup, who had been re-elected Governor by a bare majority, again ordered surveys upon the basis of the former treaty. The Indians appealed to Adams, who presented the whole subject afresh to Congress. The message, throwing the burden upon Congress, was a clear statement of the case; but the people were not prepared to test the relative authority of Union and State. The interests involved were of little moment to the people at large. The dispute was only over a tribe of Indians who blocked the way. The President was expected to maintain treaty obligations, but no authority was given him by Congress to assert the authority and dignity of the Federal Government when it involved direct collision with a State. A let-alone policy was accepted; Georgia triumphed, and the Administration and the Indians went to the wall.

The advantage gained over the Creeks was repeated immediately in a contest with the Cherokees, which lasted from 1826 to 1837. By a series of enactments the Georgia Legislature pressed hard upon the unfortunate Indians. The authority of the State was extended over the entire territory, and was so exercised as to make life in Georgia unendurable to the Cherokees. The missionaries living among them were treated as felons, and the longer the Indians presented a passive resistance the more malignant was the persecution visited upon them. The State, having once secured its position before a temporizing Congress, resisted effectively every attempt on behalf of the Indians. When Jackson succeeded Adams, he declared officially to the Cherokees that they had no choice except to obey the laws of the State or "to remove, and, by associating with your brothers beyond the Mississippi, to become again united as one nation;" but the declaration ignored the fact that the Cherokees were still a nation, by treaty, with the United States; it yielded the whole question to Georgia.

The Indians appealed to the United States Supreme Court, and William Wirt, the ex-Attorney-general, appeared on their behalf. But here the anomalous political position of the Cherokees confronted the judges, and, as interpreters of the law, they were obliged to give a decision contrary to their own sense of justice. In the complaint, the Cherokees had been described as a foreign state, having adopted a constitution for their own government; but as such they could not bring a case before the Federal courts. But Chief Justice Marshall, in rendering the decision, said, "So much of the argument as was in-

tended to prove the character of the Cherokees as a state, as a distinct political society, separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs, and governing itself, has, in the opinion of the majority of the judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a state from the settlement of our country. The acts of our Government plainly recognize the Cherokee nation as a state, and the courts are bound by those acts."

The Court soon came into more direct conflict with the State on a question of jurisdiction, and both Governor and Legislature treated the order of the Supreme Court as an interference with the rights of Georgia, and paid no heed to it. Another occasion arose later still, when a Presbyterian minister, named Worcester, was condemned to four years' imprisonment at hard labor for the crime of remaining in the territory with a dying wife beyond the ten days allowed him for leaving. The case of Worcester was appealed to the Supreme Court, and the act of the State of Georgia was declared void. Nevertheless, the State court paid no attention to the decision, and Clayton, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives, said that "before the decree of the Supreme Court should be carried into execution, Georgia should be made a wilderness." The country was stirred to indignation, but rather at Georgia's inhumanity than at her rebellion against the Union, and it was found convenient by the Federal Government to avoid a crisis on behalf of the Indians.

The case of Worcester.

Thus through two administrations the Federal Government was defied by a single State; the doctrine of State Rights, as it was understood at the South, was carried to its legitimate conclusion; and Georgia assumed, and proved herself, to be as absolutely independent of and above the authority and laws of the Union, where her special interests were concerned, as if the Union had ceased to exist. The controversy was upon too remote an interest to alarm the North as to its real character; nor has the sense of justice and humanity toward the Indian ever been so keen that the cruelty visited upon the Creeks should, at that time, arouse the sympathies of the country on behalf of that unhappy people. But the conduct of Georgia was sustained, directly or indirectly, by her sister States of the South, and her success rejoiced in as a complete and triumphant assertion of the Southern policy. There was no long time to wait before another struggle, with essentially the same result.

The question of the tariff was becoming more and more a sectional question. The breach between North and South was widened as the inevitable antagonism between free labor and slave labor was made more manifest by the protective policy. The recuperative power of the North was irrepressible. She

The tariff as a sectional question.

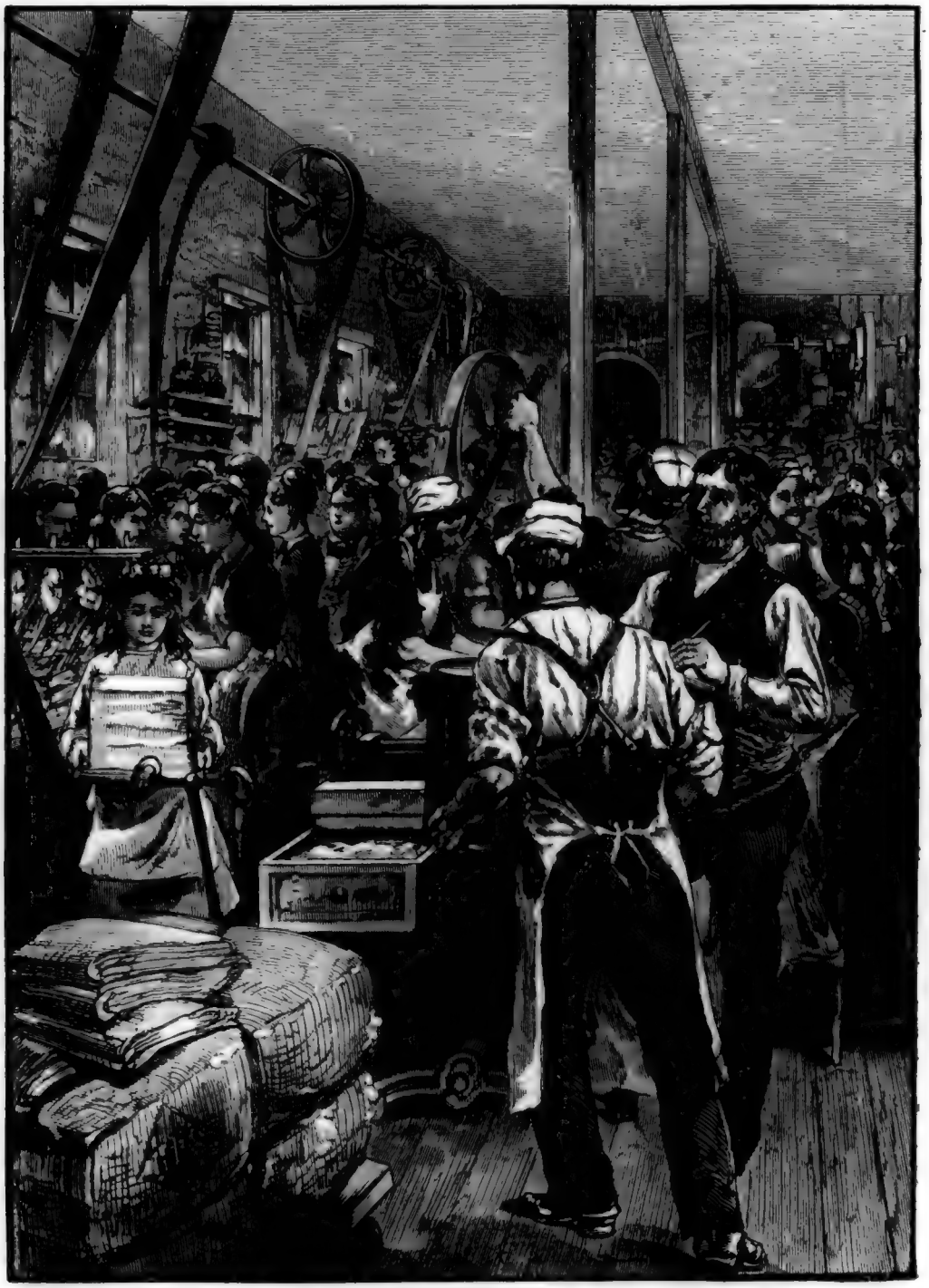
grew rich and prosperous, whether, under free trade, her energies were devoted to agriculture and commerce, or whether, under a protective tariff, her capital and labor were forced into the development of manufacturing interests. It was just the reverse at the South. Slavery and prosperity were incompatible, and while the North flourished under either free trade or tariff, the South grew poor under both. All the North asked for was a steady and uniform policy; she also wanted to be "let alone." But the South, which had first established the protective policy for her own supposed advantage, now demanded a return to free trade for the same reason. The North, she believed, gained by her loss, for she could not understand that the North could accommodate herself to any policy because her labor was free, but that there could be no like prosperity at the South because her laborers were slaves. It was certainly true that the cheaper everything else was, the greater was the value of a crop of cotton or tobacco. To sell it at the highest possible price, and to buy in return all that was needed on a plantation at the cheapest, was a very simple problem in political economy. But there were other terms to the problem; the North, against her will, had been compelled to invest her capital and labor in a variety of industries, and she demanded that as legislation had put her in that position, legislation should protect her. It was not a question of political economy between the two sections of the Union, whatever it might be in the abstract; but whether the ability in capital and industry in one portion of the country should be directed and controlled by the inability in both of the other portion. But cotton was king, and kings are not necessarily held to reason.

The tariff of 1828 was a more comprehensive measure, and more distinctly adjusted to encourage American industry than any previously enacted. All New England and most of the Middle and Western States were now united on this subject, and in 1827 a large National Convention of Protectionists was held at Harrisburg to consider their various interests and to influence legislation. The number of articles — wool, iron, lead, hemp, distilled spirits, and others of smaller general importance — demanding protection was increased. The question was made, more positively than had been done four years before, one of party politics.

It only influenced, however, without governing parties, for there were protectionists who voted for Jackson, though there were no anti-protectionists who voted for Adams. At the present time, with the general diffusion of information and the rapid communication between the different parts of the country, the people usually have a pretty clear understanding of the character of

Character of Jackson.

presidental candidates, when, as still sometimes happens, there are candidates who have any characters to be understood. But it is not

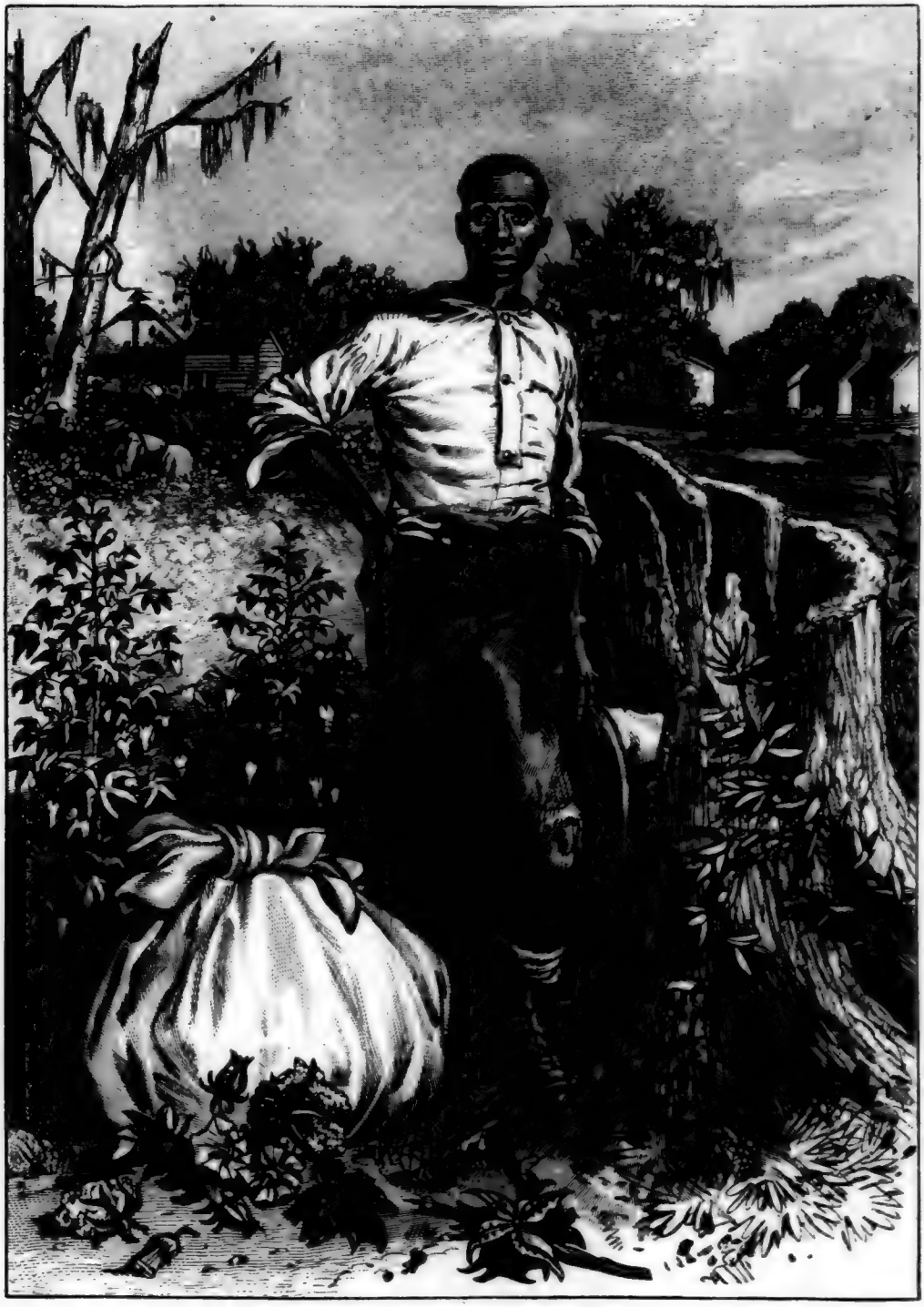


Northern Industry.

to be wondered at that fifty years ago Jackson was voted for in different parts of the Union for precisely opposite reasons.

It seems, at first sight, difficult to find in General Jackson's per-

sonal qualities the cause of his great popularity. He was neither a wise nor a good man, and in many respects he was both a foolish and



Southern Industry.

a bad one. He was not only illiterate — which may be a misfortune without being a fault — but ignorant; he was easily provoked to anger, and his rage was not only cruel but uncontrollable; in temper

he was as despotic as he was fearless, and he was as free from scruples as he was without fear. As a brave and successful soldier, he was known to the people; if he was capable also of strong domestic attachments and of warm friendships, which — no doubt truly — is alleged of him, that could have had little to do with his popularity, as it could not be generally known. The worst and the largest side of him is that which for thirty years was presented to the public, and either because of it or in spite of it, the larger number of the people admired and honored him. But that large part — at least in his first election — was from the Southern States, and his popularity there is easily accounted for. The strong points in his character were precisely those engendered and developed in the mastership of a gang of negro slaves, and the education of the plantation. "The whole commerce between master and slave," said Jefferson, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. . . . . The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances." An education of this sort had in Jackson been rounded and intensified by his long experience in the peculiar warfare carried on against the Indian tribes of the South. The slaveholders saw in him a magnified reflection of themselves, and they admired and esteemed him accordingly. That his popularity should have extended subsequently to the North, admits of something of the same explanation. As a result of "the most boisterous passions" engendered by slavery, Jefferson deduces "degrading submissions," as well as "unremitting despotism." There has been always a singular servility in the character of a portion of the American people. In that class the slaveholder has always found his Northern servitor. Randolph first gave it a name to live by in the term "doughface." It always loves to recognize a master, as the slave is always most abject under the lash that cuts the keenest and oftenest. It was this class that loved Jackson simply because they saw a master in his despotic will, which no scruple ever controlled. Besides this, there was that other weakness of the American character which has so much to answer for — the capacity of being aroused to an irrepressible enthusiasm on the most factitious pretexts, and of raising the most ordinary mortals to immortality with shouts so frantic that they come at length to be believed sincere.

Reasons for his popularity.

It was during the closing years of Adams's administration that the

last serious Indian war occurred within the borders of the present northwestern States. In 1830 a treaty was made with the tribes of Sacs and Foxes, by which their lands in Illinois were ceded to the United States. They were nevertheless unwilling to leave their country, and Governor Reynolds, of Illinois, called out a militia force to remove them beyond the Mississippi. Black Hawk, a chief of the Sacs, then about sixty years of age, refused submission, and the next year returned with a small force. He was driven back by the troops at Rock Island, but in March, 1832, he reappeared, at the head of about a thousand warriors, — Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagos, — and penetrated into the Rock River valley, declaring that he came only to plant corn. But either he would not or could not restrain his followers, and the devastation of Indian warfare soon spread among the frontier settlements. Farms were laid waste, farmhouses given to the flames, and their occupants put to death. The force at Rock Island was sent out to stay these ravages, and Generals Scott and Atkinson ordered from Buffalo with a reënforcement, which on the way was greatly diminished by cholera and desertions. The Governor of Illinois called for volunteers, and an effective force of about twenty-four hundred men was soon marched against the enemy. Black Hawk's band fled before it. General Whiteside, who was in command, burned the Prophet's Town, on Rock River, and pursued the Indians up that stream. But his advance under Major Stillman was led into ambush at a point about twenty miles from the present town of Dixon, and defeated. The Indians were overtaken and badly defeated on Wisconsin River; and the survivors, still retreating northward, were again overtaken near Bad Axe River, on the left bank of the Mississippi. Here Black Hawk attempted to get his main body across the Mississippi, himself and twenty warriors forming a rear-guard to make a show of force and keep the pursuers at bay. But his movements were understood, the rear-guard soon driven in to the main body, and that was surrounded. Many of the Indians were shot in the water while trying to swim the stream; others were killed on a little island where they sought refuge. Only about fifty prisoners were taken, and most of these were squaws and children. The dispersion was complete, and the war was soon closed by the surrender or capture of Black Hawk, Keokuk, and other chiefs. Many persons are still living who can remember the melancholy progress of these warriors on their way to Washington to acknowledge their subjection.

The Black Hawk war.

In the presidential election of 1828 the Northern dynasty was blown, as Randolph said it should be, "sky-high — sky-high." Adams received the electoral vote of New England, of Delaware, and a por-

tion of that of Maryland. All the rest were given to Jackson, making a total of one hundred and seventy-eight electoral votes to Adams's eighty-three. There was at least one man in the country who was not surprised at this result; Adams had expected it, and had prepared, though with great reluctance, to retire to private life. Calhoun was again elected to the vice-presidency.

Election of Jackson.

At the inaugural ceremonies in the following March, a larger crowd assembled at Washington from all parts of the country than had ever



Battle of Bad Axe.

before come together on a similar occasion. Mr. Adams was conspicuous by his absence, — a fact commented upon then, and remembered ever since against him, by those who, perhaps, did not know that the incoming President had carefully abstained from showing him, before the inauguration, the usual courtesies due to the retiring chief magistrate. The matter was considered of sufficient importance for Mr. Adams to seek counsel from his friends, and to be guided by their advice.[1]

[1] The excuse made for Jackson in Parton's *Life of Jackson* — that he took this method

The inaugural address rather surprised both parties, and disappointed those who expected a condemnation of the tariff. On that subject it was moderate enough to encourage the protectionists to hope that the established policy would not be meddled with. Upon the necessity of reform — that much-abused word in American politics — the address was pronounced and emphatic. In saying that a "correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections" was required, nothing was meant, probably, but a reflection upon the preceding Administration. It was a rash charge to make, however, for whatever other political sins might be attributed to Mr. Adams, that of an undue use of patronage was certainly the one of which he was absolutely innocent. Jackson had, indeed, distinguished himself years before, by urging Monroe to disregard party in the choice of his secretaries; and, when in the United States Senate, he had proposed an amendment to the Constitution forbidding the appointment of members of Congress to any office whatever, except upon the bench. However unjust, then, the implied accusation against Mr. Adams might be, it was assumed that the President really meant to lay down a rule for himself. The country had not to wait a month to see how ludicrous the word reform was in his mouth. Members of his Cabinet were taken from the Senate and the House, and it was soon understood that not to have been in favor of his election was to be held as forfeiture of office, that places might be given as a reward to his active partisans. In the forty years of previous administrations there had been seventy-three removals; Jackson removed a larger number in the first month of his administration. Before the year was out, six hundred and ninety of his partisans were rewarded with places made vacant for them, and these, in their turn, punished and rewarded hundreds more of subordinates.[1] The character of the government was completely changed by the introduction of this new system of the tenure of office; an element of corruption was introduced, for which no remedy has yet been found; and an injury done to the morals of the people, and to the cause of republican government, so monstrous that it would have been better had Andrew Jackson never been born. It was this partisan spirit that distinguished his administration for eight years, and made it, though in some things excel-

His inaugural address.

He establishes the system of removals.

of showing his resentment at some reflections made upon his wife, in a newspaper supposed to be the political organ of the Administration in Washington — only shows, if true, how incapable Jackson was of discretion where his feelings or his passions were concerned.

[1] Washington made nine removals from office; John Adams, nine; Jefferson, thirty-nine; Madison, five; Monroe, nine; John Quincy Adams, two; Jackson made, and caused to be made, probably not less than two thousand.

lent, of so evil example. He esteemed himself not a part of the State, but the State. In one week he vetoed more bills sent him by Congress than all his predecessors had vetoed in forty years.

His Cabinet.

Martin Van Buren was his Secretary of State; the rest of his Cabinet, excepting John M. Berrien, the Attorney-general, were men who left no mark upon their time. His "Kitchen Cabinet," as it was called in the slang of the day — William B. Lewis, Duff Green, Amos Kendall, and Isaac Hill — were the advisers and confidants of the head of the State. The official Cabinet was scattered, or scattered itself, before the end of the first term, moved thereto by a personal scandal which Jackson wanted the dignity and delicacy to smother, but insisted instead upon forcing upon the public. It occupied too important a place in the political history of those years to be forgotten.



The Hermitage — Residence of General Jackson.

The Eaton scandal.

John H. Eaton, the Secretary of War, had married a Mrs. Timberlake, who, it was said, had been his mistress while her first husband was living. Whether this was true or not, it was believed, and it is certain that the woman was of bad reputation before Eaton married her. The families of other members of the Government, and those of foreign Ministers, as well as those of the better class of people generally in Washington, refused to recognize or admit her to their houses. There was a touch of chivalry in the impetuosity and passion with which Jackson came to the defence of this woman. From the same remarkable incapacity of weighing testimony which he showed on other occasions, he assumed this case to be parallel to his own; and by the zeal with which he defended an apparently indefensible cause, acknowledged, in the minds of many people, the justice of the charges that had long been brought against himself and his own wife. Eaton, it is true, was his personal friend,

and Mrs. Timberlake and her family had long been known to him. But it would be doing him great injustice to suppose that there was no deeper influence than ordinary friendship, no other impulse at work than headlong obstinacy, to impel him to a course of conduct which so controlled the first three years of his administration. The defence of Mrs. Eaton was the defence of his own wife, dead not many weeks, and mourned with a passionate sorrow. There was really no parallel in the two cases, nor could Jackson see that it was he who was reflecting upon the memory of his dead wife by admitting any possible similarity. When, nearly forty years before, he had married, she was, as both believed, fully divorced from a former husband. When this was found to be a mistake, the proper legal steps were taken, and they were married again. Years afterward this perfectly innocent error was seized upon and tortured by political malice into a cruel scandal; and it seemed to him a sort of vindication of the memory of his wife, and a righteous resentment for what she had been made to suffer, to defend another woman who seemed to him visited with similar injustice. It did not occur to him that in inviting comparison he was confessing judgment.

Moved by such an impulse, his pertinacity and violence on this topic are less to be wondered at, and even from one view to be applauded. It was characteristic of the man, however, that he should permit this purely personal feeling to override all other considerations. He might have conceded so much to an almost universal belief as to have consented that his public conduct should not be governed by his private opinion. But to this his imperious temper could never consent. Harmony in his Cabinet meant that the wives of his secretaries should open their doors to Mrs. Eaton. Because they would not submit to this interference with their domestic relations, and yield their sense of decency and of moral obligation to his dictation, Cabinet meetings became less and less frequent, were at length given up altogether, and finally the Cabinet was broken up, in part, at least, from this want of harmony. He threatened to dismiss a foreign minister whose wife declined to recognize Mrs. Eaton; he sent Mrs. Donelson and her husband — his nephew and secretary — who resided with him in the presidential mansion, back to Tennessee, because she declined to receive Mrs. Eaton; and he was almost beside himself with imbecile rage when, in those private parlors where he had procured her admission, the ladies of Washington retired from before her as if her presence were a contamination. Jackson was himself, undoubtedly, as chaste as a virtuous woman; but it was, nevertheless, through the overbearing self-will of this man that the simplicity and purity of a republican Administration was, for the first time, and so far for the

last, smirched with the scandalous intrigues that in earlier times distinguished the courts of monarchs.

The United States Bank.

The President's hostility to the United States Bank, which distinguished his first term of office, and had more to do, probably, than anything else with his reëlection, showed itself in his first message. As the Bank would soon ask for a renewal of its charter, which would expire in 1836, he called the attention of Congress to the constitutionality and expediency of the law creating it. It had failed, he said, in establishing a sound and uniform currency, and he suggested that a National Bank, founded upon the credit and revenues of the Government, might be devised which would be constitutional, and be beneficial to the finances of the country.

It was the beginning of a long struggle which convulsed the country as long as it lasted. That its final result was beneficial, was not long doubted after the party passion the encounter excited had subsided; nor is it incredible that the motives of Jackson's hostility were what he professed they were, though their first impulse may have been purely personal. Certain it is that those private counsellors of his who were soon known as the "Kitchen Cabinet" had already had an encounter with the officers of the Bank, and to this is usually traced the immediate hostility of the Administration. In the summer of that year, 1829, an attempt was made to remove the President, Jonathan Mason, of the branch bank at Portsmouth, N. H. Complaints were made of its management by Isaac Hill and Levi Woodbury, both active politicians and warm friends of the Administration in that State. Ingham, the Secretary of the Treasury, held a long correspondence with Nicholas Biddle, President of the parent bank, at the conclusion of which the Bank firmly and with some asperity declared its intention to pursue a course entirely independent of political dictation. As the appointments were in the hands of the Directors, the victory was for the time complete. But it was a victory which aimed a direct blow at Jackson, and from that time, till he was able to strike a fatal blow in return, he continued in successive messages to press the subject upon the attention of Congress.

The Bank was accused meanwhile of using its means and its influence to bring the question of a re-charter within the arena of party politics. It became, at any rate, a party question in the canvass for the next presidential election, the Clay party hoping to defeat the Jackson party either by procuring the re-charter of the Bank by Congress, or by an appeal to the country should that attempt fail. In the session of 1832 the Bank asked that its charter be renewed, and an act was passed by large majorities; but when the President vetoed the bill, there was not a two-thirds vote in the Senate to sustain its



ANDREW JACKSON.

(After a daguerreotype.)

previous action, and the bill failed. At the beginning of the session of 1832–33 the President expressed doubts of the solvency of the Bank, and recommended the removal of the deposits of public money, which, by the act incorporating the Bank, was subject to the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, who was required to give to Congress his reasons for removal. When Congress refused to authorize such action, the President assumed the responsibility himself. Technically he was free to do so, through the Secretary, and to give his reasons afterward; but the action of Congress upon his message was virtually a refusal to sanction such a proceeding. Jackson's argument, reiterated in many forms, was that the Bank was buying up members of Congress, and would obtain a two-thirds majority at the next session unless he crippled it at once, and that as a matter of fact it was not solvent. He read to his Cabinet a long paper on the subject, in which he accused the officers of the Bank of the most flagrant mismanagement and corrupt practices, and concluded with the announcement that he had fully determined upon the removal, and should assume the entire responsibility. He sent Amos Kendall on a tour of inquiry among the State banks, with a proposition that certain of them should receive the deposits, and give a combined guaranty for their safety.

The Bank made a stubborn fight for its life. The management acknowledged that in four years it spent fifty-eight thousand dollars in defending itself. On the floor of the Senate, Mr. Benton was the representative of Jackson's enmity to the Bank, while its chief defenders were Mr. Dallas and Mr. Webster. Though nearly the whole debate was confined to the question of the character and management of this institution, strong objections had been urged from the first against the existence of any United States Bank at all. Jackson had opposed the scheme in Hamilton's day, being at that time a Senator from Tennessee. The argument for a bank, briefly stated, was, that it would give the country a uniform and comparatively stable currency, — money that would pass at one value in every State of the Union, making prices steady and business safe; while at the same time, when an unusual amount was wanted in one section — as at the West, when the crops were to be moved — the surplus of other sections could, through a bank with branches in every State, be readily drawn upon. The argument against it was, that to create such a centralized money power and monopoly was dangerous to the Government, whose elections and legislation it might control, and dangerous to the people, whom it might impoverish for its own gain; while it was contended that all the benefits might be secured by some other system of banking, and these perils avoided. Mr. Webster, who was now in favor of the Bank, had opposed it when it was chartered in

1816; and he was not the only member of Congress who had changed sides on the question. It became necessary for the President, in carrying out his object, to remove Secretary Duane, because of his refusal to transfer the deposits. His successor, Roger B. Taney, afterward Chief Justice, complied with the President's wishes, and the deposits were thereafter placed in several selected banks.[1] The Senate resolved that the reasons for removing the deposits were unsatisfactory, and that the President had usurped unconstitutional power over the Treasury by removing the Secretary; the House resolved that the Bank ought not to be re-chartered, nor the deposits restored.

Before the conclusion of this struggle over the Bank, a new presidential election had come and gone. There is a prevalent belief that Jackson was reëlected by an unprecedented majority. But of the eight presidential elections from the elder to the younger Adams — including both — the successful candidates in four of them were chosen by larger majorities than were given to Jackson. It was only that there was more noise than ever before, with the result that the country then formed the pernicious habit of depending more upon noise than reflection in the selection of a chief magistrate. But though this enthusiasm produced an erroneous impression, there was evidence enough of the President's great popularity in two hundred and nineteen electoral votes cast for him, out of a total of two hundred and eighty-six. His course in regard to the Bank, though not the sole cause of his popularity, undoubtedly had much to do with it. A thorough knowledge of fiscal affairs and the true functions of a bank was not necessary to an intelligent comprehension of the fact, that there might be a far wiser and more prudent disposition of the public finances than to intrust them to a banking institution controlled by private persons, and that they might be, when so placed,



Roger B. Taney.

Reëlection of Jackson.

[1] Knowing what would be the fate of this appointment, Jackson refrained as long as possible from sending Mr. Taney's name to the Senate for confirmation. When, in the last week of the session, he did present it, it was promptly rejected by a vote of two to one. The "removal of the deposits" did not consist in any actual withdrawal of funds from the Bank, but in making all deposits thereafter at certain other designated banks.

perverted to personal or party purposes. With such a substratum of sound argument, it was easy to arouse almost unbounded enthusiasm for the man who, on this plea, could be made to appear as the poor man's friend as against the rich, as the protector of the rights of the many as against the few.

Morgan and the Anti-masons.

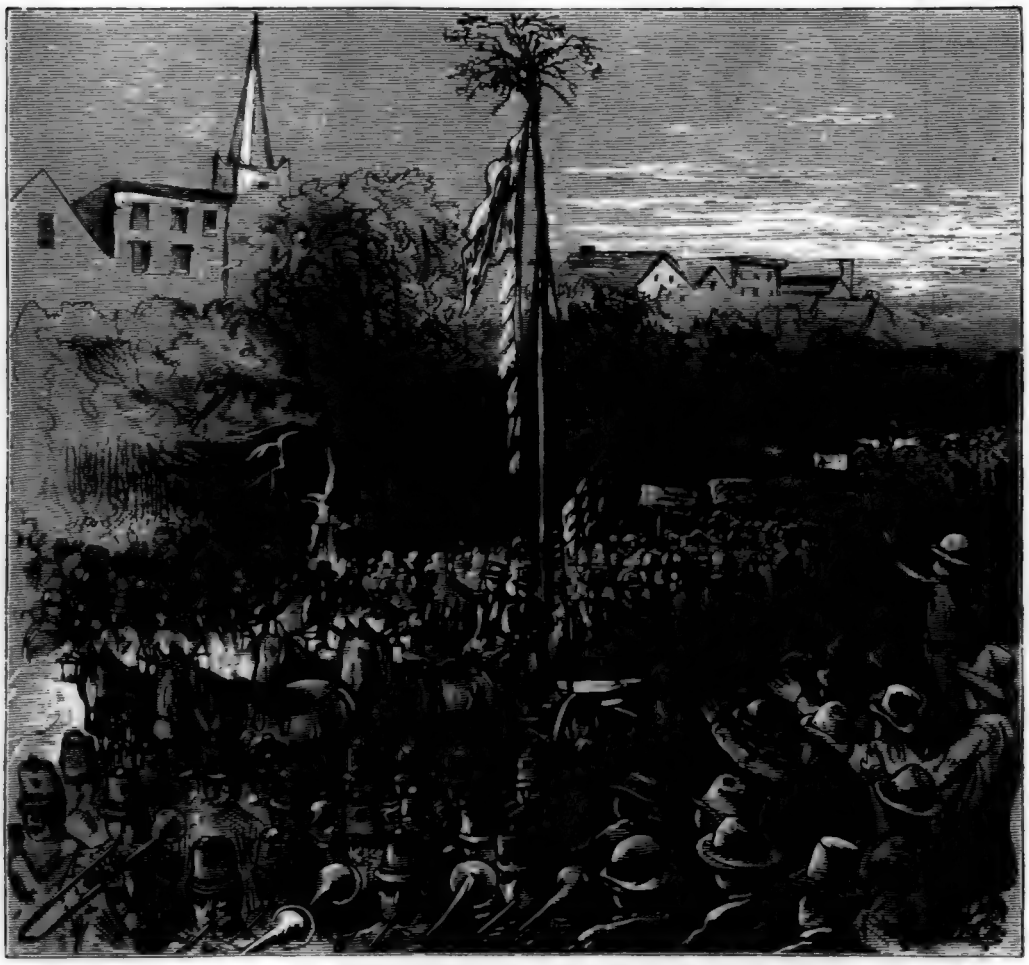
Clay in this election was Jackson's competitor, and, besides the suffrages of the high-tariff party, it was expected that he would acquire great strength from the support of the Anti-masons. This party originated in the murder, in 1826, of one William Morgan, who professed to expose in a book the secrets of the order, and was, therefore, deliberately killed by direction of his official superiors. Out of this incident grew a political party, opposed to all secret societies, and determined to suppress the Masonic order by law. It was stronger in New York than anywhere else, for in the western part of that State Morgan had lived and was murdered; and it was there that, a year afterward, a coroner's jury was either induced or cajoled by some clever political knaves to declare that a dead body found on the shore of Lake Ontario was that of Morgan. This body was of a man recently drowned; Morgan had disappeared a year before. Morgan was a smooth-faced, bald-headed man; the face and head of the corpse, when first found — its appearance was changed in a few hours in these particulars — were well covered with hair; the drowned person was four inches taller than Morgan was known to be; and finally a Mrs. Monroe appeared and recognized the corpse as that of her husband, who was drowned a few weeks before, and the clothes it had on as those she had mended with her own hands; and the man who was with Monroe when he fell overboard from a boat also identified him. But up to this time it was a disputed point whether Morgan was alive or dead; it was necessary to the Anti-masonic frenzy that his death should be proved; and on this verdict of a coroner's jury a political tornado swept the country.[1] Its violence was too far spent, however, to withstand the counter gale of Jackson's popularity in the election of 1832.

Jackson's popularity.

But there were other causes besides his conduct toward the bank that aroused enthusiasm on behalf of Jackson. The revenue during his administration had far exceeded expenditure, and the national debt was in process of rapid extinction. His moderate tariff views commended him to that large class of persons who would levy imposts only for revenue, giving protection an incidental

[1] The essential facts relating to the origin of this remarkable political episode in the history of parties in the United States are first fully set forth in a recent monograph entitled, *American Political Anti-masonry, with its "Good Enough Morgan,"* by Henry O'Rielly. Mr. O'Rielly was at that period editor of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, the first daily newspaper west of the Hudson River.

consideration. He had saved the government from enormous expenditures by his vetoes of bills for internal improvements, for the Democrats of that day believed that such use of the public funds was unwise as well as unconstitutional. The long-standing difficulty between England and the United States, in regard to the West India trade, had been favorably settled by Louis McLane, the Minister at London, though at the price, the opposition declared, of the dignity of the



A Hickory-pole Election.

Government. But the trade was opened; and Jackson's popularity was not injured in his own party, that, in bringing about a result so desirable, he had made concessions to England which Adams had considered humiliating. For all these reasons, he had become almost as popular at the North as he had long been at the South — not, perhaps, among the most intelligent of the people, who could not forget the radical defects of the man, nor the corrupt influence, in many respects, of his administration, but among those whose admiration for his courage and strength of will blinded them to his other qualities,

and who believed that he was as pure as he was strong. So absolute and intense was the character of this singular man, that he so completely absorbed the attention of those who saw one side of him only, that the other side was totally invisible, and he was accordingly either beloved and admired, or detested and feared.

A surplus of revenue.

The country was becoming embarrassed with a difficulty hitherto unknown in the histories of states. Unencumbered with debt, as it would be presently, its revenue would be larger than it could have any possible use for. The problem did not seem to be one difficult of solution, as the source of revenue, the tariff, could be reduced, and this would not only render a surplus impossible, but would at the same time lift a burden of taxation from the shoulders of the people. But what in that case would become of protection? Mr. Clay answered the question by pushing through Congress, in 1832, a bill which provided for a reduction of duties upon foreign products, except where they came in conflict with articles of domestic manufacture. As sufficient revenue could be produced without a resort to such an expedient, this was an announcement that the Northern protective policy was accepted absolutely as the policy of the Government, in spite of the Southern slaveholding interest. It was a signal of a renewal of the conflict between free labor and slave-labor, which broke out soon after in the nullification contest with South Carolina.

The Hayne-Webster debate.

There had been some preliminary skirmishing, for South Carolina had shown signs of revolt in public meetings after the passage of the tariff bill of 1828, and Georgia sent in an earnest but solemn protest against it. In 1830, the constitutional question involved was settled, so far as argument could settle it, in a memorable debate between Hayne and Webster, in the Senate. A resolution was offered by Samuel A. Foot, of Connecticut, directing an inquiry into the expediency of suspending, for a time, the sale of public lands, and under it Mr. Hayne brought up the question of State Rights. His argument was the old one — old as the Constitution itself — that the "consolidation of the government" was the one great evil to be dreaded and resisted. Webster took his stand upon the ground of the early Federalists, that the United States was a Nation. It was not the servant of four and twenty masters, but "the people's Constitution, the people's Government; made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people." It was not "the creature of State Legislatures;" it was the "independent offspring of the popular will." Jackson was attached to the Union with all the strength of his impulsive nature, and did not need to be aroused to the impending conflict; but Webster's speech made, prob-

ably, a deeper and more abiding impression on the minds of the Northern people than any other ever delivered in the halls of Congress, before that time.

Nullification.

Nullification was a practical application of the doctrine of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. It was not, its supporters maintained, necessarily secession nor war, though it might in the last resort lead to both. The first duty of the citizen was to the State, not to the Federal Government. The State — was Calhoun's argument — having determined to protect its citizens by an act of nullification, would put an insuperable obstacle in the way of any penalty imposed by the Federal courts for obedience to that act. The nullification, he contended, did not disturb the legal relation between the State and the Union, but rather confirmed it. Force could not be employed by the Federal Government, not only because no such power was intrusted to it by the Constitution, but because, the question being a moral one, no physical opposition would be found. Even should the final step of secession be taken, — and he granted that under certain conditions it might be necessary, — force could then only be applied after due formalities, the seceding State being now in law and in fact a foreign government. His argument found ready listeners, to whom it seemed conclusive. Moreover, there was a strong precedent in the summary and unrebuked manner in which Georgia, not long before, had defied the authority of the General Government, and refused to obey the decision of the Supreme Court. The difficulty with South Carolina lay deeper, inasmuch as it involved wider interests and the peaceful relations of different sections of the Union; but the essential question was the same in both cases. As that, however, related to the rights of Indians, while now it was a question of the supremacy of slaveholders as slaveholders, the position was so much the stronger.

Nullification Ordinance in South Carolina.

As the power to act in such an emergency must come directly from the people, the Legislature of South Carolina called a Convention. This assembled on the 24th of November, 1832, and an ordinance was passed, declaring the tariff acts to be null and void; that the payment of duties should not be enforced within the State; and that any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to enforce its laws would absolve the State from all connection with the Union, and it would immediately establish a separate and independent government. Nullification, if not assented to, was to be followed by secession.

At the meeting of the Legislature immediately afterward, the Governor, in his message, said that the ordinance was the fundamental law of the State; and that it was the duty of that body to

"look to and provide for all possible contingencies." Various acts, accordingly, were passed to meet the emergency. The Governor was authorized to accept the services of volunteers; fortifications were ordered to be repaired; old arms were to be put in order, and new ones manufactured; ammunition to be provided, and everything done that could be done to prepare for war. A martial rage took possession of the people; the men everywhere devoted themselves to military drilling; the women had no occupation but to make palmetto cockades and prepare battle-flags and ensigns of State sovereignty; the United States flag was raised union down, while some of the volunteer regiments had provided a red standard with a single black star in the centre, to be unfurled at the moment secession should be proclaimed. Two or three mass meetings were held every week, to keep up the enthusiasm. At one of these meetings, Governor Hamilton told the crowd that, to try whether the Federal authorities would dare to enforce the revenue laws, he had ordered several boxes of sugar from Havana. "And," he added, "if Uncle Sam puts his robber hand on the boxes, I know you 'll go to the death with me for the sugar!" — a declaration that was received with immense applause. But when the sugar arrived, it was quietly locked up in one of the forts in Charleston harbor.

Preparations for secession.



Making Cockades.

The President replied to the ordinance with a proclamation and a

message to Congress, which left no doubt of the temper in which he would meet any attempt at disunion.[1] He denied the right of either nullification or secession, pointed out the absurdity of State sovereignty, and assured the South Carolinians that if they resisted the laws they would be coerced by the combined power of the other States. Finally, as a fellow citizen and a native of their State, he entreated them to give up their foolish scheme. "Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part. Consider its government uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different States, giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of American citizen, protecting their commerce, securing their literature and their arts, facilitating their intercommunication, defending the frontiers, and making their name respected in the remotest parts of the earth. . . . Behold it as the asylum where the wretched and the oppressed find a refuge and support. Look on this picture of happiness and honor, and say, We too are citizens of America. . . . And then add, if you can, without horror and remorse, This happy Union we will dissolve; this picture of peace and prosperity we will deface; this free intercourse we will interrupt; these fertile fields we will deluge with blood; the protection of that glorious flag we renounce; the very name of Americans we discard!"

Position of the President.

General Scott was summoned to Washington, and it was determined that strong garrisons should at once be thrown into Fort Moultrie, Castle Pinckney, and the arsenal at Augusta, Georgia, and a sloop-of-war and several revenue cutters be sent to Charleston harbor. "Proceed at once and execute those views," said Jackson. "You have my *carte blanche*, in respect to troops; the vessels shall be there, and written instructions shall follow you." Scott went to Charleston, with sufficient military and naval force under his command, to carry out the President's orders. He maintained, however, amicable relations with the citizens, and often invited individuals or parties to the forts, that they might see what they would have to encounter if it came to war.[2]

General Scott sent to Charleston.

Calhoun, who had resigned the office of Vice-president, had taken his seat in the Senate, in the place of Hayne. Although it was un-

[1] Two years before a public dinner was given, nominally to celebrate the birthday of Jefferson, but really as an impetus to the doctrine of nullification. The President, being called upon for the first volunteer toast, gave that which has passed into a proverb, "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved." Mr. Calhoun was next called upon, and gave this: "The Union: next to our liberty the most dear: may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States, and distributing equally the benefit and burden of the Union." The incident was accepted as a sign of what was coming. — Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, i., 148.

[2] Scott's *Memoirs*.

der his teachings that South Carolina had been led into her present position, it was also his determination to keep the contest within the bounds of speech; and while Jackson was equally in earnest in his purpose to use force if necessary, it became plain, as the weeks wore on, that the fury displaying itself in proclamations and laws was not yet ungovernable. It is by no means certain that the President would not have preferred to compel South Carolina to return to her allegiance to the Union, by force of arms; and it is certain that many in both Houses of Congress agreed with Adams and Webster that no concession should be made till the State had receded from her rebellious attitude either voluntarily or by compulsion. How far the country at large would have approved of extreme measures, it is impossible to tell, but it is probable that Jackson's great popularity would have carried the Northern wing of his party with him, and the National Republicans would have united with it. Most of the States, through their legislatures, assumed positions upon the abstract doctrine of nullification. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Delaware, Indiana, Tennessee, and Missouri condemned it. Virginia passed conciliatory resolutions, and appointed a special messenger to carry them to South Carolina. North Carolina and Alabama condemned nullification, but pronounced the tariff unconstitutional and inexpedient. Georgia did likewise, and proposed a convention representing Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, the Carolinas, and Georgia, to devise some relief from the protective system.

Popular feeling.

But there was compromise in the very air. The President asked that special and enlarged powers should be given him to meet the emergency, and a bill was introduced for that purpose, called the Force Bill. It hung fire; it was not till it was no longer necessary that it became a law. But compromise did not hang fire. The great champion of protection, Clay himself, introduced a new tariff which essentially abandoned the policy of protection and conceded to South Carolina the principle for which she was contending. It provided that where *ad valorem* duties exceeded twenty per cent., one tenth of the excess should be remitted after December 30, 1833; one tenth thereafter on each alternate year, till December 31, 1841, when half of the remaining duty was to be remitted; and after June, 1842, all duties were to be reduced to twenty per cent., on a home valuation, to be paid in cash. Mr. Clay and his friends conceded thus far for the sake of peace, reserving only this modified protection for nine years to come. Mr. Calhoun and the nullifiers graciously assented not to ruin at a single and sudden blow those who had invested largely in manufacturing under a protective tariff. As Pinckney went home, at the formation of the Federal Constitu-

The compromise.

tion, and explained to South Carolina that she could safely accept that instrument as a sufficient guaranty of slavery, so Calhoun now went back, and persuaded the people of the State that they could safely lay down their arms, for their cause had triumphed. The bill in the Senate was passed on the 1st of March, by a vote of twenty-nine to sixteen.

The Verplanck Bill.

In the House, meanwhile, a bill, introduced by Mr. Verplanck of New York, was painfully and tediously dragged along from week to week. Its object was to make the needed reduction in the revenue, but, at the same time, to save the protective policy. It was disposed of, and Mr. Clay's bill made to take its place by one of those strategic movements by which compromise measures have more than once been carried in similar struggles. Senator Benton — who, as a Southern representative, opposed any concession to the Protectionists — is our witness. Late in the afternoon of the 25th of February, he says, "Mr. Letcher of Kentucky, the fast friend of Mr. Clay, rose in his place, and moved to strike out the whole Verplanck bill — every word of it, except the enacting clause, — and insert, in lieu of it, a bill offered in the Senate by Mr. Clay. . . . . This was offered in the House, without notice, without signal, without premonitory symptom, and just as the members were preparing to adjourn. Some were taken by surprise, and looked about in amazement; but the majority showed consciousness, and what was more, readiness for action. The Northern members, from the great manufacturing States, were astounded, and asked for delay," — which was not granted. Thus, he continues, "the bill which made its first appearance in the House late in the evening, when members were gathering up their overcoats for a walk home to their dinners, was passed before those coats had got on the back; and the dinner which was waiting had but little time to cool before the astonished members, their work done, were at the table to eat it."[1] It is a striking picture of Southern legislation by one of their own artists. But South Carolina was appeased; the Union was once more saved, after the Southern manner; and the North meekly turned away to see what next she could do with her dollars and her labor.

There were many who believed that it would have been better had the question of disunion been then and there settled. But it is exceedingly doubtful if it could have been. Jackson would have enforced the laws and suppressed the insurrection with an unrelenting will, for he did believe in the Union, and he did long, it was asserted, for an opportunity to hang Calhoun. But the difference between the North and the South lay deeper than a division upon a revenue

[1] *Thirty Years' View.* By Thomas H. Benton.



EMIGRANTS TO THE WEST.

or a protective tariff. One might be wise and the other foolish; the North could grow prosperous and rich under either, while the South, so long as slavery existed, would be poor and ignorant, and only half civilized, under both. It would have been more manly to have suppressed South Carolina. It was her statesmen, more than all others, who, in 1816, had compelled the North to accept the policy which now, in 1832, that State, rather than obey, would scatter the Union into fragments. It would have been well enough, for the dignity and the political morality of the nation, had there been only left some fragments of South Carolina; but that would have left, after all, the great and inevitable battle still to be fought. Liberty and Slavery could not exist forever in one Union. The final conflict between them must come upon a broader field than a tariff of duties.

Public lands.

Next to the tariff the public lands were, during the administration of Jackson, a fruitful source of debate in Congress, not merely for their own sake. An interest so immense could be easily made to play an important part in the affairs of political parties. It was part of Clay's compromise that the West should be reconciled to the reduction of duties by a division of the proceeds of the sales of public lands among the States within whose boundaries the sales were made. The President's veto nullified that part of the bargain. Then Western politicians used the question of the price and disposition of the public domain to further their private ambitions. There could be, however, no question of the right of Congress to control all lands in territory not organized into States; but when the State was formed it was maintained by many persons that the lands became its property — a position stoutly and successfully contested by Webster and others. From the first, the importance of these lands as sources of revenue was never lost sight of. The price, reduced in 1820 from two dollars to a dollar and a quarter an acre, continued for many years. The action of Congress was generally favorable to actual settlers. In 1835 and 1836 the purchases were much larger than was required for occupation,[1] although the encouragement given by Congress had a steadily appreciable effect upon foreign immigration. New settlers, finding lands preoccupied and held at high prices, passed beyond the frontier surveyed, to settle where no immediate payment was necessary.

Immigration.

The tables of immigration during the decade show a fluctuation which is interesting, as indicating the waves of prosperity in the country. Thus, in 1831, the number of alien immigrants was nearly twenty-three thousand; the next year it was over

[1] Rising from less than five millions in 1834 to over fourteen millions in 1835, and nearly twenty-five millions in 1836.

fifty-three thousand. In 1834 the number was sixty-five thousand; in 1835 it had fallen off to forty-five thousand. It increased, until in 1837 it was nearly eighty thousand; but the next year after that disastrous one it fell to less than thirty-nine thousand. In 1840 the number was eighty-four thousand. The immigration had already, in Jackson's time, begun to affect personal politics, and the Irish vote was spoken of as a constituency to be respected.

There came, in the mean time, the financial crisis of 1837. The United States Bank, on the refusal of Congress to extend its charter, had procured a new one from Pennsylvania, but it differed from the State banks only in the magnitude of its operations. The State banks, under the impetus given by the breaking up of the United States Bank, had increased their issue of paper from sixty-one millions in 1830 to a hundred and forty-nine millions in 1837.

The panic of 1837.

Large quantities of these notes had been received in payment for public land, when, alarmed at the accumulation of so much paper of uncertain value, the Secretary of the Treasury, by order of the President, issued a circular instructing the agents in charge of the land-offices to receive only gold and silver. This at once caused a demand for specie, which could only be met by those banks where the government funds were deposited.[1] Most of the others suspended. And when, a little later, the Government called for its deposits, in order to make the distribution of surplus revenue to the States, many of the favored banks were involved in the general ruin, and the panic of 1837 was the grand result.

The attacks upon the Bank shook public confidence in it. The removal of the deposits, and the refusal to extend the charter, weakened the Bank itself, and led to an unlimited extension of local banks. The immediate enormous increase of paper gave a specious show of wealth, and while the paper floated on the public debt, it was used both for promoting new industrial schemes and for luxuries. The final result of the Congressional debates over the currency and the banking system was the establishment, in 1840, of the sub-treasury system, a measure which had been proposed by both parties alternately, and was looked upon as ending the controversy. Henceforth the Government was to transact all its business by means of a metallic currency, and to be completely dissociated from all general financial operations.

Surplus revenue.

A single fact must be observed, from its conspicuous and yet apparently feeble influence upon the state of affairs. In June, 1836, when the public debt was nearly extinguished, an act was passed providing that after January 1, 1837, all surplus revenue

[1] Called, in the slang of the day, "pet banks."

exceeding five million dollars should be divided among the States as a loan, only to be recalled by direction of Congress. This unprecedented problem perplexed the statesmen of the time, but mainly as to the principle of distribution. The ghost that could never be laid, stalked again into the halls of Congress. Should the money be divided according to population? If the slaves were counted, that would be to pay an unequal share to their masters; if they were not counted, the slave States would receive only their just proportion according to the number of citizens. Compromise, as usual, healed the difference at the expense of the North. The electoral vote was made the rule of distribution. Thus Pennsylvania, whose electoral vote was thirty, received about three million eight hundred thousand dollars; yet its population was nearly two hundred thousand more than the free population of the six slave States, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky, whose electoral vote was fifty-three, and their aggregate share of the surplus fund over six million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.[1]

The distribution, which extended over a year, amounted to twenty-eight million dollars, and none of it was ever recalled. Before the amount was all expended, it was evident that there would be a deficit in the treasury. The States used the surplus variously: some involved themselves in extensive improvements; some divided the amount received among their citizens in petty sums. Never was there a more unsatisfactory business operation.

After the blow of 1837, States as well as persons found themselves insolvent. The expanded credit which an over-sanguine confidence had sought and granted, had been especially applied to the enterprises of States. The widespread bankruptcy made it easy for certain States to persuade themselves that they also might take advantage of the common course and put in the bankrupt's plea. A large part of the State bonds was held abroad, and every effort was made by the bondholders there to bring moral force to bear upon the repudiating States. Congress was petitioned to assume the debts of the States, in accordance with the precedent of 1791, but after a long debate refused to take any action.

Growth of the country.

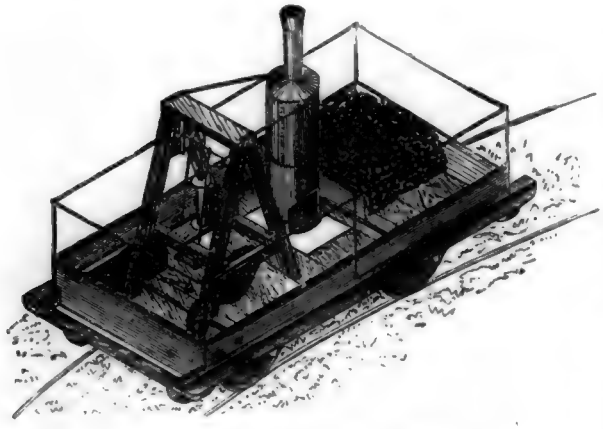
Notwithstanding financial disturbance, commercial disaster, political strife and corruption, the country shared with the rest of the world in the wonderful material progress and prosperity which mark this period. Steam came into general use as a motive power in communication by water and by land, and in the numberless uses to which it has since been put by inventive genius and human industry. One born within the last twenty years to the

[1] *A View of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery.* By William Jay.

common heirship of the present time, can hardly conceive how great a change has been wrought within only half a century by a single agency. Indeed, it is hardly fifty years since confidence in it was so far established as to command the energies and the capital of men and of States.

First railroads.

The first timid experiment in railroads was a tramway in Quincy, Mass., built in 1826, chiefly by Thomas H. Perkins and Gridley Bryant, of Boston. Its only purpose was for the easier conveyance — by horses — of building-stone from the granite quarries of Quincy to tide-water. It was the germ, however, of a mighty movement in this country. The first railway in America for passengers and traffic — the Baltimore and Ohio — was chartered by the Maryland Legislature in March, 1827. The capital stock at first was only half a million dollars, and a portion of it was subscribed by the State and the city of Baltimore. Horses were its motive power, even after sixty-five miles of the road were built. But in 1829 Peter Cooper, of New York, built a locomotive in Baltimore which weighed one ton and made eighteen miles an hour on a trial trip to Ellicott's Mills. In 1830 there were twenty-three miles of railway in the United States, which was increased the next year to ninety-five, in 1835 to one thousand and ninety-eight, and in 1840 to nearly three thousand.



First Locomotive built in America.

Development of manufactures.

Manufactures at the same time were rapidly increased, though this was a long-established interest. A single mill for the manufacture of cloths and cassimeres was in operation in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1791. Three years later one was established in Byfield, Massachusetts, and in 1809, one at Oriskany, New York. One which was built at Middletown, Connecticut, in 1812, was able to turn out from thirty to forty yards of broadcloth a day, and was considered very large. In 1810 the total woollen manufactures in the United States were estimated at twenty-six million dollars; but these were nearly all home-made. The rise of the cotton industry diminished the production of woollen goods, so that its value, in 1820 only four and a half million dollars, rose in 1830 to fourteen and a half million, and in 1840 to twenty-one million.

Samuel Slater, who had been apprenticed to Strutt and Arkwright

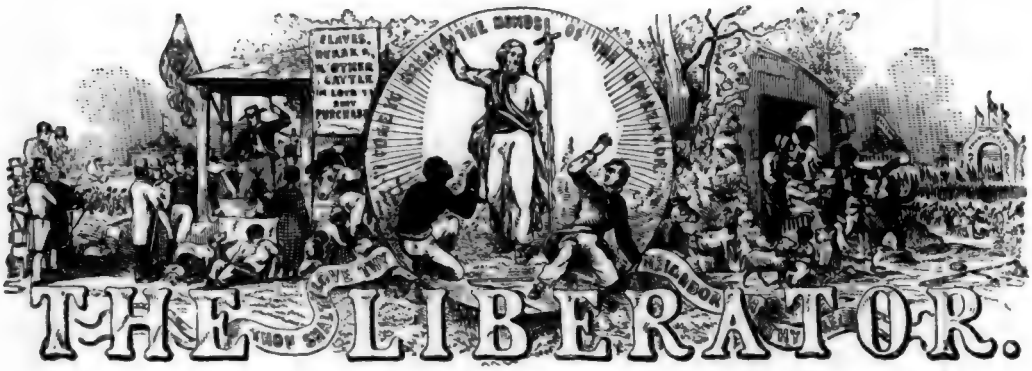
in England, and had assisted Strutt in improving his inventions, came to New York in 1789, bringing in his head the whole idea of their cotton-spinning machinery. The exportation of the patterns had been prohibited by act of Parliament, with heavy penalties, and at the same time the Pennsylvania Legislature had offered a bounty for their introduction. Slater set up three carding-machines in Pawtucket in 1790, and three years later began to erect mills in Oxford (now Webster), Massachusetts. In 1821 the water-power at Lowell, on the Merrimac, was purchased by Boston capitalists, who planted there the enterprises which have developed what was then a village of two hundred inhabitants into a large city.



Samuel Slater.

But water-power soon ceased to be an absolute necessity for manufacturing purposes, as steam-engines came into use. Other cities and towns grew up all over the country, wherever labor could hold in its hands any other implement than a hoe. The railroads annihilated space and time, and as they carried the multitudes from the sea-coast to the prairies to people a continent, so the fruits of all industries could be brought back rapidly and cheaply. The navigation of the Mississippi, for the right to which nations once contended, ceased to be in a few years of any other than local importance, as travel and commerce found a shorter way across the Alleghanies from the Atlantic to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains.

In 1840 S. F. B. Morse, of New York, obtained a patent for an apparatus by which instantaneous communication could be carried over wires, for any distance, by electricity. Four years afterward it was put to practical use between Washington and Baltimore. The network of wire that has since been woven about the globe has changed the relations of the human family.



Head of "The Liberator."

CHAPTER XIII.

SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY.

A New Era. — The Modern Anti-slavery Movement. — Garrison and "The Liberator." — His Earnestness and Determination. — Debate on Slavery in Virginia. — The Southampton Insurrection. — Panic at the South. — The Southern Idea of Government. — Slavery met on a New Issue. — The Abolitionists. — The Attempts to suppress Them. — Penal Legislation proposed. — The Resort to Violence. — The Reign of Mobs. — Influence of Slavery on Morals, Manners, Literature, and Commerce.

The anti-slavery era.

In 1831 appeared the first sign of a movement which, when contemporaneous passions and prejudices shall have passed away, will be recognized as the beginning and largely the source of a new era in American history. It was a natural consequence of the old slaveholding dispensation that the generation that has passed, or is just passing away, should be made to believe that "Abolitionism" — not slavery — was the sum of all villanies; it was almost inevitable that the next generation should fail to recognize in the influence which governs their time, that very movement of which they know little except that their fathers hated and reviled it. But hated as it was, by those who had eyes enough to see into to-morrow, despised as it was, by the vulgar and the ignorant who have eyes that can hardly see even to day, the future will discern in this movement the germ of one of those revolutions that overturn dynasties, save nations, and insure continued progress in human affairs.

Garrison and "The Liberator."

It was in that year that William Lloyd Garrison, a young printer, from a country town in Massachusetts, established in Boston a newspaper, which he called "The Liberator," to be devoted to the abolition of slavery. He saw, with the vision of a prophet, the long and terrible struggle before him, as he said in the first number of that journal with the eloquence of a sublime pur-

pose, — "I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard." And he kept his word. From that time till slavery was abolished, "The Liberator" appeared weekly, weighed down often with discouragements and difficulties, reviled, hated, and feared, but never faltering, never untrue to the great idea of its founder, who would never equivocate, never excuse, never retreat a single inch, and was never afraid. In its earliest days one of Garrison's staunchest supporters said to him, "My friend, do try to moderate your indignation and keep more cool; why, you are all on fire." "Brother," he answered, "I have need to be all on fire, for I have mountains of ice about me to melt." It was a flame that soon set the nation ablaze.

It is with moral as it is with material discoveries — they go for nothing till the world is ready for them. Garrison was not the first to discover that slavery was an evil and ought to be done away with. That thought was as old almost as the distinction between right and wrong. It was no more questioned than that original sin was an evil, or that an earthquake or a flood was a disaster. But then the compensating doctrine was, that it could no more be eradicated than the natural tendency to moral or physical weakness could be done away with; no more be brought under control than a convulsion of the earth; no more be stayed than the rush and roar of mighty waters. The slaveholders, indeed, for that very reason, could hardly help looking upon themselves as the elect of Heaven; for where else in all the economy of creation was there a sin that needed no repentance, — a crime for which a whine was always sufficient atonement? Where else was there a wrong, of man's own devising, for which there was no remedy?



The new doctrine.

Garrison's startling proposition was, that all this involved a stupendous lie; that there was no more necessity for the continuance of slavery than for the continuance of murder or robbery or dishonesty, for wrong or outrage of any kind that one man might commit upon another; that, on the contrary, it could and should be brought

to an immediate end; that the slaveholder must stop holding slaves, as the murderer should cease to kill, or the robber to steal, or the knave to cheat, or the criminal of any kind to continue in his evil courses. If Garrison had talked of slavery as the divines preach of man's inherent depravity, as a thing that came in with Adam, and might go out with the Second Advent, nobody would have minded. But he said, here is a gigantic wrong of man's contrivance; for the sake of humanity and in obedience to the laws of God, there is one way to deal with it, and one only, — make an end of it now, not wait for the Second Advent.

The slaveholders heard presently of this new doctrine with consternation. Slavery to them was wealth and power, social supremacy and supremacy in the state. They were not forgetful of the attending dangers — the degradation of the many of their own race, kept in ignorance and poverty which must needs be a continual menace; and the possible vengeance of a still lower class which was none the less to be dreaded because their condition was but just above that of the brutes. But eternal watchfulness was the price of slavery, and its privileges were valued by the few who profited by them, more than its dangers were feared. The pleasure of possession was enhanced by the impudent acknowledgment that such a state of society was abstractly wrong; but that the responsibility rested on wicked people of two or three centuries back, and the penalty would fall upon those who were to come some centuries hence. "But as for me and my house," said the slaveholder, "we will serve the Lord."

There came an end to this contentment and tranquillity, in the light of this new doctrine, — that it was not the century before the last that this evil was begun, nor the century after the next that something should be done about it; but that the sun which rose this morning looked down upon a wrong done anew this day, and that before it set it should shine upon penitence. Garrison spoke to an awakening Northern intelligence. Calhoun said somewhere, when the Northern conscience is aroused, and religious conviction is brought to bear upon this question, then the Union will be dissolved, or slavery be abolished. What the result must needs be was evidently foreshadowed in Calhoun's own mind, by this concession that the case was one to be carried into the court of conscience with religion for its counsel. And these two men represented, with equal intellectual integrity, the two antagonistic ideas which were to save or destroy the Republic.

It was a notable coincidence that within the year of the appearance of "The Liberator," Virginia should have proved in a debate of weeks in the State Legislature, how impotent were all the plans that

slaveholders could devise for the extirpation of slavery; how fearful its continuance was among them, and how completely, nevertheless, the love of power, which the system secured to them in so many ways, could overcome all other considerations. The debate was remarkable for the thorough exposure of the evils which march with slavery with even stride — of its degradation of all manual labor, its destruction of material prosperity, the ignorance it enforces, the immorality it engenders. But not less remarkable was it that in all this it was the white man who was referred to; there was little consideration of the rights of the men who were black. These were not, in Southern estimation, exactly men and women, but chattels personal,[1] although endowed with certain human attributes, such as the gift of articulate speech, and the habit of walking on their hind legs. He best spoke to the moral sense of that Assembly who said that "the owner of land had a reasonable right to its annual profits, the owner of orchards to their annual fruits, the owner of brood mares to their products, and the owner of female slaves to their increase." There was just a tinge of sarcasm pointed at the supposition — if anybody should make it — that these colored women could be anything but breeders for the vigintial crop of Virginia slaves; but it was meant to be, nevertheless, a bold statement of a matter of fact. It was the opposite doctrine that gave power to the new anti-slavery movement in Massachusetts, and so aroused the whole nation, — that an infernal wrong was done to men and women in the South, and that there must be an immediate end of it. The difficulty was in making it plain that they were men and women, and not brood mares and stallions, or other cattle; but when that should be done, none understood so well as the slaveholders themselves the mighty meaning of that word immediate.

Anti-slavery debate in the Virginia Legislature.

The debate was significant in another respect — it was the result of abject fear. The Southampton insurrection, as it was called, had occurred the previous August, and, though speedily suppressed, and involving only a limited district of country, was magnified by the terror of the white inhabitants into a formidable outbreak. Its leader was one Nat Turner, who believed himself chosen of the Lord to lead his people to freedom. For a long time he had heard voices in the air and had seen signs in the sky; portents were written on the fallen leaves of the woods and in spots of blood upon the corn in the fields, to warn him of a divine mission; his Bible, which he knew by heart, he found full of the prophecies of the great work he was called upon to do. Fanaticism like his has led men to great deeds, but Turner wanted followers like himself,

The Southampton insurrection.

[1] In Louisiana negro slaves were real estate.

and, though he was believed to be a man of unusual mental power and resources, he was singularly wanting in any plans or preparations that could promise success.

Only six men were in his confidence. With these he started at an appointed time to go from house to house, to kill every white person, of whatever age, sex, or condition, to inspire universal terror, and arouse the whole slave population. Beginning at Turner's own home, they first killed his master, and going then to other plantations, were joined by their slaves. An advance guard on horseback surrounded each house in turn, holding it till their followers on foot, armed with axes, scythes, and muskets, came up to complete the work of destruction, while the horsemen rode on to the next house. In forty-eight hours, fifty-five white persons were killed without loss to the insurgents, who by this time had increased to about sixty. The band then moved toward Jerusalem, the county seat, where they expected to find plenty of fire-arms, and to be joined by large numbers. But on the way, against Turner's protest, the majority insisted upon stopping at a plantation to enlist some of their friends. Here the band became separated, and were attacked by two bodies of white men, who, after some fighting, dispersed them. In forty-eight hours the insurrection was suppressed. In the nature of things, no other result than a speedy end of it was possible.

It now only remained to hunt down the offenders, and make an indiscriminate slaughter of suspected blacks, or those who were not suspected but were only black. Turner, who had escaped to the woods, dug a hole under a pile of fence-rails and lived in it for six weeks, recording the weary days by notches on a stick, and leaving his shelter only at midnight. He was accidentally discovered, and compelled to change his quarters. For ten days he hid among the wheat-stacks on a plantation. Again he was discovered and shot at, but again escaped. The whole county was alive with armed men in search of him; and as he crept one day from a hole beneath some felled pine trees, he was confronted by a man with a leveled rifle, and surrendered. Turner was marched off to Jerusalem, where he was given a sort of trial, was of course found guilty of murder, and one week later (November 11, 1831) was hanged.

This was only the beginning of the retribution. Turner's young wife, a slave, was tortured under the lash to compel her to produce papers which, probably, had no existence. Fifty-three negroes were formally tried, of whom seventeen were convicted and hanged, including one woman; twelve were transported, and the remainder were acquitted. But the extra-judicial punishments were much more numerous. Negroes suspected of complicity were tortured, burned,

shot, and mutilated. The heads of some of these were set up along the highways as a warning to their fellow slaves. The panic continued till late in the autumn. On the least alarm, families abandoned their homes and fled to the woods for safety. The terror had spread from Southampton County all over the State, and not only through Virginia, but as far west as Kentucky, as far south and southwest as Georgia and Louisiana. But nowhere could there be found, though arrests were made in many places, and dili-

Spread of the panic.



Discovery of Nat Turner.

gence and watchfulness were everywhere unremitting, the slightest trace of any concerted movement, or that the plot extended beyond Nat Turner and his six followers. Could any have been found, vengeance would have been swift and sure in the universal terror; it was only nine years before, without this incitement, that twenty-five slaves were hanged at one time, in Charleston, South Carolina, by order of a justice's court, without indictment and without a jury, on mere suspicion of plotting insurrection.

It was the theory of slavery to deny that the black was really a man; but his manhood was, nevertheless, too thoroughly believed in to admit of a doubt that he longed for freedom and thirsted for vengeance. There was always an avowed dread therefore, of insurrection, which was sincere enough when there was any real danger. But when danger was not immediate, its possibility was made good use of to excite the sympathies of those who knew of slavery only by report, and who would be less likely to meddle with it if convinced that the slaveholders reluctantly submitted to what they could not help, and were entitled, therefore, to pity rather than deserving of blame. It is remarkable how seldom the negroes, in the course of two hundred years, attempted to redress their own wrongs; while the frantic fears aroused by those infrequent attempts show the keen consciousness, on the part of the masters, of how terrible the wrongs were that sometimes provoked retaliation. It was this fear and this consciousness that had aroused the law-makers of Virginia.

But the panic soon subsided, the danger was forgotten, — or remembered only as something that might return again for a few hours to some future generation, — and old thoughts resumed their sway. Those, it is said, who had made themselves most conspicuous in this momentary revolt against the order of Southern society were driven from public life, and were henceforth marked as men who needed watching. In later years it was declared by the Northern opponents of the Abolitionists that it was their measures which defeated this movement against slavery in Virginia. But Garrison's "Liberator" was then only in its first year, and it is safe to say that at that time not a member of the Virginia Legislature could have ever heard of him or of it. The simple truth was, that a cry of despair rent the air when the volcanic flames illumined the heavens; but when they sank again and vanished, it was treason to say that the land was not fair, and that beneath its thin crust the fires were still burning.

Struggle with slavery on political grounds.

Hitherto, whatever struggle there had been with those who held slavery as an organized power, it was almost purely political. The contest was unequal, because on one side, under the Constitution, was the representation only of numbers; on the other was the representation both of numbers and of property. Numbers, on one side, might be, and were, divided in opinions and in interests; property, on the other side, held opinions and interests together in a single compact organization which, whenever slavery was in question, could never be broken. Then slavery was, in the nature of the case, always aggressive. Its contest was with the laws of the universe; the very stars in their courses were against it; the struggle for mastery was with all that is wise, with all that is good, with

all that contributes to the progress, the virtue, the manliness, and the happiness of the human race. To be passive was to perish; it could only live by continual conquest; and this, if not always easy, was always sure, when worth its while, so long as its opponents would consent to confine the struggle to the field of politics. There it had become irresistible by the force of centralization in the administration of the Federal Government, through the power conferred by the Constitution upon slaveholders as an order. "Domestic slavery," said Governor McDuffie, of South Carolina, "instead of being an evil, is the corner-stone of our republican edifice," because it superseded "the necessity of an order of nobility and all the other appendages of a hereditary system of government." This was the Southern theory of the Republic — not that it was a popular government, but a government in which the slaveholders were the ordained rulers. They assumed to be a privileged aristocracy, an order set apart from and above the people, whose Constitution recognized the fact. To call the government a republic, was only a concession to popular sentiment. It was intended that the supremacy and perpetuation of the order should be the fundamental principle of the government, and the moment the Constitution was perverted from that purpose, then from that moment the allegiance of the order ceased. For more than half a century the history of the government was made to conform to this theory. McDuffie's order of nobility — whose coat-armor was a slave-whip and handcuffs — practically reigned, though not altogether to the satisfaction of men like Calhoun and McDuffie, who believed that the ideal government would not be reached, nor a perfect social condition be established, till all laborers were slaves. They were thoroughly logical. If the true theory of government was an aristocracy, the essential basis of which was the ownership of the laboring class, then emigrants from Ireland and Germany should be brought in and held as slaves, as well as emigrants from Africa. It was maintained at the South that a

The slaveholders' idea of government.



John C. Calhoun.

fatal mistake was made when assent was given to the prohibition of the introduction of laborers from Africa to be held as slaves, while there was no restriction upon the coming of the corresponding class at the North who were recognized as freemen. The balance should have been kept even, either by the unrestricted introduction of slaves, or the prohibition of free emigrants.

It was not long before Garrison made himself heard, and gathered about him a small band of men and women as determined as himself. The political aspect of the question was not to them of chief importance. They acknowledged at the outset the limitations of the Constitution, and avowed in the clearest and most unmistakable way their determination not to invoke Federal legislation to interfere with slavery in the States. Where, however, Federal responsibility existed, as in the District of Columbia, the territories, and the domestic slave trade, there they demanded action. But even for that purpose they neither formed, nor proposed to form a political party, only praying that Congress should take into consideration the condition of the people who were under its control, and, by its laws, were held in bondage. They were not so foolish as to assume that there, or in the States, legislation would precede conviction, and it was to the task of conviction, therefore, that they addressed themselves. The slaves, they said, were robbed of their birthright, of their manhood, of the fruits of their toil, of all material well-being, of intellectual growth, of religious culture, of equality and protection under the law, of their rights as husbands, wives, and parents; that all that made human life worth having was taken from them. They were reduced to the condition of the brute, and like beasts of burden bought and sold in the market.

Purpose of the Abolitionists.

The appeal was to the humanity, the mercy, and the consciences of the people, on behalf of these two million of their countrymen, whose condition had no parallel among civilized nations. But the Abolitionists counselled no sudden or violent measures; the slaves themselves — if their words could reach them — they would exhort to patience, forbearance, and longer suffering; the masters they urged, by argument, remonstrance, and exhortation, to repent of wrong-doing and "let the oppressed go free;" but above all they addressed themselves to the great body of the Northern people, who, without the excuse of immediate contact with slavery, free from the influence of personal interest in its continuance, belonging to a higher grade of civilization than is ever possible where slavery exists, yet stood in the presence of this monstrous wrong with profound indifference to its existence, or in criminal apathy at their own moral and political responsibility. Slavery, the Abolitionists said, is an offence

of such magnitude that none can innocently uphold it, directly or indirectly. The North was not less guilty than the South, and it was meet that they should first call the North to repentance.

In this brief statement is the whole body of doctrine of modern Abolitionism, — the full measure of its offending. In the progress of events, it is true, there came up side issues, growing out of some inevitable application of fundamental principles, when followed to logical consequences, or unlooked-for complications to which that gave rise. But all was comprised in the assertion of the truth that a black man was no less a man because he was black; that to hold him as a slave was a sin; that for sin there was one remedy, and one only, in ethics and religion, — immediate repentance and immediate atonement. It was as simple as the Gospel; and its preaching, like the preaching of the Gospel, brought not peace, but a sword. Many received it gladly as the word they had waited for; many were faithful to the end; many fainted by the way; many proved that they were of a generation of backsliders. Those who preached it, preached according to their gifts, for, whatever other charges were laid to the Abolitionists, it was not one of them that they were not independent in thought and word, each man for himself and no respecter of authority. Some were as gentle as the Apostle whom the Master loved; some, like the Master, cried, "Woe unto you! scribes and pharisees, hypocrites!" Others were filled with the spirit, and sometimes with the power, of the older prophets, and with Jeremiah cried out, "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work!" One of the most potent and the most ludicrous of the arguments brought against them was that their language was harsh and intemperate. The baser sort rebuked it with oaths, revilings, and brickbats, to inculcate moderation; the less violent, but no less earnest, opponents of emancipation professed, with a fine contempt of logic, to deprecate the use of language which made, they said, emancipation almost impossible.

Effect of the anti-slavery agitation.

It was, however, what the Abolitionists said, not how they said it, that raised against them a storm of calumny and persecution the like of which is unknown in any civilized community of modern times. They were not misunderstood; rather they were understood too well. The whole country seemed to recognize the ominous sounds of an impending conflict in which the two great forces of liberty and slavery were arrayed against each other for the first time in dead earnest and for a final struggle. There was not an interest or a relation, social, political, or commercial, that would not be involved in this strife, and the first popular impulse was to meet and suppress a movement,

the immediate cost of which was apparent, while the ultimate good seemed dim and uncertain. The South was quicker than the North to apprehend the danger, nor did her far-seeing leaders make a mistake as to where that danger lay. Calhoun ridiculed the notion that the Abolitionists proposed to liberate the slaves by force of arms.

The real apprehension of the South.

"The war," he said, "which they wage against us is of a very different character, and far more effective, — it is waged, not against our lives, but our character." "We do not believe," said Duff Green, a Washington editor, "that the Abolitionists intend, nor could they if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. . . . . It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the Abolitionists can accomplish their object." It was precisely because they exposed the true character of slavery and slaveholders, and because they appealed to conscience, that the South was alarmed and that the North was called upon to arrest the agitation.



Wendell Phillips.

Before "The Liberator" had made itself known in Boston, except to the few who sympathized with its editor, an eminent legal gentleman of a Southern State wrote to the Mayor of that city, Harrison Gray Otis, in 1831, complaining of the publication of the paper, and commending it to his official consideration. The Mayor replied that this was to him the first intimation of the existence of such a sheet, but he had verified it by repeated and diligent inquiries. He found that it had received only "insignificant countenance and support," and that the South had nothing to fear from Boston. But, should there ever be indications that "opinion was taking a wrong direction," official application for its correction would receive "prompt and respectful attention."

A Northern response.

If a quick response like this could come, at the first intimation of peril, from one of the foremost men of Massachusetts, — one who, as a leader in the Hartford Convention, not twenty years before, had discerned, on political grounds alone, that between liberty and slavery there could be no unity, — if such response from such a source could come when the sharpened vision only of the slaveholder could

see the first red spark of fire, what was to be expected when the whole horizon was kindled into flame? First tens, then hundreds, then thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands were drawn together by a new-born zeal, animated by a common religious conviction, inspired by pity for human suffering, demanding, with one voice, from Heaven and from man, justice and mercy for those who were dumb. These people were the stuff that martyrs are made of in all ages. None doubted, none can doubt, that they were single-minded, of the purest lives, the longest-headed, the picked and chosen of the body politic, the men and women most esteemed, most trusted, in all things else save this of anti-slavery, in the several communities where they were known for their individual characters. But a broad and sharp dividing-line was soon drawn between them and their countrymen. Some were called upon to be literally martyrs, even unto stripes, imprisonment, and death. Social ostracism was visited upon them all. Fanatics, fools, traitors, infidels, incendiaries, were their mildest designations; the climax of objurgation was reached with "nigger!" The South demanded their suppression as public enemies, and the North obeyed. Commerce, it was proclaimed, was in peril; the state was in peril; the church was in peril; civil society was in peril; religion was to be trampled under foot; civilization was to be wiped out; the throats of all the masters were to be cut by their slaves; all the white women were to be given up to the blacks; all white men were to take black wives. The intelligent and educated class — in whose hands were the wealth and all that intelligence and wealth command in the organization of society — were to be brought into subjection by one sixth of their number, ignorant to the last degree, possessed, as their share of the material resources of the country, of a knife and a bludgeon. It may be questioned which madness of that time is the most marvellous — the atrocities visited upon the Abolitionists, or the pleas put forward to justify them. But almost the whole North and the whole South became possessed of the devil, because these people said that black men, as well as white, "are endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights," and that to the nineteenth century after Christ was as long a delay in the establishment of that fact as could be reasonably tolerated.

Character of the Abolitionists.

Their suppression demanded.

The plans of the Abolitionists were as simple as their aim was direct. They organized societies with brief but clear declarations of principles. They printed newspapers and pamphlets, and sent forth speakers to disseminate these principles and influence public opinion. Could they bring others to see as they themselves saw, that slavery was a sin to be at once abandoned, the

Their plans.

work would be done. They denied that slavery was, as the slaveholders loved to call it, an Institution. As well, they said, talk of the institution of counterfeiting, of forgery, of house-breaking, of horse-stealing. A slave was originally a man stolen, and the robbery was perpetuated in him or his descendants by sheer brute force. It was simply a system of man-stealing, they said, and was no more to be tolerated than any other monstrous wrong. As they were in earnest and meant to be heard, it was easy to see what the end would be if they could not be answered. It is our character that is at stake, said Calhoun; it is our consciences they appeal to, said Duff Green. Then they must not be heard, and the readiest way to silence them was by violence.

The reign of mobs.

To emancipate the blacks even by common consent, would necessarily involve some sacrifices, and there were formidable obstacles to be overcome before that consent could be obtained. If to these difficulties was added the fear of terrible disasters, of anarchy, of the shedding of innocent blood, it would be easy, it was thought, to trample out agitation as though it were a pestilence. The whole country, therefore, gave itself over to a dispensation of lies — some to creating, some to believing them, but all to make them the apology for violence. For years the mob reigned.

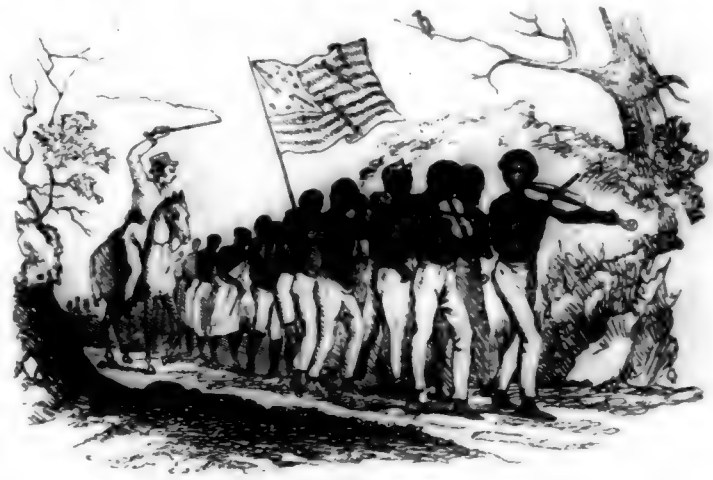
Southern action.

Large rewards were offered in some of the slaveholding States for the apprehension of several of the leading Abolitionists. The Legislature of Georgia passed a law appropriating five thousand dollars to be paid to any person who should arrest, bring to trial, and prosecute to conviction, under the laws of that State, the editor of "The Liberator." Mr. Williams, the publisher of "The Emancipator" in New York, who never in his life had been in the State of Alabama, was indicted for declaring that man should not be held as property, and his rendition was demanded as a fugitive from justice, by the Governor of that State. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, called upon the Northern States to suppress the anti-slavery societies by penal enactments. Governor W. L. Marcy, of New York, and Governor Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, earnestly commended the subject to the legislatures of those States, and a committee of the New York Legislature reported that such laws would be enacted the moment they seemed necessary. A bill was reported, though not passed, by a committee of the Rhode Island Legislature, for the trial and punishment of Abolitionists. At a public meeting in Mississippi, it was resolved that whoever should circulate anti-slavery publications, "was justly worthy in the sight of God and man of immediate death," and

Opposition to slavery to be made penal.

that such would be the penalty in any part of that State. In South Carolina persons were appointed to examine all travellers arriving at Charleston by steamboat or rail, and to deliver over to the Vigilance Committee all suspected of anti-slavery opinions. In Tennessee, Amos Dresser, a travelling agent of the Bible Society, in whose possession were found some anti-slavery publications, not for sale but for his own use, was sentenced, at a public meeting, at which the Mayor presided, to be punished with thirty lashes upon his bare back.[1] In Washington, Dr. Reuben Crandall, it was accidentally discovered, had received some packages, the wrappers of which happened to be anti-slavery newspapers. He was thrown into prison and was kept there for nine months before he was permitted to answer to an indictment for publishing a malicious and wicked libel with an intent to excite the slaves to insurrection. A Mr. Black, an agent of the Bible Society, when it became known in New Orleans that he had offered a Bible to a slave, was compelled to fly for his life from the mob, after being severely reprimanded in a court of justice. The local society publicly apologized for Black's conduct, with the acquiescence of silence in the parent society in New York.

Persecutions at the South.



The Domestic Slave-trade

Manifestations like these — for these are a few only among many — show the spirit then aroused at the South at what the South instinctively recognized as an attack upon slavery that must inevitably lead to its destruction. The appeal to the North was met in a like spirit. The legislative committee of New York did not recommend immediate legislation for the punishment of the Abolitionists, because they believed, as Marcy suggested, that the popular opposition to the movement would soon make an end of it. A perpetual

[1] One of the books found in Dresser's possession was called *The Anti-Slavery Record*, and it contained the engraving of which we give a fac-simile. "This," says Dresser in his narrative, "added considerably to the general excitement." He adds: "Mr. Stout," who had caused Dresser's carriage to be searched, "told me that the scene represented in the cut was one of by no means unfrequent occurrence — that it was accurate in all its parts, and that he had witnessed it again and again. Mr. Stout is himself a slaveholder."

conflict was waged with the mob. In 1834, the house of Lewis Tappan, a wealthy and distinguished merchant of New York, was sacked, and the furniture destroyed. In October, 1835, on one and the same day a mob, led by the most prominent citizen of the town, broke up an anti-slavery meeting at Montpelier, Vermont; another at Utica, New York, with the member of Congress from that district and a county judge at its head, dispersed a meeting of the National Society, and compelled it to adjourn to the house of Gerrit Smith, at Peterborough; in Boston a meeting of women was beset by a mob of "gentlemen of property and standing" — as the newspapers of the town styled them in justification of their conduct; Garrison was rescued from the rioters, with a rope already

Northern persecution.



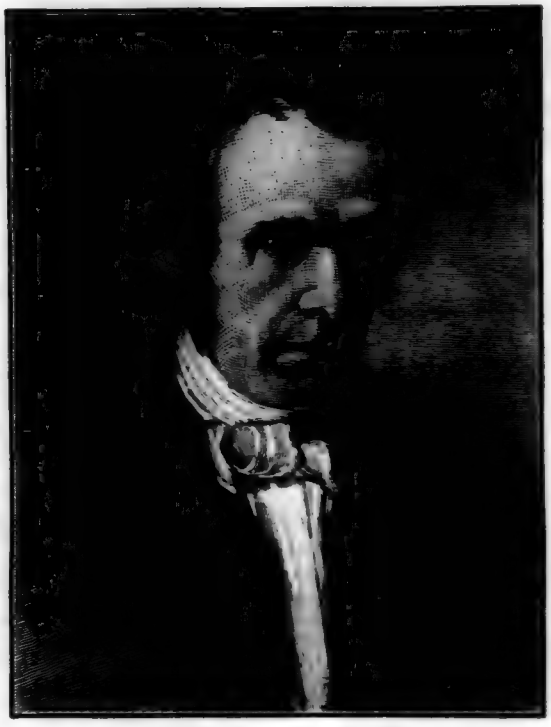
The Alton Riot — From an old Print.

tied about his body, and lodged in the city jail for safety, by order of the Mayor, who seemed to think it best he should not be hanged, though his life was not worth the suppression of a riot. The ladies found refuge in the private house of Francis Jackson. The next summer, the press and types of "The Philanthropist," a newspaper established in Cincinnati by James G. Birney, — a Southerner by birth, who had been a slaveholder, but had given freedom to his slaves, — were thrown into the Ohio. "Gentlemen," said the Mayor to the rioters, when the work was finished, "it is now late at night, and time we were all in bed; by continuing longer you will disturb the citizens or deprive them of their rest, besides robbing your

selves of rest. No doubt it is your intention to punish the guilty and leave the innocent. . . . . We have done enough for one night." The following year a mob attacked a warehouse in Alton, Illinois, where a printing-press was stored belonging to the Rev. E. P. Lovejoy. Here, and on the opposite side of the river, in Missouri, his newpaper, "The Observer," had been three times suspended by the destruction of his printing materials. This time, the fourth, the suppression was permanent, for the editor was murdered. The news was received by what some of the leading citizens of Boston tried to turn into a congratulatory meeting in Faneuil Hall; but which gave to anti-slavery a convert, Wendell Phillips, whose career, destined to be so marked in its influence upon the history of the next thirty years, began at that moment. Six months afterward, Pennsylvania Hall, a costly building erected in Philadelphia, that there might be one place there always open to free discussion, was for that reason burned to the ground. It was dedicated the previous day by an anti-slavery meeting, at which a poem by the young poet Whittier was read. The keys were given to the Mayor that he might be responsible for its safety; but no effort was made either to suppress the rioters or to extinguish the fire.

Murder of Lovejoy.

Burning of Pennsylvania Hall.



John G. Whittier. (1838.)

The years of these incidents were especially marked by such evidence of the popular determination to suppress at any cost this dangerous movement against slavery. But these were only the more remarkable instances of the character of that violent opposition; it was continued, sometimes with greater, sometimes with less bitterness, down to the very eve of the rebellion, according to the temper of the moment. During all that time, as the voice of the anti-slavery lecturer and press never ceased in the land, proclaiming the only issue on which slavery could ever be successfully met, namely, its inherent and absolute sinfulness, so to the end, till the contest was virtually over, there was always the sole response that had any force in it, namely, trample out that doctrine

and those who preach it. When a generation or two more have passed away, it will be easier to see and to understand how the scattered seed of a new faith yielded a thousand-fold of fruitfulness, and the North was gradually educated to meet the question of a government of and for the people, or the rule of and for an oligarchy of slaveholders.

The Colonization Society.

The condition of the free negro was one result of slavery which the Abolitionists could not overlook. They exposed the character of the Colonization Society, established in 1816, which, at the North, sought the support of philanthropists under the pretence of facilitating emancipation, by returning at last all the slaves to Africa; while at the South its avowed purpose was to expatriate all free negroes, lest by their presence the slaves should be reminded that their bondage was not altogether hopeless. It was not one of the least of the anti-slavery offences that Garrison and Judge William Jay so thoroughly stripped that society of its hypocritical pretence. Gerrit Smith, the Tappans, Birney, and many others of the earliest and most earnest of the anti-slavery people, were Colonizationists, till they discovered that in supporting that scheme they had been the dupes of the slaveholders; nor could it longer rely upon the aid and countenance of the Federal Government, which had hitherto been given it almost without question. The popular opposition to the anti-slavery movement was strengthened, therefore, by the hostility of the Colonizationists, who gave the whole weight of their influence to add to the torrent of misrepresentation and persecution.

The Free Blacks.

The condition of Northern free blacks was hardly better than that of the same class in the Southern States. They were pariahs; if the law recognized them at all, it was to oppress, not to protect them; no calling was open to them, save the lowest menial service; their presence among whites in public places was a forbidden intrusion; the schools were shut in their faces; if they were permitted to worship God in common with their fellow-creatures, it was only in the negro-pew, above the galleries, close under the ceiling, as far as they could be removed from the rest of the congregation; should enough of the spirit of the white man's Christianity reach them there to lead to a wish to commemorate the Last Supper, they were taught that the Lord had spread for them a second table; and when at last dust unto dust was pronounced over their poor black bodies, it was in some remote corner of the grave-yard, lest when the trumpet of the resurrection sounded there should be a disagreeable confusion of persons. In all the more ferocious mobs it was the innocent colored people who were the chief sufferers. The rage against the Abolitionists would yield, even at white heat, to the deeper hatred

of the blacks. When Pennsylvania Hall was burned, the rioters were easily turned aside, when on their way to attack the private houses of some of the leading anti-slavery people, by a cry, "to the nigger school-house!" raised by one who put himself at their head to divert their blind rage from the taking of life to the destruction only of property. In New York, in Boston, in Cincinnati, and in other places, it was a sort of sportive relief from the serious business of suppressing anti-slavery gatherings to sack the meeting-houses and the dwellings of negroes.



Ruins of Pennsylvania Hall.

It was only where the blacks were very numerous that they were permitted to acquire the merest rudiments of education in schools of their own. The promise of anything more was resented, so true was the logical instinct that every advanced step of the free colored man was one step nearer the freedom of his race. It was therefore, that when Miss Prudence Crandall of Canterbury, Connecticut, opened a school for colored young women, she was pursued with months of persecution, her furniture destroyed, her house set on fire, the lives of her pupils endangered, she herself thrown into prison, and an act passed by the Legislature forbidding schools of that character within the boundaries of the State. When a few colored boys were admitted into an academy at Canaan, New Hampshire, it was declared by a vote in town-meeting, that the school was a nuisance; and the people of the neighborhood assembled with a

Education denied them.

hundred yoke of oxen, dragged the building from its foundations for some distance, and left it in ruins. At Zanesville, Ohio, a young woman opened a school for colored children, but it was broken up by the destruction of her furniture and the books, and the teacher driven from the town by personal abuse. In Brown County, in the same State, a school-house was burnt to the ground, with all it contained, and the teacher compelled to leave the place, for the same offence. It was proposed to establish a collegiate school in New Haven, Connecticut, for the education of colored boys; but the Mayor, when he heard of it, called a public meeting, and the citizens declared that they would resist the establishment of such a school in that town, and the scheme was necessarily abandoned.

Character of Northern mobs.

It must not be supposed that acts like these were the acts of mere ruffians. The mobs of that period were often led in person, and always incited, by men of the highest social, political, and religious position. If the law was invoked, it was to justify riot; if the officers of the law interfered, it was to protect the rioters. It was assumed that the interests of politics, of commerce, of literature, of art, of education, of religion, were involved in the speedy suppression of the agitation against slavery. At the second anniversary of the National Society, in New York, a leading member was called out of the meeting by one of the principal merchants of the city to give him this warning, — "We cannot afford to let you and your associates succeed in your endeavor to overthrow slavery. I have called to let you know, and to let your fellow-laborers know, that we do not mean to allow you to succeed. We mean to put you down, by fair means if we can, by foul means if we must."

Northern baseness.

The Faculty of Lane Theological Seminary, at Cincinnati — of which Dr. Lyman Beecher was President — ordered its students to break up an anti-slavery society they had formed among themselves, a mandate which they obeyed by nearly breaking up the seminary, for they left it almost in a body. One of the largest publishing houses in the country said in a letter published in a Southern newspaper, "it must be pretty generally understood in your section, as well as elsewhere, that we uniformly decline publishing works calculated to interfere in any way with Southern rights and Southern institutions." In the same letter they said: "Since the receipt of your letter, we have printed an edition of the 'Woods and Fields' in which the offensive matter has been omitted." The "Woods and Fields" was an English book of tales, reflecting somewhere upon slavery, of which the New York publishers had inadvertently printed an edition without mutilation. They wrote directly to another Southern newspaper "that they had refrained from republishing a certain

English work, very ably written and likely to be profitable," because the author was an "Abolitionist, and we would have nothing to do with him." In Hinton's "History of the United States" — republished by another Northern house in numbers — there was something objectionable to the slaveholders; all the numbers, containing it, that could be found in New Orleans were seized and burned, and the agent compelled to flee for his life; in Charleston they were withdrawn from circulation, and the New York publishers printed a new and expurgated edition. Do these things seem too base and too cowardly to be credible? They are only a few instances among many that showed the servile spirit of the time. It pervaded all things and governed everywhere. Intense excitement and debate was aroused in the House of Representatives at Washington because there had been placed upon the shelves of the Congressional Library a work upon political economy, in which a chapter was given to the consideration of slavery purely as a question in social science. Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University, in a work upon Moral Philosophy, asserted the natural equality of all men, and that the enslavement of any part of the human race was incompatible with that law. The protest at the South against ever again sending Southern youth to that college, was loud and earnest.

It is not to be denied that the great mass of the Northern people were absolutely destitute of any humanity for the blacks, or any principle in regard to slavery. They knew nothing of the character of the Slave Code — unmatched for its atrocities in any body of law reduced to writing within the last thousand years — and they cared nothing for the condition of those who under it were held as property and treated as beasts. But they believed that any interference with slavery would convulse the political, commercial, and social relations of the country, and, though it might be confessed an evil, its cure was not worth such a convulsion. It may be said also, in their defence, a defence that can be made, however, only at the expense of Northern intelligence, that they honestly believed the Abolitionists meant to arouse the slaves to insurrection. The lie was purely a Southern invention, accepted by the thoughtless, or used as a pretext for violence by those who knew it to be a lie. It hardly needs now to be said, that in the whole range of anti-slavery publications, in all the constitutions of anti-slavery societies, in the speeches of anti-slavery lecturers for thirty years, not a single word was ever printed or ever spoken that sustains this accusation. On the contrary, till John Brown went to Virginia, in 1859, all appeals to the slaves were disavowed, officially, individually, in thousands of ways, on thousands of occasions. Moreover, the very philosophy of the movement showed

the absurdity of the calumny. That was nothing if not moral; it relied on no arm of flesh; no Abolitionist ever lifted his hand even to repel outrage upon himself; his faith was absolute in the appeal to reason and to conscience, and if this failed he had no hope left.

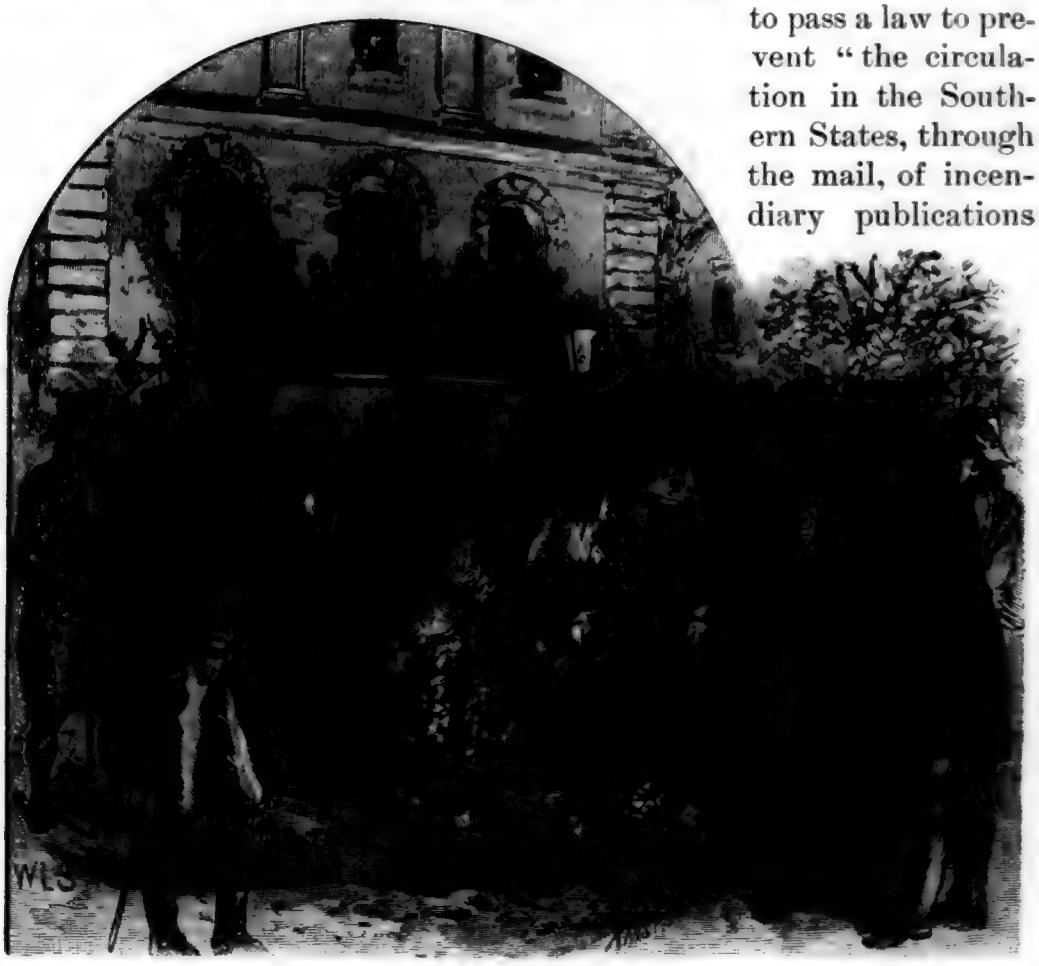
Pro-slavery accusations.

That such a charge was accepted, only proves the readiness of the Northern people to secure their own peace by the sacrifice of millions of their colored countrymen, by assuming a pretext which both North and South knew to be false. They not only knew it to be false, but they also knew that no such appeal could be made to the slave, nor would it be heeded if it could. The African in America, whether bond or free, either from inherent quality of race, or from the habit of submission, patience, and long-suffering engendered by centuries of subjection, has rarely shown any spirit of revolt. He may sometimes run away, but he does not resist. The Abolitionist was too wise and too merciful to attempt to stir up a servile war, which could only end in prolonging the servitude of the blacks; the slaveholders laughed that the great majority of the Northern people were either so stupid or so wicked as to consent to be duped by so absurd a pretext. But the few who, after all, made the public opinion of the North were not dupes, however it might be with the rabble who followed them. If slavery were really in danger, much else would be in danger also. From 1830 to 1840 the whole country was afloat upon a wild sea of speculation; the price of cotton went up in the course of that decade from six cents to twenty, and fluctuated anywhere between, as there was access or decrease of the public fever; more than twenty million acres of public lands were bought in the southwest; nearly four hundred thousand slaves were transferred from the slave-breeding to the cotton and sugar States, for the cultivation of these lands; all this was done, mainly, with borrowed capital, and plantations, slaves, cotton-crops were mortgaged directly or indirectly to Northern capitalists, through public or private credit, and whatever threatened to disturb it threatened great pecuniary loss. With all this was involved the never-ceasing struggle of the slaveholders for the perpetuity of their political ascendency, who offered their favor to the highest bidder among Northern politicians. These influences, however little they may palliate the pro-slavery furor of the time, are not to be lost sight of in any consideration of its history. The North thought, at least, that its rage was not altogether without reason.

Condition of the country.

But the lie was sent forth to the world with the highest sanction. President Jackson, in his annual message to Congress in 1835, called "attention to the painful exitement produced in the South by attempts to circulate through the mails inflammatory appeals addressed

to the passions of the slaves, in prints, and in various sorts of publications, calculated to stimulate them to insurrection, and to produce all the horrors of a servile war." It is quite likely that he believed this to be true, for he never permitted himself to be embarrassed by evidence in coming to a conclusion; and accordingly, he urged Congress to pass a law to prevent "the circulation in the Southern States, through the mail, of incendiary publications



Burning Mail-matter in Charleston.

intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection." Of course the purpose was to prohibit the use of the mails for the conveyance of anything that touched the question of slavery. The sagacity of Calhoun was not at fault, when as chairman of the committee to whom the subject was referred, he reported that it should be left to the States to decide what was an incendiary publication. This was in accordance with his State-Rights theory, that the slave State should decree and the Union execute; and he knew, besides, that even then there were Northern members of Congress who would not consent to self-stultification, but would demand the evidence of the existence of any publication addressed to the slaves or designed, in the remotest degree, to excite them to insubordination, and that no such evidence

could be found. Nor did the slave States need any such law. Six months before the message, the mails had been seized in Charleston, S. C., and some few anti-slavery publications, addressed to influential gentlemen for their possible enlightenment, taken out and publicly burned. The precedent was one which every postmaster at the South was ready to follow; even the postmaster at New York had assumed the power of rifling the mails of everything which he thought might offend the South; and the Postmaster-general, Amos Kendall, had written to his subordinates both in Charleston and New York, justifying their assumed censorship of the press, though, as he acknowledged, there was no law to authorize it.

Rifling the mails.

But neither laws nor lawlessness, neither tyranny nor subserviency, neither sagacity nor stupidity, could stay the tumult of discussion that swept over the country. Every obstacle it met only served to add to its strength, and on all sides questions arose in unexpected ways that increased the agitation. The slaveholders and the slaveholders' friends put into the hands of the anti-slavery people a tremendous weapon, by denying them, for years, the right of petition. Keeping carefully within the letter and the spirit of the law, they prayed that Congress would exercise its undoubted right of abolishing slavery in the national domain under its exclusive control, and of interdicting the domestic slave-trade. Their prayers would have been soon silenced, had they been simply received and denied; but when the attempt was made to destroy even the right to pray, then for every petition rejected there came a thousand new ones. For ten years they were hurled like fire-brands as if against a fortress of straw, and bastion and battlement were in a constant blaze and the magazines in continual explosion. A few brave men in Congress, led by John Quincy Adams, fought that fight against all the forces, Northern and Southern, of slavery. Session after session the attempt to get the petitions before the House was defeated, by a standing rule known as the "Atherton gag" — so called from one Atherton, of New Hampshire, who belonged to the class of Northern "white trash," bearing the same political relation to the slaveholders that the poor whites of the South occupied socially, too degraded, that is, to be respected even by slaves. But session after session the agitation widened, and the demand grew louder that when Northern citizens spoke they should be respectfully listened to, no matter what they said. When, in 1842, Mr. Adams presented a petition from some persons in Massachusetts, asking for a dissolution of the Union, and resolutions of severe rebuke were offered, his defence of himself and of the right of petition aroused hundreds of thousands of the Northern people to indignation and reflection upon the true meaning of the conflict out of which that incident grew.

The right of petition.

The Atherton gag.

The "Atherton gag," however, was only the perfected rule for excluding from Congress the consideration of any subject reflecting unfavorably upon slavery — though whatever favored it was never prohibited and was always in order. The initiative step was taken nearly three years before, in a resolution offered by Pinckney of South Carolina, upon which Mr. Adams refused to vote, declaring, "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, the rules of this House, and the rights of my constituents." The ground was thus clearly taken at the outset: on the one hand the inviolability of Slavery, and, on the part of Adams and a few others, the sacredness of the right of petition. The defenders of that right never yielded a single inch; petitions were sometimes presented by the hundreds in a single day, and of the thousands who signed them to assert the abstract right, many came at length to feel hardly less interest in the immediate object of the prayer. Pinckney's rule was renewed at the opening of the next Congress, and Mr. Adams, a few days afterward, asked if a paper in his possession, purporting to come from twenty-five slaves, would be laid on the table, without any action upon it, under the rule. The turmoil that followed, though paralleled many times since, was then without a precedent in the halls of Congress. The mobocratic spirit which ruled in Northern towns and cities, blazed up in the House. It was gratuitously assumed that a petition from slaves was a petition for their freedom, and the slaveholders and the slaveholders' friends vied with each other in denouncing a proposition so monstrous, and the audacity of the man who dared to ask for it a hearing. Public censure at the bar of the House was the mildest punishment proposed for him; one member from South Carolina denounced him as having rendered himself liable to the penal laws of the District of Columbia, and threatened, that should he persist in presenting such a petition, he would expiate the offence within the walls of the penitentiary. The first onslaught of the storm soon exhausted itself by its own fury; but it broke out again with renewed violence when Mr. Adams reminded his assailants that he had not yet presented the petition, but only inquired as to its probable disposition under the rule if he should present it, and then informed them that, whether genuine or not, it was not, as they had assumed it must be, for the abolition of slavery, but that slavery be let alone.

A petition from slaves.

A similar and not less extraordinary scene occurred at the opening of the next session, when William Slade asked that a petition for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia be referred to a committee, with instructions to bring in a bill granting the prayer of the petitioners. It was the first time such a

proposal had been made, and the House was immediately in an uproar. Slade was speedily silenced by points of order, which were as quickly violated by Southern members with impunity. Representatives from several Southern States called upon their colleagues to leave the House, and when a motion to adjourn was made, all the members of those States were invited to come together to take this crisis into consultation. Rhett called it, in a report to his constituents, "the memorable secession of the Southern members," and the word was cherished. He prepared resolutions declaring it "expedient that the Union should be dissolved," and that a committee be appointed of "two members from each State to report upon the best means of peaceably dissolving it." But another "gag" rule was passed the next day, and the South was again appeased by enjoining silence once more upon the North. It only taught the North to think the more and talk the louder.

Secession of Southern members in the House.

Elsewhere than in Congress events were constantly occurring at that period — and from that time forward were constantly cumulating — to intensify the public excitement, and to strengthen the North in the final struggle which was at some time inevitable, and, it was now evident, could not be long delayed. Not that such events had never occurred before; but that to the awakened observation and conscience, to which the anti-slavery people were perpetually appealing, such events no longer passed by unheeded. Thus, in 1839, the Governor of Virginia demanded of the Governor of New York the rendition of three sailors as criminals charged with aiding a slave who had secreted himself on board their vessel to escape from bondage. The demand, a few years earlier, would have been complied with without hesitation. But now no Abolitionist of the extremest school could have taken higher ground than that taken by Governor Seward in his refusal. The laws of New York, he said, did not recognize property in man, and to aid a person, therefore, to escape from slavery was not a crime. His exposition of natural law and of the law of slavery was masterly and unanswerable, and in the long controversy that followed, Virginia was driven to the *ultima ratio* of the slaveholder — a threat to dissolve the Union. The Virginian Governor appealed for sympathy to the other States; but Mr. Seward was neither alarmed by threats, nor moved from his position by an attempt at retaliation. While the controversy was pending, he asked for the rendition of a forger who had escaped to Virginia, and the request was refused until the prior demand of Virginia was complied with. But on this point, the Governor of Virginia went a little further than even his own Legislature would sustain him, and he indignantly resigned his office. An act was passed,

Controversy between New York and Virginia.

however, requiring that all New York vessels in the ports of Virginia should be searched when about to sail, on the presumption that slaves were secreted on board; and this law was to continue in force till the alleged fugitives from justice, whom Seward had refused to surrender, were returned and the recent act of New York, giving a trial by jury to all persons claimed as fugitive slaves, was repealed. The Governor was sustained by his own party, though the opposition — the Democrats — in the Legislature, passed resolutions upholding the pretence of Virginia to make the laws of New York subordinate to her own.

New York and Georgia.

A similar controversy arose between New York and Georgia, about the same time, with a like result, in which the Governor of the latter State, profiting by the experience of Virginia, hoped to succeed in his purpose by stratagem. He demanded the return of a colored sailor on board a New York vessel, on a charge of stealing, first, a quantity of wearing apparel, and second, a slave. Governor Seward chose to go behind the indictments; according to natural law, no crime had been committed in aiding a slave to escape from bondage, and there was, therefore, no criminal to return; and the knavish cunning of the Georgians he refused to be taken in by, as the clothes the man was charged with stealing were the clothes worn by the slave who had attempted to escape. Georgia was also unfortunate about the same time, in a controversy with Maine, where a like demand for the rendition of an alleged fugitive from justice was made and peremptorily refused. It was the old question, — always recognized and inculcated as the fundamental principle of state-craft at the South — of the subordination of the Union, and the free States, to the law of slavery.

Attitude of Massachusetts.

That the North was learning a new lesson, and learning it rapidly, is plain to see when it is remembered that only four years before Mr. Seward declared that New York did not recognize property in man, a joint committee of the Massachusetts Legislature had declared that "the right of the master to the slave is as undoubted as the right to any other property," and that "any attempt, whether direct or indirect, to deprive the slaveholder of this property, as of any other, is a violation of the fixed laws of social policy, as well as of the ordinary rules of moral obligation." This report, signed by George Lunt as chairman of the committee, was in response to the message of Governor Everett, in which he commended to the consideration of the Legislature the demands of five of the slaveholding States, that the discussion of slavery should be made a penal offence. The rebuke of this pro-slavery fanaticism, however, was not long delayed in Massachusetts. Only two years

later another joint committee of the Legislature — in a report declaring that Congress had the power to abolish slavery in the Federal domain, to interdict the domestic slave-trade, and to refuse admission to the Union of any new slave State, — said, "There is little difference of opinion in this Commonwealth as to the moral, social, and political character of domestic slavery. It is regarded by all, or nearly all, as a wrong in itself, and an evil in all its relations and influences. . . . . The wrong is the greatest which man can inflict upon his fellow, and the evil deep, certain, and aggravated." The chairman of this committee was James C. Alvord, and the report one of the firebrands which Adams shook in the face of Congress from session to session, till the slaveholders were ready to tear him limb from limb. Marshall, a member from Kentucky, acknowledged in open debate that the venerable ex-president would probably be lynched should he venture into that State, and threats of assassination were sent him almost daily by mail from the South.

Fugitive-slave question.

The position taken by the governors of New York and Maine, in answer to the demands of slave States, was only one of the indications of the rapid growth of anti-slavery opinion at the North. Events were leading to nice distinctions. If, for example, to aid a man to escape from slavery was not recognized as a crime in Northern jurisprudence, how happened it that the escaping man must be returned to bondage? Hitherto there was no question anywhere, except perhaps among a few Philadelphia Quakers, as to the return of fugitive slaves; but the doctrine spread, that if there were a bond for a pound of flesh, no drop of blood must be spilled in tearing it from the living tissue. It is not likely that the number of slaves attempting to escape was increased; but those who did now found a multitude of friends ready to invoke the law, so far as it was possible, in defence of liberty, and where that could not be done, there were many more who were swift to obey what they believed to be a law higher than that of the Constitution. Thousands of fugitives passed stealthily through the free States, aided from point to point, to a safe refuge in Canada; others stopped on the way in Northern cities, but always ready for further and instant flight if the word of warning came, that the chase was on their tracks. Every case that came before the courts aroused profound interest, and set men to thinking upon the character of slavery, and the nature of fundamental law. In every arrest that was made public, where no opportunity was given, or none existed, for an appeal to judicial decisions, the appeal to pity for the unfortunate fugitives was irresistible with the thoughtful and humane. What right has one man to hold another in bondage? How far shall the municipal law of the slave States be

permitted to override all law in the free States, where the end of government is the protection of the citizen in his right to life, to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? As every incident in the debates of Congress and of State legislatures, in the courts, in the action of Northern governors, in the attitude of religious organizations, in the persecution of individuals, and in the thousand attempts of the mob to suppress free speech, aroused reflection and intensified the struggle, so it was because the question of slavery had come before the people in a new aspect, and was seen with anointed eyes.

Where did a man's right to himself begin, and where did it end? In 1839 the United States brig *Washington*, Captain Gedney, overhauled, near the coast, and brought into New London, a Spanish vessel, the *Amistad*, having on board a number of Africans, who had been kidnapped in their own country, and sold as slaves in Cuba. On their way to another Spanish island in the West Indies, they captured the vessel, under the leadership of one Cinque, killed the captain and cook in fair fight, and put the rest of the crew and the white passengers, among them their pretended owners, in confinement. Knowing nothing of navigation, they ordered one of the Spaniards to steer the vessel for Africa. He obeyed in the daytime, when his captors could tell by the sun which way the vessel was heading, but at night he reversed her course, till he brought her upon the American coast. These men, born free, reduced to bondage contrary to the law of nature and of nations, were thrust into jail to await a trial, on the assumption that they were slaves and pirates. From the State courts the case was taken up to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the final decision was, that the prisoners had been kidnapped in Africa and carried unlawfully to Cuba; that their present pretended owners had purchased them knowing these facts; that as they were not slaves they could not be pirates in taking the measures they did to regain their freedom, and that, therefore, they should be discharged. In the contest for justice to these helpless



Cinque.

The Amistad case.

strangers, their friends were compelled to fight every step of the way against the influence of President Van Buren's Secretary of State, John Forsyth, of Georgia, and the Attorney-general, Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, who were anxious that these men, who, had they been white, would have been welcomed as heroes, should either be surrendered as slaves, or sent back to Cuba to the merciless disposition of Spanish law.

The fate that might befall these native Africans had no relation to American slavery, except as it touched the abstract question of property in man. But this was enough, for the slaveholders never forgot, and the North was beginning to learn, that on this question hinged the whole controversy. But in 1841 there happened a similar occurrence that came closer home. An American slaver, the *Creole*, sailed from Richmond with a cargo of one hundred and thirty-five slaves, gathered, not from the wilds of Africa, but the slave huts and kitchens of the Virginia and Maryland plantations. Among them was one whose very name was revolutionary — Madison Washington. This man knew something of liberty, for he had been a fugitive in Canada, and had gone back thence to Virginia to release his wife from bondage; but he had been retaken and sold, as was usually done with those whose intelligent discontent marked them as dangerous, for the depleting discipline and the safer distance from Mason and Dixon's Line, of a southwest plantation. Early in November, when the *Creole* was near the Bahamas, the black Washington, putting himself at the head of nineteen of his fellows, whose arms altogether were only four knives, attacked the crew, and after a struggle, in which one white, a slave-trader, was killed, and the captain and some others wounded, the blacks obtained possession of the vessel. They compelled the captain to take her into Nassau, New Providence, where those not immediately engaged in the revolt were declared to be free. Washington and his eighteen companions, who, the captain of the *Creole* demanded, should be surrendered to him to be taken to the United States for trial for mutiny and murder, were detained ostensibly to be tried in the English courts. The whole cargo was a loss to the slaveholders; but there were thousands of people at the North who persisted in considering it not in the light of a loss of property, but as a restoration to one hundred and thirty-five human beings of the liberty of which they had been robbed since their birth. Calhoun, Clay, and other Southern senators denounced the English Government for stretching its protecting arm over acts which they looked upon as piracy and murder, and for refusing to permit the United States to extend its slaveholding law into its dominion. Not a voice in the Senate was raised to defend the

The Creole.

inalienable rights which Madison Washington and his companions had asserted for themselves. Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State of the acting President, Vice-president Tyler, wrote instructions to Edward Everett, then Minister to England, which satisfied even Calhoun. In the House of Representatives a scene of characteristic violence ensued when Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, offered a series of resolutions, the essential point of which was, that every man has a natural right to himself, and that the slaveholding laws of the Southern States, however potent they might be at home, whatever sanction they might receive from the Federal Constitution, were void beyond their boundaries. A vote of censure was immediately passed by an overwhelming majority, and the bold member who thus challenged the legitimacy of slavery, as instantly resigned his seat, and before the sun set was on his way to Ohio to appeal to his constituents. "I hope we shall soon see you back again," said Adams with emotion, as Giddings took leave of him. The wish was fulfilled; the interval was long enough only for a new election, when he was back with an increased majority of thousands. The doctrine advanced by Calhoun was not new, but partly because of the peculiar character of the case of the *Creole*, partly because of the agitation of the public mind, it had never before attracted attention so serious. Within the ten previous years three American vessels engaged in the coastwise slave-trade had been wrecked at different times in the West India Islands, or driven into port by stress of weather. So long as slavery existed in her colonies, England consented to make compensation for the American slaves who were thus liberated; but after that event she declined any such concession — would hardly acknowledge that the principle involved was worthy of discussion.

Resignation of Giddings.

Almost at the very moment that Congress was so hotly debating the nature of slaveholding law, the Supreme Court of the United States was pronouncing what that law was, so far as it governed the right of the recapture of fugitive slaves. More than once in former years attempts had been made to induce Congress to put an end to the kidnapping of free negroes along the border between the free and slave States; but it had hardly been possible to arouse attention enough to the subject to listen to a motion. In 1826 Pennsylvania, after conferring with Maryland, passed an act intended to prevent and punish kidnapping while, at the same time, it enforced the returning of fugitive slaves, and prescribed the method of seizure. In 1839 one Edward Prigg went into Pennsylvania, and, in disregard of the Act of 1826, carried out of the State a colored woman, Margaret Morgan, and her children, to restore them to a former mistress, Margaret Ashmore, in Maryland, from whom

The Prigg case.

the woman and her children — except one born in Pennsylvania — had escaped some years before. Prigg was brought to trial and found guilty of kidnapping, not, however, because he had taken fugitive slaves, but because he had taken them without regarding the method prescribed by the law of the State. The case was carried to the Supreme Court by agreement between the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and its decision excited universal discussion, and quite as universal surprise and resentment. Many learned, for the first time, what the compromises of the Constitution really meant, though few, probably, saw foreshadowed in this decision the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, and the decision of the same court in the Dred Scott case in 1856.

Decision of the court.

The court declared that to secure to the slaveholders the complete right and title of ownership in their slaves, as property, in every State of the Union, to which they might escape, was a fundamental article of the Constitution without which the Union could not have been formed. That this positive, unqualified right, no State law could qualify, regulate, control, or restrain. That the slave-owner could seize his fugitive slave wherever he found him, if he could do so without a breach of the peace, could seize, that is, one claimed as a slave, without question of his right or title, in the streets of Boston, as he would unquestioned in New Orleans or Charleston. But though the Constitution thus executed itself, it was the duty of Congress to enforce this right by special law, which it had done by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793; and as the right to legislate upon the subject belonged to that body alone, all State legislation — whatever its object, whether to protect its own citizens, to require evidence of the legality of the ownership of the slave, or even to aid the claimant in the recapture — was unconstitutional and void. One privilege, however, was left to the free States: they might forbid their own magistrates to act, as the law of 1793 required them to do, though the magistrates might act unless they were so forbidden. Yet under their general police power, the States might pass laws for the arrest of fugitive slaves, to remove them from their borders or otherwise protect themselves, — a saving clause intended for the protection of those States which presumed all colored persons to be slaves who could not prove they were free, and sold them to the highest bidder at public sale, if no owner appeared to take them away, which was the law in the District of Columbia: and finally, the law of Pennsylvania of 1826 — a part of the title and object of which was, "the protection of free people of color; and to prevent kidnapping" — under which Prigg was indicted, was pronounced unconstitutional and void. By this decision the country was taught that the law of slavery was

supreme in the free as in the slave States; that the right of the slaveholder to his human property could tolerate, under the Constitution, no interference even for the sake of protecting the liberties of freemen. It rudely interrupted the controversy then going on between Governor Seward and the Governor of Virginia, by deciding that the law of New York, giving the right of trial by jury to a fugitive slave, was unconstitutional. There were differences of opinion among the justices on some points of the decision, mainly upon whether Congress had so exclusive a control of the subject as to prohibit any legislation by the States. On this point Chief Justice Taney went far beyond the Court, though agreeing with it in the main; it was the duty of the free State, he thought, to legislate, not for the protection of its own citizens, or on behalf of any unfortunate person who might be unjustly seized as a fugitive from labor, but to aid the slaveholder everywhere in recapturing the slave. In the doctrines here advanced by him was the germ of the decision in the Dred Scott case in 1856, when Taney gave it as the opinion of the Supreme Court, that as, at the adoption of the Constitution, the negro was regarded as one who "had no rights which the white man is bound to respect," so he was not, and never could be, a citizen of the United States — the doctrine which at this moment, fifteen years after emancipation, rules the thought and the action of the South, that this is "a white man's government."

Dred Scott decision.

So everywhere the anti-slavery agitation made its way, and convulsed the nation. And nowhere else was that agitation so profound, or the result more significant or more permanent, than in the Church. The Southern Church, in its defence of slavery, was driven to maintain its divine character; at the North the world and the Church were agreed that the cost of meddling with the subject — of measuring Southern conduct and Northern responsibility by the New Testament and the Declaration of Independence — would be too great. The chief religious organizations by their acts and by their words gave the support of their enormous influence and power to slavery, till one after another they divided into New and Old, into the Church North and the Church South; for the earnest anti-slavery minority strove, year after year, to bring them to deal with man-owning and man-selling, which they all condemned in the abstract, as they dealt with other sins. No newspapers were so bitter in their hostility to the anti-slavery movement as the religious journals which represented the old organizations; no one class of the community reflected so faithfully and so zealously that hostility as their clergymen; keen as the eyes of the world were to detect the colored intruder in any place of public resort, they were not so keen

The Church and slavery.

as the eyes of the Church in discovering any trace of African blood in one who should kneel in prayer anywhere but in the negro-pew, or ask for admission to the Lord's Table. The natural and inevitable result was that in the end, while the Church could only hinder and delay the emancipation of the slaves, multitudes of their own members were emancipated from ecclesiastical domination. It was no less an insult to the common sense than to the religious convictions of many serious Christians, that the General Assembly of the Old School Presbyterians should reject a resolution calling upon them "to purify the Church of this great iniquity" by treating it as they treated "all other sins of great magnitude." For while declaring that they did "not think it for the edification of the Church for this body to take any action on the subject," the same meeting declared "promiscuous dancing" to be so "entirely unscriptural," and "so wholly inconsistent with the spirit of Christ," and with "propriety of Christian deportment and purity of heart," as to call for the exercise of Church discipline. They did not choose to remember that in the Southern churches, which they "fellowshipped," there was no rebuke for that promiscuous relation between the men and women of three millions of people which had taken the place of legal and Christian marriage. In North Carolina and Georgia it had been considered for the edification of Baptist associations to declare that where husband and wife were separated by sale, for the pecuniary benefit of the master, either might take a



The Negro-Pew. [An Actual View.]

Marriage relation among slaves.

new husband or a new wife. It was difficult to evade the question, if these people were men and women, and not brutes to be held as property, whether their pretended owners were to be recognized as unoffending Christians by churches which maintained the right of discipline over their members. It was a question which shook the Church to its foundations and could not be stilled. As the gradual encroachments of the slaveholding dynasty proved how grievously the second and third generations had departed from the political faith of the founders of the Republic, so the anti-slavery agitation in the churches showed that they had fallen away even more lamentably from the testimonies and the discipline of earlier days. From the sowing of such seed, the red harvest was ripening.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROGRESS OF SOUTHERN RULE.

THE SECOND SEMINOLE WAR — REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES — COST OF A SLAVE-HUNT. — TROUBLE ON THE CANADIAN FRONTIER. — BURNING OF THE CAROLINE. — TRIAL OF MCLEOD. — THE LOG-CABIN CAMPAIGN OF 1840. — DEATH OF PRESIDENT HARRISON. — SUCCESSION OF VICE-PRESIDENT TYLER. — HE BREAKS WITH THE WHIGS. — HIS SOUTHERN POLICY. — THE ASHBURTON TREATY. — EASTERN AND NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARIES. — THE DORR WAR OF RHODE ISLAND. — THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS. — THE MANNER AND PURPOSE OF IT. — ELECTION OF JAMES K. POLK. — WAR WITH MEXICO. — ITS RESULTS. — ANNEXATION OF CALIFORNIA.

Second Seminole War.

THE second Seminole War, though begun under the administration of Jackson, dragged slowly through all the years of that of Van Buren, and was not, indeed, quite finished till the summer of 1842. It was a war, like all other Indian wars, for the possession of the lands of the natives; but it arose primarily — like the former war with the Seminoles — from a wish to reduce to slavery the maroons of Florida, and the determination of South Carolina and Georgia not to have so near their borders an asylum for fugitive slaves. It was not because the Seminoles were not sufficiently peaceable when unmolested, that their removal to a reservation beyond the Mississippi was demanded; the chief reason for hostility against them was, that they would not give up to slavery the blacks who by long association and intermarriage had become identified with their tribe, and who in the swamps and Everglades led a free and happy, if a savage life. So long as this state of things continued, Florida was not practically slave territory, and to make slave territory was the object of the purchase from Spain.

A treaty had been signed at Camp Moultrie, a few miles south of St. Augustine, in 1823, by which the Indians were confined to a reservation on the eastern peninsula; but this did not cure the difficulty, and the territorial Legislature petitioned Congress for their removal. By the Treaty of Payne's Landing, negotiated in May, 1832, it was stipulated that seven chiefs of the Seminoles should examine the country assigned to the Creeks, west of the

Treaty of Payne's Landing.

Mississippi, and if they found it satisfactory, and that the two tribes could live together amicably, the Seminoles were to be removed thither within three years; surrendering all their lands in Florida, and receiving fifteen thousand dollars and an annuity, besides certain supplies. It was also stipulated that the demands for "slaves and other property" stolen or destroyed by the Seminoles should be investigated, and, if proved just, be liquidated by the United States to the amount of seven thousand dollars. President Jackson, determined that the Seminoles should remove at all hazards, sent a special commission to the West, to convince the seven chiefs that the country was eminently desirable, and a supplementary treaty was obtained from those seven, who signed it without consulting the rest of the tribe.



Osceola at the Council.

A portion of the Seminoles were unalterably opposed to removing, as they feared to come under the domination of the Creeks, from whom they had seceded eighty years before. Among the leaders of this party was a young chief named Osceola, son of a half-breed woman and an Englishman. His wife, the daughter of a slave, had been treacherously seized and carried off, to be surrendered to her mother's master. At a council, Osceola drew his knife and drove it into the table, saying, "The only treaty I will execute is with this!" The exact point of the controversy turned upon the interpretation of a pronoun in the Treaty of Payne's Landing. The pream-

Osceola and his party.

ble, after providing for the mission of the seven chiefs, stipulated that, "should they be satisfied with the character of the country," etc., the removal was to take place. President Jackson held that "they" referred only to the seven deputies; Osceola and his party held that it referred to the opinion of the whole tribe after they should hear the report of the deputation. Osceola's party swore to punish with instant death any Indian who should prepare for removal, and the threat was executed upon one of the chiefs.

Dade's massacre.

Hostilities broke out in 1835, and under Osceola's leadership the Seminoles were aggressive, vigilant, and merciless. In December, Major Francis L. Dade, with about a hundred and forty men, set out from Tampa Bay on an expedition against the hostile Indians. When they reached the Big Withlacoochee, they were fired upon by an unseen foe, and Dade and nearly half of his men fell at the first volley. The remainder took shelter behind trees, and the skilful service of a six-pounder with grape and canister drove off the Indians, who had been hidden in the tall grass. The survivors of Dade's command immediately erected a small breast-work of logs; but in less than an hour the savages returned in immense numbers, and fired steadily upon the little band from every direction, till all were shot down. After they had gone with the arms and accoutrements, a band of negroes came up and butchered the wounded, except two who escaped. Three days later, General Clinch defeated, on the Withlacoochee, a band of Seminoles under Osceola.

General Gaines.

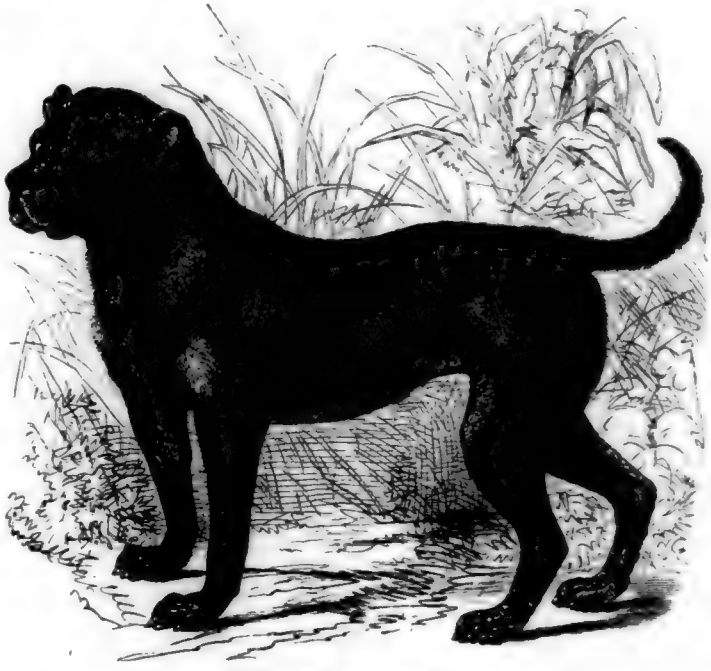
The Territory was now in a general state of alarm. The settlements in the interior were broken up, and the white inhabitants flocked to the larger towns and forts. General Gaines with seven hundred men sailed from New Orleans in February, 1835, landed at Fort Brooke on Tampa Bay, and attempted a march across the country. But as he was without sufficient provisions, and had no knowledge of the ground, he was soon compelled to turn back, and was attacked at a point on the Withlacoochee where he had expected to find a ferry. While he constructed rafts, he was held in close siege by the Indians, and would perhaps have been defeated, had not Clinch finally come to his assistance. General Scott, who resented Gaines's movement as "interloping," then assumed command in Florida. The Indians improved every opportunity to murder express riders and isolated families and to cut off wagon-trains,[1] and attacked in force the post at Micanopy, but were driven off. The summer of 1836 was exceedingly sickly, and the forces at all the posts were depleted by disease. Fort King and Fort Drane

[1] It was said that these outrages were often the work of white men in disguise, and in two cases this was proved to be the fact.

had to be abandoned, and later in the summer Micanopy, — which gave up a large tract of country to the Indians. In an action near Newnansville, the Indians were defeated, and in the autumn a force under General Call routed them on the Withlacoochee, but failed to drive them from the Wahoo Swamp.

Once more a change of commanders was tried, when General Thomas S. Jesup superseded Call, with eight thousand men, and entered upon a winter campaign. The Indians were forced from their positions on the Withlacoochee, and pursued toward the Everglades, till in February, 1837, they sued for peace. Nevertheless, five days afterward they made a determined though unsuccessful attempt to take Fort Mellon. In March, at Fort Dade, five of the chiefs signed an agreement to cease from war, and await the decision of the Government as to whether they might remain in Florida. General Jesup having vainly urged that such permission be given, about seven hundred Indians and negroes were secured before the decision was announced to them, and sent off to Tampa for shipment. Osceola and a few others were sent to Charleston as prisoners, where Osceola soon died of grief. In May, 1837, General Zachary Taylor succeeded Jesup. The remaining Indians and maroons were now so wary, and scattered themselves so widely in the swamps and woods, that it was exceedingly difficult to follow them with an organized force. Jesup had taken measures to procure bloodhounds from Cuba, to track the refugees; perhaps because a dog of more sagacity was needed than the common hound trained for negro-hunts on the Southern plantations. Taylor and the Administration approved the plan, and thirty-three hounds, with five Spaniards to manage them, were imported from Cuba, at an expense of several

General Jesup.



A Cuban Bloodhound.

General Taylor.

Use of bloodhounds.

thousand dollars.[1] But the dogs, trained only to track negroes, would not take the scent of an Indian, and proved useless.

Taylor's plans were disarranged by the President, who sent General McComb to make peace with the Indians, and though Taylor had defeated them at Okechobee on Christmas day, 1837, he too was obliged to retire from the command, which then devolved upon General W. R. Armistead. During all this time, robbery and massacre had been going on, and as fast as small parties of Seminoles and negroes were captured they were sent to the reservation beyond the Mississippi — all save those whom any individual slaveholder chose to claim as his property. One more change of commanders was resorted to, when General William J. Worth, a man of more ability and more discretion than any of his predecessors, in the spring of 1841 succeeded Armistead. In a summer campaign, Worth's troops, in small parties, ascended the rivers and penetrated the swamps to the islands, where they destroyed not only the shelters of the enemy but many of the crops on which they must depend for the next winter. Worth then made use of a chief who had been brought to Tampa in irons, to secure a peace. Assuring him that he (Coacoochee) was a powerful chief, and could bring the war to a close, Worth bade him name five of his fellow captives and set a time which should be long enough for them to reach the tribe, and tell them that unless they appeared at Tampa and gave themselves up within that time, Coacoochee and his fellow prisoners would be promptly hanged. In a few days they surrendered themselves, and from this beginning General Worth soon received the surrender of all the bands, and sent them to the West.

General Worth.



William J. Worth.

The war was ended at last, and it only remained to count the gains, and the cost. Somewhat over five hundred persons had been reduced from freedom to bondage, and Florida was no longer an asylum for fugitive slaves. That was the

The cost, and the result.

[1] "I wish it distinctly understood," wrote the General to the Department, "that my object in employing dogs is only to ascertain where the Indians can be found, not to worry them." And the Secretary of War, Hon. Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, who had authorized the purchase of the hounds, outdid Taylor in his humane notions, directing that the dogs be "muzzled and held in leash while following the enemy."

gain. The cost had been about forty million dollars — twice as much as was paid for the territories of Louisiana and Florida together, — and an unknown number of lives. It was estimated that for each person reduced to slavery, eighty thousand dollars and the lives of three white men had been expended.

But the war, long and costly as it was, as it dealt only with Indians and negroes, seemed, at the moment, of less consequence than a menace of hostilities on the northern border. A rebellion broke out in Canada in 1837, and so great was the sympathy for the insurgents on the American side, that General Scott was sent with a small regular force, and with power to call upon the Governors of New York and Michigan for volunteers in case of any serious difficulty. In spite of the efforts to maintain the neutrality of the United States, a small American steamboat, the *Caroline*, made regular trips across Niagara River to carry supplies to a party of five hundred insurgents on Navy Island. Captain Drew was sent from Chippewa with a considerable force on the 29th of December, 1837, to capture this vessel. Not finding her at Navy Island, Drew crossed to Grand Island, which was American territory, boarded her, and, in the struggle with those on board, killed twelve of them. The boat was towed into the stream, set on fire, and left adrift to be carried down the rapids and hurled over the falls of Niagara.

Destruction of the Caroline in Niagara River.

The Government of the United States at once demanded redress; but no definite and satisfactory reply could be obtained for three years. But in 1840, one McLeod, who boasted that he had participated in the affair, and had "killed a damned Yankee" with his own hands, visited the American side of the river, where he was under indictment for murder. He was at once arrested, and held for trial. The British Government promptly came to the rescue with a demand for his release, on the ground that what he had done was an act of war, performed under the orders of his commanding officer, for which he could not be punished by any civil tribunal. The President replied that no answer had yet been received to the question, asked three years before and many times repeated, whether the destruction of the *Caroline* was an authorized act of war; and that, in any case, the Administration had no power to prevent a State court from trying persons indicted within its jurisdiction. The Ministry assumed a hostile attitude, and threatened war in case McLeod were not released. The trial proceeded after the regular forms, and seemed likely to bring the two countries into conflict; but this calamity was happily averted by a verdict of acquittal on the question of fact. It was proved that McLeod had been asleep in Chippewa at the time

of the affair, and his story was wholly the product of his imagination. The natural excitement to which such a trial and its possible results gave rise was intensified by the attitude either of indifference or obstinacy assumed by the acting President, Tyler. In spite of the indignant remonstrances of Governor Seward, a United States District Attorney for New York was permitted to act as counsel for McLeod, and retain his office, presenting the remarkable spectacle of a law officer of the Government attempting to prove that in a case which might lead to war his own Government was wrong.

The political revolution of 1840, by which Mr. Van Buren was defeated, and General Harrison elected, was, as we now know, an entire surprise to the President himself. Looking back upon it, it is easy to see that dissatisfaction with the mechanical administration of party power, had as much to do with the change as the popularity of the new President, or any measures to which his partisans were committed. The financial crisis of 1837 had spread to every part of the country. The West at last felt the "pressure," as the pecuniary disturbance was popularly called, as much as the financial centres. The attitude of the Government in refusing any effort for temporary relief, irritated men who could sell nothing, could buy nothing, and had debts to pay. Still the State elections of 1839, as has been seen, had been favorable to the Administration. They seemed to confirm Mr. Van Buren in his appeal to a "sober second thought," which became for a generation proverbial. The Whig members of Congress proposed a national convention, to which should be intrusted a nomination for the Presidency — the first in the series of such meetings, which in their turn were to outgrow their usefulness. This convention was held at Harrisburg on the 4th of December, 1839, fifteen months before the President to be elected could take his chair. The firmness of the opposition appeared at once in the representation. Every State sent delegates, except South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

The Harrison campaign.

On the first ballot Mr. Clay had one hundred and three votes, General Harrison ninety-four, and General Scott fifty-seven. On the fifth ballot one hundred and forty-eight votes were given to Harrison, and he was named as the candidate. John Tyler, of Virginia, was named as the Vice-president. It was the custom afterward to speak of him as an accident. But at the period of the Convention the leaders of the new-formed party had no such confidence of success that they could neglect support anywhere. They wanted the votes of all who were disaffected toward Mr. Van Buren. The State of Virginia threw twenty-three votes at that time. All these had been given to Mr. Clay in the Convention. It was clearly wise to concil-

iate so strong a State, and the nomination of Mr. Tyler was due to the desire to do so.

The canvass which followed this nomination began a new era in elections. The same changes in travel which had made the Convention possible made possible immense gatherings of the people at central points, for what was called the "ratification" of the nomination of the opposition. Only too late did the leaders of the Administration party learn the value of such mass-meetings, as they came to be called. On the 4th of May nearly twenty thousand young men gathered at Baltimore, the largest assembly ever held in the country. More than one thousand came from a State as distant as Massachusetts. The only object, of course, was to show the attachment of the members to the cause they upheld; they showed it in songs, in the applause of eager speeches, in fervid resolutions, and adjourned to meet in Washington at the inauguration of General Harrison on the 4th of March. At the same time the smaller Convention, authorized by the Democratic leaders to make their nominations, met in the same city. Mr. Van Buren was named as the candidate for President unanimously. But for Vice-president no nomination was made, and the determination was left to the respective States.

Mass-meetings.

The popular canvass which followed was marked with the same differences as those which characterized the two Conventions. The Whigs held everywhere those enormous, jovial meetings, and the Administration party ridiculed them as unworthy the occasion. The parts played by the Jackson men of 1825 and their antagonists seemed to be wholly reversed. In the midst of the canvass, a phrase thrown out by a Baltimore journal,[1] in its ridicule of General Harrison, gave a rallying cry to the opposition which was remembered for a generation. The editor said of Harrison that if anybody would give him a pension of a few hundred dollars and a barrel of hard cider, he would sit down in his log cabin content for life. Some happy observer in the West seized on the unfortunate sneer. To ridicule the log cabin, in which every Western man was born, ill became the representative of the democracy of Andrew Jackson. From that moment the "log cabin" became the symbol of the opposition. Log cabins were set on wheels and drawn in processions. Large log cabins were built in the midst of crowded cities, to be used as rallying places for the faithful. Ardent politicians wore log-cabin buttons and handkerchiefs, and smoked log-cabin cigars. Even laundresses advertised that they were able to do up shirts in the most approved log-cabin style. Log-cabin songs were

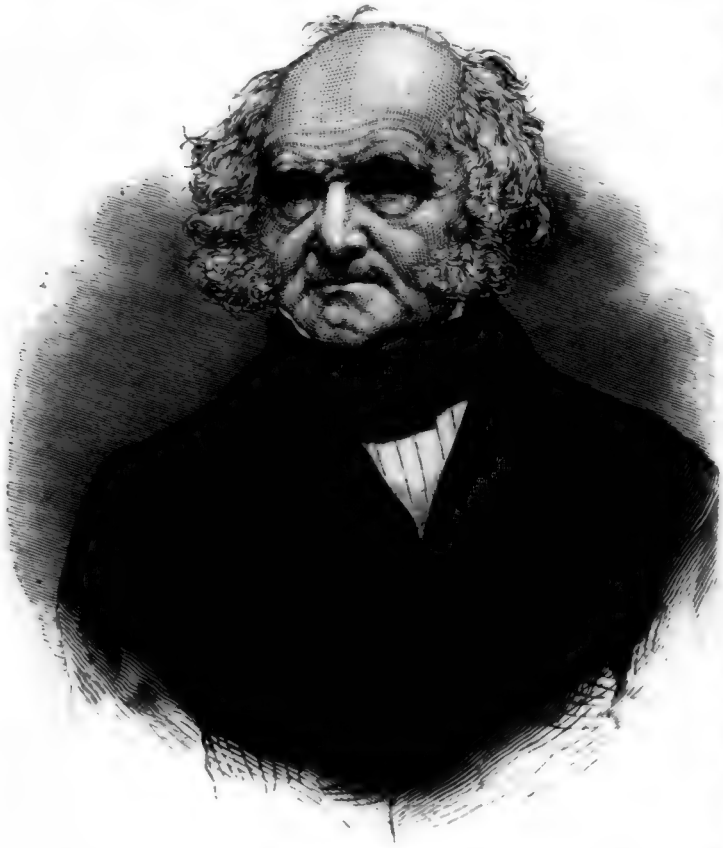
Origin of the log-cabin and hard-cider symbols.

[1] The Baltimore *Republican*.

heard everywhere, — often sung with choruses of tens of thousands, — uniting in enthusiasm for "Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

Between such popular excitement on the one side, and the decorous methods of the Administration, the prestige which Andrew Jackson had given to Mr. Van Buren vanished. His only considerable strength, as it proved, was that which he had gained by his loyalty to the South. That loyalty even Calhoun — for years his rival and political enemy — could not doubt; for Van Buren, as President of the Senate, had given, in 1836, his casting vote in favor of Calhoun's bill making it a penal offence in postmasters knowingly to permit any anti-slavery matter to be delivered from the mails; and he had assured the South that he "must go into the Presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of any attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slaveholding States." And even in this he gave the benefit of a doubt to the slaveholders, for, as he said in the same letter, he was not quite sure that Congress had not complete power over the subject in the District. The nomination of John Tyler by the Whigs did not give them Virginia. That State, with South Carolina and Alabama, voted for Van Buren. His friends only carried Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas, in the West, all small States then, — and the ever-faithful New Hampshire, in New England. All the Middle States voted for Harrison, though this was the section to which Mr. Van Buren himself belonged. It was not the first nor the last instance in which a candidate for the Presidency could not gain the support of the region from which

Van Buren's position.



Martin Van Buren.

he came. These few States, loyal to the memory of Jackson and the instructions of Calhoun, could only give the President sixty votes; the one hundred and seventy-five electoral votes of the other States were given to General Harrison. His majority of the ballots given by the people themselves was about 146,000 in a vote of 2,403,000, of all the States but South Carolina. In that State the Legislature threw the vote, and no precise estimate, therefore, could be made of the popular preference.

On the 4th of April, after a short illness, the President died, at the age of sixty-seven years — the first chief magistrate of the United States who had died in office. In his brief term he had retained the Western openness of which his friends had boasted: he had permitted himself to be overwhelmed by visits of those who would congratulate, would advise, or would seek office, and, fairly exhausted by such demands on his good nature, the strong constitution gave way, which had not quailed in frontier life or Indian warfare. His death brought into office, by the united vote of the Northern States, a Virginian, whose whole public life had committed him to the State Rights theory, as Jefferson proclaimed it. The next four years proved that Mr. Tyler was a person with whom self-conceit led to arrogance, while it blinded him to considerations of a large, national policy, even if he were capable of grasping one. The control of the Executive office by a bigot to the Southern policy, precipitated, as it proved, what has since been called the irrepressible conflict. At the outset, the Cabinet, and Mr. Clay, who held quite as large a share as Mr. Webster in leading the party, tried to persuade themselves that Mr. Tyler would be true to the power which had made him what he was. He took the oath prescribed for the President "for greater caution," although he considered that no other oath was necessary than that which, as Vice-president, he had already taken. In an address to the people, he expressed the opinion that there should be a radical change in the method of appointing the agents entrusted with the custody of the public moneys. He de-

Harrison's death.



John Tyler.

Accession of Tyler.

nounced removal from office for none but political reason, but said that active partisanship was sufficient reason. As to the financial embarrassment of the country and the relation to it of the Administration, he condemned the Sub-treasury Act of Van Buren, and said he should give his sanction to any constitutional measures which Congress might propose for the restoration of a sound circulating medium. The address was received with satisfaction by the Whigs, as announcing good Whig doctrine. But the extra session of Congress, summoned by President Harrison to meet in May, soon showed that the President meant to have a policy of his own. In this first message he recognized the veto of the United States Bank as approved by the nation, — the failure of the State bank system was obvious, — but as some "fiscal agent" was necessary, the selection of that agent should be left to the wisdom of Congress, and any constitutional measure, he promised, should receive his approval.

His policy.

Whether Mr. Tyler then meant to break with the Whig party and its leaders, has never been made known. In truth, he was not a man of whose purposes or intentions much need ever be said, so freely was he moved by impulses, whether of flatterers or of passions. The understanding that he had doubts as to the rights of Congress to establish fiscal institutions anywhere within the States, led to a plan for a central bank in the District of Columbia. The certainty that his views were speculative or theoretic rather than such as were derived from a practical knowledge of finance, and a wish to apply it in a practical way, led Congress to the unusual course of asking the Secretary of the Treasury to submit a plan for a fiscal agent. Mr. Ewing accordingly submitted such a plan. The details are now of no importance. The opposition in the Whig party and out of it was strong enough to change the project materially before the President received it for his signature, and returned it with his veto. He objected especially to the discount power of the proposed branches. Congress was persuaded by the leaders of the Whig party to pass a new bill which did not grant the privilege of discount banks. This also was vetoed by the President on the 9th of September, on the ground that it created "a national bank to operate *per se* over the Union." With this veto came a final breach between him and the party that had elected him. The Cabinet, excepting Mr. Webster, resigned. They put their resignation on the ground that he had not kept faith with them. They were careful to say that he was entitled, of course, to his opinion on the subject of the Bank. But they declared that he had asked his Cabinet to stand by him and procure the passage of such a bill as he now vetoed.

His vetoes.

They had done so, and the President had then failed to keep his promises. To these attacks no reply was made; perhaps none could be made. From that moment to his death, his reputation for political integrity was lost with the country.

The consequences of this first struggle between the President and the Whig party were of much more importance and significance than any that attached to it as a mere financial measure. The rapid increase of the country in wealth, soon gave rise to operations in exchange and other details of finance so large that the business of the Government was no longer of special importance; and the simple, almost Arcadian, device of the Sub-treasury proved quite sufficient for the administrations of the next twenty years, which were always spending up to the very edge of their income. Mr. Tyler's declaration of personal independence threw him and the country into the arms of the extreme Southern interest, at a moment when it seemed as if that interest had received its severest check. Van Buren had played the part of a "Northern man with Southern principles," till he had hesitated to open the door of the Union when the slaveholders knocked for the admission of Texas. His recompense was the scanty vote of four Southern States, — while he was deserted everywhere else but in New Hampshire, Illinois, and Missouri. So stern a lesson was given, even thus early, to the alliance between the Northern Democrats and the Southern slaveholders. But the moment when Tyler broke with the party which chose him, he fell back for support upon his own State and the extreme South. He soon made close alliance with Calhoun, and what was left of his administration was devoted to an extreme Southern policy.

Financial affairs.

Of this change of policy the annexation of Texas to the United States was the first result. The first communication which citizens of the United States had with that territory was in a few expeditions made by Philip Nolan, an adventurous Kentuckian, for the capture of wild horses. He made these expeditions in 1801 under license of the Spanish government of New Orleans. But so jealous was the Spanish Crown of encroachments from the United States, that by special order from Spain, the Spanish Governor of Chihuahua surrounded Nolan's party, killed him, and took them prisoners, in entire violation of his pass of safe-conduct. From that time to 1820, a series of incursions were made into the territory by adventurers from the western part of the United States, — all of whom were driven off, or killed, or imprisoned by the Spanish authorities. In 1820, however, Moses Austin, an American, obtained a grant of land in Texas, and his son Stephen Austin in 1822 took a body of colonists to settle there.

Philip Nolan in Texas.

The Texas question.

By the constitution of Mexico, slavery was prohibited in Texas, and that alone was sufficient reason why the South should wish to control it. Separation was the first step to be taken; the rest would follow. Jackson, when President, tried to buy the province, as Adams had done before him, but this failing, other measures were resorted to.[1] Mr. Poinsett, the Minister to Mexico, wrote home that "we can never expect to extend our boundary south of the Sabine without quarrelling with these people." The quarrel was undertaken by General Samuel Houston, a Tennes-



The Alamo.

seean, and a friend of the President's, who went to Texas, ostensibly as an emigrant, actually as a revolutionist. All this was an open secret hardly disguised, never seriously denied. In the autumn of 1835 the province declared its independence; in the spring of 1836, — about a month after the siege of Alamo, where the Texan garrison was killed to a man, — the decisive battle of San Jacinto was fought,

[1] Adams in his Diary says that "Jackson was so sharp-set for Texas, that from the first year of his administration he set his double engines to work, of negotiating to buy Texas with one hand, and instigating the people of that province to revolt against Mexico with the other. Houston was his agent for the rebellion, and Anthony Butler, a Mississippi land-jobber in Texas, for the purchase. Butler kept him for five years on the tenter-hooks of expectation, negotiating, wheedling, promising, and finally boasting that he had secured the bargain by bribing a priest with half a million of dollars." That method of negotiation, however, Jackson absolutely forbade. The priest was to compass his end by the use of influence; precisely how, can only be conjectured, — but he was the father-confessor of the sister-in-law of Santa Anna, the Mexican President.

Houston being in command of the Texans; Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, was taken prisoner, and he agreed that the independence of Texas should be acknowledged.

When the newspaper report of this event reached Washington, and before any official tidings could be received, the Senate, in indecent haste, took up the question of recognition. Calhoun urged, not merely recognition, but immediate annexation. The times were not yet ripe, however, for that measure, and all that could be done at the moment was to provide by a resolution, offered by Clay, that the independence of the State should be acknowledged when there was sufficient evidence that she could maintain it. Another year passed, and that evidence was not forthcoming. Then, only three or four days before the expiration of Jackson's term of office, an amendment was made to the appropriation bill providing for the pay of a diplomatic agent to Texas, as an independent power, should the lacking evidence of her ability to be one be received by the President. Andrew Jackson was not the man — as the reader has seen in more than one instance — to be hampered by legislative restraints if they stood in the way of his purposes. Almost the last act of his official life was to sign the appropriation bill with this amendment, and immediately appoint the official agent to Texas, thereby acknowledging her independence. The first step in the great conspiracy to get possession of territory large enough for five new slave States, was secure.

Calhoun proposes annexation.

From that moment the project of annexation was pushed with great persistence, but without much apparent success till about the middle of Tyler's administration. It was charged that a corrupt interest in well-nigh worthless Texan stocks influenced Tyler's counsels; it can hardly be questioned that speculations in Texan lands gave great vigor to the proposed measure. But it was the interests of States, not of individuals, that gave to the scheme its importance and strength. An ex-president of Texas, but a native of the United States, — General Mirabeau B. Lamar, — when on a visit to Georgia in 1844, wrote a letter in reply to a request to deliver a public address, in which he sets forth with great frankness the reasons for annexation, — with the more frankness, probably, that his letter was addressed to a Southern audience, printed obscurely in a Southern city, and not intended for Northern reading. Annexation, he said, "addressed itself with special and peculiar force to the people of the South." On the question of slavery their interest and that of Texas were identical, and the "overthrow of the system in either country would lead to its extirpation in the other." There was great danger of that catastrophe. The majority of the

Tyler's position.

Lamar's letter.

people were not the owners of slaves; if the independence of the State were much longer deferred, — Mexico under the alleged influence of England refusing it till slavery was prohibited, — this majority of non-slaveholders might soon begin to ask, "How long shall we suffer for the benefit of slaveholders?" And this majority was constantly augmenting by the immigration of free laborers, while the timid slaveholders, with laborers that were property, held back till annexation should settle the question. "I do not see how it is possible," he said, "in her present unacknowledged condition to maintain it [slavery] against the tremendous efforts which will be made for its subversion. And when slavery gives way in Texas, the ruin of the Southern States is inevitable." That ruin, he predicted, might come within half a century, through the moral influence of a great free republic on the southwest, combining with all the rest of the world "in a sleepless crusade," while slaves, for whom there was no outlet, would so accumulate that they would exhaust the soil of the Southern States, cease to be valuable to their owners, and become a burden. But if Texas was annexed to the Union, how brilliant a future was presented to the slave States! In that immense and fertile region was an almost exhaustless field of wealth in raising cotton by slave-labor, an almost exhaustless market for the surplus crop of negroes at the South. This, in brief, was the argument of this remarkable letter, and no Abolitionist could have stated the case with more frankness or with more truth. It covered the whole ground.



Sam Houston.

When Texas asked for admission during Van Buren's administration, and the President declined, it killed him politically. Mr. Webster's unwillingness to abet it, as Tyler's Secretary of State, caused his removal from the Cabinet. He tried to persuade his old friends at the North to interest themselves in united opposition to the measure, and failed; and this failure, it was supposed, was one source of the irritation which he afterwards showed when the anti-slavery sentiment of the country sought his help in vain. Before long the country knew that the danger was

The question of admission.

real. Mr. Webster was removed, and Mr. Upshur of Virginia took his place.

Had Mr. Webster's public career come then and there to an end, his memory would have been revered for his devotion to principle. As a statesman he had already signalized his administration of the office of Secretary of State by the adjustment of the boundary question with Great Britain, which had been for more than half a century a menace to the peace of the two nations. Lord Ashburton was sent by England to this country in 1842 on a special mission, and the terms of a treaty were agreed upon between him and Mr. Webster. The most difficult question in the settlement related to the northeastern boundary defining the limits of the State of Maine. Between the line claimed by England and that claimed by Maine, — for which her people were at one time anxious to involve the country in war, — lay a territory of over twelve thousand square miles, or larger than the whole of Vermont. Much of it is of little worth, either for agriculture or for any possible military operations. The worst part of the route of Arnold's expedition against Quebec in 1775, lay through this tract, and that operation was never likely to be repeated. The line was agreed upon as it now stands on all modern maps of Maine, giving to the United States seven thousand square miles of the disputed territory, and to Great Britain five thousand, with a stipulation for free navigation of St. John's River. The northern boundary of Vermont and New York was supposed to be the forty-fifth parallel of latitude. But it had been shown that the line surveyed as such was slightly erroneous, and a correction of it would have thrown Rouse's Point, and a narrow strip of land held in good faith by citizens of Vermont, on the Canada side. It was agreed not to make the correction.

The Ashburton treaty.

On the northwestern boundary, St. George's Island, containing forty square miles, in the passage between Lakes Superior and Huron, was given to the United States; as was also Isle Royale, near the western end of Lake Superior. The line was thence traced from the mouth of Pigeon River up through the chain of rivers and small lakes to the Lake of the Woods, and thence along the forty-ninth parallel to the Gulf of Georgia, on the Pacific coast, — as it now stands on all good maps.

The Treaty also provided for the rendition of fugitives charged in either country with "the crime of murder, or assault to commit murder, or piracy, or arson, or robbery, or forgery, or the utterance of forged paper," on the production of sufficient evidence to warrant the arrest and trial of the person so accused in the place where he should be found. And it also gave pledges of renewed efforts to sup-

press the African slave-trade. Ratifications were exchanged at London in October, and the Treaty was proclaimed by the President on the 10th of November. It was officially designated as the Treaty of Washington, but was popularly called the Ashburton Treaty. The opposition in England called it "the Ashburton capitulation;" and fault was also found with it in the United States, as conceding too much to England, though it was probably as good a settlement as could then have been made.

By a subsequent Treaty ratified in July, 1846, the boundary-line was continued westward from the Rocky Mountains along the forty-ninth parallel to the middle of the channel between Vancouver's Island and the continent, thence southerly through that channel and Fuca Straits to the Pacific, reserving the right of navigation in the channel and straits to both parties. For more than twenty years Oregon had been, by agreement, in the common occupancy of Great Britain and the United States, subject to termination by either party at twelve months' notice. The expediency of giving the notice was the subject of long and heated debate in both Houses of Congress during the winter of 1845–46. There was much talk of war; patriotic members — as one of them said — "had rather make that territory the grave of his fellow-citizens, and color its soil with their blood, than to surrender one inch of our soil." It was for the boundary of 54° 40′ — "fifty-four forty or fight," was the cant phrase of the hour — that these belligerent members were so ready to lay down the lives of their constituents; but the final settlement of this long vexed question on the forty-ninth parallel was acquiesced in by the people at large with entire equanimity.

The Dorr War.

The year was marked by another event, which wore, at one time, a threatening aspect. Though technically it was a rebellion, and though it may be questioned whether the object aimed at could not have been attained in a less turbulent way, the reform at last secured was one which should have been granted long before. Rhode Island was still governed by her old colonial charter, by which the right of suffrage was restricted to freeholders, by ownership or lease, and to their eldest sons, and the popular representation, under the old apportionment, had become exceedingly unequal. Thus Providence was given four representatives in the lower house of the Legislature, and Newport six; but in 1840 Providence had twenty-three thousand inhabitants, and Newport but eight thousand. Similar discrepancies existed in other parts of the State, so that in the Legislature of that year twenty-nine thousand of the inhabitants were represented by seventy members, and eighty thousand by thirty-four members. Here was reason enough for popular discontent.

Repeated and vain appeals to the Legislature to take measures for a reform of the Constitution failing, the people at length took the matter into their own hands. A new Constitution was formed by a popular convention in October, 1841, submitted to the people in December, and accepted by a majority of the votes of the male adult population of the State. Under it an election was held the following April, and Thomas Wilson Dorr was chosen Governor. The crisis was reached on the 3d of May, when Dorr, and the other State officers elected with him, attempted to assume the government and were resisted by those who held office under the charter, at the head of whom was Governor Samuel W. King. Both sides took up arms, and an appeal was made to the Federal Government. The Dorr party were twice — May 18th and June 25th — dispersed without bloodshed. Dorr was convicted of high treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, but after three years was released under a general amnesty, and in 1851 was restored to full citizenship. Meanwhile the Legislature — yielding to the inevitable — had called a convention to draw up a constitution; but its work, submitted to the people in March, 1842, was rejected. Another convention was called, and another constitution was formed, which, being satisfactory to the people, was ratified, and went into effect in May, 1843.

The negotiations with Texas, at once opened by Secretary Upshur, were suddenly interrupted by his death.[1] The President then called to his assistance the master to fill the place of the man. In the last of March, 1844, he made Mr. Calhoun Secretary of State. He believed in the annexation at any cost, and no scruples on any man's part now retarded the negotiation. Mr. Tyler justified his invitation to Texas to join the United States by what he thought, or pretended to think, the certainty that Great Britain was engaged in diplomatic intrigue to abolish slavery there. Four times — in verbal assurances to the American Minister at London, Mr. Everett, and in written assurances to the English Minister at Washington, Mr. Pakenham — Lord Aberdeen had declared that his Government had not interfered, and did not intend to interfere with slavery in Texas. It suited Mr. Calhoun to assume the contrary, and to take measures therefore to annex that State to the United States for the protection of slavery, — the one paramount function of the Federal Union. He made a treaty with Texas, which was sent to the American Minister at Mexico to communicate it to the Government. He represented that the efforts which Great Britain was making to abolish slavery compelled the United States to make the treaty without the assent of Mexico. But he offered Mexico ten

Calhoun becomes Secretary of State.

Pretexts for annexation.

[1] He was killed by the explosion of a cannon on board the *Princeton*, in the Potomac.

million dollars as indemnity. On the same day the treaty was sent to the United States Senate, where it was rejected by a vote of thirty-five to sixteen. It had not even the support of the Democratic party. Mr. Benton opposed it hotly, but was supposed to carry an old animosity to Calhoun into his objection. Mr. Van Buren, who was the prominent candidate of the Democrats, in the pending election, publicly opposed it also. Mr. Clay, who was the Whig candidate, led his party with this question as the great issue of the Presidential campaign. The opposition of these statesmen sealed their political fate. The Democratic Convention nominated Mr. Polk of Tennessee, who was in favor of annexation, and Mr. Van Buren's public life was over. Mr. Benton by his opposition lost the favor of Missouri.

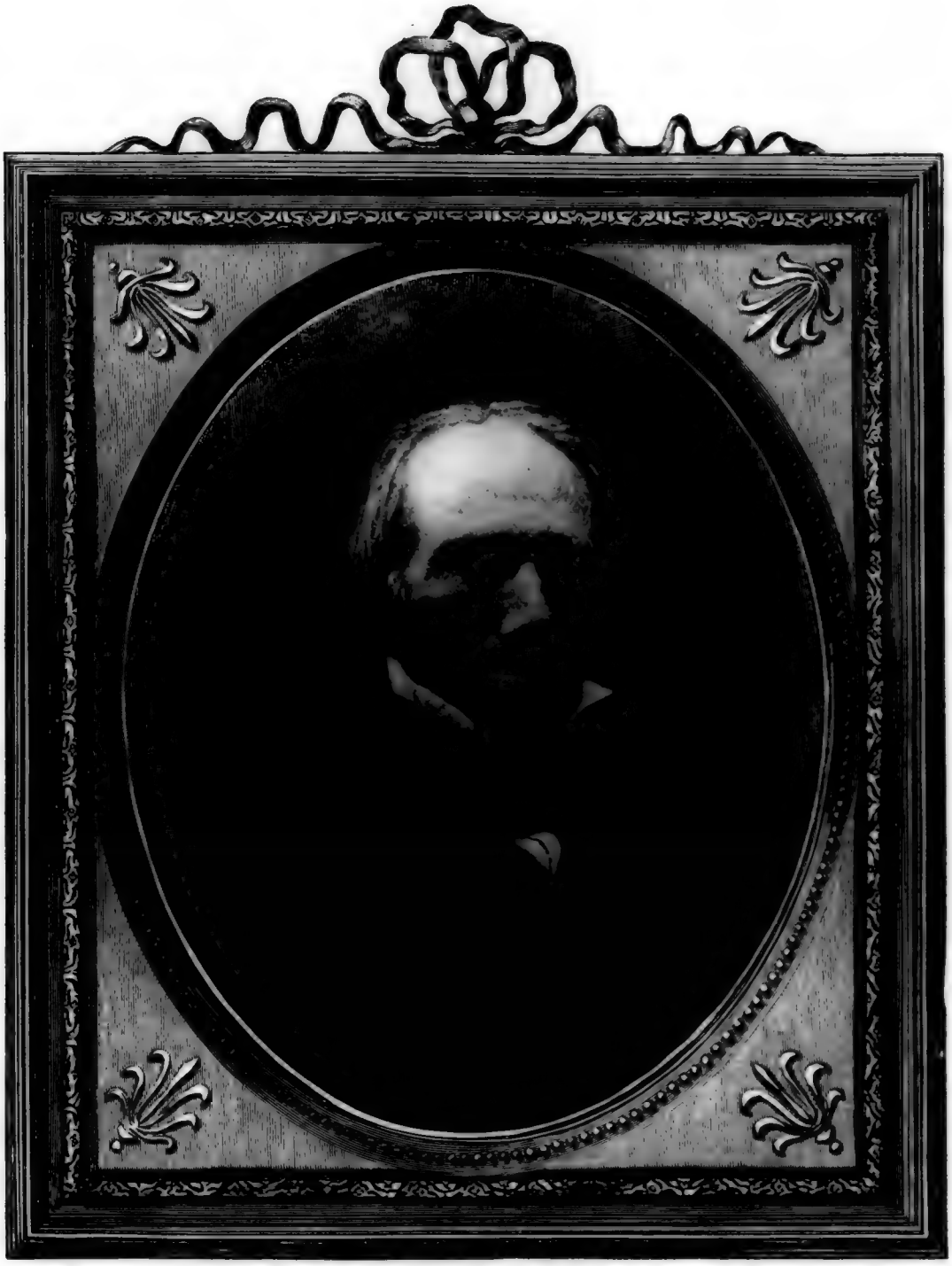
Election of Polk.



James K. Polk.

The Whigs had nominated Mr. Clay unanimously; but the sincerity of his opposition to annexation was not believed in by the anti-slavery voters, and he lost the support of both New York and Pennsylvania. In New York a sufficient number of voters gave their vote to the candidate of the new Liberty Party, James G. Birney, to give Mr. Polk a plurality; and in Pennsylvania he avowed moderate tariff sentiments, just in time to secure a majority there. These two States, which together gave sixty-two electoral votes, decided the election. Mr. Polk's plurality in New York was only 5,106 out of a vote of 485,000, and his plurality in Pennsylvania was only 6,332 out of 350,000 votes. Though he had not a majority in the popular vote, his electoral vote was 170, against 105 for Mr. Clay.

The certainty of this result stimulated the action of the dying Congress. The new candidate used all his influence to obtain an adjustment of the matter before his inauguration. As a treaty with Texas was impossible, a vote of two thirds of the Senate being nec-



HENRY CLAY.

(After a daguerreotype.)

essary, a joint resolution annexing Texas was introduced. It passed the House after a protracted discussion, which rent in two the Democratic party, to which a section of the Northern part was never again united. A proviso was annexed, necessary to meet some men's constitutional scruples, which provided that the new President might act, if he preferred, by treaty. The Senate, which in April, 1844, had rejected the treaty, by the vote of thirty-five to sixteen, was induced to accept the joint resolution. This was the 1st of March, when President Tyler's term had three days to run. On the same day when the joint resolution passed, Mr. Calhoun sent a messenger to Texas to bring her in under the joint resolution. Mr. Polk had promised that he would act under the treaty proviso, but as Mr. Tyler had taken the responsibility of acting under the joint resolution, Mr. Polk considered himself discharged from his promise. Thus in the confusion of the last moments of a Congress, and of an administration, the annexation of Texas was carried, as under precisely similar circumstances the acknowledgment of its independence had been carried eight years before. So, by a resort to similar tactics, the Missouri Compromise had been forced through the House in 1820, and the Nullification Compromise in 1833.

Annexation by joint resolution.

Polk came into power with the certainty of a war with Mexico on his hands. Before Secretary Upshur was killed, Mr. Van Zandt, one of the Texan ministers at Washington, had addressed him a letter, asking whether, in case of annexation, Texas could rely upon the United States for aid against Mexico? Mexico, it was assumed, would end the armistice then existing between her and her revolted province, and the negotiations then going on for peace, and renew, or threaten to renew hostilities. The inquiry was made in January, 1844, but was not replied to by Mr. Calhoun, Upshur's successor, till the following April. The reply was for some time withheld from the papers sent to the Senate. In the mean time the treaty had been rejected, and it seemed, therefore, of comparatively little consequence then that the Secretary had assured the Texan ministers that in expectation of the ratification of the treaty, a strong naval force had been sent into the Gulf of Mexico, and all the disposable military force ordered to the southwestern frontier. The significance of this preparatory movement was better understood when, in the following March, annexation was accomplished by joint resolution.

Polk's policy.

The United States army, in 1845, numbered about five thousand men, and three thousand six hundred of them were at Corpus Christi, Texas, under General Zachary Taylor. In March, 1846, Taylor moved southward to a point on the Rio Grande

War with Mexico.

opposite Matamoras, at the same time calling upon the Governors of Louisiana and Texas for five thousand volunteers. On the 1st of May he moved eastward with his main body, to open communication with Point Isabel. To intercept his return, the Mexican General Arista moved with about six thousand men to Palo Alto, nine miles from Matamoras, and planted his force across the road. Taylor's returning column struck this position on the 8th, and gave battle. Two eighteen-pounders and two light batteries made dreadful havoc in the close ranks of the Mexican infantry, while an attempt to turn the American right was promptly thwarted. The prairie-grass between the contending lines took fire, and behind the curtain of smoke Arista drew back his left. Taylor made a corresponding change, advanced his artillery again, and renewed the fight. A movement to turn the American left was discovered through the smoke, when two guns were wheeled round to meet it, and under their steady fire the attacking column was finally put to flight.

Battle of Palo Alto.

Early next morning the Mexicans fell back to Resaca de la Palma, and took position on both edges of a deep ravine that curved somewhat in the shape of a horseshoe, the open side toward the advancing Americans. The point where the road crossed this ravine was commanded by three batteries, and the whole position was obscured by thick chaparral. Taylor deployed a large part of his force as skirmishers, and Captain May's dragoons overran the most advanced Mexican battery. An American battery was advanced to the crest, while a regiment from the reserves charged down the road in column, crossed the ravine, and, joined by a portion of the skirmishers who had clambered through at other points, seized the enemy's artillery, and after hard fighting in the chaparral, put the infantry to flight. On the 13th of May, before news of these events could have reached Washington, Congress declared war and authorized the President to call for fifty thousand volunteers for one year.[1]

Battle of Resaca de la Palma.

[1] President Polk, in his message of May 16, 1846, and in several later ones, labored to show that the territory of the United States had been invaded by the Mexicans, and the blood of her citizens shed on her own soil, whereupon Abraham Lincoln, then a member of the House of Representatives, introduced in that body what became famous as "the Spot Resolutions," wherein the President was called upon to inform the House as to the exact location of the spot where this blood was shed, with reference to the boundaries of the Spanish possessions, and also "whether our citizens whose blood was shed, as in his messages declared, were or were not at that time armed officers and soldiers, sent into that settlement by the military order of the President;" and "whether the military force of the United States was or was not so sent into that settlement after General Taylor had more than once intimated to the War Department that, in his opinion, no such movement was necessary to the defence or protection of Texas." Mr. Lincoln's speech, supporting these resolutions, and making a sharp analysis of the whole question, is printed in full in Lamon's *Life of Lincoln*, p. 283.

General Taylor was told that the public were impatient, and without waiting for reënforcements he must "take foot in hand, and off for the halls of Montezuma," he being distant from those halls nearly five hundred miles, as the crow flies. Before he could open his campaign, he was embarrassed by conflicting instructions, but gave it as his opinion that the operations from the Rio Grande should only be for the purpose of holding the northern provinces. His movements were also delayed by the necessity of sending for light-draught steamers to ascend the river. These and the volunteers arrived at length, and in July General Worth's division established itself at Camargo, where Taylor organized an expedition to Monterey, ninety miles distant.



Santa Anna.

While this movement was in progress, one of those revolutions without which her people never seem content, broke out in Mexico, and the garrisons of Vera Cruz and San Juan de Ulloa pronounced for the return of Santa Anna to power. Commodore Connor, commanding a squadron that had blockaded Vera Cruz, was ordered to permit Santa Anna, who in 1845 had been banished for ten years, to reënter the country; and President Polk, to create a feeling that his war was just, sent a proposition to negotiate for peace, knowing that, in the disturbed condition of Mexican affairs, it was not likely to be entertained. By the middle of September, Santa Anna reached the city of Mexico and assumed military command as President.

Capture of Monterey.

Monterey is in a valley at the eastern base of the Sierra Madre, on the high road from the Rio Grande to the city of Mexico. It was protected by a strong citadel on the northern outskirt of the town, by several lunettes on the east, and by two fortified hills that rose on either side of the river just above the town. Taylor, with six thousand six hundred men, sat down before it on the 19th of September. On the 20th, Worth's division passed above the city and planted itself on the enemy's line of retreat. Garland's brigade led the attack, and advancing between the citadel and the first lunette, and enfiladed by both, reached the streets of the city, but with heavy loss. Three companies, moving to his support, attacked the lunette in front, but at the first discharge of its guns one third of

their numbers fell, and the remainder retreated. Two other companies passed to its rear, and from the roof of a tannery poured into its open gorge such a fire of musketry that the crowded Mexicans, on whom every bullet told, made all haste to abandon the work, which Quitman's brigade soon occupied. An attempt to capture the second lunette was unsuccessful, as the streets through which the troops advanced were swept by an artillery fire, and the loss was severe.

On the morning of the 21st Worth sent a strong force to capture the fortified eminence south of the river, called Loma Federacion. The enemy not only directed a plunging artillery fire upon the advancing troops, but sent a cloud of skirmishers half way down the rocky slopes to resist the ascent. In the face of this the Americans advanced steadily by companies, with sharpshooters skirmishing on the flanks, till they clambered over the parapet and turned the guns upon the flying Mexicans, who took refuge in Fort Soldado, at the extremity of the ridge. Thence they were quickly driven by two supporting regiments moving along the slope. At night Worth sent out a detachment which at daybreak carried Loma d'Independencia, the hill on the north side of the river, and then dislodged the Mexicans from the ruins of the Obispado, half way down the hill. These two positions commanded the western half of the city, upon which fire was opened, and on the morning of the 23d the troops east of the city fought their way into it; but the streets were barricaded and stoutly defended, and the attempt on that side was at length given up. On the west, however, Worth's men pushed into the town, fully prepared for a slow fight. When they reached a point where the streets were swept by Mexican artillery, the troops of the line broke through the inner walls of the houses, and thus worked their way from square to square, while the sharpshooters mounted to the roofs, and by a continual dropping fire did effective work. This steady advance was continued through the night, and in the morning Ampudia capitulated, and an armistice of eight weeks was agreed upon.

Occupation of New Mexico.

In May a movement was made in a new direction. Colonel Philip Kearny was ordered to organize an expedition for the occupation of New Mexico and Upper California, and by the end of July he had collected eighteen hundred men, at Bent's Fort, on Arkansas River, at the head of whom he marched into New Mexico unopposed, and arrived at Santa Fé on the 18th of August. Here he issued a proclamation declaring the inhabitants absolved from allegiance to Mexico, organized the State as a Territory of the United States, appointed a civil governor, and on the 6th of October, with a small cavalry force, set out for California.

An exploring expedition under Captain John C. Fremont was overtaken in May, by a messenger bearing letters from Secretary of State James Buchanan and Senator Benton, wherein it was hinted that he should remain in California, to thwart any designs that foreigners might have upon the territory. As no foreigners but Americans were at all likely to have any such designs, it was not difficult for Fremont to understand what the Administration wanted, though war had not then been declared. He returned to Sacramento, learned that De Castro, the Mexican commandant, was about to expel American settlers, and at once assumed the offensive. On the 15th of June he captured Sonoma, after which he marched into the interior, enlisted men, and returned in time to drive away De Castro. He then called a meeting of settlers at Sonoma, and advised them to declare independence, which they did. Meanwhile Commodore Sloat was taking possession of the towns on the coast. Late in July he was superseded by Commodore Stockton, who organized an expedition, drove De Castro out of his camp at Los Angeles, joined Fremont, and on the 13th of August took possession of Monterey, then the capital of California. Proclaiming his conquest of the territory, he set up a provisional government, with himself at its head. Before the news of this reached Washington, the Government had sent to California a company of artillery, in the storeship *Lexington*, which was two hundred days making the passage round Cape Horn. In this company were Lieutenants William T. Sherman, Henry W. Halleck, and E. O. C. Ord. The ship was commanded by Theodorus Bailey, who, sixteen years later, led the first division of Farragut's fleet when it captured New Orleans.

Occupation of California.

In pursuance of its purpose to cut off the northern provinces, the Administration planned an expedition to Chihuahua, under command of General John E. Wool; but it went no farther than Parras, a hundred miles west of Monterey. Taylor's armistice at Ampudia was disapproved by the Administration, and in November he advanced to Saltillo. In the same month, General Winfield Scott was ordered to Mexico, to take chief command and conduct the war according to his own plan. This was, in brief, to carry an expedition against Vera Cruz, reduce its defences, and then march on the city of Mexico by the shortest route. On his arrival at Camargo in January, 1847, he made a requisition for about ten thousand of Taylor's troops, which left Taylor not quite seven thousand. A duplicate of the despatch was intercepted and carried to Santa Anna, who at once prepared to strike while his enemy was divided and weakened.

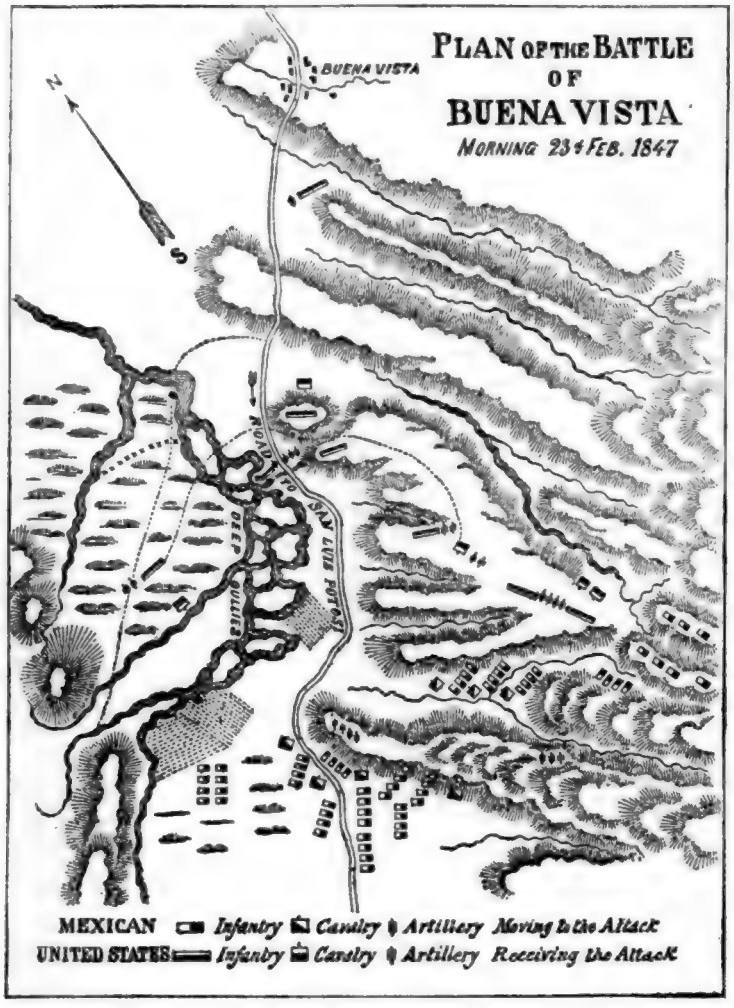
Movement against Chihuahua.

Scott sent to Mexico.

Taylor had advanced to Agua Nueva, but learning of the approach

of an overwhelming Mexican force, and knowing that his rear might be gained, he fell back to a strong position south of Saltillo. The now famous battle-ground, which takes its name from the neighboring estate of Buena Vista, is a section of a rugged valley from two and a half to four miles wide, between mountain walls a thousand feet high. The slopes on either side are cut by deep ravines, and in the midst is a broad plateau, whose borders are indented by the bluffs that alternate with the ravines. The fighting took place on and around this plateau. Taylor had present five thousand two hundred men; Santa Anna's force was probably twelve thousand.[1] The nature of the ground precluded the employment of cavalry, and rendered useless much of the artillery of the attacking party, while it gave special advantages to that of the Americans. Taylor placed his forces — in groups, rather than in line — on the crests of some of the bluffs, at the base of the eastern mountain, and near the front or southern edge of the plateau.

Battle of Buena Vista.



The battle opened in the afternoon of the 22d of February on the left, where the light Mexican troops attempted to flank the position by scaling the steep mountain wall, but were checked by a counter movement. At the same time the Mexican cavalry, under General Miñon, gained the rear by a détour, for the purpose of attacking the

[1] It has been commonly stated at twenty thousand; but there seems to be no other authority for this than the fact that when Santa Anna summoned Taylor to surrender, he boasted that his force numbered twenty thousand.

Americans in their expected retreat. At dawn of the 23d the action was renewed on the left, where the Mexicans had taken possession of the crest during the night. Santa Anna prepared to attack in front with his main force, in three columns, intending that the light troops should at the same time descend from the mountain and fall upon the flank. Under Taylor's personal direction, the Mexican cavalry in the rear was driven back by the dragoons. These being ordered to the plateau, the Mexican horse returned and attacked two unsupported companies of volunteer cavalry, and a fierce hand-to-hand fight ensued, friend and foe being mingled in confusion, around the hamlet of Buena Vista ; but on the return of the regular dragoons, the Mexican cavalry retreated. The Mexican columns attacking in front, came on steadily in spite of all resistance. Two regiments fled before one of them, which then, with a heavy battery, concentrated its fire upon an advanced American battery, and soon compelled its withdrawal. The column next made a junction with another, which had also ascended the plateau, and with the light troops moving down from the mountain, and the combined mass turned the American left. The third column, led against the American right, was shattered by the artillery, thrown into confusion, and compelled to retreat. To meet the flank movement, the Americans had formed a new front. The Mexicans found it impossible to cross the plateau in the face of this, and were attempting to gain the rear by skirting the base of the eastern mountain, when Taylor put in motion two regiments of infantry, supported by artillery and dragoons, who advanced down the plateau in the face of the enemy, steadily firing into the heavy mass as they approached it. The coolness and intrepidity with which this movement was executed, saved the day. The Mexican column broke before it, and Taylor, making a combined attack upon their right, drove it up the slopes of the eastern mountain, and seemed likely to isolate it. But at this moment a flag of truce appeared, and the firing was stopped in expectation of a surrender. It was only a ruse, which enabled the endangered wing to escape. As soon as this was accomplished, Santa Anna formed his whole force into one column, and advanced up the plateau. Several regiments gave way, and some guns were lost ; but most of the artillery was placed where it could plough the column through and through, and was served with great rapidity. At the same time the Americans slowly fell back, and at nightfall they held only the northwest corner of the plateau. When morning broke, the enemy had retreated. The Americans had lost, killed, wounded, or missing, seven hundred and forty-six men ; the Mexicans, about two thousand.[1]

[1] Among the slain were Colonels John J. Hardin, William R. McKee, and Archibald

Scott's expedition to Mexico.

On the 7th of March, the fleet with Scott's army came to anchor a few miles south of Vera Cruz, and two days later he landed his whole force — nearly twelve thousand men — by means of surf-boats. Vera Cruz was a city of seven thousand inhabitants, strongly fortified. About a thousand yards off shore, on a reef, stood the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa, commanding the channels of the harbor. This was supposed to be very strong, and the Mexicans had assumed that any approach to the city would necessarily be under its guns. Lines of investment were drawn, and siege batteries erected,



Vera Cruz.

with little opposition. On the 22d the investment was complete. A summons to surrender being refused, the batteries opened, and the bombardment was kept up for four days, the small war-vessels joining in it. The Mexican batteries and the castle replied with spirit, and with some little effect; but the city and castle were surrendered on the 27th.

Bombardment of Vera Cruz.

The want of draught animals and wagons delayed till the middle of April the march upon the capital of the country, two hundred miles distant. The first obstacle was found at Cerro Gordo, fifty miles northwest of Vera Cruz, where the Mexicans

Battle of Cerro Gordo.

Yell, and Lieutenant-colonel Henry Clay, a son of the Kentucky statesman. Some idea of the desperate nature of the fighting may be gained from the fact that Colonel Clay, disabled by a shot in the thigh, was borne off in the retreat till his men were obliged to drop him, and then lay on his back, fighting with his sword, while his enemies pierced him with lances. Colonel Yell received a lance in his mouth, which tore off his jaw; and Colonel Hardin was also killed with a lance. The Mexican cavalry did a great deal of execution with that ancient weapon. Among the troops that rendered most efficient service on the American side were the Mississippi riflemen, commanded by Colonel Jefferson Davis.

had taken position on the heights around a rugged mountain pass, with a battery commanding every turn of the road. A way was found to flank the position on the extreme left, and on the morning of April 18th, the Americans attacked in three columns. Pillow's brigade advanced against the Mexican right, where three hills, in the angle between the road and the Rio del Plan, were crowned with batteries. Shields's brigade made the détour and, climbing up by a path that Santa Anna said he did not believe a goat could ascend, fell upon the enemy's left and rear. The divisions of Twiggs and Worth left the road at a point within the pass, and, bearing to the right, attacked the enemy on a hill called El Telegrafo, carried it, and then attacked the height of Cerro Gordo, where the Mexicans were most strongly intrenched, and where Santa Anna commanded in person. This being carried by storm, its guns were turned first upon the retreating Mexicans, and then upon the advanced position that Pillow was assaulting in front. The Mexicans, finding themselves surrounded, soon surrendered. Santa Anna, with the remainder of his troops, fled toward Jalapa, where Scott followed him and took the place. Here he waited for reënforcements, the last of which arrived on the 6th of August under Brigadier-general Franklin Pierce.

Santa Anna offers to make peace for a price.

At this point, Santa Anna opened secret negotiations with Scott, offering to bring about a peace without any more fighting, in consideration of one million dollars to be paid to him personally: ten thousand dollars at once, and the remainder after the establishment of peace. The communications were made through the British consuls. Scott paid the ten thousand dollars; but Santa Anna failed to convince the Mexican Congress that the situation was desperate, and the temper of the country seemed to warrant the determination to hold out in hope of a victory.

The march on the capital.

After calling in all the garrisons except that of Vera Cruz, Scott had about fourteen thousand men, and leaving the convalescents to garrison Puebla and to care for the sick, he resumed his march toward the capital. On the 10th of August the leading division passed over the crest of the Rio Frio mountains; the city of Mexico, in the midst of a fertile basin dotted with sparkling lakes, was in sight. Northeast and southeast of Mexico, within a radius of twenty miles, are three lakes. The land immediately surrounding the city was entirely under water at the time of the Spanish invasion, but it had been drained, and the capital was now approached by causeways crossing low and marshy ground. Out of this plain rose numerous rocky hills; and wherever one commanded a causeway, it was fortified. Reaching Lake Chalco, the one farthest from the city, to the southeast, the American forces paused for a choice of

route. It was found that the city was strongest on its eastern side, and weakest on the south and west. Accordingly, Scott passed around Lake Chalco, and thence west, skirting the southern shore of the lake that was nearer the city.

Santa Anna, who had been guarding the eastern approaches, moved southward to intercept the Americans, taking up his headquarters at San Antonio, five miles from the city. His position was flanked on the west by a rugged field of broken lava, called the Pedregal, and on the east by marshy ground. West of the Pedregal another road led to the city, and this road could be reached by a mule-path across the southwest corner. Pillow's division was converted into a working-party to make of this mule-path a road for the passage of the trains. But the Mexican General Valencia had taken up a fortified position on the slope of a hill commanding the junction of the mule-path with the road, and not far from the village of Contreras. In front of this camp was a deep and rugged ravine. When Pillow had completed half the road, the Mexican artillery opened upon him. Twiggs's division passed to the front, and drove in the Mexican skirmishers. Twiggs then ordered Riley's brigade to cross the Pedregal by an oblique movement to the right, to secure a position on the road at the village of San Geronimo, and flank the Mexican left. Cadwallader's brigade was sent to his support, while Pierce's reënforced Smith's at the front. The ground was as bad as troops were ever compelled to clamber over. General Pierce was severely hurt by the fall of his horse, which had stepped into a cleft of the rocks; and later in the day Twiggs, though on foot, received a similar fall and injury. The artillery horses and caissons were sheltered behind huge blocks of stone; but the howitzers, which had been advanced with immense labor, were no match for the heavier guns of the Mexicans.

Battle of Contreras.

Valencia had neglected to occupy the crest of the hill in rear of his camp, and Riley proposed to occupy it in the darkness of the ensuing night, and swoop down upon him at daybreak. Meanwhile Santa Anna sent orders to Valencia to spike his guns, destroy his stores, and retreat by the mountain paths; but Valencia refused to stir, and Santa Anna left him to his fate. Riley's movement, delayed till daylight, was discovered, but the men pressed on, supported by the brigades of Cadwallader and Smith. Taking the Mexican intrenchments in reverse, they rushed into them in a body. One regiment cut off retreat southward, while Smith stopped it northward. The Mexicans were thrown into utter confusion; many were cut down on the spot, others escaped through the gaps in the American lines; more were made prisoners by the troops of Smith and

Shields, thrown across the road to the city. The loss of the Mexicans in killed and wounded was estimated at two thousand, while nearly a thousand, including four generals, were captured. Twenty-two guns and all the stores and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors, who had lost sixty, killed or wounded. The Americans followed the flying enemy toward Churubusco, on the main road to the capital, where Santa Anna, retiring before Worth, had concentrated his whole force. The river here runs in a straight, artificial channel, protected by levees. The head of the bridge was strongly fortified, and the convent, a large stone building, had been pierced for the use of muskets, and surrounded by a strong field-work. Here all was ready for action, but the remainder of the Mexican force was in much confusion, and the fortification around the bridge was blocked up by the ammunition train which had broken down at this point.

Battle of Churubusco.

The battle opened, when the advance of Worth's forces, charging the works at the bridge, was stopped by a heavy fire from the convent. At the same time Pillow took position in the corn-fields on the right, and Twiggs made a determined but useless attack on the convent. This building, says an eye-witness, "was one sheet of flame and smoke, and wherever the assailants were exposed, their loss was excessive."[1] The brigades of Pierce and Shields had been ordered to make a détour and come upon the main road in the rear of Churubusco. As they reached it, they struck the Mexican reserves, and all the troops on both sides were then engaged. The fighting was obstinate and bloody throughout. Pierce and Shields were largely outnumbered, and would perhaps have been defeated, but Worth and Pillow carried the head of the bridge in time to save them. Their men, creeping closer and closer, taking advantage of every ditch and dike, yet with sad losses, at last established themselves so close to the Mexican left that it gave way. A detachment of Americans crossed the river and threatened the bridge from the rear, and immediately Worth drew his whole force to the right, across the road, and poured it in upon the broken Mexican line. Through the ditches, waist-deep in water and over the parapets, they went with a rush and a shout, and the battle of Churubusco was won. A captured gun, being brought to bear at close range upon the flank of the reserves, broke it, and relieved Shields and Pierce. A gun at the bridge was then served upon the convent, and a position was discovered where a battery could command the surrounding field-work, but as this battery was about to open fire, a white flag rose above the walls. The American loss in this battle was one thousand killed or wounded, among them seventy-six officers.

[1] Major R. S. Ripley, in his *History of the War with Mexico.*

The Americans now occupied several villages in the suburbs of the capital. At the instance of the English Embassy, who came out from the city, an armistice was agreed upon. Negotiations followed, lasting for a fortnight, till Scott, finding that Santa Anna only aimed to gain time and strengthen his position, put an end to the armistice. The American commander now had about eight thousand five hundred effective men, and sixty-eight guns. His first movement, September 7th, was upon the Molino del Rey (King's Mill), a group of stone buildings where, he had been informed, the church-bells of the city were being cast into cannon. This group forms the western side of the enclosure surrounding the gardens, rock, and castle of Chapultepec. It is eleven hundred yards from the castle, and that is about a mile and a half from the city wall. The buildings, five hundred yards long, had been barricaded and loopholed, and provided with sand-bag parapets. Five hundred yards west of the northern corner was the Casa Mata, a strong, square, stone building, also prepared for defence. Between these positions the Mexicans had planted a four-gun battery, and stretched a line of infantry. When he sent Worth's division, on the evening of the 7th, to destroy the supposed foundry, Scott was not aware that the enemy had occupied the position in force. When Worth discovered this he asked that he might delay the attack till sunrise of the 8th, and extend the operation so as to include the capture of Chapultepec. To the first request Scott assented; the other he declined. His purpose was to enter the city by the south, and he therefore considered the castle of no importance, as it only commanded the western approach.

Battle of Molino del Rey.



Winfield Scott.

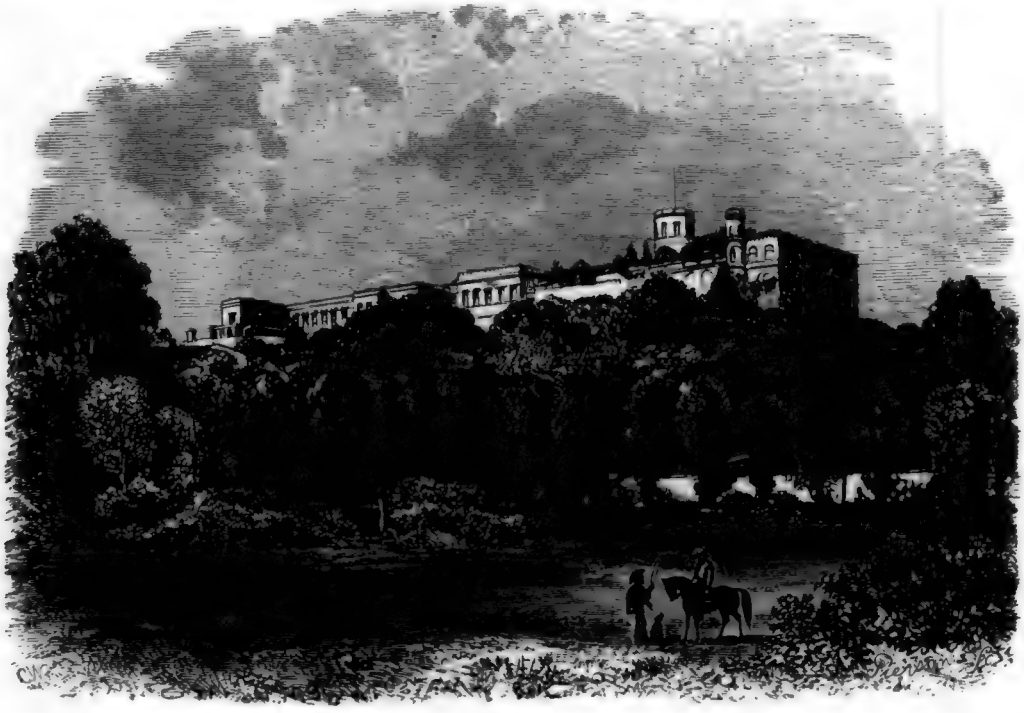
Scott supposed the fight for the Molino would be but a skirmish; Worth knew it would be a desperate struggle. His plan was, to pierce the Mexican centre, while making strong movements against the flanks. Garland's brigade and two field-pieces were to advance and cut off support from Chapultepec. On the left of these, two

twenty-four pounders were to be supported by a light battalion. Five hundred picked men, under Major Wright, were to storm the battery in the Mexican centre. A brigade under Lieutenant-colonel M'Intosh, with a battery, was to attack the Casa Mata. And the cavalry were to form on the extreme left, under Major Sumner. Cadwallader's brigade formed the reserve. All these positions were taken while it was yet dark, on the morning of the 8th. A little after three o'clock the twenty-four pounders sent their shot crashing through the walls of the Molino, and a few minutes later the storming-party advanced toward the point where the battery had been observed the day before. But its place had been changed, and the first appearance of life in the enemy was when it suddenly opened on the flank of the five hundred, with round shot and grape. A rush was made for it, and the gunners were driven back, but in the face of the infantry fire at once concentrated on the captors, it could not be held. Eleven of the fourteen officers in the storming-party fell, and almost a like proportion of the rank and file. The remainder retreated, while the Mexicans came forward and deliberately killed every wounded man on the ground, save two.

The light battalion advanced through the shattered ranks of the storming-party to renew the assault; and as the Mexicans were at the same time attacked on the flank by Garland's brigade, they fell back. One company, finding shelter under the edge of a low bank, acted as sharpshooters to clear the flat roofs. Drum's battery was run forward to a position where it could rake the Mexican battery at close range, and, with the aid of a steady infantry fire, soon drove away the gunners and their support, and the guns were seized. The fighting on this part of the field then became a struggle for the possession of the Molino. General Leon led a spirited but unsuccessful sortie, in which he was mortally wounded. While the sharpshooters were picking off the men who ventured upon the roof, and Drum's battery was pounding at the walls, parties of infantry surrounding the building were firing in at the windows and trying to pry open or batter down the gates. At last the southern gate gave way, and the assailants poured in, but only to renew the fight inside with bayonet and sword. In this desperate conflict Worth lost a large number of the very flower of his forces. At last the surviving Mexicans retreated to Chapultepec, — all but seven hundred, who being on the roof, with no escape, surrendered.

On the left, Duncan's battery and M'Intosh's brigade advanced against the enemy, but were received with a murderous fire from a low embankment, from the works, and from the Casa Mata. M'Intosh fell mortally wounded; his successor in command was shot dead,

and the next officer was soon disabled. The men had approached within thirty yards of the Casa Mata, and had suffered accordingly. A large portion of the survivors fell back; a remnant still kept up the struggle. At this point in the action, Santa Anna sent cavalry and infantry against the American left; but they were driven back. The whole artillery was then brought to bear upon the walls of the Casa Mata and the surrounding works, which the Mexicans were soon compelled to abandon. A few old cannon-moulds were found inside the Molino, but there was no foundry. Except as an outpost to Chapultepec, it had no strategic value, and Scott's orders positively forbade Worth to take Chapultepec. In fact, after the prisoners were



Chapultepec.

secured, and the American dead and wounded removed, Worth, by Scott's order, drew back his whole command, and left to the enemy the field that had been won at so dear a price. About three thousand five hundred Americans had been actually in the fight, and seven hundred and eighty-seven had fallen, including fifty-nine officers.

Chapultepec. Near the eastern end of an enclosure a mile long and one third of a mile wide, rises the rock of Chapultepec, a hundred and fifty feet high, bearing the great castle, once the palace of a Spanish viceroy, now a military school. The northern side was absolutely inaccessible; the eastern and a portion of the southern, nearly so; the southwestern and western could be scaled. The regular access was by a long zigzag road on the southern side, which was swept

by a battery planted in its angle. The crest of the rock was strongly fortified, and the castle had been provided with sand-bag parapets. The grounds around it were broken by walls, aqueducts, and ditches. The southern line of the enclosure was a long, heavy stone wall, with a redan at its central point. The northern side was formed by an aqueduct whose arches had been filled up with masonry. The Molino del Rey was the western side. From the great gate on the east two divergent causeways led into the city of Mexico. The place was garrisoned by two thousand men; thirteen heavy guns were mounted to be used in its defence, two to sweep the main approach. After many reconnoissances it was determined, in a council of war, that the castle must be reduced before the city could be taken.

When a bombardment from three heavy batteries had proved that the place could not be reduced by artillery fire alone, a select party advanced at a run and seized the Molino, — Captain Joseph Hooker having first approached alone, and found that it was unoccupied, — and at night Pillow threw his whole force into it. Then at dawn of the 13th, fire was reopened upon the castle, and upon the Mexican lines south of the city. At eight o'clock the infantry advanced. A fire from a light battery was directed across the redan that covered an opening in the southern wall of the enclosure; and when the defenders had sought shelter, a battalion of voltigeurs and a storming-party rushed upon the redan, went over the works in the face of a musketry fire, advanced through the grounds of the enclosure, and took in reverse the intrenchments that crossed it facing the Molino. At the same time a similar force, rushing from the Molino, had assaulted these intrenchments in front. The two forces united, and, using the shelter of the trees, which here formed a large grove, gradually pressed back the Mexicans.

Storming of Chapultepec.

Reënforced by a storming-party, the combined forces pushed up the hill. Its western slope was filled with mines, but the Mexican officer, as he was about to explode them, was shot down. The assailants gained the crest in spite of the plunging fire from a work at that point and from the castle. The scaling-ladders not being at hand, they took shelter in the clefts of the rocks, and employed the interval in picking off the Mexican artillerymen. At the same time a regiment passed around the northern front of the rock to cut off the Mexicans who were letting themselves down the almost perpendicular eastern face. When at length the ladders arrived the walls were rapidly scaled, in face of a destructive fire; and Captain Howard, with a considerable force, safely gained the parapet. Ladders were thrown across the ditch, and the whole force on the western side joined their comrades. Meanwhile another storming-

party had climbed up the southern slope, pushed up the main road, running over the small work at the angle with two guns, entered at the great gate, and joined the other party. The whole castle was now occupied by the Americans, and their fire was directed upon the lower batteries. The enemy was dislodged, and the way was opened for the advance of Quitman's troops through the grounds, who took a large number of prisoners as they fled from the castle.

Capture of the city.

It only remained to pursue the flying enemy into the city, and take possession of the capital. But this was still a difficult task. The approach was by two roads; one to the Belen gate, the other to the San Cosme, each along an aqueduct supported on stone arches. Quitman's infantry fought their way slowly from arch to arch, toward the Belen, sheltered by the piers; but the artillery, advancing by the open road, was more exposed and suffered heavy loss. At last the Mexicans were pressed back into the city, and Quitman's whole command entered the first work. Here he confronted the citadel, where Santa Anna commanded, and a fire so terrible swept all approaches, that further advance was impossible.

On the San Cosme road a detachment under Colonel Trousdale, fighting the Mexicans while the storming of the castle was going on, had cleared the first barricade. Worth's column now followed up this advantage, and pursued the enemy to a second barricade, at an angle in the aqueduct. This was assaulted by two advanced parties, — one operating directly in front, under Lieutenant Gore, the other to the left, under Lieutenant U. S. Grant. It was soon carried, and the Mexicans retired into the suburb. As soon as Worth's column could be concentrated, the advance was continued. But it was hard fighting and slow work. When they arrived at the suburb, one brigade passed through the arches, to the right of the aqueduct, and then all began breaking their way through the walls of the houses. The fortunate discovery of a quantity of engineering tools greatly facilitated this work. As the Americans gained possession of one building after another, howitzers were hauled to the roofs, and served upon the main gate, which at last was carried with a charge, by a storming-party under Captain McKenzie.

It was now nightfall. The Mexicans held a council of war in the citadel and determined to withdraw their army from the city, liberate the convicts in the prisons, arm them, and instigate these and the inhabitants to a war from the house-tops, as a last desperate measure. But before morning a deputation from the civil authorities appeared at Worth's headquarters and proposed a capitulation. Scott, considering that the city was already his, refused to grant any terms. At dawn, Quitman found the citadel abandoned, marched to the grand

plaza, and occupied the palace. An hour or two later, General Scott took up his headquarters there. Presently gangs made up of the liberated convicts, deserters, leperos, and thieves began firing upon the soldiers from the houses, and casting down the paving-stones which had been carried up in immense numbers and stacked in convenient piles upon the flat roofs. It became necessary to sweep the streets with grape and canister, and to turn the artillery upon some of the houses, after which they were given up to plunder. By the morning of the 15th, order was restored, hospitals were established, and the



The Plaza of the City of Mexico.

American commander was in quiet possession of the capital of the country.

The treaties which ended the war gave to the United States, not only Texas, the apple of discord, but New Mexico, California, and Arizona. The old question instantly arose, Should these be slave territories or free? David Wilmot, a Democratic Representative from Pennsylvania, had moved, as early as 1846, that, in all territory acquired from Mexico, slavery should be prohibited. So hot was the pressure behind Democratic members of Congress at their homes, that, when Mr. Wilmot introduced this "Proviso" it commanded almost every Northern Democratic vote. As the war went on, the division of the Democratic party became evidently incurable. At the Democratic Convention to name a President in May, 1848, one branch of the double Democratic delegation from New

The Wilmot Proviso.

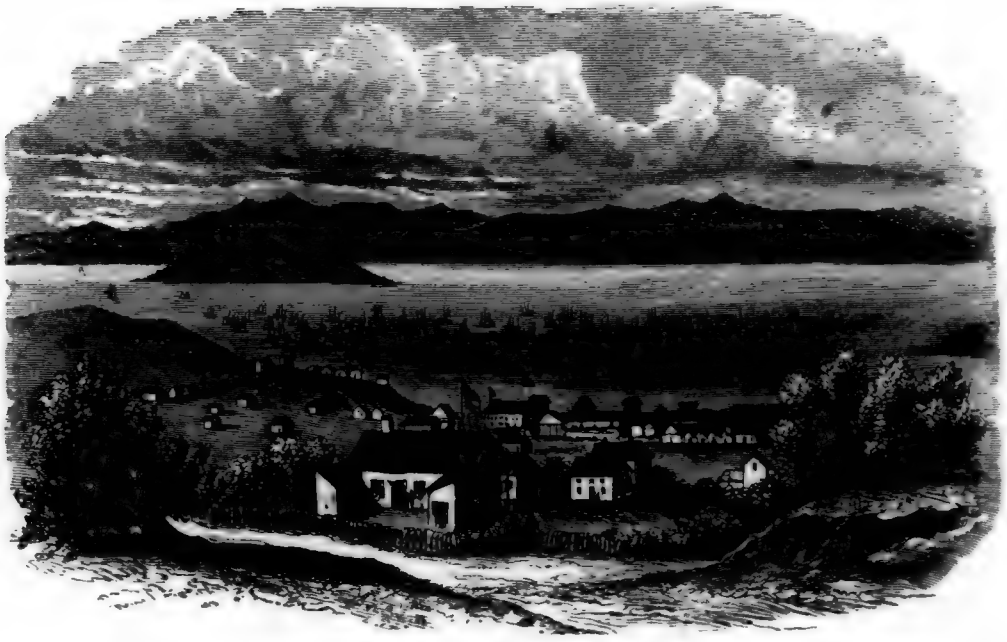
York insisted on the "Wilmot Proviso." The Convention proposed to them that they should divide the vote of New York with the rival delegation. This they refused to do, and retired. The field was left to Democrats who opposed the Proviso, and General Cass was nominated.

The election of 1848.

The Whigs, at their convention, passed by Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster, so long the leaders of their party, and nominated General Taylor of Louisiana, the hero of the war just ended. Mr. Van Buren, who had yielded to the decision of his party four years before, and had canvassed New York for his successful rival, was now named — with Charles Francis Adams as candidate for the second office — as the candidate of the "Wilmot Proviso" men, who took the name of the "Free-Soil Party." Van Buren received more than half of the Democratic votes of New York; Cass came third; General Taylor received the plurality vote of the State, and was elected by the country. New York again justified her name as the "Empire State." The electoral votes were 163 for General Taylor, 127 for General Cass. Of the popular vote General Taylor had 1,360,101; General Cass 1,220,544; and Mr. Van Buren 291,263. So important a factor had the "Free Democracy" already become.

Calhoun's manifesto.

In the short session which followed General Taylor's election, before he assumed office, Calhoun organized a series of meetings of slaveholding members of Congress, which were attended by seventy or eighty members. Calhoun, as chairman of a subcommittee, reported an address, which was signed by forty-eight Senators and Representatives. It denied the power of Congress to exclude slavery from California and the other new Territories. Nor did it stop here, for it denied the power of the legislatures or inhabitants of the Territories to exclude it. The South was to hold no connection with any party at the North not prepared to enforce the Constitutional guarantees in favor of the South. Among the failures of the North to do this, was named the neglect to enforce the old Fugitive-Slave Law.



Site of San Francisco, in 1848.

CHAPTER XV.

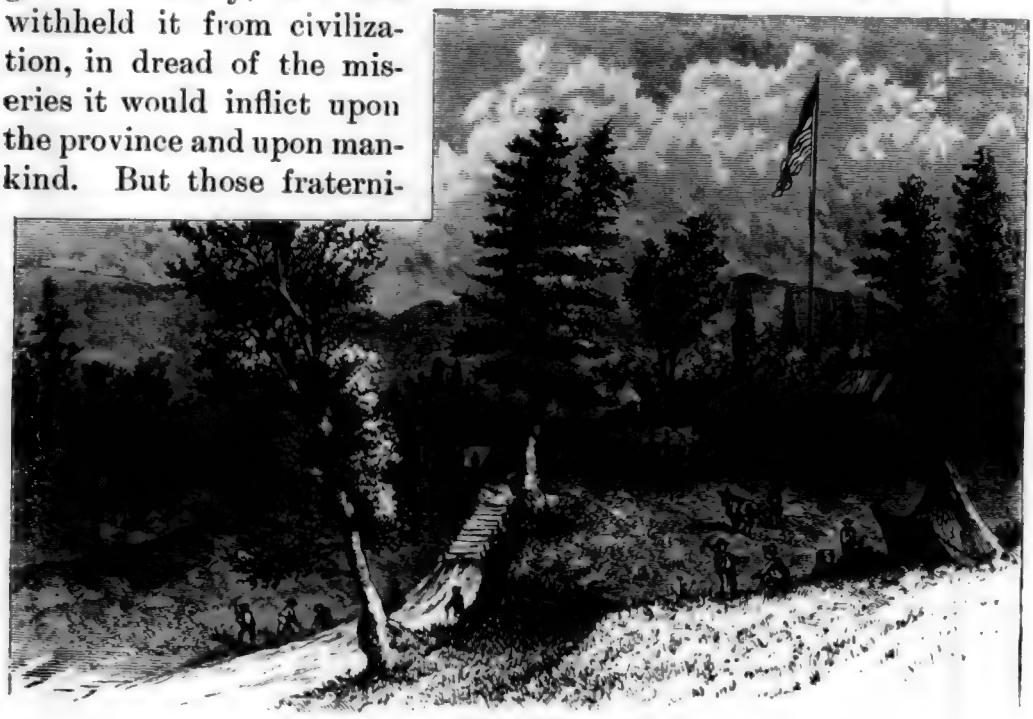
THE COMPROMISES OF 1850.

ELECTION OF TAYLOR TO THE PRESIDENCY. — CALIFORNIA. — DISCOVERY OF GOLD. — THE COMPROMISES OF 1850. — THE NEW FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW. — ADMINISTRATION OF FILLMORE. — ELECTION OF PIERCE. — DOUGLAS'S KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL. — REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE. — SETTLEMENT OF KANSAS. — MASSACHUSETTS EMIGRANT AID SOCIETY. — REEDER APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — INVASION OF KANSAS BY "BORDER RUFFIANS."

IN February, 1848, the treaty of peace with Mexico — the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo — was concluded. Almost at the same hour the discovery of gold was made in California. On the ranch of Colonel Sutter, a Swiss emigrant, who had lived for many years in the valley of the Sacramento, some laborers were opening a trench, for conducting water to a mill. They turned up earth, which may be precisely described in the words of Shelvocke, used one hundred and thirty-one years before, "black earth spangled with gold." If any effort was made to keep the discovery secret, that effort was futile. It was soon known that the alluvial deposits of that great river — and as it afterwards proved, of other waters flowing from the Sierra Nevada — were largely charged with gold. The only wonder was, that it had not been discovered before. In 1844, the crew of the United States ship *Peacock*, with the geol-

Discovery of gold in California.

ogist of the exploring expedition to which she had belonged, passed down this very valley to San Francisco, encamping every night upon the *placers*, or gold-dust beds, now known to be invaluable. Similar experiences are related by officers and soldiers who served in the war. But none of these pioneers had discovered gold. The suggestion has been made that Jesuits and Franciscans both had made the great discovery, but had withheld it from civilization, in dread of the miseries it would inflict upon the province and upon mankind. But those fraterni-



Sutter's Mill.

ties have shown no other instances of such timidity. The truth is, that the discovery by Sutter's workmen was a surprise to all mankind.

Emigration to California.

A tide of emigration immediately set in upon California, from all parts of the world. Its population, including the Indians who had taken up fields, was estimated at 15,000 when the century began. It was not much larger in 1846, at the beginning of the Mexican war. But before the census of September, 1850, it numbered 92,597. By far the larger part of this increase was due to the emigration consequent upon the discovery of gold, and it came chiefly from the northwestern and northeastern States. From the West, adventurers in great numbers went with their cattle and horses, by routes till then scarcely known, through the passes of the Rocky Mountains and the Sierras. From the East, men went round Cape Horn, or by the route till then little used for two centuries, across the Isthmus of Panama.

So large a population as this, of people mostly bred in the United States, was naturally not satisfied without a government of its own.

The new administration of President Taylor eagerly seconded its wishes. The President despatched an agent to California, immediately after his inauguration, urging the people to apply for admission as a State. He felt that such an application would so far relieve Congress from the exciting slave question as to its position while a Territory. General Riley, the military commander, issued a proclamation on the 3d of June, 1849, calling a convention to make a State constitution. This Convention met, prepared a constitution for the new State, and sent it to Washington for approval. All this was done without an "Enabling Act," or provision by Congress for such a convention. The constitution was so far made under the influence of the Northern settlers that slavery in the new State was forever prohibited.

Admission as a State.

By this overture to California the policy of General Taylor may be well enough discerned. He, and a group of men around him, were hoping against hope, perhaps, that the slavery questions might be "tided over," that they might adjust themselves one by one, without Congressional action. If California could arrange her own matters, if New Mexico could be left to the old Mexican law, and all territory north of the line of 36° 30′ left to the Missouri Compromise of 1820, there would be no vacant territory open for the application of the "Wilmot Proviso," which at this time was the embarrassing question to both parties in Congress. For the other territories, Arizona and New Mexico, acquired from Mexico, the President recommended that they should be left under Mexican law. This disposition of the question irritated the Southern members of Congress of both parties. But it was readily accepted by such men as Mr. Seward, the Senator from New York, and by the other Northern statesmen who opposed the extension of slavery.

President Taylor's policy.

When the new Congress met in December, 1849, the composition of the House of Representatives showed at once that the sway of the old parties must be modified. Although General Taylor had a decided majority in the Electoral College,[1] he was in a minority of the popular vote, having received but 1,360,101 votes out of a total of 2,871,908. The Free-Soil party had given 291,263 votes for Mr. Van Buren. The strength of this third party showed itself in the House, and at the same time there appeared an unwillingness in Southern members to ally themselves with the Whig party in any measures which seemed to run counter to the interest of slavery. All the elements of discord showed themselves in the election of Speaker. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, the Whig Speaker in the last Congress, was again the candidate of his party.

Parties in Congress.

[1] 163 Electoral votes, to 127 given for General Cass.

But the Free-Soil members were not satisfied with his record, while at the same time five Southern Whigs refused to vote for him. In thirty-eight ballots, therefore, he failed to receive the support of either of the extremes of those nominally connected with the Whig party, and he withdrew his name after the thirty-ninth ballot. Mr. Brown, a Democratic member from Indiana, had received in that ballot a larger number of votes than any other candidate. Some of the Free-Soil members, having received from him an assurance that he would constitute the committees on the District of Columbia, the Judiciary, and the Territories so as to be satisfactory to them, voted for him on the fortieth ballot. He failed of an election by two votes only. So close an approach to an alliance between the Democrats and the Free-Soil members alarmed the Southern portion of both parties. They united so far as to carry a vote that a plurality should elect. On the next trial, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, received one hundred and two votes. Mr. Winthrop received one hundred only.



Zachary Taylor.

Standing committees which would protect to the utmost the extreme Southern interest were thus secured. This issue of a long and heated controversy was even less important than the discussion which accompanied it. Southern members of both parties not merely made threats of dissolution, but declared that the Union would virtually be dissolved if slavery were suppressed in the Territories. The steadiness with which this threat was uttered, and the desire of the friends of the Union, as men between the extremes began to call themselves, to avert such an issue, can alone account for the abatement of the zeal of a large number of North-

Slavery in the Territories.

ern members. On the fourth of February, 1850, Mr. Root's resolution, prohibiting slavery in the new Territories, was laid on the table by a majority of twenty-six. Only five weeks before, a motion to the same effect had been rejected. Forty votes had been changed in the mean while. So far as men justified this change, it was on the ground that the question was really settled without the prohibitory proviso, and that the preservation of the Union was the overruling necessity. But, whatever the form of the justification, the truth was that the solid front offered by Southern statesmen of all parties alarmed the more timid of the Northern Representatives.

In the midst of the excitement which showed itself every day, Mr. Clay, who had returned to the Senate, offered himself once more as the conciliator of extreme views, as he had done in 1820 and in 1833. He was now to make his last appearance in public life in an attempt to assuage a greater storm than he had dealt with on those two previous occasions. As if by way of preparation for this new effort, he had, in his own State, recently offered a proposal for the extinction of slavery. Kentucky was making a new Constitution, and Mr. Clay tested his own power with the community which was so proud of him, by public expressions that condemned, in principle, the system of slavery. In a letter written in February, 1849, he denounced the doctrine that "slavery was a blessing," and he proposed a gradual emancipation, with the condition that all slaves born after 1855 or 1860 should be made free when they were twenty-five years old, and be colonized in Africa. The scheme was absurdly impossible. The only result of it was a more decisive victory of the friends of slavery in the Kentucky convention than they dared expect. But the occasion had shown that Mr. Clay did not choose to be counted among those extreme adherents of the system of slavery, who, by a certain felicity of colloquial expression, now began to be called "Fire-eaters." He availed himself of his position on the 29th of January, 1850, by introducing eight resolutions which he offered as a compromise on all pending issues. These resolutions were meant to cover all the open questions. They admitted California without restriction. They established territorial governments without conditions regarding slavery. They carried the boundary of Texas to the Rio Grande, providing for her debt "to a limited extent," on condition that she relinquished her claim to New Mexico. They declared it inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but they prohibited the introduction of slaves into the District for merchandise or transportation. They made more effectual provision for the recovery of fugitive slaves, and they declared that Congress had no

Emancipation proposed in Kentucky by Clay.

Compromises of 1850.

power to obstruct the trade in slaves between the States. On these resolutions, and on other measures already before the Senate, a debate sprang up, which really lasted, with little break, until Congress adjourned in September.

General Taylor and his Cabinet were hoping, from the beginning, to hold to a course between extremes, and the President did not look with particular favor on Mr. Clay's efforts at conciliation. Perhaps he thought it would have been better for the country had they not been made. The majority of the Whig representatives of free States in the Senate and the House, were willing to go with the President as far as he went, but no farther. When, therefore, Mr. Clay went beyond him in the compromise plan, and when Mr. Webster joined him, as he did in a speech which became celebrated, on the 7th of March, Mr. Seward of New York, who had steadily represented the Northern sentiment, became really the leader of the friends of the Administration in the Senate. General Taylor did not take kindly the unwillingness of the leaders of his own party in the Senate to support his plan; but it was not the first time, nor the last, when a President has found that the leaders of his party, in Senate or in House, cared little for his policy or his suggestions.

Webster's position.

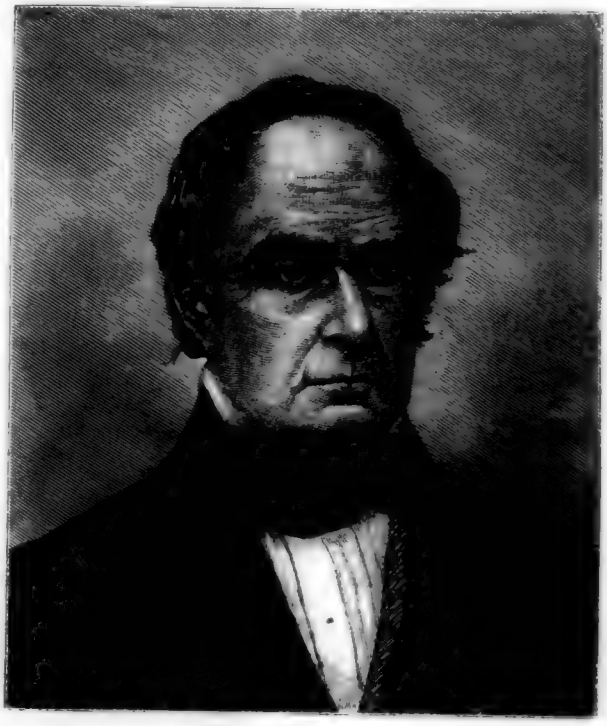
Mr. Webster's course, in supporting the resolutions of Mr. Clay, excited great indignation among his constituents, great surprise among many of his friends, and was, indeed, a crisis in his life.[1] When, in Mr. Tyler's time, he became acquainted with the details of the plan for annexing Texas, he tried, in private, to arouse his friends in the Whig party to the danger which the North would incur in such an enlargement of the country. Undoubtedly he was disappointed, not to say angered, by the reception which was then given to his efforts by men of character and influence at the North. It would seem as if he persuaded himself that the favorable opportunity had then been lost; and he determined that he would not attempt again to sacrifice himself to create a national feeling in communities which had once failed to respond to his wish. If they would not follow when he led, he would not lead at all. When in the spring of 1850 he had to determine whether he would sustain Mr. Clay's system of compromise, or take the side which Mr. Seward took, in resolute support of all measures which would arrest the extension of slavery, this old dissatisfaction probably acted on his mind.[2] From the memoirs of gentlemen prominent in maintaining the Northern policy, it appears that they were confident of Mr. Webster's support. And when in

[1] Mr. Adams, however, wrote in his Diary as early as 1843: "Daniel Webster is a heartless traitor to the cause of human freedom."

[2] See, for details, Wilson's *Slave Power in America*, vol. ii., 241.

a speech carefully considered, and pronounced with all the dignity which belonged to a great crisis, he abandoned them and theirs, when afterward he told Massachusetts even that she must "conquer her prejudices," they were personally indignant, — as if a tried companion had deserted them, — while they lamented the loss which the true policy of the country had sustained. They thought, and the country thought, that Mr. Webster was consumed by the ambitious hope of becoming President. If the motives of public men may ever be judged of, this belief in regard to Mr. Webster was true. It did not need even his great sagacity to see that thus far in the history of the country, the Southern road was the road to power. His greenest laurels had been won as the defender of the Constitution. Every representative of Southern opinion, from Calhoun down to the meanest of the disciples at his feet, was proclaiming disunion, and if the Union was to be preserved, it must be, Mr. Webster thought, on their own terms. Perhaps he would have preferred that it should be saved for the sake of freedom; but he had no convictions upon the question of slavery that could prevent his accepting the other alternative, especially if it might give him the Presidency, as well as save the Union. Anti-slavery principles now seemed to him only sentimental and morbid prejudices. He would not or could not see that the question was not simply one of the ownership of black men, but of the supremacy of an ill-born, ill-bred, uneducated, and brutal handful of slaveholders over a people of a higher strain of blood, with centuries of gentle breeding, and a high degree of moral and intellectual cultivation behind them. He undervalued the power in the long run of those "prejudices" which he bade the Massachusetts people conquer, — prejudices created, he said, "by the din and roll and rub-a-dub of Abolition presses and Abolition lecturers, beaten every month, every day, and every hour" as an appeal to the feelings of the North.

Indignation against him.



Daniel Webster.

Mr. Calhoun, the third of the trio of statesmen of another generation, was also in the Senate. But he was dying. A speech written by him on the issues before the country, was read by Mr. Mason of Virginia. This Senator had prepared the bill for the more effectual surrender of fugitive slaves, which, as the result proved, was the most odious measure to the people of the North ever passed by Congress. Mr. Calhoun died on the 31st of March, 1850.

Adoption of compromise measures.

So much power had the various agencies brought to bear in these great debates, that the Wilmot Proviso, which had a majority in the House when the session began, was defeated, as has been said, on the 4th of February, by a vote which showed a change in forty members. Mr. Clay's eight resolutions did not pass Congress in the form in which they were drawn. But bills based upon their principles, worked their slow way through a session which lasted through the heat of summer into September. As that hot summer of excitement passed, the body of Northern statesmen lost such strength as they had gained from the midway

Death of Taylor.

policy of General Taylor and his Cabinet. The President died suddenly on the 9th of July, and the Vice-president, Millard Fillmore, succeeded him. General Taylor had the advantage, in any measures of conciliation, of being a Southern man and a slaveholder. He was determined to support the Union, and had said that if any State left it, he would lead the army which should reduce it to submission, and that for this army he would not ask for one Northern man. He and his Cabinet would probably have been as well pleased if Mr. Clay had not lent his influence to measures so odious as the Fugitive Slave Bill of Mr. Mason. By the President's death, which placed a Northern Whig in his chair, any sympathy which the South had with a Southern President was withdrawn from the partisans of a midway policy. Mr. Fillmore took Mr. Webster into his Cabinet as Secretary of State. This was a public notification that the new Administration would support the measures of compromise. They passed Congress, one by one, after debates which went to the very foundations of society and of morals, and excited the whole nation to the quick, and Mr. Fillmore signed them all.

Texas and New Mexico.

Among these measures was a bill which established the boundaries of Texas, and secured to her, for the relinquishment of her claims on New Mexico, ten million dollars. While all the other States had ceded their public lands to the Union, Texas alone had been permitted to retain hers, an appanage of wealth untold. In addition to this gift, ten million more were now offered to her. This bill passed the Senate by a majority of ten. It was driven through the House by a strong combination, which made it necessary to set

aside even a decision of the Speaker, and finally passed by a majority of eleven. Before this bill was introduced, the public debt of Texas was worth only seventeen cents on a dollar. So soon as the bill passed it rose to par, which it has almost always maintained since that time. The country believed, of course, that the holders of Texan securities bought the passage of the bill. But the President, himself a statesman of personal honesty, signed this with all the others. The other bills admitted California with its Constitution; provided that when Utah should be admitted it should be with or without slavery, as its constitution might prescribe; and provided the most rigid measures for the surrender of fugitive slaves.



Of these "adjustments" the Fugitive Slave Law was that which most challenged the public indignation of the North, and, from the inquisitorial character inseparable from such an act, provoked the most determined opposition whenever its provisions were put in practice. With the great increase of travel to and fro, which had in a thousand forms changed the whole character of the nation, the frequency and ease of escapes from slavery were largely increased beyond anything possible in earlier times. The events of twenty years, and the persistent labors of the Abolitionists, had shown nowhere else more significant results than in the universal sympathy felt for a fugitive slave. Those known as Garrisonians openly declared that they would not, for conscience' sake, obey the Constitution and the laws on this subject. The exercise of political rights implied an oath to the Constitution, and they would not swear obedience to a government whose laws they defied. They were, therefore, non-voters, and they declared they had no union with slaveholders, for right was higher than law. Others, less scrupulous than they as to the sanctity of an oath, or else persuading themselves that the citizen could put his own construction upon his oath by a mental reservation, — others still who were influenced by mere humane feeling, were equally disobedient. An escaping slave found friends the moment he crossed the border; he was passed openly or secretly, as the exigency of the case required, from friend to friend, finding everywhere aid, shelter, and advice, and was forwarded on his way to Canada, or the more retired parts of the North.[1] Whole villages of

The Fugitive Slave Bill.



[1] It was estimated that more than 30,000 fugitive slaves found homes in Canada during the thirty years of the anti-slavery agitation; and that at the time of the passage of the act of 1850 there were not less than 20,000 in the free States. Advertisements for "runaways" were always illustrated as above in Southern newspapers.

refugee-slaves grew up in Canada, settled by the exodus from the Southern States. To reclaim such slaves from the more distant Northern and Northwestern States, had proved difficult. From the States on the border, they were often brought back by brute force. The men who pursued them relied, in earlier years, largely on the indifference of the inhabitants, who, very frequently, shared in the Southern contempt for those counted of an inferior race. But as the facilities for escaping from slavery increased, and as those who were left behind learned from those who had preceded them that they were comparatively safe when once they had reached a free State, and absolutely safe when they had crossed the Canadian line, so it became more and more difficult, as time went on, and the feeling against slavery at the North increased, to enforce the statute of 1793. A new act, therefore, was demanded, and one was drawn by Mr. Mason, a Senator from Virginia.

Proposed amendments to Fugitive Slave Act.

The difficulties which surrounded it were pointed out from its birth, in the debates in both Houses. Mr. Webster had prepared a provision giving the fugitive a jury trial. This amendment was introduced by Mr. Dayton, but failed. When men afterward held that the act was unconstitutional, this failure to grant jury trial was one of the features they relied upon. An amendment, offered by Jefferson Davis, provided that the Government of the United States should be responsible for the expenses of the slave's delivery. This was adopted. Mr. Davis, a Massachusetts Senator, offered an amendment providing that when free colored seamen were imprisoned in Southern ports, the United States District Attorney should sue out writs of *habeas corpus* for their delivery. But this failed. For thirty years South Carolina had imprisoned all colored sailors entering her ports, and they would be reduced to slavery, if by any accident they were not taken away again in the vessel in which they came. England had complained more than once of this outrage upon British subjects; the law had been pronounced unconstitutional, but South Carolina defiantly maintained it, and other States had followed her example. In 1844 Massachusetts had sent Mr. Samuel Hoar to South Carolina, and Mr. Henry Hubbard to Louisiana, to seek redress for this grievance; but both gentlemen had been compelled, by threats of being lynched by mobs, to make their escape from Charleston and New Orleans. Had Mr. Davis's amendment passed, it would only have subjected the North to new indignities.

By the new law the alleged fugitive was denied a trial by jury, was denied the right of testifying to the court that he was not the slave of the claimant, or that he was not a slave at all; but any court of record or judge therein was required to surrender him to the claimant on his word. As courts might not be always accessible, the act pro-

vided for special commissioners, whose decision should be absolute in all cases, and whose fee, when they decided in favor of the claimant, should be double that when the decision was against him. The *posse comitatus* might be called upon, if the officers making the arrest thought necessary; all good citizens were "commanded" to aid the execution of the law, and if they helped the prisoner, they were subject to heavy penalties. When the bill came before Congress there were some Northern members who declined to vote; but it was passed by a large majority, signed by the President, and pronounced constitutional by the Attorney-general.

The last of the five measures, which was meant to meet Northern susceptibilities as to the slave trade in the District of Columbia, authorized the city authorities of Washington and Georgetown to abate the traffic in slaves brought into the District for sale. It did not interfere with the sale between residents in the District, nor prevent their selling slaves to be taken from it. Mr. Seward moved to amend by abolishing slavery in the District, and appropriating two hundred thousand dollars for compensation. But this amendment, of course, failed.



Millard Fillmore.

As if to test the submissiveness of the North, the Fugitive Slave Act was put into immediate operation. The alarm of the colored population was intense, among those who were free as well as those who had escaped from slavery. And as it happened, the first arrest was that of a freeman, for whose surrender to the slave-hunter the Commissioner earned his double fee, though the slaveholder to whom the alleged slave was taken, was frank enough to acknowledge that he had never seen the man before. But the indignation of the North did not wait upon the execution of the law. It broke out all over the country, and found expression in public meetings, in the pulpit, in the press, in the solemn resolution of many thousands that they would never help in the return of a fugitive from slavery, and that they would hinder if they could. On the other hand, that large class of conservative people who, like Mr. Webster, valued the Union more

than liberty — at least more than the liberty of those who were poor and helpless — were not silent. Great public meetings were held in New York, in Boston, and in other cities, in which men distinguished in society, lawyers, merchants, clergymen, insisted, with all the weight of influence that wealth, position, and ability could give, that the compromise measures must be sustained, and, chief of all, that requiring the capture of all runaway negroes, or those said to be runaways, in the free States. If the duty had been made obnoxious, so much the more merit in its performance; for it was the price of the Union, and would leave commerce and trade undisturbed. To those who asked what such a Union was worth, and what was to become in the end of government by the people, if the laws of the country were to be dictated by slaveholders for their exclusive benefit, some of the more eminent of the clergy, like Dr. Moses Stuart, a professor in the Theological School at Andover, Massachusetts, Dr. Lord, the President of Dartmouth College, Bishop Hopkins, of Burlington, Vermont, Dr. Nehemiah Adams, a leading evangelical clergyman of Boston, Dr. Taylor, of the Theological Department of Yale College, and Dr. Orville Dewey, a Unitarian clergyman of New York, came forward to enforce the moral and religious obligation of saving the Union by implicit submission. Those who wished to be justified, justified themselves by such teachings; those who thought with Seward that there was "a higher law than the Constitution," and those who, like the Abolitionists, declared that a rightful property in man was impossible, were shocked at a fanaticism as short-sighted as it was unchristian.

One writer upon the events of this period has estimated that more fugitive slaves were reclaimed under this Act in a single year than had been returned for the previous sixty years of the Government.[1] There are no statistics to warrant any such assumption, and it could only be made through an erroneous estimate of the temper of the times. In the earlier years, the Constitution, — as it was said, in the decision in the Prigg case, it might — literally "executed itself." One searching for and finding a runaway slave, took him, whether in a slave State or a free State, with as little question, generally, and as little formality, as if he were a horse which had strayed from its owner. Philadelphia was the only place in the country, probably, where any feeling upon the subject asserted itself. And there it was chiefly confined to Friends, one of whom, Isaac T. Hopper, in the first quarter of the century, aided and found safe places of refuge for hundreds of the flying bondmen.[2] But it was because the recapture

[1] Greeley's *American Conflict.*

[2] See a curious and interesting record of his labors in the *Life of Isaac T. Hopper,* by Lydia Maria Child.

of fugitives was so easy, and the indifference to the subject was generally so great, that the kidnapping of free negroes became so common along the border that Maryland had more than once called the attention of Congress to the subject in the earlier part of the century, and finally had induced Pennsylvania to pass that law under which Prigg was convicted. As the Anti-slavery movement grew in strength in the North, the facilities for escape and the difficulties of recapture increased; and when, at length, the Act was passed which was to trample Northern "prejudices" and Northern law alike under foot, few, if any, slaves, or alleged slaves, were arrested without arousing immediate resistance. It seemed to the careless observer that this was a new thing, because hitherto it had passed without observation. In reality the cases of capture were few, partly because the fugitives now were less willing to take the risk of remaining in the free States, and partly because the dangers and difficulties of recapture were multiplied a thousand-fold.

The law was simply defied, as not being justified either by reason, by right, or by the Constitution. If the terms of the Union enforced the obligation to surrender fugitive slaves, it was demanded that at least the obligation should be shown to be valid in every given case. The law that refused this was considered a breach of the contract, and the obligation being disregarded on one side was held to be no longer binding on the other. Wherever it was possible to appeal to the laws and courts of the State, the appeal was made. The doctrine of State Rights, hitherto maintained only for the protection of slavery, was declared to be at least of equal virtue for the protection of liberty. When the State courts failed to protect the alleged fugitive, he was, if possible, rescued from the hands of the officers of the law and sent to a place of safety. Not many years before, an Anti-slavery gathering anywhere brought together a mob, and he who gave utterance to a word of condemnation of slavery, did so at risk of life and limb. Now a rumor of the seizure of one accused of being a slave, assembled a multitude of the most thoughtful and most worthy in every Northern community, to resent the outrage and insult which, in the person of that outcast, were offered to the North.

Fugitive slave cases.

The most significant enforcements of the law were made in Boston. A slave named Shadrach was taken, by a sudden dash of his friends, from the court room of the Supreme Court of the State, when it was plain that there was no hope of help from the law. In the next case in that city the grip upon the fugitive was firmer. The precaution was taken, in the first place, to arrest Thomas M. Simms on a charge of theft, and then to hold him as a fugitive from slavery. The contempt felt for the superserviceable

zeal of the United States officers, who wanted the manliness to refuse to hold offices to be put to such base uses, was not limited to those who were ready to resist them at every turn.[1] That zeal was never-failing, but at no time was it so active as in that deepest humiliation of Massachusetts, and supreme triumph of slaveholding ascendency — the surrender of Anthony Burns. The attempt to rescue him — in an attack made upon the Court House, in which one man was killed — failed, but the extreme measure, nevertheless, of upholding civil authority by force of arms was resorted to. The militia of Boston were called out, and the Marshal made requisition for all the United States troops in the vicinity, on the day appointed for the surrender of the slave. The events of that day are as memorable as some that occurred in those same streets nearly a hundred years before. At the end of one of the wharves lay a revenue cutter, sent by President Pierce to convey this poor fugitive back to Virginia. The streets were cleared and held by the military; the banks and other places of business on the line of march were closed; flags draped in mourning and at half-mast were hung out in many places; at the appointed hour, Marshal Devens, with his prisoner surrounded by more than a hundred civil officers of Boston, marched out of the Court House in a hollow square formed by United States Marines and a company of United States Artillery. Massachusetts was not yet organized for revolution, to repel invasion, or to suppress insurrection, but in the silent multitude, from Boston Court House to Long Wharf, who watched that spectacle, lay the suppressed fire that blazed into a fierce red flame, when seven years afterward the Massachusetts Sixth marched through Baltimore.

Anthony Burns surrendered.

Nowhere else was there quite the pomp of enforced submission displayed under the law that the slaveholders, and the creatures who lived on the breath of slaveholders, chose should be made in Boston. For Boston — or rather all Massachusetts — still stood where she had stood for a century, at the head of the host that was gathering to join battle again when the time should come, for freemen and a free government. But the spirit that animated her broke out in many places. Elsewhere as there, when the appeal to law failed, force was resorted to and fugitives were rescued. Arms were put into their hands, and

[1] "How much trouble poor Devens makes for himself. I never had any trouble about these niggers. And I was very careful. Whenever they came to me and said they were looking for a nigger, I would go myself and hunt for him. I would go over to 'Nigger Hill' [a district in Boston] at once, and say, 'Boys, have any of you seen such a man? If you see him bring him to my office.' Many 's the time I 've gone to look for 'em. But I never found one." Such was the shrewd, amusing, and contemptuous commentary of a Democratic ex-Marshal, on the slave-hunting zeal of Marshal Charles Devens.

they were told to use them. Now and then lives were lost on both sides; arrests were made and sometimes punishments were inflicted for resistance to the law. In some States the use of prisons and the services of State officers in the arrest of fugitives were forbidden by



Rendition of Anthony Burns.

State legislation. Even some of the Southern statesmen were wise enough to see that they had committed an enormous blunder.

But the South was fighting in her own cause. Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster were looked upon as traitors to the cause of the North, and it was neither forgotten nor forgiven. Otherwise, in the administration of national affairs of less moment, the President won some credit. It was under that administration that postage was further reduced, that the Agricultural Bureau

Fillmore's Administration.

was established, that the first steps toward a Pacific Railroad were taken, and the great enlargement of the Capitol was begun. He sent out Commodore Perry to Japan, on a mission which was the first of the measures that have opened Japan to the world. Had it not been for the black cloud of the slavery question which would not be dissipated, Mr. Fillmore had a fair chance for the honor which he certainly coveted, of being elected directly to the Presidency. But that cloud grew blacker and blacker. The men in public life, or eager in the management of parties, tried to persuade themselves that the "Compromises" had ended the discussion. They had only brought it to the beginning of the end.

Presidential nominations.

Before the thirty-first Congress adjourned, forty-three members, of whom ten were from free States, published a compact in which they pledged themselves not to support for President, or Vice-president, for Congress or any State Legislature, any man not opposed to the renewal of the agitation of slavery. Mr. Clay and Mr. Cobb, as leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties, headed the subscription. The record of the Democratic party was sufficiently clear in these matters. The division in the State of New York, which had given her vote to President Taylor and had elected him, was now healed. The "Free Democracy" of that State acted again in sympathy with the party throughout the country.

Democratic Convention.

Each party held its Convention for the nomination of a candidate at Baltimore. That of the Democrats met first, on the 1st of June, 1852. The prominent candidates were James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Lewis Cass of Michigan, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and William L. Marcy of New York. On the first ballot Mr. Buchanan had the largest number of votes, one hundred and sixteen. But this was not enough for his nomination. A protracted series of ballotings followed, which ended with the forty-ninth, when General Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire received all the votes but six. Such distinction as he had, he had earned in the command of the New Hampshire volunteers in the Mexican war; but his name was wholly unknown to the country when he was nominated. In his letter of acceptance he said that no word or act of his life was in conflict with the principles of the resolutions of the Convention. He was adopted as a candidate, on the principle, by this time familiar to the statesmen of the South who controlled these conventions, of choosing "a Northern man with Southern principles." One of the earliest acts of his administration — the rendition of Burns — showed that here, at least, they had made no mistake.

The Whig Convention met on the 16th of June. At the opening of the session of Congress, six months before, it had seemed as if Mr.

Fillmore might be adopted as the candidate of the party, and it was also certain that the friends of Mr. Webster, his Secretary of State, would support him. The Whig party, as a party of voters, could not be confidently counted on, as the Democratic party could, to sustain the Compromise Measures. It was certain that a nomination strictly committed to those measures would lose votes in the canvass in the Northern States. Still the Convention adopted the measures in a resolution which said, "We will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party, and the integrity of the Union." This resolution was adopted by a vote of two hundred and twenty-seven to seventy-six. When the ballot for candidates came, Mr. Fillmore and General Scott had nearly equal numbers, and Mr. Webster twenty-nine, enough to prevent either of the others from receiving a majority. Nor did this state of the vote change materially till the fifty-ninth ballot, when General Scott received a majority, one hundred and fifty-nine votes. William A. Graham of North Carolina, a member of Mr. Fillmore's Cabinet, was made candidate for Vice-president. The hope of the supporters of General Scott was, that his military reputation would rally strength for him, which neither of the recognized chiefs of the party could command.

Whig Convention.

The third Convention, called by those men who were wholly dissatisfied with the Compromises, and who saw that the slavery question was the only question of vital import in the politics of the nation, was held at Pittsburg, on the 11th of August. They had lost the strength which the breach in the Democratic party of New York gave them four years before. On the other hand, they had the additional power given them by the indignation through the North aroused by the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law. In their proclamation of principles they declared slavery to be a "sin against God and a crime against man;" they denounced the Fugitive Slave Act as a violation of the Constitution, and of the common law, hostile to the spirit of Christianity and in opposition to the sentiments of the civilized world. They declared the Whig and Democratic parties both hopelessly corrupt and unworthy of confidence.

Free-Soil Convention.

The resolutions were drawn by Mr. Giddings, who had been once virtually expelled from Congress for maintaining these principles which the Abolitionists had laid down as the foundations of their societies twenty years before. Even these resolutions were criticised in the Convention as not sufficiently thorough for the exigency, but they were accepted as its proclamation to the people. The Convention named for the candidate for President John Parker Hale of New Hampshire, who had left the Democratic party on the admission of Texas; for Vice-president, George W. Julian of Indiana.

This election is of historical interest, as the first and the last in which the two great parties presented to the country as candidates men who were not very highly esteemed even by the persons who nominated them. On both sides, the leading statesmen of the parties were set aside, for the nomination of men who were called "available" in the language of party. The result of the election showed that the ingeniously contrived Compromises, joined with the adjustment of the dissensions of the New York Democrats, had really had some effect in diminishing the vote given at the North for the candidates of "Free Soil," or the Free Democracy. In neither election had the "third party" expected to choose a single Presidential Elector. But in 1848, they gave 291,263 votes for Martin Van Buren; and in 1852 they gave only 156,149 votes for John P. Hale. Their principal loss was in the State of New York, where the Democratic party united in supporting General Pierce, and the vote of the Free Democrats was therefore reduced by nearly one hundred thousand. General Pierce gained, in the popular vote, nearly four hundred thousand on the vote given for General Cass, four years before. General Scott gained only twenty-six thousand on the vote given for General Taylor. In the electoral vote, the defeat of General Scott was overwhelming. He had only forty-two electoral votes, those of Massachusetts and Vermont in the East, with those of Kentucky and Tennessee in the West. Twenty-seven other States, giving an electoral vote of two hundred and fifty-four, pronounced in favor of General Pierce. Never was a more complete victory. The Democrats who had supported the Compromise Measures were thus tri-



Franklin Pierce.

Election of Pierce.

umphantly sustained. The Whig leaders who had supported them, had the mortification of destroying their party, without other advantage for the general welfare than such as could be hoped for from an administration committed to extreme pro-slavery measures.

At the end of Pierce's administration, it was said that he came into office with very little opposition, and went out without any. The language abridges into an epigram the history of four fatal years. It was not, however, the first time that an immense popular success has proved fatal to a man or to a party. In his first message he spoke with a certain doubt of his own power, which only foreshadowed too well a fatal weakness by which, apparently with no will of his own, he became the tool of different managers, and in consequence of which his party was reduced to a minority among the people, and, in a quarter of a century, it has never recovered the ascendency. In the inevitable conflict of which his administration makes an important part, it happened that its failure belongs to a part of the history of slavery. But the weakness of the man was such that it is impossible that even in the happiest time he could have directed large measures with any success.

His course foreshadowed.

In his inaugural address he used the strongest language with regard to the Compromise measures and the question of slavery. "I fervently hope," he said, "that the question is at rest, and that no sectional or ambitious or fanatical excitement may again threaten the duration of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity." At the end of the same year, in his message he spoke of the repose which had followed the Compromises, and said, "that this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured." Only six weeks after, on the 4th of January, Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, one of the unsuccessful competitors for the nomination in the Democratic Convention, introduced in the Senate a bill for opening the territory of Nebraska to settlement. Before this time all territory west of Iowa and Missouri had been closed against emigrants, that is, it was impossible for them to secure their farms if they should settle. By the word "Nebraska," in this bill, was meant all the territory north of the line of Texas and west of the States named, as far as the Rocky Mountains. On the 16th of January, Mr. Dixon, of Kentucky, moved that in the territory thus opened the Missouri Compromise should not apply, and on the 23d, Mr. Douglas introduced a second bill including that provision. These two gentlemen thus reopened the slavery discussion which the President six weeks before had spoken of as closed forever.

Douglas's Nebraska Bill.

It is difficult for another generation to understand how entirely the Missouri Compromise, born in excitement and rejected at first by the most steadfast Northern feeling, had come to be regarded throughout the Northern States as virtually belonging to an unwritten Constitution. At the East, "Mason and Dixon's line" between Pennsylvania and Maryland, had been spoken of for a generation as the line between freedom and slavery. At the West, the parallel of 36° 30′, fixed upon in 1820, was regarded as making the same separation. Men even spoke as if a certain eternal line of climate were represented by this imaginary parallel, so that it parted countries in which slave labor could be productive from countries in which slave labor would be impossible. Even the school-books which children read fostered this sentiment without intending it, and among things settled, which conservative people were determined not to unsettle, nothing can be named more fixed than this dividing line. To overleap this boundary now and remove all barriers to the extension of slavery, was the determination of the South, or presently became so.

When on the 4th of January, Mr. Douglas, from the Committee on Territories, reported a bill for the organization of Nebraska, the report questioned the original validity of the Missouri Compromise, and declared that the new Compromise of 1850 left all question of slavery to the decision of the people residing in any given territory. This is the doctrine which in the discussions of the next six years was called "Squatter Sovereignty," a phrase originally given to it by General Cass. As announced by Mr. Douglas, it may be considered an illustration of his interest in the new settlers of the West, and his determination to stand by their rights. But it was impossible to say that any abrogation of the Compromise of 1820 had been contemplated by the men who united in the Compromise Measures of 1850. The text of these measures admitted of no such construction, and a careful examination of the debates of the session in which they were passed, actually showed that no allusion to the Missouri Compromise was made, or any proposal to overthrow it. In all the discussions South or North upon the subject, it had seemed to be taken for granted that the Compromise of 1820 was eternal, or, as has been said, that it was now an unwritten article of the Constitution. It afterwards appeared, that in the summer following Pierce's election, a warm discussion had sprung up in the western counties of Missouri among persons who wished to take up the rich bottom lands of what is now Kansas and cultivate them as slave territory; that in that discussion it had been held that the Missouri Compromise was no longer binding.[1] In fact, the Missouri

Proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

[1] A pamphlet by "Lynæus" avowed this view, and is now one of the curiosities of American history.

Compromise had been disregarded when the State of Missouri, with the consent of Congress, had added to her territory that triangle in the northwestern part of it which was known as the Platt Purchase. It is probable that the wishes of these Missouri speculators were reflected in Mr. Douglas's proposal. Mr. Douglas, also, though he was a man of large Northern popularity, probably was not exempt from that eager desire to secure popularity at the South which governed so many of the statesmen of the hour. He was in the position of chairman of the Committee on Territories, so that he was obliged to take ground on the one side or the other. He always insisted that the clause which he introduced was neither a pro-slavery clause nor an anti-slavery clause, — that it simply left the institutions of the Territory to the decision of those who were to reside upon its soil.



Stephen A. Douglas.

Whatever Mr. Douglas meant or did not mean, whatever the Southern statesmen who applauded his fatal provision meant or did not mean, the proposed abrogation of the compromise line of 1820 was received throughout the Northern States as a proposal to change by Act of Congress an article of the Constitution would have been received. It was plain that the South, having obtained every advantage it could claim under the Missouri Compromise, in the admission of the States of Florida, Arkansas, and Missouri as slave-holding States, now chose to throw away that agreement, when for the first time any advantage was to come to the North. It was felt throughout the Northern States that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an "uncalled for and unnecessary act, even a violation of plighted faith." These are the words of Mr. Kenneth Raynor of North Carolina, in an address made the next year.

The original bill proposed the creation of a Territory to be known as Nebraska. An early amendment separated the region by the line which still parts Kansas from Nebraska. But the name first chosen still attached to the bill, and the debate was generally called the "Nebraska debate." After a week or two of silent surprise, the whole North showed its indignation at the destruction of the Missouri Compromise. This indignation, if nothing else, united the Southern

Senators and Representatives in its favor, and the Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed into a law on the 30th of May, after the most excited discussion in both Houses. In that vote, as it has proved, was the last step of that Southern domination which had controlled the country since the election of Jefferson. Many Northern Whigs and Democrats, who had felt bound in honor to support the Compromises, now felt themselves released from that obligation. From this moment there was no longer any reason which could be urged on men of honor for their support. If the South would not hold to these measures except when it suited her, why should the North be bound by them? But it happened, the proposal for "Squatter Sovereignty" started a larger emigration than that of a few partisans from the western counties of Missouri. All the Northwest was eager to furnish "Squatters." The discussion had roused the country, and especially that part of it which furnishes emigrants for new States. Slaveholders with slaves do not care to take them into doubtful regions. Men without slaves can move far more quickly. In the northwestern States, men who had thus far opposed the Southern policy by their votes alone, saw that now they had the opportunity to oppose it more directly.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed.

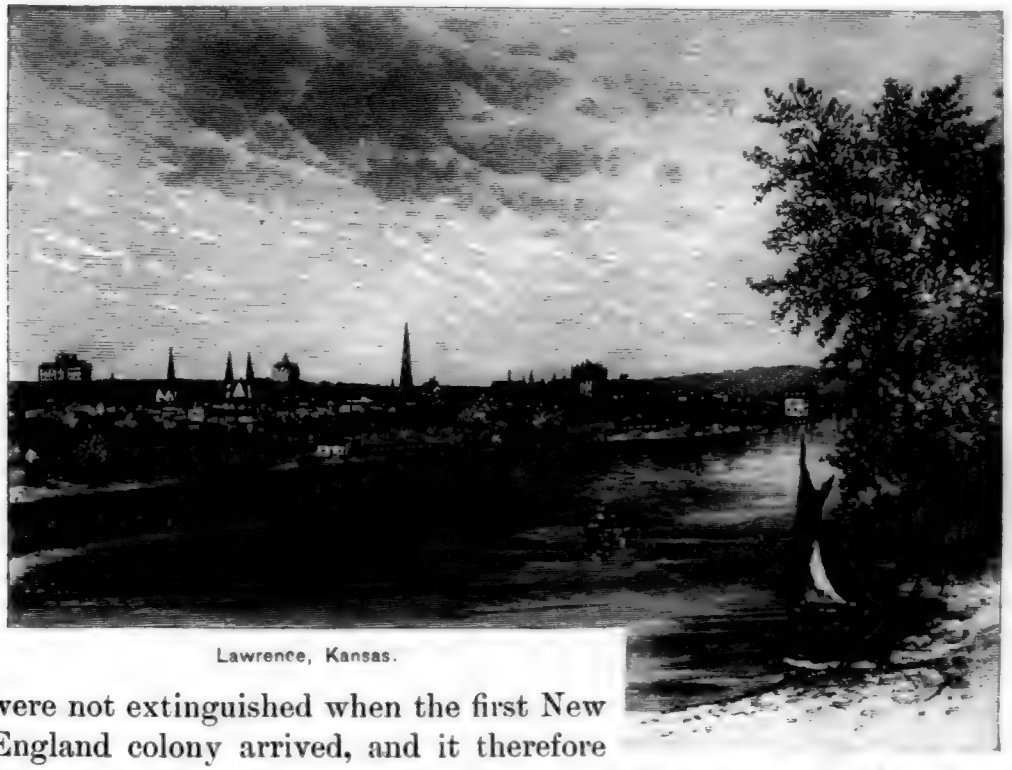
In the Eastern States, Eli Thayer conceived an organization of the emigration of the year, with the view of directing it to Kansas. On the 20th of April, before the Nebraska Act passed Congress, he and his friends were incorporated as the "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company." They were permitted to hold a capital of five million dollars. A ready exaggeration, made in a hostile interest, announced that they had this capital. In fact, that company had not collected twenty thousand dollars, when the year closed. But the fame of its wealth answered the purpose as well as the possession. Undecided men were willing to throw in their chances, where an organization, supposed to be so strong, led the way. The glove thrown down too hastily, in a challenge to the Northern emigrant, was taken up on the instant. On the last days of July, as soon as the Territory was open to settlement, the pioneer party of the Emigrant Aid Company took up claims at the point now known as Lawrence. Before winter, this company had sent from New England five hundred emigrants. From other free States had poured in enough more to make a population of eight thousand. These pioneers had experienced some difficulty in passing through Missouri. The men on the borders of that State — the "border ruffians" as they soon and most appropriately came to be called — had undertaken the task, which soon proved hopeless, of damming the tide. A winter unexpectedly open favored the settlement. On the other

Eastern emigration to Kansas.

hand, no man had dared take into the Territory property so valuable as slaves then were, with the slave's propensity to leave his home. The great contest, the moment it was reduced to rivalry in settling a new region, was evidently an unequal one.

Side by side with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in Congress, treaties had been quietly made in Washington with the half-civilized Indian tribes, already in possession, under which they gave up their lands for settlement. But the Indian titles

Settlement of Lawrence.



Lawrence, Kansas.

were not extinguished when the first New England colony arrived, and it therefore planted itself at Lawrence, the first available point as yet free from Indian claims. Meetings of men in the slave interest were held in Missouri, in which they pledged themselves to remove any and all emigrants who should go to Kansas under the auspices of the Emigrant Aid Societies. President Pierce appointed A. H. Reeder, of Pennsylvania, Governor of the Territory, and he arrived in October. From all regions of the Northwest settlers poured in, and met with occasional outrages on the Missouri line, sometimes involving loss of life.

Appointment of Reeder as Governor.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KANSAS STRUGGLE. — BUCHANAN.

THE FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS IN KANSAS. — THE TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURES. — THE KANSAS CODE. — BORDER RUFFIANS AIDED FROM SOUTH CAROLINA. — SACK OF LAWRENCE. — JOHN BROWN OF OSSAWATOMIE. — DISPERSION OF THE TOPEKA LEGISLATURE. — ELECTION OF BUCHANAN. — LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION AND THE ENGLISH COMPROMISE. — THE MORMONS. — WALKER'S EXPEDITION. — ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH CABLE. — JOHN BROWN'S INVASION OF VIRGINIA. — HIS CAPTURE AND EXECUTION. — ELECTION OF LINCOLN.

Election of delegate to Congress.

ON the 29th of November, an election was ordered in Kansas, to choose a delegate to Congress. Immediately the border counties of Missouri prepared to send over voters. The Senator in Congress from Missouri, David Atchison, gave this direction in a public speech: "When you reside within one day of the Territory, you can send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions." Such directions were literally complied with. The election day was a day of invasion, and the candidate of the slaveholding interest was chosen, by an enormous majority. Indeed, he received eleven hundred votes more than the number of legal voters in the Territory three months afterward.

Second election appointed.

The census was taken in February. It showed a population of 5,128 men, and 3,373 women; of these 3,469 were minors. A little less than five hundred, as has been said, was the number of emigrants, greatly denounced in Missouri, from New England. Most of the remainder were from the Northwest. Of the whole number, 2,905 had the qualifications for voting. Governor Reeder now appointed a second election, at which the Legislature of the Territory should be chosen. An organized movement was made in Missouri,[1] by which companies of men from that State were sent into every council district of Kansas. Many of the resident voters, in the face of this invasion, refused to sanction at the ballot-box the violence that only condescended to use a legal formality. The result was the fraudulent election of thirteen councillors, and twenty-six members of the lower house, — a portion

Territorial Legislature elected.

[1] See Congressional Report.

of them Missourians — by six thousand three hundred and twenty votes, more than twice the number of legal voters in the Territory, only about half of whom, or exactly thirteen hundred and ten, went to the ballot-box. If history repeats, so it often reverses itself. In this preliminary outbreak of the slaveholders' conspiracy against civilization and republican government the resort was to a fraudulent ballot before the seizure of the bayonet; in the next stage, — the rebellion of 1860, — armed insurrection came first, and that failing, fraudulent voting is relied upon to subvert the government.

But the Legislature thus chosen, the first result of "Squatter Sovereignty," was recognized at Washington. Its first act was to eject the single free-soil councillor who was returned, whereupon the only member of the party in the House resigned. The next step was to quarrel with the Governor, Reeder, who they soon found was not to be counted on to support these outrages. They had met at Pawnee, a hundred miles from Missouri, but adjourned to the Shawnee Mission, which was nearer to their base of operations. Reeder declared them dissolved by this adjournment; but they proceeded to act. A code of laws, of a thousand pages, was passed by copying the Missouri Statute Book, and changing the word "State" to "Territory." They provided that every officer in the Territory for the next two years should be appointed by themselves, and of course these officers were selected from their own body. They recognized slavery in the most stringent legislation, and decreed the punishment of death for decoying slaves from their masters.

Its proceedings.

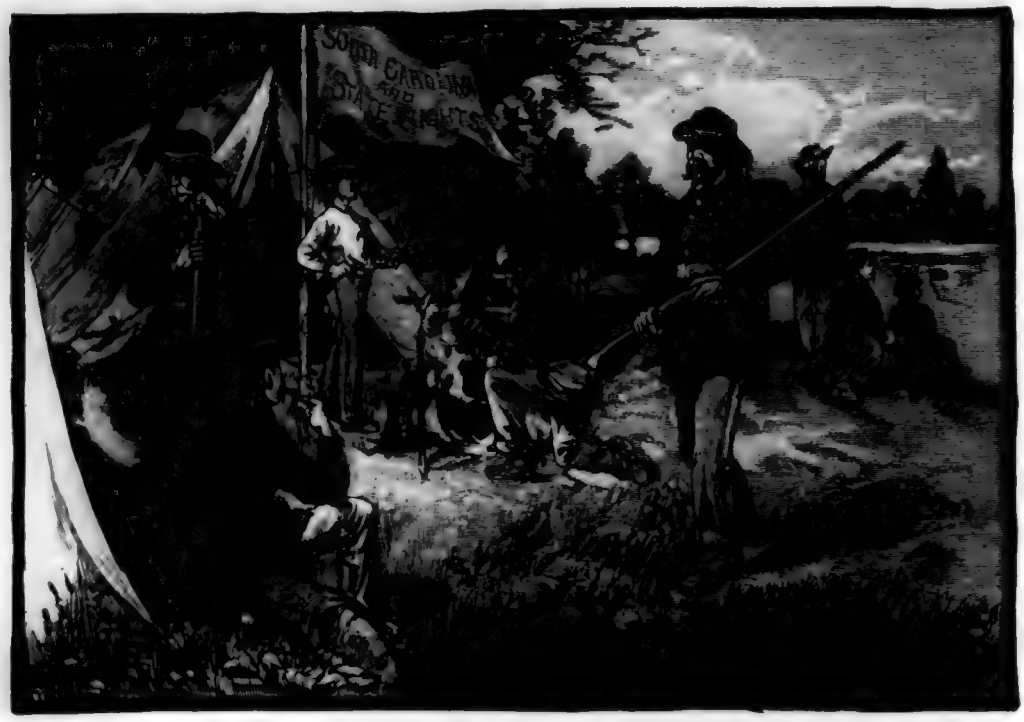
Governor Reeder, indignant at this absurd parody on legislation, reported his views at Washington. But the President did not wish any half-way interpretation of his compacts with the South, and at once removed Reeder, to appoint Wilson Shannon, a man of a different stamp. Meanwhile the people of the Territory, in frequent meetings, disclaimed the whole of the legislation of the usurping body, and a convention was called, to be held at Topeka in September, specially to form a State Constitution, and to ask admission as a State into the Union. Reeder, whose upright course had commended him to the Free-State party, was elected as their delegate to Congress, on a different day, however, from that appointed by the Shawnee Mission Legislature. On that appointed day the slavery party chose John W. Whitfield.

Shannon supersedes Reeder.

The two conventions of the Free-State party were held at Topeka, one preliminary, one to make a State Constitution. The second Convention prepared a draft of a Constitution, which was accepted by their constituents. The issue was thus joined between the two parties, — the "border-ruffians" and the "Abolitionists," as they designated each other on the spot.

Civil war in Kansas.

Between these parties a protracted civil war followed, provoked by outrages upon the actual settlers, leading inevitably, not merely to defence but to retaliation. Governor Shannon called out the militia, ostensibly to keep the peace; but his call was answered by numerous volunteers from Missouri, for his sympathies were well understood. The town of Lawrence was threatened in the later months of 1855, but escaped destruction for the time by the readiness of its leading citizens to go into arrest and test in the courts the charges of their accusers. With the spring of 1856, however, a military company from South Carolina under



South Carolina Troops in Missouri.

Major Buford arrived, pledged to war. They bore a red flag with the motto, "South Carolina and State Rights." This year the attack on Lawrence was renewed, under the direct authority of the Government at Washington. It was the policy of the Free-State men never to resist this authority, while they never submitted to border outrage. The Free-State Hotel and the dwelling of Governor Robinson, the Governor under the Topeka Constitution, were burned and the town was sacked. In the mutual attacks of these months many lives were lost on both sides, and the animosity on both sides became, if possible, more and more bitter. The whole influence and power of the Administration at Washington was thrown against the Free-State party, and the United States troops at Leavenworth were often used by Shannon to carry out his purposes, direct

Sacking of Lawrence.

or indirect, to assist the invaders from the slave States. The grand jury called by the Territorial authorities found indictments for high treason against Robinson and others of the Free-State leaders, and Robinson was kept for four months under arrest. The Free-State Legislature met, and were dispersed by the United States forces, to which, as always, they deferred.

Governor Shannon at length either resigned or was displaced by President Pierce for failing to bring the Free-State party to terms, and John W. Geary was appointed in his place. Atchison, of Missouri, led another army into the Territory. A detachment of his force destroyed the village of Ossawatomie, then the home of John Brown, who was, however, absent in pursuit of a party of the "border-ruffians," who held as prisoners two of his sons and kept them in chains. Another son of his had been some time before inhumanly murdered. So soon as the Free-State forces approached, Atchison led back his men into Missouri. Geary, on arrival, called on both parties to disarm, but was met by a new invasion from Missouri. A murder having taken place almost in his own presence, he arrested the murderer, and at once lost favor in the eyes of the slavery party.

Geary appointed Governor.



John Brown's Log House.

He reported at length to the President that "peace and order" were established. With the beginning of 1857 the Topeka Legislature met; but the United States Marshal immediately arrested the prominent members, and left both Houses without a quorum. The Territorial Legislature also met at Lecompton and provided on their part for a State Constitution. Meanwhile, on a report from a committee, the National House of Representatives had declared void all the Territorial enactments; but the bill did not pass the Senate. At the same time Governor Geary resigned, disgusted with the failure of President Pierce to support him, and

Legislature at Topeka broken up.

Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, was named in his stead. Walker, however, was also deposed, for no reason but the simplest adherence to good faith with the settlers, and J. W. Denver became Territorial Governor. The Free-State men refused to vote for the Lecompton Constitution; and so completely did it lack popular support that when again submitted ten thousand votes were given against it; and when Congress renewed the experiment the same result was gained. Governor Denver resigned in turn,

Adverse votes on Lecompton Constitution.



Border Ruffians invading Kansas.

and Samuel Medary was appointed in his place. The bitter struggle — the real opening of the war of the Rebellion which followed — soon came to an end. The attempt to force a pro-slavery Constitution was given up. Franklin Pierce, the weak creature who filled the chair of the President during the most of these outrages, had retired to his original obscurity. A Constitution which repudiated slavery in Kansas was made and ratified in 1859, and Charles Robinson was the first Governor chosen. But it was not until the slave States had gone out of the Union that Kansas was permitted to come in.

Such are the external turning-points only of a history of bloodshed and terror, then wholly new in the annals of the United States. Every step in it was marked with intense interest. The vacillations of President Pierce, as it went on, were pitiable. One day he announced that he had no power to preserve the peace; another day he employed the army; another day he left the military commander to take the responsibility of his action. Two days after the destruction of Lawrence, when that atrocity was not known in Washington, an agent who had travelled night and day from that town to explain to him the state of affairs, called upon the President in Washington. He was distressed by the intelligence, and shed tears — possibly maudlin tears — in expression of his sorrow. He drew a despatch which he sent to Governor Shannon at once, bidding him dismiss the "militia" so called, and rely only on the regular forces. This, he declared, had been his intention from the beginning; but when the different parties, eager to justify themselves, produced their several orders, it proved that Governor Shannon had been directed not to employ the regular army unless he found the "militia" insufficient. Such a scene is a fit illustration of the vacillation of a man unfortunately intrusted with power, who may not have been absolutely bad, but who was so weak and so destitute of a political conscience that he was a mere tool in the hands of the stronger men about him.

Weakness of the President.

As early as the moment when the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise was proposed, a committee of Free Democrats, led by Mr. Vinton of New York, had waited on the President to ask him the disposition of the Administration. The President said in reply that he had certainly calculated on the support of the "softs,"[1] as these men were familiarly called, for he had shown them at least equal consideration in the distribution of patronage. This remark on a question which involved the most serious moral principles, is characteristic of the man. In an interview with Mr. Marcy, on the same day, the committee learned that Mr. Douglas and some Southern gentlemen had had two long discussions with the President. They had at last compelled him to assent to their views, and he had himself put in writing the passage which related to the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. This was the fulfilment of his promise, that the country's repose on the slavery question should "suffer no shock during my official term if I have power to prevent it." The interview between this committee and the President may be compared to the celebrated

[1] The Democratic party of New York was divided into two factions, respectively called the "Hard Shells" and the "Soft Shells." The former were in alliance with the slavery propagandists of the South.

interview between the young Democrats of 1811 and Mr. Madison, when they compelled him to assent to war with England. As always in such cases, the aggressors were able to threaten their victim with the loss of a second term of his office. When the President yielded he falsified every statement he had made up to this period, and, of course, lost the prize which he had coveted. From this moment the Democratic party was again divided. All persons, indeed, who were determined that slavery should never be extended beyond its existing limits, all persons who wished that the new Territories should be forever free, could now act together untrammelled by real or supposed obligations of honor.

The Know-nothing Party.

At this period appeared a new combination in the politics of the country, of which the full history has never yet been written, and, from its very nature, perhaps never will be. A secret society had been formed in the city of New York in the year 1853, with the purpose of checking foreign influence, especially the influence of the Pope, purifying the ballot, and maintaining the use of the Bible in public schools. Whether these were or were not the only objects of the founders, they have never yet told the world. But these objects alone were such as could be readily made acceptable to most of the rank and file of the native voters of either party, and with the fascination which attends well-organized secret movements would of themselves secure for it a large support. The organization called itself the American Party, but was popularly named the "Know-nothings," one of the habits of its members, under their mutual agreement, being to say to unlicensed inquirers that they knew nothing of its secret proceedings.

The organization was increasing in numbers when the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, in 1854, completely dissolved all old party ties at the North. Men of all shades of opinion, thus set free from old companionships, were glad to use the new machinery. Among these men at the North were some of the more intelligent of the anti-slavery politicians, who thought that here was the opportunity which they had sought in vain before for a national organization friendly to their plans. At the South a considerable number of men who distrusted the extreme measures of the "fire-eaters" joined them, in hope that this organization might be used for the maintenance of the Union. And as always happens in such cases, a large number of discontented men of all views or of no views, who thought they had not been sufficiently considered, offered themselves as leaders in its councils.

So rapid was the enrolment of members, that more than a million and a half of voters had accepted its pledges before the year 1855. In

the elections of the autumn of 1854, they carried the vote of many of the Northern States, and in all well-nigh paralyzed the efforts of the old organizations. The indignation of the North at the overthrow of the Missouri Compromise, and the power of this "American" organization, resulted in the defeat of the Democratic party through the Northern States. The Whig party was broken in pieces. The elections of that year indicated to the President and those who had advised him, that, whatever else was uncertain, it was certain that they had lost the support of the Northern constituencies.

The new organization of the "Americans" was, however, no better able than the old parties to hold together those who wished and those who did not wish to extend slavery. Kenneth Raynor, of North Carolina, had suggested establishing in it a "third or Union degree," by which its members pledged themselves, in what is described as a very serious and impressive ceremonial, "to maintain the Union of the States, against any and all assaults." Before six months had passed, more than a million and a half men, North and South, had taken this pledge. But, after all, the pledge meant, for the most conscientious, the Union as they understood it; for those less conscientious, as events have proved, it seems to have meant nothing.

Pledged to sustain the Union.

The frequent alliances between the "American" party and the Free-Soilers at the North, did not escape attention at the South. So far as anti-slavery men were directing the "American" councils, the friends of slavery at the South saw the direction given. The result of such observation showed itself in Virginia in the spring elections of 1855. Henry A. Wise, one of the most notorious and insolent of the Virginian leaders, had been counted, in earlier times, as one of the most influential men among the Whigs. He now led the Democratic party of Virginia in a triumphant canvass, the result of which entirely overthrew the new organization there. The hopes of its leaders to become a national party were rudely blighted by this defeat.

Alliances with Free-Soilers.

Defeated in Virginia.

Still the "National Council" which represented the organization, was the organ of nearly a million and a half of men who had pledged themselves to support its measures. No President, at this time, had ever received seventeen hundred thousand votes. If the members of the subordinate lodges could be kept united, the National Council could be well-nigh sure of the next President. In that Council almost every State was represented, generally by seven delegates each. The Northern and Southern views at once expressed themselves. The Council proved to be only another Congress, with every element represented in it, which would have been found in the Senate or the

House of Representatives in Washington. Two weeks were spent in the preparation of resolutions; and the majority proved to be in favor of suppressing all discussion of slavery. Of course the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, then fresh in all memories, was discussed. It was then that Kenneth Raynor used the expression which has been already cited. "I have to say," he said, "that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an uncalled for and unnecessary act, an outrage even, a violation of plighted faith; and I would have seen my right arm withered and my tongue palsied before I would have voted for it." He proposed an amendment, declaring that the American party recognized the right of private judgment, of freedom of speech and of the press, on the subject of slavery; that all questions touching its agitation should be ignored and discouraged, but that, should this party "come into power, it would so dispose of that question as to mete out justice to all sections and interests." But this amendment was rejected. The Northern resolutions were also rejected. The Southern resolutions were adopted by a vote of eighty to fifty-nine.

Meeting of its Council.

This was the last act of the National Council in which it could be said to represent the whole country. The Northern delegates met, and agreed to an address to the order, which demanded the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, the admission of Kansas and Nebraska as free States, and the protection by the national Government of actual settlers in the free exercise of the elective franchise. The interference with the elections in Kansas by invasion from Missouri suggested the last demand. For, at this moment, the impression in the wavering fancies of President Pierce, was that he had no right to give such protection.

The majority of the order were thus freed from the embarrassments of anti-slavery alliance, while they lost the support of a large number of their Northern constituents. In the autumnal elections of 1855, the party carried the States of New York, California, and Massachusetts; but the division enabled the Democrats to carry New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Illinois. In all these cases the victory was that of a plurality, not a majority of voters.

Under such lurid skies, the President met the thirty-fourth Congress in December. So complicated were the partisan divisions, that two months passed before the House organized itself by the election of a Speaker. Two years before, after a similar contest, the extreme Southern candidate was chosen. This year, — under the plurality rule, as then, — Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, was chosen, receiving one hundred and three votes, while William Aiken, of South Carolina, received one

N. P. Banks Speaker of the House at Washington.

hundred. Nineteen members were absent, eleven scattering votes were given, and there was one vacancy. Meanwhile the President had brought the affairs of Kansas before Congress by a special message on the 24th of January. The affairs of that Territory, already the scene of civil war, attracted largely the attention of Congress through the session. Even Mr. Douglas, the champion of "Squatters and Squatter Sovereignty," in a report from the Committee on Territories, denounced the action of the "New England Emigrant Aid Company," and the President went so far as to characterize the Eastern settlers in Kansas, as persons "foreign" to its interests. A committee of the House visited the Territory in person. They obtained official records which verified the history, now certain, of the constant armed invasions from Missouri on days of election.



Charles Sumner.

In the course of the discussion in the Senate, Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, delivered on the 19th and 20th of May a speech which, when published, he called "The Crime against Kansas." He was replied to by Senators Cass, Douglas, Mason of Virginia, and Butler of South Carolina, in speeches whose tone is indescribable, except by the slang phrase which distinguishes a certain grade of language and of manners: they "blackguarded" the Senator from Massachusetts in terms to which ordinary decency set no limit. Unfortunately, in his reply, he permitted himself to retaliate in something of the same temper.

Sumner's Speech on Kansas.

A reference to Mr. Butler was the ground of an assault made on Mr. Sumner two days after. The Senate had adjourned. Mr. Sumner remained at his desk writing. Preston S. Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, accompanied by Mr. Keitt, another member from the same State, as an accomplice, approached him and said: "I have read your speech twice over carefully; it is a libel upon South Carolina, and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine." While he spoke, he struck Mr. Sumner over the head with a heavy stick, as he sat confined by the desk at which he was writing, and the blows were continued till he fell stunned,

Assaulted in the Senate.

insensible, and bleeding to the floor. The injuries that he received, seemed to threaten his life at first; and it was, indeed, not till the end of four years, that his medical advisers permitted his return to his active duties. During that period, the State of Massachusetts was not unfitly represented in the Senate by his empty chair.

Action in the Senate.

Mr. Wilson, his colleague, called on the Senate the next day to vindicate its dignity. The temper of the Senate and of the time appears in the fact that the Senate chose a committee of five Democrats to report on the assault. They reported, that as Mr. Brooks was a member of the House, the Senate had no jurisdiction, and should take no action. In a subsequent debate, Mr. Slidell said: "When we heard that some one was beating Mr. Sumner, we heard the remark without any particular emotion. I remained very quietly in my seat. The other gentleman did the same. We did not move." Mr. Douglas said: "My first impulse was to come into the Senate Chamber and help to put an end to the affray, if I could. But it occurred to my mind in an instant, that my relations to Mr. Sumner were such that if I came into the hall, my motives might be misconstrued, and I sat down again." Mr. Toombs said, "I probably said I approved what Mr. Brooks did. That is my opinion."

Senator Wilson challenged by Brooks.

Such were the manifestations of opinion among Senators. Senator Wilson, Mr. Sumner's colleague, was challenged by Brooks for calling the assault "brutal, murderous, and cowardly." Mr. Wilson declined the challenge on the ground that duelling was a part of the barbarism which dictated the attack. When Mr. Burlingame, of Massachusetts, subsequently accepted a challenge from Brooks and proposed to meet him in Canada, Brooks declined, on the ground that the state of Northern feeling was such that he could not safely travel there. It was generally believed that his real reason was a fear of Mr. Burlingame's rifle.

Action of the House.

The House, on a report of its committee, voted to expel Brooks, by a vote of one hundred and twenty-one to ninety-five. For expulsion, under the rules, a vote of two thirds was necessary, so he retained his seat. A vote of censure was adopted by a large majority. In an insolent speech he then resigned his seat His constituents at once returned him, and in two weeks he took the oaths again. Southern statesmen of the first rank were eager in congratulations. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, said, "I know of no representative whose public career I hold more worthy of the full and cordial approbation of his constituents." Jefferson Davis said, "I have only to express my sympathy with the feeling which prompts the sons of Carolina to welcome the return of a brother who has been the sub-

ject of vilification, misrepresentation, and persecution, because he resented a libellous assault upon the representative of their mother." Mr. Buchanan, however, went so far as to say that Mr. Brooks was "inconsiderate." Brooks died within the year. In a eulogy on him in the House Mr. Savage, of Tennessee, said, "History records but one Thermopylæ; there ought to have been another, and that one for Preston S. Brooks. The scene in the Senate Chamber shall carry the name of the deceased to all future generations." History would, indeed, be incomplete without such record of the passions of the time, though the man who at the moment seems a hero to his friends, stands revealed in the future to all men as only a ruffian and a bully of a not uncommon type.

Presidential canvass in 1856.

With such excitements, — with the destruction in Kansas even of the theory of Squatter Sovereignty, — with the approval by the Southern leaders of a murderous assault upon a Northern Senator, — all parties made their preparation for another election of President. The "American" Convention had met in Philadelphia on the 22d of February, the anniversary of Washington's birthday. Mr. Perkins, of Connecticut, after an exciting debate on the issues of the day, said, "There are two great questions before the people: one the reform in the naturalization laws, one the restoration of freedom in Kansas." He proposed that, as the Convention would not consider the latter question, those who thought it a real issue should withdraw, and fifty members withdrew. The remaining members gave Mr. Fillmore one hundred and seventy-nine votes, and he was made their candidate. Andrew Jackson Donelson was made candidate for Vice-president.

The Republican Party.

On the same day a convention was held at Pittsburg to perfect the national organization of what was now called the Republican Party, in which name it was hoped the different elements of opposition to the extension of slavery might be united. This meeting proposed a national convention on the 17th of June, supposed to be an auspicious day in the history of American rebellion, because the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill.

Democratic Convention.

On the 2d of June there met at Cincinnati the Convention of the Democratic party. President Pierce, who had come in with little opposition, was to go out with none. It was no longer a time for unknown men or weak men. Yet, with the power which always belongs to an administration, he was brought forward as a candidate. Mr. Douglas was another. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, was another. Fortunately for him, he had been Minister in England when the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and in that matter his hands were clean. The Convention balloted, without any

nomination, sixteen times, the rules adopted requiring a vote of two thirds. On the sixteenth ballot Mr. Buchanan received one hundred and sixty-eight votes, Mr. Douglas one hundred and twenty-one. There were but six others. On the seventeenth ballot Mr. Buchanan received a unanimous vote and was chosen candidate. John C. Breckinridge was made candidate for Vice president.

Republican Convention.

The Convention of the new Republican party met at Philadelphia on the 17th of June, just after Lawrence was sacked, Mr. Sumner beaten in the Senate Chamber, and Mr. Brooks congratulated on the deed of an assassin. Men of very varied antecedents met there. Here was Preston King, of New York, the life-long friend of Governor Marcy. Here was Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, a relative of the great Senator. Here was Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, fresh from the Senate Chamber where Sumner had been assaulted. Here was Francis P. Blair, the friend of General Jackson. Here was David Wilmot, whose good fortune it was to move the Wilmot Proviso. The Convention, on its first ballot, gave to John Charles Fremont three hundred and fifty-nine votes. Judge McLean, of Ohio, received one hundred and ninety-six. General Fremont was thus made the candidate. William L. Dayton received the majority of votes for Vice-president, though one hundred and ten were given to Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois.

General Fremont.

Fremont was well known to the country, and favorably, as the explorer of the mysterious regions of the West. As early as 1842, a young officer in the army, he had been sent out, at his own request, into the "great American desert" of those days. He had shown rare temper, perseverance, and executive ability, in a series of explorations carried forward by him; he had corrected many grave mistakes in American geography; had opened California to Western emigration; and had, indeed, laid the foundations for the Pacific Railway of after years. For the purposes of the new party organization, it was desirable, not to say necessary, that its candidate should have had no close connection with either political party. It has been a habit of officers in the regular army to keep themselves almost proudly free from any such connection. It was certainly an advantage that Colonel Fremont was the son-in-law of a statesman so

Senator Benton.

distinguished as Colonel Benton, for a generation Senator from Missouri. This Senator, though a slaveholder, and a slaveholder in the District of Columbia, had in many critical moments refused to act with the Fire-eaters, and, in face of the current of public opinion in Missouri, had shown himself the friend of the settlers in Kansas.

The seceders from the American Convention had met in New York

on the 12th of June. They had proposed for the Presidency, the Speaker of the House, Mr. Banks; and for Vice-president, William F. Johnson, of Pennsylvania. These candidates were afterwards withdrawn.

Nominations of the American party.

Three candidates for the Presidency were thus before the people; and for the first time in many years, each represented a real conviction. Each indeed was a man who had given proof of real ability. Mr. Buchanan stood for the South and its policy. Colonel Fremont stood for the non-extension of slavery. Mr. Fillmore stood for the Union of the States, and for that strong conservative feeling which regarded all questions as little, in comparison with this Union. An incident of the autumn, which foreshadowed what was to follow, was a proposal made by Governor Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, for a conference of the Governors of Southern States, to take into consideration the state of the country. The invitation was on the whole kindly received, but there was no meeting except of the Governors of Virginia and the two Carolinas.

Wise calls a Convention of Governors.



James Buchanan.

The election resulted in the choice of Mr. Buchanan, which was due wholly to the division of his antagonists. Of the popular vote he received 1,838,169. Here were more than two hundred thousand votes more than President Pierce had received, so intense was the excitement of the canvass. But he was still in a minority of nearly four hundred thousand. Colonel Fremont had 1,341,000 votes. Mr. Fillmore had 875,000. Of the Electoral votes Mr. Buchanan received one hundred and seventy-four. Colonel Fremont had one hundred and fourteen, and Mr. Fillmore the eight votes of Maryland, — which showed itself true to its mid-way position be-

The election.

tween North and South. Mr. Buchanan owed his election to the vote of Pennsylvania. As the canvass went forward in this State, he had pledged himself to insure to Kansas an honest vote of her own people. With this assurance, Mr. Buchanan obtained a plurality of the vote of Pennsylvania, which proved essential for his election.[1]

But when he came into office, the auspices were all against him. No President, except the second Adams, had ever been chosen by so small a proportion of the popular vote.[2] Of the Northern States, Mr. Buchanan had received the votes of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Indiana. But in two of these he was in a minority. In Pennsylvania, his majority was only one thousand and twenty-five in a vote of four hundred and sixty thousand; and in Indiana it was not two thousand in a vote of nearly two hundred and forty thousand. The days of Northern men with Southern principles were over.

Buchanan as President.

Still Mr. Buchanan was not so weak a man as his forgotten predecessor. He was not a fool, though his political career was by no means free from vacillations and inconsistencies. He probably hoped, in his old age, that with the prestige of the name of President, he could control such spirits as he had in his Cabinet; such men as Howell Cobb, and Floyd, who afterward abused their official position under his eyes, to prepare for war against the nation which they pretended to serve. The President's first message repeated the assurances that the discussion of slavery had come to an end. It was remembered afterward for its attack on the clergy of the country, whom he charged with fomenting the disturbance which had so endangered its institutions. But in that message, he declared himself friendly to the admission of Kansas into the Union with a constitution agreeable to a majority of the settlers. He referred to a decision of the Supreme Court, — soon to be made, — and asked for acquiescence in it, whatever its character. Such a reference, from a President to an undelivered opinion of the Supreme Court, was a novelty. It soon appeared, however, that he had reason for going outside of precedent.

The Dred Scott case.

The decision referred to, of which the new President had had some early intimation, was the decision in the "Dred Scott" case. An action had been begun by Dred Scott, a negro, in the circuit court of Missouri, for his freedom and that of his children. His claim was that he had been removed, in 1834, to Illinois, then a free

[1] The details of this transaction are given in a very curious speech by Mr. J. W. Forney, who obtained the pledge from Buchanan, — read at the Quarter Century celebration of the settlers of Kansas, at Bismarck Grove, September 20, 1880.

[2] Mr. Adams's vote in 1824 was only 29.92 per cent. of the popular vote. In 1844, Mr. Polk's was 49.55 per cent. In 1848, General Taylor's was 47.36 per cent. Mr. Buchanan's was 45.34.

State, by his master, and afterwards taken into territory north of the Compromise line; that in 1838 only had he been taken back into Missouri and sold again to his present master. To this Sanford, his master, replied that Scott was not a citizen of Missouri, and could not bring an action; and also that he and his children were Sanford's slaves. The lower courts had differed, and the case came before the full bench. The case was twice argued with care. When the decision came, for which the new President asked attention and concurrence, it swept the whole ground indeed. The opinion of the Court was prepared by Judge Taney, the Chief Justice. It dismissed the case on Sanford's first reply, namely, that Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri. Black men could not be citizens, the Court said virtually. The opinion went historically back to the origin of the Constitution. Referring even to the words of the Declaration of Independence, that all *men* are equal, the Court said it was plain that its authors did not embrace the negro race, which, by common consent, had been excluded from the civilized governments, in the family of nations, and devoted to slavery. In the Constitution, the Court said, the idea could not be entertained that negroes were citizens, "as the only two provisions which point to them and include them, treat them as property."

With this statement the case itself ended. The Chief Justice, availing himself of the fact that the plaintiff rested his plea for freedom on the ground that his owner had taken him into territory made free by the Missouri Compromise, went beyond the record to declare the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional. From the decision Judge McLean and Judge Curtis dissented; but it was in itself sufficient, as Mr. Benton said, to make a new departure in the working of the Federal Government. It made slavery the organic law of the land. "No longer the exception with freedom the rule; but slavery the rule, with freedom the exception." Such a decision moved the heart of the whole North, and showed to the most conservative that the whole line of argument and of action was forever changed.

The new Congress met in December, 1857. The Democrats were able to choose their own Speaker, the division between the American and the Republican parties giving a House in which the Democrats had one hundred and twenty-eight votes, the Republicans ninety-two, and the Americans fourteen.

Commercial disasters of 1857.

To the difficulties of a minority in the popular vote, and a general distrust through the North, were now added those of a great commercial revulsion. One of those ebb-tides of trade for which no man has yet fully accounted, and which have been referred by bold physicists even to changes in the heavenly bodies,

swept over the world. Such crises always follow periods of great commercial activity and supposed prosperity. In this case the immense treasure drawn from the mines of California had greatly enlarged the banking operations of the country. The great railroad system, which secured for the agricultural States the markets of the world, was developed with rapidity that would have once seemed fabulous. New institutions of credit, on a scale gigantic to the enterprise of earlier times, were established in the larger cities. It was the failure of one of these — the "Ohio Life and Trust Company" — which precipitated the fatal discovery. The world of commerce found how large was the "inflation" and how hollow the promise, on which this great prosperity had been reared. The civilized world felt the shock, and commerce did not recover from it for many years. The Treasury of the United States was emptied in the crash, and the new Government was not even able to pay its officers.

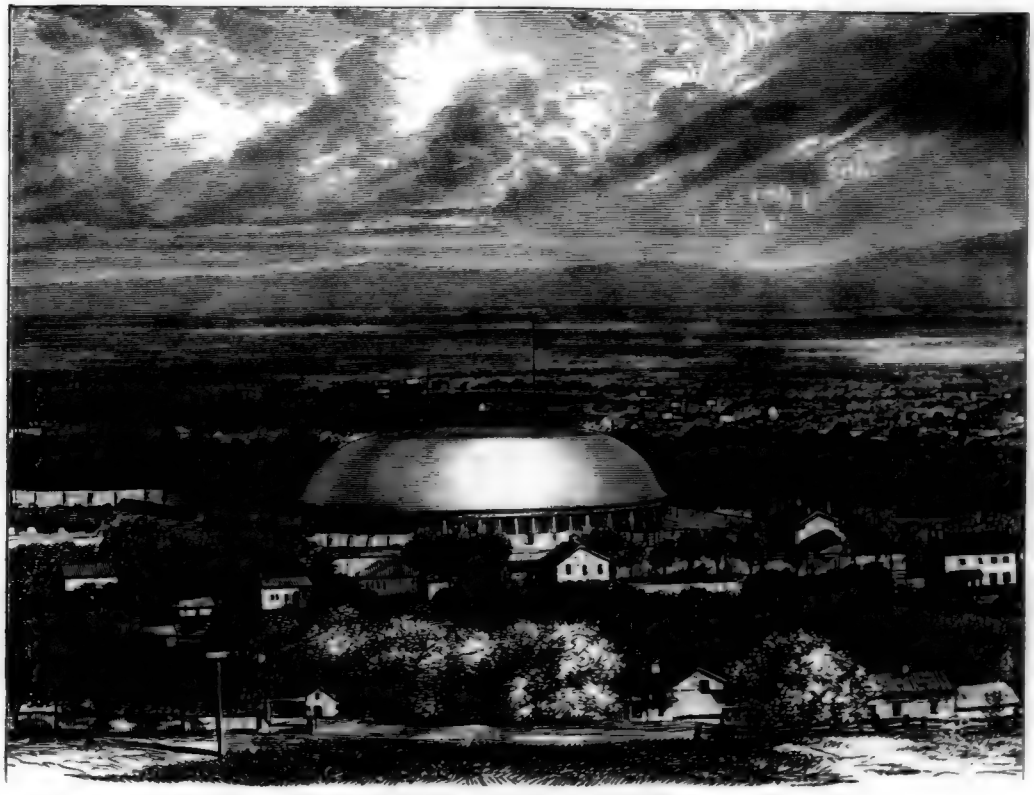
The vote on the Lecompton Constitution in Kansas was the test of that pledge of a "fair election" which Buchanan had given to the Pennsylvania Democrats. He said that now the question was a mere point of honor, which the North could afford to yield; that all men knew that Kansas would be free; that, so soon as admitted, the State could change its Constitution, and the South could not then complain that her rights had been abandoned. In this declaration he broke faith with a large portion of the party which had till now sustained him. In the Senate a bill was passed to admit Kansas under this Constitution. But the old Democratic majority could no longer be relied upon. Bell, Broderick, and Stuart, and, most fatal sign of all, Douglas, voted for a substitute offered by Mr. Crittenden, but not adopted: that the Constitution should be submitted to the people of Kansas, who, should they reject this, would be authorized to take the preliminary steps for the formation of another. In the House the substitute was again presented by a Democrat, Montgomery, of Pennsylvania, and adopted, and the two Houses disagreeing, a committee of conference was appointed which drew up a compromising bill, Seward of the Senate and Howard of the House dissenting. From the name of its author, this plan was called the "English Compromise." It proposed a submission to the people, but only on the hard conditions that, if they refused, they should lose their allotments for education and for internal improvements, and should not be admitted until their population numbered ninety-three thousand three hundred and fifty inhabitants, the quota at that time for one Representative. This "compromise" passed. The Constitution was sent to Kansas, and, as has been seen, the people absolutely rejected it. The vote was 1,788 in its favor and 11,300 against it.

Buchanan's faithlessness.

Admission of Kansas proposed.

The "English Compromise."

In the autumn of 1857, the defiant resolution of the Mormons in Utah compelled the President to remove their Governor, Brigham Young, and appoint Alfred Cuming, an officer of the army, his successor. Young was the "prophet," so called, the immediate successor of the founder of the Mormon Church. As the tide of emigration rolled westward, the colony of this remarkable people had become of national importance, with vitality enough in their faith to gather together a church of from thirty to forty thousand people, and, as the Church was the State, with strength enough to defy the Federal Government. Driven first from Missouri to Illinois, in 1838, The Mormons.

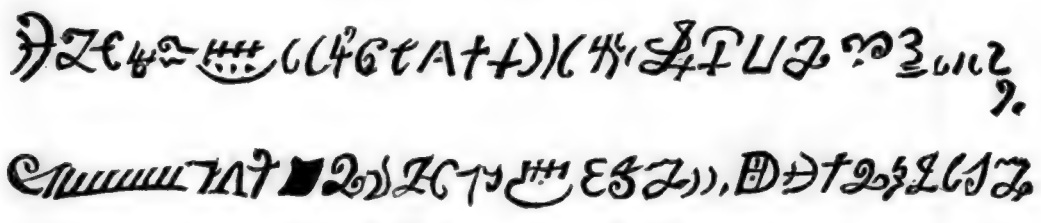


Salt Lake City.

and thence, ten years afterward, into the wilderness, they sought a resting-place and refuge in what was then called "The Great American Desert," and pitched their tents and built their tabernacle on the shores of Salt Lake. Their government was, and is, a hierarchy; their faith was founded on the pretended discovery of a new revelation written on golden plates that had lain buried for centuries in a hill at Manchester, New York, and were dug up by Joseph Smith; on this, in after years, the lecherous temper of their chief saints had imposed the system of polygamy as a later revelation to Smith; and it is hard to say which is the greater marvel — that there should be credulity and ignorance enough among the civilized peoples of the nine-

teenth century for the formation of such a sect, or that an enlightened government should have so long tolerated organized immorality under the guise of a religion. "The twin relic of barbarism," as it was called by Owen Lovejoy, could not, like slavery, seek protection under the sheltering compromises of the Constitution.

With an army of only three hundred, the new Governor was sent to his destination. The Mormon prophet forbade his entrance into the city, and it was only by a mortifying submission that this force was allowed to remain unmolested, in its encampment. With the next summer the army was reënforced, the Mormons yielded; and since that time, the national Government has appointed a "Gentile," so called, to the government of the Territory.



Fac-simile of Characters of the Mormon Plates.

William Walker's Expedition.

President Pierce had permitted the departure from the country of an adventurer named William Walker, who attempted to make himself master of Nicaragua, with a force of four hundred men. He had even held some communication with an envoy of Walker's. Once and again Walker had been forced to return. But on the 24th of November, 1857, he landed at Greytown again, in sight of a vessel of the United States navy. Commodore Paulding arrested him and sent him back for trial. The jury, however, when he was tried at New Orleans, failed to agree.

Atlantic Telegraph.

In the summer of this year, on the 4th of August, the first telegraphic message passed from America to Europe. The cable had been laid successfully with the assistance of the governments of England and the United States. The communication was soon interrupted by an accident, but before long the regular transmission of public and private news between the continents was established.

Proposal to purchase Cuba.

The elections of 1858 taught even the President that he had relied too far on the large vote which elected him. In the State of New York only four Democrats were returned to the House of Representatives. The extreme Southern party, however, brought forward, at the short session, a bill to permit the Government to purchase Cuba for thirty million dollars. It met the full Republican opposition, and was at last abandoned by its friends.

In the midst, however, of the victories and defeats of the men who were prominent before the country, careless of the hopes and fears of politicians or of statesmen a poor man, unknown to them all, was, in his wild way, concerting the plans which precipitated the crisis of the nation's history. John Brown had already devised a movement of those whom he called the "True Friends of Freedom." It has been remembered that he was of Puritan blood. His whole life was characterized by Puritan enthusiasm, as well as by the personal purity and stern will which belong to the Puritan character. Among the early emigrants from New York to Kansas who determined to make it a free State, he was one. Among all the brave and devoted men of that struggle, none were braver or more devoted, and none more dreaded by the "border-ruffians," than John Brown, of Ossawatomie. He no more forgave than he forgot the atrocious murder of one of his sons, and that another had been driven to insanity by cruel treatment when a prisoner. From that moment he devoted his life, all that he was, and all that he had, to one single purpose, — the extirpation of slavery. He believed that God hated it, and he believed that he was God's messenger to destroy it. Early in 1858 he called together at Chatham, in Canada, a quiet convention of the "True Friends of Freedom," where, with the utmost secrecy, was drawn up a "Provisional Constitution for the people of the United States." It is not probable that more than two or three persons were present, but they chose Brown commander-in-chief, Richard Realf Secretary of State, and J. H. Kagi Secretary of War. As early as the autumn of 1857 Brown had organized a small body of men, and had undertaken to give them military instruction.

John Brown.



John Brown.

The meeting at Chatham.

From this time forward he proposed the invasion of Virginia by a small military force, with the expectation of arousing the slaves in that State so that they should assert their own freedom. He was able to control some small part of the arms which had been freely provided for the use of the Free-State men in

His plan of invasion.

Kansas; and he was in communication, from time to time, with the truest friends, in New England, of the Kansas settlers. From a secret committee in Boston he received about four thousand dollars in money, and about twice that value in arms. Of these gifts the larger part were made by George L. Stearns, a conscientious and unflinching friend of Kansas through the whole period of troubles. An Englishman named Forbes, a retired officer of the British army, who had been employed as a military drillmaster of recruits for Kansas, informed Senators Seward, Hale, and Wilson, in May, 1859, that



Arsenal at Harper's Ferry.

the arms furnished for the Kansas settlers had been obtained by Brown, who would use them unlawfully. This information the Senators sent to the Massachusetts Kansas Committee, who at once wrote Brown that the arms must not be used except for the defence of Kansas. His plans were thus for the moment checked. But as the summer passed, Mr. Stearns obtained possession of that portion of the arms which were his own, and transferred them to Brown, with four hundred dollars. Brown at once went to Maryland and established himself five miles from Harper's Ferry, at the Kennedy Farm. Of this the Secretary of War was apprised as early as August, but he took no notice of the information. On the 16th of October, with fourteen white men and four negroes armed and equipped for war, Brown took possession of the United States Armory buildings at Harper's Ferry, stopped the railroad trains, cap-

Moves into Virginia.

tured several citizens, liberated several slaves, and held the town about thirty hours. Virginia was in a paroxysm. The whole country thrilled to the heart. The invasion of Kansas from Missouri to establish slavery did not create anything like the excitement aroused by this invasion of Virginia by fifteen white men and four negroes, to give freedom to the slaves. Brown's own hope was, that the slaves of Virginia would immediately rally about him and assert their freedom. But there has never been any evidence that he had negotiated with them, nor did they ever show any intention of sustaining him.



John Brown's Pike.

The Government of the United States at once sent troops to Harper's Ferry. Brown retired to the "engine-house," where he was attacked and captured by a detachment of United States marines. They were under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee, soon to be himself the commander-in-chief of an insurrection, at that time on the staff of General Scott. Brown was wounded in several places. Thirteen of his band, including two of his sons, were killed or mortally wounded. Brown and his six followers were at once tried, convicted, and executed.[1]

Capture at Harper's Ferry.

Three days after his execution the new Congress met at Washington. Every effort was made to convict the leaders of the Free-State party of complicity with Brown in this effort. Through the whole country it gave occasion for the friends of the Union to point out the danger which they thought latent in all efforts to arrest the course of slavery. At the South it conveyed the impression that the Free-State men of the North meant insurrection and liberation. From this time, at least, the intention to divide the Union at any moment when Southern supremacy ceased to be absolute, became the universal Southern idea. In the minds of most of the Southern leaders such had been the intention long before, and there can be hardly a doubt that had Fremont been elected in 1856 the attempt would then have been made to dissolve the Union, which the election of Buchanan postponed only for four years.

Effect of his attempt.

The new Constitution of Kansas, ratified by the people in October, was laid before Congress at this session. So strong was the Northern sentiment in the House that a bill admitting

[1] John Brown's body was given to his friends and was buried at North Elba, New York. That "his soul goes marching on" was the refrain of a song, to the music of which many a Northern regiment marched in less than two years to suppress the Southern rebellion.

the new State passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-four to seventy-three. But, what may be called the dying act of the party of slavery was the refusal of the Senate, on the 7th of June, to take up the bill, by a vote of thirty-two to twenty-eight. The next winter, when, on the 21st of January, 1861, the Southern Senators, with some characteristic effort at dramatic effect, withdrew from the Senate, the first Senators from Kansas entered it as the representatives of a free State.

Kansas question disposed of.

The country approached the canvass for the next Presidential election with a distinct understanding of the threat of the extreme Southern leaders that the success of the Republican party should be the signal for disunion. So far as this threat was believed, it induced conservative men to withdraw their support from the Republican party and to attempt, at least, some midway course. But it was not generally believed through the Northern States. Arrogance was considered to be a habit of the plantation, and to govern by threats to be the policy of masters who were used to slaves. As a token of conciliation the Democratic party held its convention, not at one of the central cities, but at Charleston, South Carolina. Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, was the member of the party who carried the most popularity at the North, but, as has been already said, he had refused his support to the Lecompton Constitution. He would have lost his own constituency by any other course; but from that moment the Southern leaders opposed him with bitter but undeserved hatred.

Presidential campaign of 1860.

Democratic Convention.

When the Convention met, its committee on credentials had to decide at once on the claims of two delegations from New York, and those of two delegations from Illinois. In both cases they decided in favor of Mr. Douglas's friends. For nearly a week a debate raged on the resolutions to be presented as the "platform" of the Convention. The result showed that the Douglas faction were in the majority. They had been satisfied with the platform of four years before, while the Southern delegates insisted "that there was no power to prevent slavery in the Territories," and that Government ought to "protect the rights of person and property on the high seas." The last statement was supposed to cover the African slave-trade. So soon as this vote was announced, the delegations from Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, and Texas, withdrew, and a part of those from Louisiana, South Carolina, Arkansas, Delaware, and North Carolina. The seceders were encouraged by the most extravagant approval of the citizens of Charleston. On the ninth day of the Convention a vote was reached. It had been decided that two thirds of the votes should be necessary to a nomination. In fifty-seven bal-

lotings Mr. Douglas's vote reached a clear majority. A motion was then made to adjourn to Baltimore on the 18th of June. By this adjourned Convention Mr. Douglas was named the Democratic candidate, and Mr. Fitzpatrick of Alabama,[1] the candidate for Vice-president. But this was not till the delegates of seven States, and a part of those from Massachusetts, had withdrawn. The seceding delegations held a Convention on the 28th of June, and named J. C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, and Joseph Lane of Oregon, as their candidates for President and Vice-president.

On the 9th of May the "Constitutional Union National Convention" met. It was called in good faith by the remnants of the old Whig and American parties, who still hoped to avoid the inevitable conflict. On the second ballot, John Bell of Tennessee was made the candidate for President; Edward Everett

Constitutional Union Convention.



Lincoln's Early Home — Elizabethtown, Ky.

of Massachusetts, who had expressly charged his friends in the Convention not to permit his nomination as President, was nominated for Vice-president, because he had neglected to say he would not be second when he had refused to be first. He did not, however, decline the nomination.

On the 16th of May the Republican Convention met. The choice lay between Mr. Seward, who had wisely led the Republican forces in the Senate, and Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln was not so well

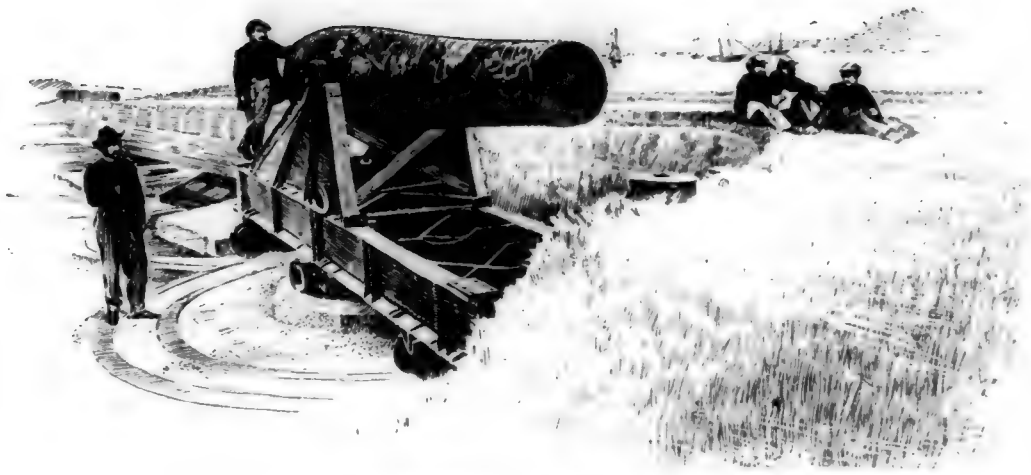
[1] Fitzpatrick declined, and H. V. Johnson, of Georgia, was named in his place.

known as Mr. Seward at the East, but in the West he had distinguished himself in a canvass of profound interest, in which he had been opposed to Douglas. For Vice-president the Convention named Hannibal Hamlin of Maine. The four candidates were not unworthy of the crisis. They represented the principles of the voters who supported them. The days of available or make-shift candidates were in the past and the future.

Republican Convention.

The canvass was intensely earnest and anxious. All felt it to be the most momentous the country had ever known; some understood that it was a question of war, of free government at the North, and of liberty in the Southern States. In the Southern States no votes were given to the Republican candidates, excepting in Virginia, where Mr. Lincoln received less than two thousand, and in Kentucky, where he received thirteen hundred. Of the popular vote he received 1,866,000, the largest vote which had then ever been given for any President. But even this vote was not a majority of the whole. Mr. Douglas received 1,375,000 votes; Mr. Breckinridge, 848,000; Mr. Bell, 691,000. But in the division of the Electoral vote Mr. Lincoln had one hundred and eighty — being that of all the free States, except New Jersey, who gave him, however, four out of her seven, — being a clear majority of fifty-seven over all. Mr. Breckinridge had seventy-two votes; Mr. Bell thirty-nine; Mr. Douglas twelve.

Election of Lincoln.



On the Parapet at Fortress Monroe.
Drawn by Gustav Verbeek from a photograph.

CHAPTER XVII.

OPENING OF THE WAR.

THE SECESSION IDEA NOT UNFAMILIAR IN THE SOUTH. — ACTS OF SECESSION LED BY SOUTH CAROLINA. — ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFEDERACY. — PROPOSED PEACE COMPROMISES. — SEIZURE OF UNITED STATES FORTS AND ARSENALS. — TWIGGS'S SURRENDER. — INDECISION IN WASHINGTON. — FEDERAL OCCUPATION OF FORT SUMTER. — INAUGURATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. — SECRETARY SEWARD OUTLINES A POLICY FOR THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. — THE GUN AT SUMTER. — SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA. — THE FIRST CALL FOR TROOPS. — SECESSION MOB IN BALTIMORE. — FIGHT AT BIG BETHEL. — MILITARY OPERATIONS IN WEST VIRGINIA. — BATTLE OF BULL RUN. — MCCLELLAN IN COMMAND.

THE election of Abraham Lincoln was the immediate pretext for the beginning of the Southern insurrection. But the mind of the Southern people had long been familiarized with the proposition of secession; and threats of disunion had been so often made in the South that the revolutionary movements which followed the election of 1860 appeared to be logical consequences, unexpected though they were to the majority of the people of the non-slaveholding States. The extremely radical doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of the individual States was taught in the resolutions adopted by the Legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky in 1798–99, when the young Republic was just recovering from the effects of the long and exhausting war of the Revolution. The right of secession was frankly avowed by the State of South Carolina in 1832, when the people of that State were ready to take themselves, their State, and their communities out of the Federal Union because they

The South and the secession idea.

were dissatisfied with a newly enacted tariff law. While Congress hesitated over the proposition to admit Texas to the Union, in 1843–44, the Southern leaders, set upon the adoption of that scheme, demanded that Texas be admitted or disunion would surely follow. During the agitation that flamed throughout the nation when the so-called compromise measures of 1850 were under discussion in Congress, this pernicious doctrine was once more brought to the fore in South Carolina, where it was solemnly declared that the Palmetto State would quit the Union in case any legislation hostile to the cherished institution of slavery were seriously attempted. Again, two years later, the dogma of the right of secession was re-stated, and South Carolina, having affirmed that right, magnanimously declined to exercise it, in deference to the desires of other States whose provocation was no less aggravated.

It should be borne in mind that there had long been a wide difference between the people of the North and the people of the South on this very question of the right of a State to leave the Union, with or without the consent of the other members of the Federation. It must be admitted that in the earlier years of the Republic's existence, discussion of this proposition had not been confined to the people of the Southern States. When by the purchase of a vast tract of territory — known as Louisiana in 1803 — the area of the slaveholding section of the United States was greatly enlarged, many Northern men boldly proposed that a separation of the free States from the slaveholding States was becoming necessary. And later, when the material interests of New England excited the people of that section to a bitter opposition to the war with England in 1812, the thought of separation became prominent in local discussion; and the famous Hartford Convention, in 1814–15, adopted a report which, while denying any present intention to dissolve the Union, admitted that if such a dissolution should ever be necessary, "by reason of the multiplied abuses of bad administrations, it should, if possible, be the work of peaceable times and deliberate consent." Finally, the more advanced leaders of the Abolitionist party had so often urged that a peaceable separation of the non-slaveholding States was better than a condition of perpetual alarm and friction, that the mere threat of secession had to some degree lost its terrors in both sections of the Union.

The Abolitionist Party and secession.

But it must also be admitted that, while the idea of separation was never received with general hospitality in the North, that idea gradually found greater favor in the South. And, although all talk of a peaceable secession ceased among the Northern people, the Southern people were so familiar with the topic that when there arose a possi-

bility that the people of the United States would elect a President who was inflexibly opposed to the further extension of slavery, they unhesitatingly declared that such an election would be the signal for their abrupt departure from the confederation of States. They did not hesitate to threaten that disunion would follow the election of Lincoln. They did not stop to urge that there was even a possibility that his election would be accomplished by any but lawful and regular agencies, as provided under the Constitution of the United States. Before the election had been held, the Southern leaders, in Congress and in the political field at home, averred that the success of Lincoln would be sufficient cause for secession, and that that step would be taken as soon as the event was assured.

Accordingly, South Carolina, which had always been the leader in the boldest discussion of the right of a State to quit the Union at its own pleasure, led in preparations for quitting as soon as the probabilities of Lincoln's election became tolerably certain. In October, 1860, one month before the Presidential election came off, the Governor, Congressmen, and leading politicians of South Carolina met in solemn conclave and prepared a resolution to the effect that their State ought to withdraw from the Federal Union if Lincoln should be elected. Similar action was taken in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi, although it did not appear then or afterwards that declarations of this sort were so well received by the people of those States as they were by the people of South Carolina, where the bare proposition of secession had obtained a wide popular favor. The Governor of South Carolina sent a secret circular to the executive officers of all the slaveholding States, informing them that his State would leave the Union if others would go with her; or South Carolina would go alone, if any other State would promise to follow. Although the right of secession was claimed as inalienable and unquestionable, even South Carolina was unwilling to go out alone and set up for herself an independent sovereignty.

Secession declarations in South Carolina.



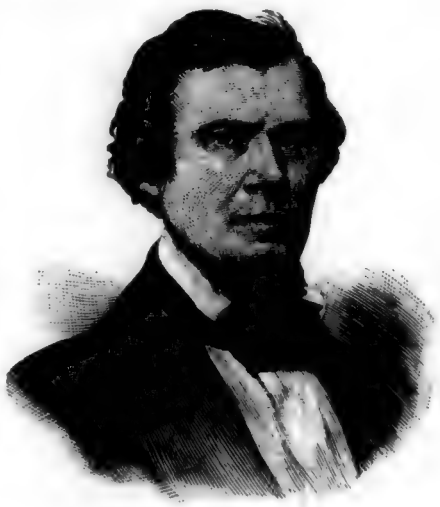
Henry A. Wise, of Virginia.
(Afterwards Brigadier-General, C. S. A.)

The election of Lincoln having been assured by the popular will, as expressed at the ballot-box, November 6th, 1860, South Carolina was in haste to be gone. In that State still prevailed the ancient custom of choosing presidential electors by the Legis-

lature, not by the people; and when that body assembled on the day appointed to choose electors, the Governor of the State sent in a message recommending that in the event of Lincoln's election a convention of the people should be immediately called to consider the means to be adopted to secure redress; and he declared that in his opinion there would be no alternative for South Carolina but secession from the Federal Union. Next day, the 7th of November, the choice of the people of the United States being assured, the Federal officials in Charleston resigned their commissions; on the 10th of the month the United States Senators from South Carolina, Messrs. Hammond and Chesnut, resigned their seats in the Senate; on that day a convention was called to meet December 17th, to consider the situation, the delegates to be chosen December 6th; on the 13th the Legislature of the State ordered the staying of the collection of all debts due to citizens of non-slaveholding States from citizens of South Carolina; on that day, Francis W. Pickens, having been elected Governor of the State, he appointed a "cabinet," as if the separate nationality of South Carolina were already assured; the so-called cabinet consisted of the following members: A. G. Magrath, Secretary of State; David F. Jamison, Secretary of War; C. G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury; W. W. Harlee, Postmaster-General; and Albert C. Garlington, Secretary of the Interior. This amusing comedy was played before the adoption of the ordinance of secession; that action by the convention selected for that purpose was taken December 20th, 1860.

Action of the Convention.

In the Northern States these proceedings were viewed with alarm. But it was at first believed that the secession fever, so excited in South Carolina, would not spread beyond the boundaries of that State. In South Carolina, however, every means had been adopted to "fire the Southern heart," as the popular phrase then went. The action of the Secession Convention was joyfully ratified by the people; bells were rung, salutes fired, processions and pageants organized, meetings of congratulation held, and every possible demonstration of approval and satisfaction made by the people of Charleston and other cities and towns of the Palmetto State. Not only so, but it became evident that the agencies employed to secure



Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi.
(Secretary of the Interior under President Buchanan.)



John B. Floyd, of Virginia.

the coöperation of other slaveholding States would prevent a recurrence of the failure of 1832, when the solitary attempt of South Carolina to defy the authority of the government of the United States was summarily defeated by the vigorous measures ordered by President Andrew Jackson.

Cannon salutes, bells, bonfires, and other tokens of joyous applause were the response of several of the slaveholding States to the act of secession proclaimed by South Carolina. In many of these States steps were at once taken to follow the lead of South Carolina. But it required much persuasion and some force to induce the people of those States to consent to the act of secession. With rare inconsistency, while the Southern leaders loudly protested against the attempt to "coerce a sovereign State" to remain in the Union, they did not hesitate to apply the most forcible means to coerce their own people to declare themselves and their local governments out of the Union. The organization of the conspiracy of rebellion was exceedingly complete and effective. Messengers were sped from State to State and from city to city, from hamlet to hamlet, and from plantation to plantation, exhorting to immediate action, inciting to rebellion, and warning the people that this was the day of their deliverance from "the thraldom of the North."

Steps taken in other States.

It may be worth while to identify some of the leaders in this movement. They are vaguely known as "plotters and disunionists;" but their names were on the tongue of every man during the stormy days which followed the presidential election of 1860. Of the South Carolinians who participated in the meeting held in October, 1860, at the house of United States Senator Hammond were the following: W. H. Gist, then Governor of the State; ex-Governor J. H. Adams; James L. Orr, formerly Speaker of the National House of Representatives; Representatives John McQueen, Lawrence M. Keitt, Milledge L. Bonham, John D. Ashmore, and William W. Boyce, and Senators Hammond and Chesnut; besides these were several other prominent politicians. Of the other "fire-eaters" from that State mention may be made of Robert Barnwell Rhett, who had declared that "all true statesmanship in the South consists in forming combinations and shaping events so as to bring about as

Leaders in secession.

speedily as possible a dissolution of the present Union, and a Southern Confederacy." In Virginia, where the zeal of the secession leaders far outran the willingness of the people to secede, the most conspicuous of the disunionists were ex-Governor Henry A. Wise, ex-President John Tyler, United States Senators R. M. T. Hunter and J. M. Mason; John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, and Thomas S. Flournoy, all of whom subsequently proved their devotion to the cause of secession by their activity in promoting that cause — up to the verge of fighting.

Of the leaders in other States it is not necessary now to speak; but four of the chiefs who remained in Washington, in the cabinet of President Buchanan, were not only notably active, but especially influential in hurrying the steps that led up to the attempt to dissolve the Union. These were Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, of Virginia (already mentioned), Secretary of War; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; and W. H. Trescott, of South Carolina, who, as Assistant Secretary of State, was a valuable member of the cabal and central bureau of intelligence, although not exactly a member of the cabinet. While these men were drawing pay from the treasury of the United States, they were plotting for the destruction of the Union of the States; and while they were holding confidential relations with the Chief Executive, they were in constant communication with the insurgents, sending them information accessible only to the high officials of the government; and they remained in place as long as they could best serve their fellow-conspirators without exceeding the bounds of their personal safety.

As a curious example of the astuteness and the intelligence with which one of these men, John B. Floyd, had calculated the possibilities and probabilities of secession, quotation may be made from a letter written by him, November 20th, 1860, while he was yet exercising the functions of Secretary of War. Writing to a friend (a Mr. Peterson, of Mississippi), Floyd said: "South Carolina will go. I consider Georgia and Florida as certain. Alabama probable. Then Mississippi must go. But I want Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia; and Maryland will not stay behind long."

Organization of the Southern Confederacy.

As a matter of fact, South Carolina having passed an ordinance of secession on the 20th of December, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas followed her during the first two months of the next year, 1861. In February of that year, delegates from these seven States met at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a provisional government for "The Confed-



Jefferson Davis.



Alexander H. Stephens.

THE HEADS OF THE CONFEDERACY.

erate States of America;" and on the 9th of that month Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, were chosen as provisional President and Vice-President, to hold office for one year.

Jefferson Davis was a native of Kentucky, and was fifty-three years old when he was chosen Provisional President by the Montgomery delegates. He had served his adopted State of Mississippi in the United States Senate, leaving that body only when his presence at the national capital was no longer useful to his section. He was Secretary of War during the administration of President Pierce, and had faithfully promoted the interests of the institution of slavery wherever and whenever he had an opportunity. Although "cold as a lizard," according to one who knew him well,[1] he could on occasion pose as a "fire-eater," as a ridiculous episode in his career manifested. Jefferson Davis. W. H. Bissell, a Representative in Congress from Illinois, who had been a colonel in the Mexican War, corrected a misstatement made in Congress by a Virginia member, relating to the conduct of a Mississippi regiment commanded by Davis; and Davis took it upon himself to challenge Bissell to mortal combat for words spoken in debate, having violently distorted those words to suit his purpose. A suggestion of fighting the duel with muskets resulted in Davis's withdrawal from the bloodless field of honor. Davis was an ardent supporter of the most radical doctrine of State Rights, and had desired to wear the mantle of John C. Calhoun, the Great Nullifier. As early as November, 1858, when the Republican party had begun to show itself formidable, Davis said in a public speech at Vicksburg

[1] General Sam. Houston.

that, in case that party should elect a President in 1860, he "was for resistance — stern resistance. Rather than see the Executive chair of the nation filled by a sworn enemy of our [Southern] rights, he would shatter it into a thousand fragments before he had an opportunity of taking his seat." And the declaration of Mississippi, on seceding from the Union, was undoubtedly that of Davis. "Our position," said the Mississippi declaration, "is thoroughly identified with the institution of slavery — the greatest material interest in the world." Davis was the logical candidate for the presidency of the Confederacy.

Mr. Stephens, being a member of the Congress from Georgia, was at once sworn into office as Vice-President; Davis, who had remained at his home in Mississippi, arrived in Montgomery a few days later, and was inaugurated with as much pomp as was possible under the circumstances, amid the fervid cheers and enthusiasm of the throngs that filled the improvised capital of the new Confederacy.

Constitution of the Confederacy.

The new constitution was modelled on the lines of the old, with a few radical changes. State sovereignty was sought to be recognized in this instrument by substituting the phrase of "each State, acting in its sovereign and independent character," for the simpler "we, the people," employed in the framing of the preamble of the Federal constitution. The new constitution did not recognize the right of any member of the new Confederacy to take itself out of the combination under any circumstances whatever. On the contrary, while the constitution was declared to be binding on all judicial and executive officers, courts, and tribunals of the Confederate States, no provision was made for the withdrawal of a State from the compact; and the dogma of State Rights, on which the secessionists had laid so much stress, was left to be inferred in the instrument; it was passed by in silence.

On his way to Montgomery, Davis made many speeches to the multitudes that assembled along his route to do him honor; these speeches were reported in the Southern newspapers, and were calculated to "fire the Southern heart" with their bloodthirstiness and warlike tone. Years afterwards, when the piping times of peace gave the ex-President of the Confederacy ample time to correct his judgments and to write a book, he complained that he had been misreported, and that he had not indulged in the fireworks and inflammatory rhetoric with which the newspapers had decorated his remarks. In his inaugural address, Davis, while he expressed a willingness to receive the so-called Border States into the new Confederacy, took occasion to say that his understanding of the situation was that "a reunion with the States from which we have separated is neither practicable nor desirable."

Davis proceeded to the formation of his cabinet, which was as follows: Robert Toombs, of Georgia, Secretary of State; C. G. Memminger, of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury; L. P. Walker, of Alabama, Secretary of War; S. R. Mallory, of Florida, Secretary of the Navy; J. H. Reagan, of Texas, Postmaster-General; Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, Attorney-General. The Provisional Congress authorized the establishment of a regular army of about ten thousand men, and called for one hundred thousand volunteer troops, to serve one year under the so-called national (or Confederate) authority; at the same time it was ordered that the State troops already raised should be incorporated into the Confederate army. The distinction between regular and volunteer troops was to be observed with rigid punctilio. Among other sovereign acts of the new Congress were the authorization of a loan of fifteen million dollars, an export duty on cotton, and the establishment of a navy whose nucleus was to consist of ten steam gunboats. Then it was joyfully proclaimed that the Southern Confederacy was in working order.

The Confederate Cabinet.

The Confederate President now formally assumed control of military affairs in the States that had joined the Confederacy, and by his orders the Secretary of War, who had been borrowed from the "cabinet" of the Governor of South Carolina, issued a call for ten thousand volunteers to serve at points along the border and coast-line of the newly created Confederacy. Agents were appointed to buy war material in Europe and to labor with the governments of foreign countries to secure immediate recognition of the Confederacy. And then a commission of three persons was appointed to proceed to Washington to procure, if possible, the consent of the remaining members of the old Union to a peaceable dissolution.

Meantime, peace-loving men were busy framing propositions for the adjustment of the questions on which the South had so long threatened secession. During the winter of 1860–61, the "Crittenden Compromise," as it was called from its author, a Senator from Kentucky, was continuously before the Senate, and was once lost for want of Southern — not Northern Republican — votes, because the South preferred disunion. Yet it gave up to slavery all territory south of 36° 30′; it forbade Congress to abolish slavery, even in places under its exclusive jurisdiction within the States or in the District of Columbia so long as it existed in Virginia and Maryland; it provided for the legal transportation of slaves, as slaves, through the free States; it secured to the slaveholder payment by the United States for his fugitive slave if his capture had been obstructed; and it prohibited Congress from interfering with slavery

The Compromise proposed.

anywhere. It was not till the confusion of the closing hours of the session that this measure was defeated by a single vote; but then it mattered little what was done by a body whose members from the seceded States had been permitted to withdraw with much ceremony of leave-taking, instead of being ordered into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms.

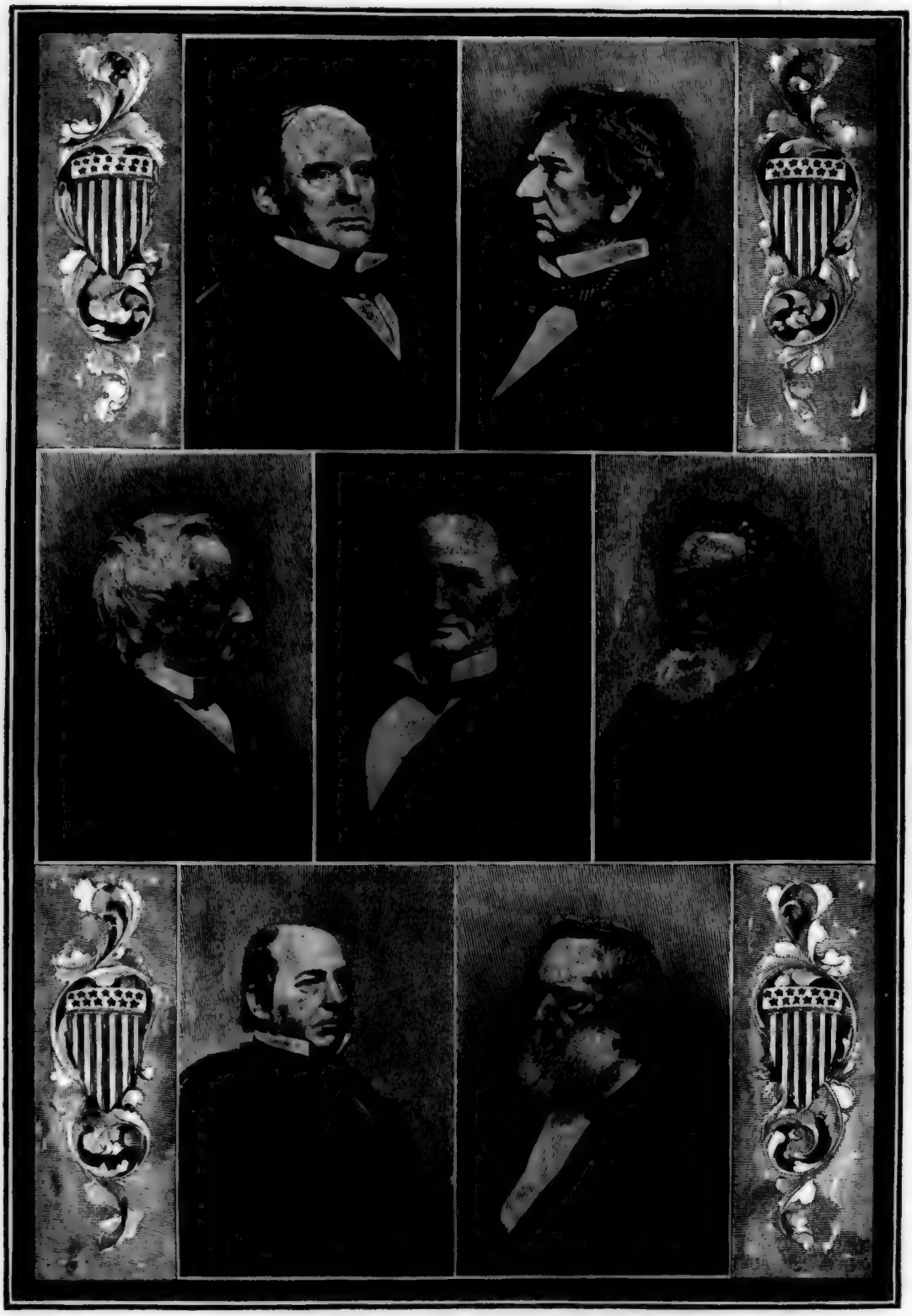
In both Houses, committees were appointed to devise some other way of meeting the threatened troubles than the direct one of the immediate suppression of insurrection and the punishment of treason. One of these committees reported a joint resolution, which passed both Houses, proposing an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting Congress to interfere with slavery anywhere, without the consent of all the States. The House passed resolutions — reported by the same committee of one from each State — affirming that all State legislation interfering with the capture of fugitive slaves should be repealed; that slavery should not be prohibited in New Mexico; and that the North disclaimed all intention of meddling with it in the States.

Peace Congress.

In February, 1861, a Peace Congress, suggested by Virginia, convened at Washington. In it were represented all the Northern States, except Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, and Oregon, and all the Southern States except the eight that had already seceded. The result of its three weeks of deliberation was, as Senator Sumner said, to propose "to give slavery positive protection in the Constitution, making it national instead of sectional." The resolutions it adopted were conceived in essentially the same spirit that suggested the Crittenden Compromise and the resolutions of the committee which the House had adopted. It was the North that was arraigned as criminal; the North that must repent of her evil ways; the North that must clothe herself in sackcloth, and sprinkle ashes upon her head.

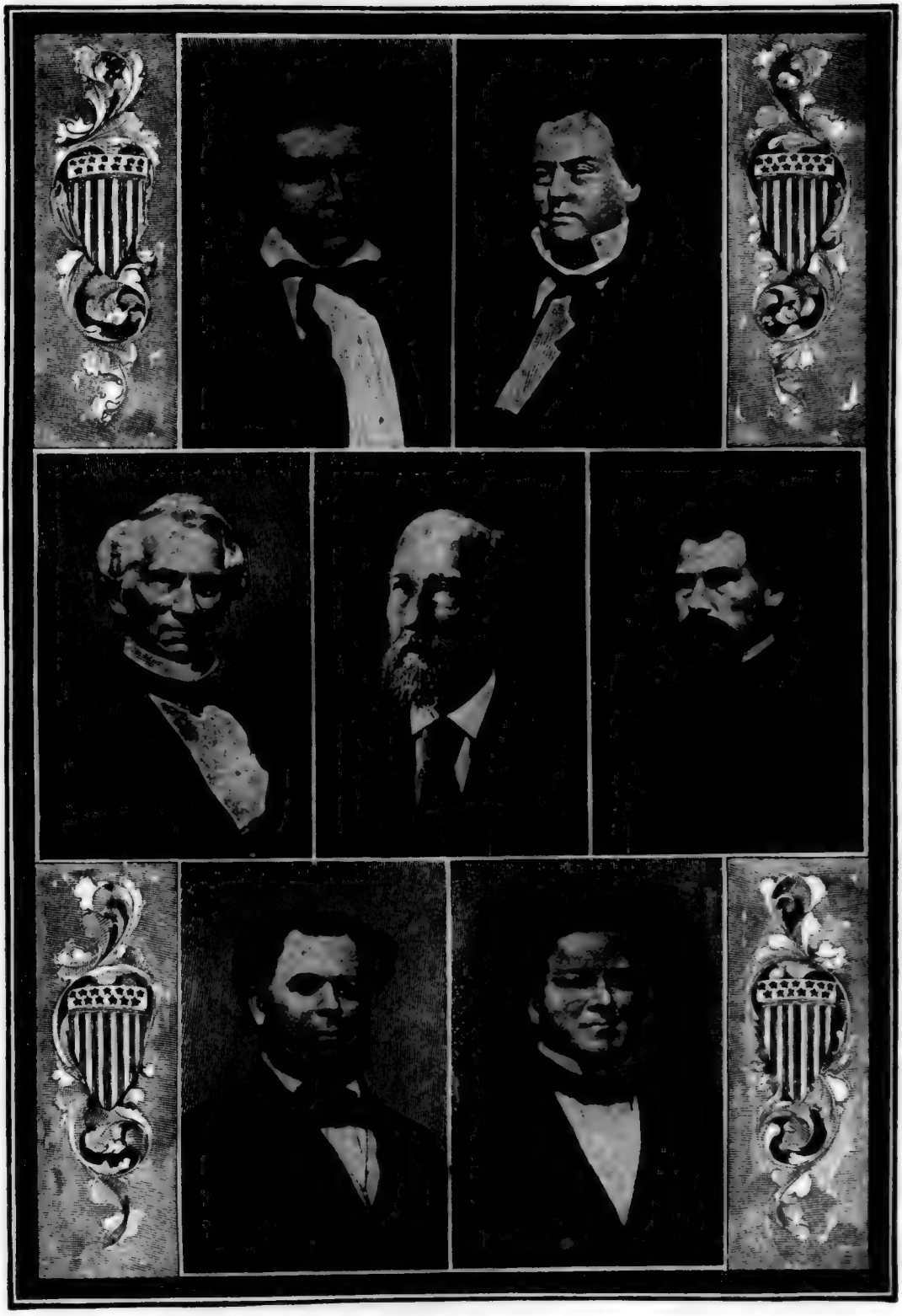
Position of Northern politicians.

If the South needed encouragement to secede, she had far more than she could have ever hoped for. Party leaders at the North were as ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of peace and of union, or to avow openly their sympathy with the slaveholders, as the majority of Congress were to offer a submission that was almost abject. The Mayor of New York, Fernando Wood, proposed to the Common Council early in January, that, should there be a separation of the States, the city should declare itself independent of them all. How sincerely he hoped for the success of disunion he showed before the end of the month, by avowing his regret that he had no power to punish the police, who seized a quantity of arms about to be sent to the insurgent State of Georgia.



Salmon P. Chase, Treasury. William H. Seward, State.
Simon Cameron, War. Montgomery Blair, Post. Gen. Edward Bates, Atty. Gen.
Caleb B. Smith, Interior. Gideon Welles, Navy.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S FIRST CABINET.



Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President. Robert Toombs, State.
C. G. Memminger, Treas. Leroy P. Walker, War. John H. Reagan, Post. Gen.
Stephen R. Mallory, Navy. Judah P. Benjamin, Atty. Gen.

JEFFERSON DAVIS'S VICE-PRESIDENT AND CABINET.

A Democratic Convention assembled, about the same time, at Albany, whose object was to protest against the use of force for the suppression of an insurrection of slaveholders. The party was represented at that meeting by its most eminent leaders in the State, and no expression of opinion there met with so hearty a response as the declaration, that if force were used it should be "inaugurated at home," — an echo of the assurance given by ex-President Pierce to Jefferson Davis, some months before, that should there be fighting, it would be within "our own borders, in our own streets," between the anti-slavery people and their opponents. In December, a great meeting in Philadelphia passed resolutions of submission as absolute as if Pennsylvania were already a conquered province.

Some of the early steps taken by the newly installed Confederate Government were to possess itself of the arsenals and forts within the territory over which it claimed jurisdiction. Some of these had already been seized by the authorities of the seceding States. The arsenals, which Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, had recently supplied with arms belonging to the United States Government, were easily taken. The forts on the Mississippi, below New Orleans, and those at the entrance of Mobile Bay, were also secured without a struggle. But when the Pensacola navy-yard was seized, Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, commanding at Fort McRae, transferred his small garrison to Fort Pickens, a stronger work, on Santa Rosa Island, where he was subsequently reënforced by troops brought in two United States vessels, and the post was held by the national forces throughout the war. The forts at Key West and the Tortugas were also held. The greater part of the regular army of the United States was in Texas, commanded by General David E. Twiggs. Three commissioners from a so-called Committee of Public Safety met him at San Antonio, February 18th, where they demanded and received the capitulation of the entire force, and a surrender of all the military property of the United States in Texas, valued at about a million and a half of dollars. The troops were permitted to retain their arms and march to the coast to embark for the North.

Seizure of forts and arsenals.

Twiggs's surrender.

While these portentous events were happening at the South, public opinion in the North was divided; and, although gloom and alarm pervaded the ranks of the thinking people, sluggishness and inaction were the condition under which they lay. The indecision of the National Administration, so far as that was exemplified in the conduct of President Buchanan, was reflected in the general temper of the people, so far as that was expressed in the public press and by speakers. There appeared to be a grave doubt

Situation in the North.

as to whether the Nation possessed the power to coerce a sovereign State to remain in the Union, and whether a Union maintained by such coercion were worth maintaining at all. These were the questions actually discussed by leading members of the Republican party whose votes had just elected Abraham Lincoln President of the United States.

President Buchanan, while he conceded that "the long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of Slavery in the Southern States" had produced estrangements and troubles, argued that the election of a President obnoxious to the citizens of one section of the Republic was no excuse whatever for the rebellion and secession of the offended citizens of that section. In like manner, members of the more conservative Democratic party of the North, while they exultingly cried, "We told you so!" as their prophecies of ill were fulfilled by the swift recurrence of acts of secession, plaintively pleaded with their erring Southern brethren to remain in the Union, and submit once more to a trial of their patience and forbearance. Generally, the spirit of patriotism in the North lay dormant. Confusion reigned in the councils of the people; public opinion refused to crystallize; apparently nothing but a blow would precipitate these floating elements into definite and concrete shape.

Fort Sumter.

The chief public interest, North as well as South, now centred in the defences of Charleston Harbor. Commanding the channel, stood Fort Sumter, on an artificial island built up with large blocks of stone and chips from Northern stone-yards. It was not yet finished, and the garrison maintained at this point[1] occupied Fort Moultrie, on the northern side of the harbor. This small force was under command of Lieutenant-Colonel John L. Gardner, a veteran of the war of 1812, who in November was relieved by Major Robert Anderson, a Kentuckian. In December the question of reënforcing Fort Moultrie was discussed in the Cabinet, and the project was opposed by the President, who carried his point. Thereupon Mr. Cass resigned the Secretaryship of State, and Jeremiah S. Black, of Penn-



John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.
(The originator of the "Crittenden Compromise.")

[1] Seven officers, sixty-one men, and thirteen musicians, of the First United States Artillery.

sylvania, succeeded him. The fort, which had become somewhat dilapidated and was overlooked by immense sand-heaps that had accumulated near it, was put into better repair; but it was evident that it could not be held with so small a force — if at all — against any serious attempt to take it by the thousands of armed men gathering at Charleston and clamoring for the expulsion of every United States soldier.

Left to his own resources by an Administration that was afraid to withdraw him for fear of exasperating the North, and afraid to reënforce him for fear of precipitating war, Anderson determined to leave an untenable work for one that at least promised safety. In the night of December 26th, he secretly removed his command to Fort Sumter, taking with him all his portable supplies, dismounting the guns of Moultrie, and burning the carriages. On the same day three commissioners from South Carolina arrived in Washington, to negotiate for the surrender of the forts and other public property. By order of Secretary Floyd, a force of workmen had been previously sent to Fort Sumter, to put it in repair, and mount the guns, evidently to enhance its value for the insurgents when they should have seized it. Many of these laborers were found wearing secession cockades when the garrison landed, and they angrily asked, "What are these soldiers doing here?" They were driven into the fort, and made prisoners. There was great excitement in Charleston next morning, and that day a body of State troops took possession of Fort Moultrie and of Castle Pinckney, a small round fort in the harbor, nearer the city.

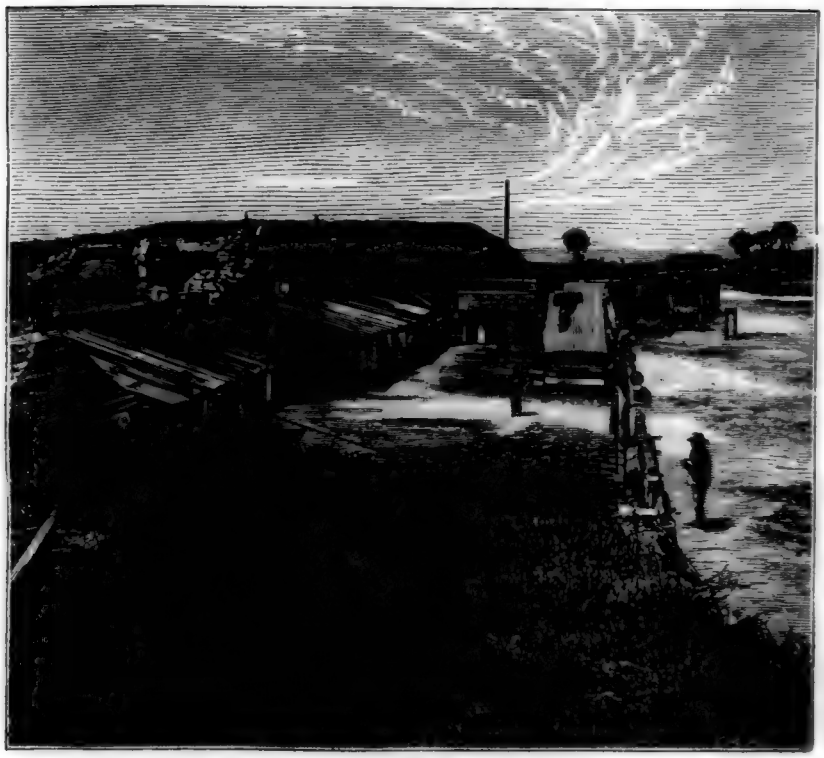
The removal of his force to Fort Sumter was in accordance with the instructions sent to Major Anderson from Washington. It was accepted by the insurgents at Charleston as a sign of hostility, though the same orders which justified it also instructed Anderson to refrain from all hostile acts unless compelled to resort to them in self-defence. The commissioners at Washington had telegraphed to Governor Pickens to hasten the preparations for war, and the insolence of their tone, in their communications with the President, was enough to rouse even him to take some vigorous step. The sloop-of-war *Brooklyn*, then at Fortress Monroe and ready for sea, was ordered to Charleston with three hundred men to reënforce Sumter. But delay occurred for a day or two, in deference to the courtesy which the President thought due to the South Carolina commissioners, from whom he awaited some further communication, and then the order was countermanded at the suggestion of General Scott, who feared that Fortress Monroe would be dangerously weakened by taking from it so large a portion of its garrison. That this could have

been avoided, however, and the *Brooklyn* sent upon her errand, is certain. A proposal was sent from New York to provide an equal number of men from the military organizations of that city, but the offer was rejected. In place of the *Brooklyn*, a side-wheel merchant steamer, the *Star of the West*, was sent, laden with provisions and recruits. On the 9th of January she entered Charleston harbor, and was repulsed by fire from the insurgent batteries, against which she was powerless; nor was a single shot fired in her defence from Fort Sumter. No attempt had been made to conceal the object of this expedition; nor, indeed, would it have availed if there had been, for the offices of the Government of Washington were filled with Southerners who acted as spies.

The condition of the isolated fort, surrounded by watchful enemies, remained unchanged for the remainder of the winter, except that it was growing, day by day, less able to make any effectual resistance, by the rapid consumption of its provisions, while the insurgents grew stronger by the erection of new batteries, and the accumulation of the munitions of war. A new commission of two, one from Major Anderson and one from Governor Pickens, was sent, by agreement, to Washington, but it only served to add one more influence to the general policy of indecision and delay. It was not, however, to be regretted; the real danger was, that the rebellion would not be left to be dealt with by the incoming Administration, but would be condoned by some disgraceful and disastrous compromise.

Inauguration of Abraham Lincoln.

On the 23d of February, Mr. Lincoln arrived at Washington, having escaped a concerted plot for his assassination at Baltimore, by taking an earlier train than that in which he was expected to arrive. On the 4th of March he was duly inaugurated, to confront a civil war which Mr. Buchanan wanted either the will or the nerve to avert or to meet. The inaugural address of Mr. Lincoln was couched in the most conciliatory and winning language. While he argued that the Federal Union was indestructible save by the consent of all the States, and expressed his determination to sanction no invasion of the Constitution under which slavery had existed and flourished in the several States, he gave notice that the Administration of the Government now committed to his hands would continue the conduct of affairs as usual, unless interrupted and hindered by rebellious malcontents. The mails would be carried and the customs collected, and the ordinary functions of the Federal Government exercised under the authority of the United States. Appealing to those who were malcontent, he said: "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine*, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you*. You can have no



The Interior of Fort Moultrie in 1861.
From a photograph.

conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'"

There was affectionate pleading in his concluding sentence: "I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

The cabinet of the newly installed President was as follows: Wm. H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Postmaster-General. Of these men, four, Seward, Cameron, Chase, and Bates, had been presented to the Republican National Convention of 1860 as candidates for the nomination which subsequently fell to Lincoln. Of the four, Mr. Seward,

The Cabinet.



An Interior View of Fort Sumter in 1861, showing how the walls were strengthened

From a photograph.

by his statesmanlike treatment of the great questions that had occupied the attention of Congress while the issues of war and peace were hanging in the balance, was regarded as the ablest and the wisest. It was naturally expected that he would be called to the first place in the cabinet; and although the title of "Premier" is entirely unknown to the legal usage of the United States, that dignifying prefix appeared to be more rightfully Mr. Seward's, when he went into the cabinet of the rough western politician, than it ever had been when applied to other Secretaries of State.

Possibly Mr. Seward was conscious of the oppressiveness of his official duties, charged as he was, not only with the responsibilities of a great place in time of war, but also with the management of delicate matters of government under the administration of one who was, to say the least, unfamiliar with statecraft. Lincoln, it was tacitly understood, was to be the figure-head of the new Administration; its policy was to be framed and carried out by Secretary Seward. Acting upon this theory, which did not seem unreasonable to those who were more familiar with Seward's talents than with Lincoln's genius, there would have been no surprise expressed if it had been made known that the Secretary early manifested his intention to "run things," as the popular phrase went. Accordingly, while the

President, with his habitual steadiness and deliberation, waited for active developments in the insurrectionary States, the Secretary of State, April 1st, 1861, drew up for the consideration of his chief a memorandum [1] in which, after noting that no policy, foreign or domestic, had yet been formulated by the Government, he proposed that the question before the people be changed from one concerning slavery to one of Union or Disunion. The issue should be withdrawn from Fort Sumter, he suggested, and, by a blockade of the insurrectionary States and a reënforcement of the forts in the Gulf of Mexico, the question of Union or Disunion would be distinctly raised.

Mr. Seward's memorandum.

More amazing than this was the proposition of the Secretary that "explanations" should be demanded from Spain and France at once, and that "explanations" less imperative should also be sought from Great Britain and Russia, and emissaries sent into Canada, Mexico, and Central America to excite a vigorous spirit of resistance against European intervention in the affairs of the American continent. Unless immediate and satisfactory explanations were received from France and Spain, war should be declared against them. It was evidently the hope of Mr. Seward that, the issue of Union or Disunion being settled in favor of the first member of the proposition, a foreign war would so unify the sentiment of the entire nation that further danger of secession would pass.

The President's reply to this communication expressed his determination to abide by the policy outlined in his inaugural, viz., to use the power confided in him to hold, occupy, and possess the places belonging to the Government, and to collect the duties and imposts. The President further said that he could not see how the reënforcement of Fort Sumter could be done on a slavery or party issue, while that of Fort Pickens, for example, could be done on a more national and patriotic one. The Secretary, in his memorandum, had suggested that as some one must be charged with the execution of the details of his plan, he would not shrink from the responsibility. The President, in his reply, simply said, "If this must be done, I must do it;" but he expressed the wish that on all matters of policy he should have the advice of all the cabinet. Here the matter rested; the Secretary addressed himself with ardor and patriotism to the duties of his office; the President made no comment to any one on the remarkable proposal of the Secretary to undertake to guide the Administration; and, with singular accord and perfect trust in each other, these two great men went forward together in the work of defending and restoring the Federal Union.

[1] The Nicolay-Hay *Life of Lincoln*, vol. iii. p. 445.

All eyes were now turned toward Fort Sumter. By common consent, this fortification commanding the channel entrance of Charleston harbor, was regarded as the key of the situation. South Carolina, in the exercise of its claim to be a sovereign and independent State, demanded that the work be turned over to its government, with the other defences of the harbor. Concession here, by the Government of the United States, would be a virtual acknowledgment of the independence of South Carolina, and, incidentally, a concession of the whole question at issue. In the North the question was, Will the rebels dare to use force to get hold of those works? In the South the question was, Will the Administration dare to reënforce any of these forts in the face of our expressed determination to have and hold them? The crisis came at last.

The question of Fort Sumter.

On the 8th of April President Lincoln notified the Governor of South Carolina that the Government had determined to provision Fort Sumter at all hazards. General G. P. T. Beauregard — who had resigned a commission in the United States army to join in the rebellion — being now in command of the works erected for the destruction of the fort, at once telegraphed to the government at Montgomery for instructions, and on the 10th was ordered to open fire. He first sent two of his staff to demand a surrender; this Major Anderson declined, volunteering the information that he would soon be starved out. That evening another messenger came, to ask what day he would evacuate, if he were not attacked, and he answered, at noon of the 15th, unless he was previously relieved or received fresh instructions.[1] Before daylight on the morning of the 12th, Beaure-

The bombardment.



Lieutenant-General G. P. T. Beauregard, C. S. A.



Colonel (afterwards brevet Major-General) Robert Anderson.

[1] As we had pork enough on hand to last for two weeks longer, there was no necessity for fixing so early a day. It left too little margin for naval operations, as, in all probabil-



The Exterior of Fort Sumter, showing the cheveaux-de-frise.
From a photograph.

gard sent word to Anderson that in one hour he should open fire. The first shot was fired from the Cummings Point battery, by an aged secessionist, Edmund Ruffin, of the most rabid type, who had come from Virginia to beg that privilege. It was answered by a gun fired at that battery by Captain (afterward General) Abner Doubleday, and the civil war was actually begun.

The bombardment continued, with little intermission, from daylight of the 12th till midday of the 13th, and was replied to as briskly as the condition of the fort and its armament would admit. Nineteen batteries rained shot and shell upon it, from every direction except that of the open sea. The barracks and officers' quarters were set on fire, and to prevent an explosion ninety barrels of gunpowder were thrown overboard and the magazine was closed. The ammunition being thus exhausted, and the fort filled with stifling smoke, a capitulation necessarily followed, and the garrison marched out next day, with the honors of war. In saluting the flag, one of their number was killed by the premature discharge of a gun. The fleet, outside the harbor, had witnessed the conflict, but were powerless to take part in it. All the buoys that marked the chan-

The capitulation.

ity, the vessels, in case of any accident or detention, would arrive too late to be of service. This proved to be the case. — Doubleday's *Reminiscences*.

nels had been removed, and the principal vessel was aground on a shoal.

The gun fired at Fort Sumter was the blow that was needed to crystallize public sentiment at the North. Thenceforth there was no question as to the intention of the insurgents, none as to the temper of the loyal people of the United States. The gun was the signal for an outpouring of the patriotic people who had determined that, now that the arbitrament of war had been invoked by their misguided brethren of the South, the war must be fought out to the end. The response of the people of the slaveholding States was equally decisive and clear. It was evident that secession would be no longer confined to the States that had so far led the van.



Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, who fired the first gun in the Civil War, — from the Point Cummings battery against Fort Sumter.

(Mr. Ruffin committed suicide just before the end of the war, when the ruin of the Confederate cause became apparent.)

Nevertheless, the insurgent leaders found some difficulty in precipitating other slaveholding States into the vortex of secession. When the gun was fired upon Sumter, only seven of the fifteen slaveholding States had adopted ordinances of separation. Virginia, "the mother of Presidents," whose departure from the Union would place the verge of battle on the banks of the Potomac, hesitated to take the fatal plunge. Virginian politicians, like Roger A. Pryor and Edmund Ruffin, had early gone to South Carolina, to assist in the work of inflaming the people of Charleston, while the fate of Sumter hung in the balance; and men of their stamp were urgent in Richmond while the convention deliberating over the ordinance of secession was in session. That convention met in the middle of February; the middle of April came without any decisive action having been taken to further the wishes of the ardent secessionists who hung about the lobbies, urging and arguing immediate secession. The central junta at Montgomery used all means available for the coercion and the enticement of the unwilling delegates. In the face of storm and blandishment, the convention, as late as April 4th, refused by a vote eighty-nine to forty-five to declare for secession.

The situation in Virginia.

Evidently, something must be done to drive the State out of the Union. Accordingly, when even the crisis of Sumter had failed to inflame the hearts of the loyal delegates so that they were willing to vote Virginia out of the Union, threats were resorted to, and the



Captain (afterward Major-General) Abner Doubleday, who fired the first shot from Fort Sumter.

From a photograph made directly after his return from the fort.

Union members were plainly told that they must vote for secession, absent themselves at roll-call, or be hanged. Terrorized, they either abstained from voting or acted with the minority who desired secession. The convention, which had shown a majority of one hundred and fifty-three against seceding, now adopted the ordinance by a majority of thirty-three; the total vote had shrunk to a figure below that of the original majority for the Union. The ordinance provided for its submission to a popular vote; but the conspirators cared little for that. Before the date of the popular election arrived, the convention, which remained in session, had entered into a league with the Montgomery government, placing the command of the Virginia troops in the hands of Jefferson Davis; the Provisional Constitution was ratified by the same body; delegates were appointed to the Confederate Congress which was about to assemble; provision was made for the raising and equipment of an army and navy; Jefferson Davis and his coadjutors were invited to remove their seat of government to Richmond; and, finally, the so-called annexation of the Commonwealth of Virginia to the Confederacy was officially proclaimed. And all this before the people had voted on the proposition to secede from the Federal Union.

The determined temper of the insurgent leaders was best exemplified in a letter written by United States Senator James M. Mason, and printed in the "Winchester Virginian," May 16th, one week before the date of the popular election. In that document the Senator urged that a defeat of the ordinance by vote of the people would be a violation of "the sacred pledge" given by those who had already concluded a league with the Montgomery government. And he said of those who could not conscientiously vote for disunion, "They must leave the State." This threat settled the case. On the 23d of May, the ordinance of secession was ratified by a vote of 125,950 against 23,373. The people of the northwestern part of the State defied the secessionists; they had assembled at Wheeling, where, following the notable example set them in Richmond, they took steps preliminary to a formal secession from Virginia. Their votes were not accounted for in the popular election of May 23d.

Virginia seceded.

The exuberance of the insurgent leaders knew no bounds when the

State of Virginia was declared out of the Union. All over the South there prevailed great joy at the prospect of a speedy invasion of the North and the capture of the national capital, now that the soil of the Old Dominion, which bordered on Pennsylvania and Maryland, was to be the battle-ground of the contending armies about to be arrayed against each other. "On to Washington!" was the cry of politicians and press; and some of the more sanguine expressed the hope that before three months should pass the Confederate Government would be installed in the offices of the Federal capital.[1] Frantic efforts had been made in North Carolina to force the State out of the Union; Governor John W. Ellis and United States Senator T. L. Clingman being foremost in the difficult work of instilling the people with the notion that their welfare and honor lay in the direction of a separate confederation. But the people, voting on the proposition of Convention or No Convention, ordered by the Legislature, decided against a convention to consider separation. But, after months of wearying pressure and intimidation from within and without, a convention called by the Legislature adopted an ordinance of secession on the anniversary of the so-called "Mecklenburgh Declaration of Independence,"[2] May 20th, 1861.

Other States join the Confederacy.

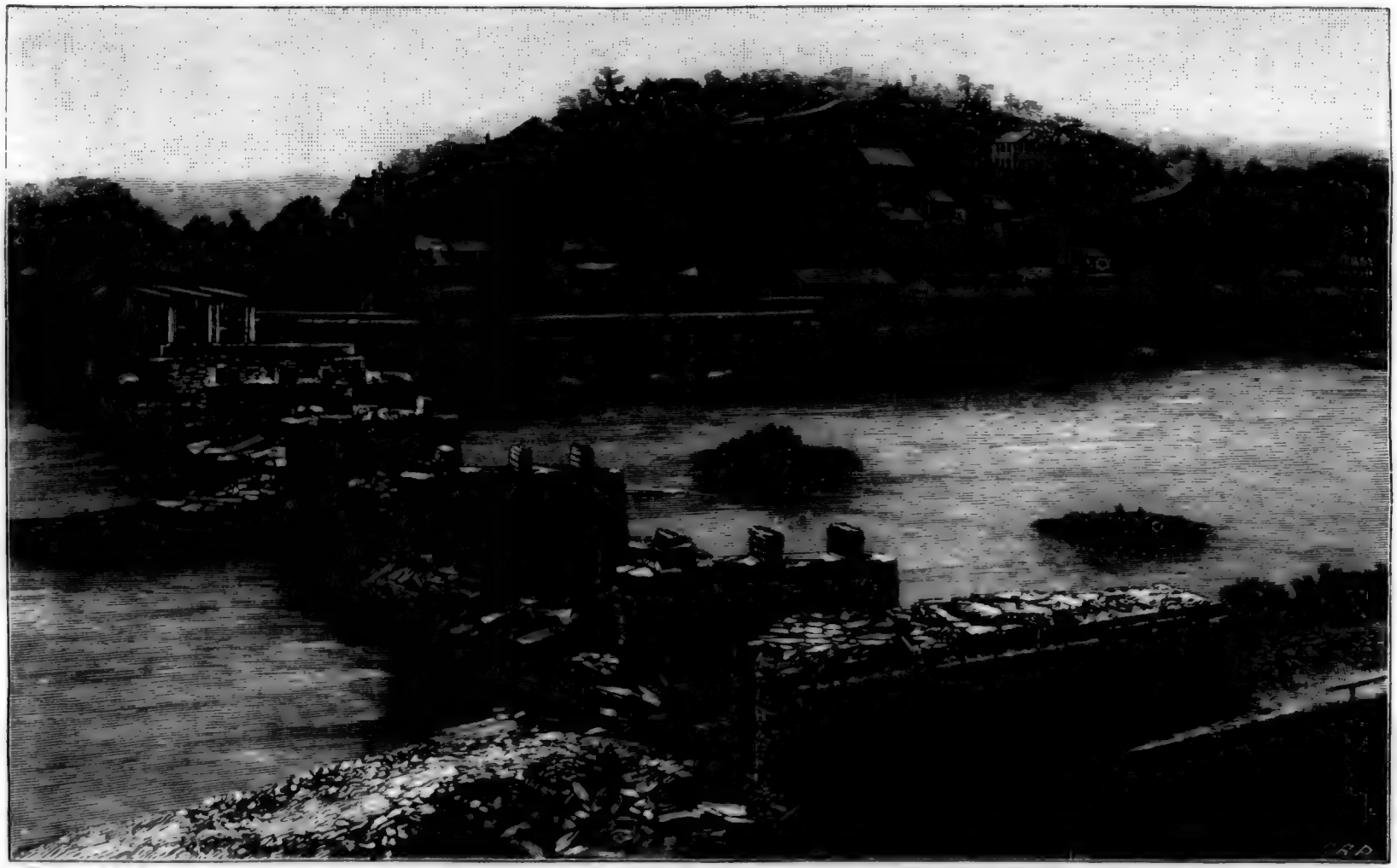
The proceedings in other States in which ordinances of secession were ultimately adopted were similar in character to those already described as having been taken in Virginia and North Carolina. Although the Union sentiment of the South was full and strong, the machinations of the conspirators, their threats and bullying, sufficed to bring on a reign of terror, during which the form of adopting acts of secession was gone through with; and, on the slightest pretext, the junta at Montgomery and their supporters in the coerced States loudly proclaimed successive accessions to the Confederate cause.

The first call for troops.

On the 15th of April, two days after the evacuation of Fort Sumter, the President called for 75,000 troops. The first to arrive in Washington were 530 Pennsylvanians, who were there on the 19th. On that day — the anniversary of the fight at

[1] The dates at which the several States seceded, and the votes on the ordinances in convention, were as follows: South Carolina, December 2, 1860, unanimous; Mississippi, January 9, 1861, 84 to 15; Alabama, January 11, 61 to 39; Florida, January 11, 62 to 7; Georgia, January 19, 208 to 89; Louisiana, January 26, 103 to 17; Texas, February 1, 166 to 7; Virginia, April 17, 88 to 55; Arkansas, May 6, 69 to 1; North Carolina, May 20, unanimous.

[2] The Mecklenburgh Declaration was so called from a tradition that a convention of patriotic citizens of Mecklenburgh County, North Carolina, met May 20th, 1775, and prepared a declaration of independence from Great Britain, using some of the phraseology that was subsequently employed in the Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776. As there is no contemporaneous evidence that such a document was written, its authenticity is seriously questioned.



Engraved by C. A. Powell.

HARPER'S FERRY.

From a war photograph, probably made after the national forces had burned and evacuated the town on April 18, 1861.



Major-General John B. Magruder, C. S. A.

Fight with the mob in Baltimore.

Lexington, Mass., at the beginning of the Revolution — portions of the Sixth Massachusetts and Seventh Pennsylvania regiments, passing through Baltimore to the defence of the national capital, were attacked by a vast mob of insurgents, who had the sanction of many of the wealthier and more respectable citizens. Two hundred Massachusetts men, having been separated from their regiment, were surrounded by a dense throng of rioters, estimated to number nearly 10,000. The troops marched slowly, headed by the Mayor and a detachment of police, and exhibited admirable discipline in refraining from retaliation when pelted with brick-bats and paving-stones and fired at with revolvers; the missiles coming not only from the crowd but from windows of the houses. At last, when three of their number had been killed[1] and eight wounded, the troops fired into the mob, of whom they killed seven, and wounded an unknown number. One rioter was killed by the Mayor, who had begged that the soldiers might not be permitted to fire, but seeing, at length, the necessity of defence, seized a musket and shot the most conspicuous leader of the assailants.

The indignation aroused by this outrage was intense all over the country. The Seventh Regiment of New York, under Colonel Lefferts, had already volunteered their services for one month, and were under arms when the news from Baltimore reached the city. They marched down Broadway amid the cheers of an immense multitude, and embarked the next morning at Philadelphia for Annapolis. There they joined General B. F. Butler, with the Eighth Regiment of Massachusetts, who had also avoided Baltimore, at Perryville had seized a steamboat, and reached Annapolis on the 21st. The combined force, under General Butler, took up the line of march for Washington. A portion of the railroad track had been torn up and the locomotives disabled by the insurgents, but they were repaired with little delay. The officers called for men who understood track-laying, bridge-building, or the construction and management of locomotives, and such men at once stepped out from the ranks of the Massachusetts Eighth, many of whom were mechanics.

[1] The names of the killed were Luther C. Ladd, Sumner H. Needham, and Addison O Whitney.

The arrival of the Pennsylvanians in Washington, however, was a great disappointment to the plotters who infested the national capital. It had been hoped that the few squads then hovering around Washington would be strong enough to seize the seat of government, occupy its buildings, and hold it for the advance of Jefferson Davis and his colleagues in the insurrectionary government. The Pennsylvanians were mostly unarmed; they had departed in haste from their homes, and their number was not large enough to make them very formidable under any circumstances. But the event of the arrival was greatly magnified in importance; and after they had been quartered in the House of Representatives in Washington the word went forth that 2,000 soldiers, armed with Minie rifles, were in the city for its defence. The secessionists had no stomach for the fighting which seemed to them imminent; they made no attack.

Arrival of troops in Washington.

Still, the capital was far from safe. After the interruption of railway travel through Maryland, a portentous cloud seemed to settle upon Washington. The survivors of the volunteers who were attacked in the streets of Baltimore made their appearance and were affectionately received and welcomed by the distressed and anxious President. But after these had been disposed in their temporary quarters, there were no more military demonstrations in Washington. Anxiety and gloomy forebodings were in every loyal heart; it appeared likely that at any moment the slumbering volcano which was believed to lie under the surface of Washington would burst forth, and carnage and bloodshed would rage in the streets. The mental tension of waiting men, — waiting for the blow to fall or relief to come, was terrible. But on the 25th, the Seventh Regiment of New York reached the beleaguered and isolated capital early in the afternoon. The regiment marched straight to the White House, where it was thankfully greeted by the President; and along its route it was welcomed by happy and loyal people. The danger was over. The National capital was safe.

At the end of April, General B. F. Butler, who commanded the department within which Baltimore was situated, had under his control 10,000 men, his headquarters being in Annapolis, the capital of the State, near the mouth of the Severn, on Chesapeake Bay. By a dexterous movement, on the 5th of May, he seized and occupied the most important point on the railway between Baltimore and Washington, nine miles from the first-named city. The presence of a large force of Federal troops at this junction strengthened the Union sentiment of Baltimore and overawed the insurgents. Thenceforth there was no more active opposition to the passage

Butler in Baltimore.



Fortress Monroe.

of national soldiers through the city. Availing himself of a heavy thunderstorm, during the night of May 13th, Butler marched into Baltimore, occupied a commanding position on Federal Hill, overlooking the city, and the doom of secession in Maryland was sealed.

Other events, big with importance, were meanwhile occurring in various parts of the Union. The blockade which had been laid by the proclamation of the President upon the ports of the seven States claiming to be the Southern Confederacy was now (April 27th) extended to the ports of North Carolina and Virginia; and on the 3d of May, the President issued another proclamation calling for 42,000 three-years' volunteers; 22,144 officers and men to serve in the regular army and 18,000 seamen for the navy. The previous call, it should be borne in mind, was in the nature of a requisition for 75,000 men of the State's militia, to serve three months, as duly provided by law. But the loyal States had already responded to the Government with a fulness and freeness that bespoke their readiness to sustain the Union at all hazards and at any cost. More than 150,000 men were either under arms or were ready to be mustered into service when the call of May 3d was made; and at that time offers of financial assistance to the amount of more than $40,000,000, from individuals, corporations, societies, and associations, had reached the Government of the United States.

Call for three-years' volunteers.

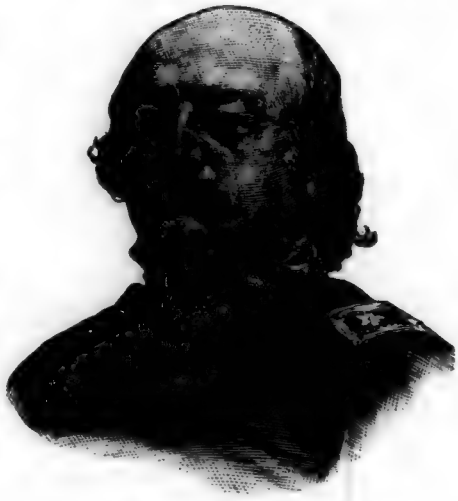
Up to this time, the insurgent leaders had confidently counted on the sympathy and support of their ancient allies in the Democratic

party of the Northern States. The most vociferous opponents of "coercion," as applied to States that professed to have seceded from the Union of States, were the leaders of that party. Their orators and the newspapers were loud in their expressions of sympathy with "the down-trodden South" while the preliminary acts of the secession drama were being marshalled upon the stage. But when the crisis actually came, and men must choose between Union or Disunion, vast numbers of the Democratic party in the North forsook that organization and supported war measures and war candidates. From that time to the end of the rebellion these were known as "War Democrats." The party which they abandoned preserved its name and organization, and the sympathy which it had heretofore extended to the slaveholding politicians of the South was not withdrawn from them now that they had lifted the standard of revolt. Under the pretext of a strict adherence to the Federal Constitution and a rigid construction of its provisions, they thereafter opposed all war measures in Congress and obstructed the war policy of the Government in every possible way. But, for all practical purposes, this sincere attempt to aid the Southern revolt was to the insurgents disappointingly inefficient.

Attitude of Northern Democrats.

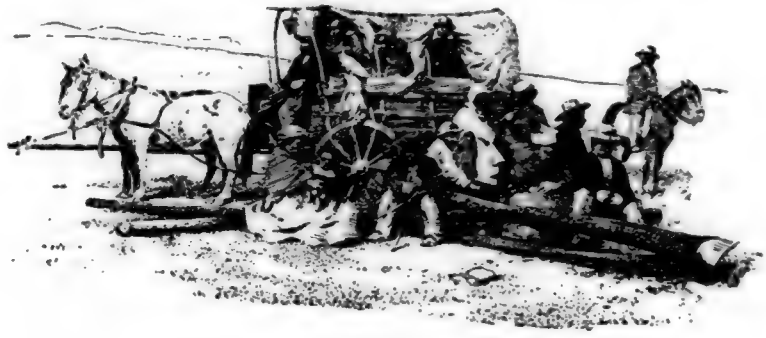
The Confederate capital was removed from Montgomery to Richmond, the first meeting of the Congress there being appointed for July 20th. It was not till June 1st, 1861, that mail service in the rebellious States, on the existing United States contracts, was discontinued. But the lines were being rapidly drawn. Southern tradesmen refused to pay their Northern debts, anticipating the act of the insurgent Congress of May 21st requiring that such debts should be paid into the Confederate treasury. All the ecclesiastical organizations, the Masonic and other benevolent fraternities, and the Bible and missionary societies, that extended over the whole country, snapped in twain on the line between the free and the slave States.

Payment of Northern debts forbidden.



Major-General Benjamin F. Butler.

A serious disaster to the Union cause was the destruction of a number of naval vessels at the Gosport, Virginia, navy-yard, on the 21st of May. This establishment, being near Norfolk and at a point from which a naval force could have been employed with efficiency, had been the object of the earnest solicitude of the Admin-



A Negro Family arriving within the Union lines.
Drawn by Gustav Verbeek from a photograph.

istration in Washington. But the greater number of officials in charge of the yard were secret enemies of the Union and were ready to exercise their authority in the premises so as to prevent the use by the Government of the vessels and the war material of which they were the faithless guardians. The buildings were set on fire and the ships scuttled and sunk, the pretence being that they would otherwise fall into the hands of the insurgents.

Destruction of the Gosport Navy-Yard.

It is a remarkable proof of the peaceful character of the Southern negro, that neither in the confusion of the beginning of hostilities, nor in all the subsequent years, when opportunity was even greater, was there the slightest attempt at the insurrection in mortal dread of which the South had always professed to be living. As the Federal armies approached the border, many of the slaves sought protection and liberty within their lines, only to be given up by Union officers, when their masters appeared and demanded their property, — so imperative for a while was the habit of Northern subserviency. Fortunately a wiser precedent was soon given for meeting such emergencies, by General Butler, then in command at Fortress Monroe. Some fugitives and their claimants were brought before him, and he decided that this species of property, like any other which could be of use to the enemy, was contraband of war, and ordered them to be fed and clothed and put to work upon his fortifications. Thereafter the fugitives were universally called "contrabands."

Slaves "contraband of war."

The insurgents' forces on the peninsula between York and James rivers were under command of General J. B. Magruder. General Butler, at Fortress Monroe, commanded the National volunteers in the same territory, for whom he had established camps of instruction at Newport News and near Hampton village. These being annoyed by raids from Big Bethel, where Magruder had intrenched himself with a considerable force, General Butler planned

Fight at Big Bethel.

an expedition against that place, which was but a dozen miles distant from Fortress Monroe. It was placed under command of General Pierce, and was to march by night, on the 9th of June, in two columns, which were to unite at Little Bethel, rout any force that might be there, and push on to Big Bethel, four miles farther, and capture the place. The expedition was mismanaged from first to last. As portions of the two columns came in sight at daybreak, they opened fire upon each other, and did not discover their mistake till ten men had fallen. No enemy was discovered at Little Bethel, and at Big Bethel he was found so strongly intrenched, with a clear space in front and a thick wood behind, that any attack was imprudent, unless some way could be found to take him in flank. Nevertheless, a front attack was made with much spirit, but was repulsed. The Union loss was fourteen killed, forty-nine wounded, and five missing. Among the killed were Lieutenant John T. Greble, of the regular army, who served a piece of artillery with great gallantry and effect, and Major Theodore Winthrop, an aid of General Butler, who had volunteered to go with the expedition, and was shot as he rushed forward and put himself at the head of the men in a desperate charge on the left. After the fight was over, the enemy fell back to Yorktown.

General Robert E. Lee, who had at first refused to quit the service of the United States, in which he had discharged his duties with honor and credit, "went with his State," even before Virginia adopted the act of secession; he said that he could not take arms against his native State, and accepted the command of the Virginia troops. One of his first acts was to send a force into western Virginia, under Colonel Porterfield, to obtain recruits and suppress secession from the Confederacy in that portion of the State. General George B. McClellan, in command of the Federal Department of the Ohio, who had hitherto remained on the free-State side of the river, met this movement by promptly crossing over with a considerable force in pursuit of the enemy. In a brief campaign, the insurgents lost about 250 killed, over 1,000 prisoners, and five guns, while the Union loss was but 20 killed and 60 wounded. These actions were small affairs, from a military point of view; but they had considerable importance in saving western Virginia to the Union. The reputation they gave to General McClellan raised him soon afterward to the chief command, in place of General Scott.

War in western Virginia.

Meanwhile the material for a considerable army had gathered at Washington, and was in camp across the Potomac, where the recruits were instructed and drilled under the eye of General Scott, with General Irwin McDowell in immediate command.

The Army of the Potomac.

Impatience at the long inaction of what seemed to be a powerful



Major-General Irwin McDowell.

army, at length broke forth in the cry of "On to Richmond!" and preparations were made to attack the insurgent force which, under General Beauregard, had taken up a position around Manassas Junction, about thirty miles west by south from Washington. Harper's Ferry, abandoned and burned by the National forces on the 18th of April, was now evacuated in turn by the Confederate force of about 9,000 men, under General Joseph E. Johnston, who in June retired toward Winchester, so as either to coöperate with Beauregard or to be able to unite their forces. General Robert Patterson, who had been gathering a force at Chambersburg, mainly of Pennsylvania troops, for the recapture of Harper's Ferry, now occupied that place. He afterwards advanced to Martinsburg, and thence to Bunker Hill. Here he was expected to hold Johnston in check, though Johnston was nearer than he to the grand centre of operations. The army under General McDowell, of about 30,000 men, contained less than 1,000 regulars. The rest were volunteers and most of them three-months' men, whose term of service would soon expire. Being assured by General Scott that Patterson, with his 18,000 men, would either hold Johnston in check or attack him, McDowell planned an advance movement. His plan was, in general terms, to march to Fairfax Court House, there turn southward, and crossing Occoquan Creek, place his army on Beauregard's line of communication.

Patterson's movements.

"On to Richmond."

The army broke camp in the afternoon of the 16th of July, and marched in four divisions, under Generals Tyler, Hunter, Heintzelman, and Miles, leaving one division to protect Washington. They moved in four columns, by nearly parallel roads, found Fairfax Court House abandoned, and next day reached Centreville. Beauregard's army was in position on the line of Bull Run, — a stream running in a channel sharply cut through red sandstone, — occupying for about five miles the southern bank from Sudley Spring to Union Mills, where the Orange and Alexandria Railroad crosses. Within this distance are six or seven fords, and a stone bridge where the Warrenton turnpike crosses. General McDowell found that his plan of turning the enemy's right flank was not practicable, from the nature of the ground. Two days were spent in reconnoitering. On

Battle of Bull Run.



Blackburn's Ford, Bull Run, on July 4th, 1862.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph.

the 18th, Tyler's division had an engagement at Blackburn's Ford, across the stream, each side losing half a hundred men. A new movement was planned, by which the divisions of Hunter and Heintzelman were to move up stream, cross at Sudley Ford, and sweeping down the right bank, uncover the other crossings. The other divisions were then to cross, and all together advance upon the enemy.

At three o'clock on Sunday morning, the 21st, the Union army was in motion. Tyler's division took the main road to the stone bridge. Hunter and Heintzelman diverged to the right, and crossed at Sudley Ford, about nine o'clock. Beauregard, ignorant of this movement, ordered an attack on the Union left; but his order miscarried. Colonel Evans, however, holding the extreme left of the insurgent line, whose suspicions had been aroused, marched up stream with half a brigade, and confronted the turning column beyond the turnpike. Instead of deploying in line of battle, and sweeping away the obstruction at once, Hunter sent successive detached regiments and brigades against it. Time was lost, during which Evans was heavily reënforced, and took up a new position a little in the rear. Hunter was also reënforced by Sherman's and Keyes's brigades. The combined force steadily drove back the enemy to the plateau. They were in great confusion, and Beauregard and Johnston,[1] besides mak-

[1] This General was the ranking officer, and real commander, but had adopted Beauregard's plans.



Ruins of the Stone Bridge across Bull Run on the Warrenton Turnpike.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph.

ing personal efforts to rally them, ordered up all their reserves, and formed a new line of battle of six thousand five hundred men, with thirteen guns and two companies of cavalry. McDowell attempted to work around the enemy's left, and ordered the batteries of Griffin and Ricketts to take position on a ridge overlooking a height which formed the strongest point in the rebel line. General T. J. Jackson (afterward known as "Stonewall" Jackson) sent a regiment to take this battery, and the movement succeeded, the cannoneers supposing it to be a New York regiment coming to their support. The guns were speedily retaken, however, when fresh supports were brought up, and the fight renewed around these batteries. But at this moment there arrived by rail seven regiments of Johnston's troops; these were ordered to fall upon the right flank of the Union army. Assisted by a battery and five companies of cavalry, the order was obeyed with promptness and vigor, and this decided the battle. About half-past four o'clock the Union right broke and retreated in confusion, soon followed by the centre and left, though in less disorder. The retreat became a panic; infantry,

The defeat.

artillery, trains, ambulances, members of Congress, and private citizens who had come out on horseback or in carriages to see the fight, were mingled in a confused crowd upon the roads to Washington. No pursuit was made, except by small bodies of cavalry, who took some prisoners. The regulars, forming the left of the line, brought up the rear in good order, while the reserves also preserved their organization and were ready to repel pursuit.

The forces engaged on each side of this disastrous fight were about equal in number. The Federal losses were as follows: 460 killed, 1,124 wounded, 1,312 captured or missing; total, 2,896. The Confederate losses were: 387 killed, 1,582 wounded, 13 captured or missing; total, 1,982. The defeat was the result of a combination of causes. General Patterson, a Pennsylvania volunteer officer, but a veteran of the Mexican war, had been instructed to hold Johnston's army in check at Winchester, in the Shenandoah valley, while McDowell should attack Beauregard at Manassas Junction, on Bull Run. Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, who, up to this time was the military chief of the United States forces, with headquarters in Washington, had planned the battle and had expected that his orders, frequently repeated to the two commanders in the field, would be implicitly carried out. Whatever may be said of McDowell's conduct of the battle of Bull Run, the responsibility for the escape of Johnston's force in season to reënforce that already at Bull Run rests on Patterson. An accident caused the panic that ensued when the arrival of these troops was followed by the fatal break in the Union lines.

For a time, however, the Confederates did not realize the extent of their success. It was even reported, after the breathless scare on the Federal side had somewhat subsided, that both armies fled wildly in opposite directions. As a matter of fact, Jefferson Davis, who had come out from Richmond to see the field, did subsequently reproach his generals with having failed to follow up their victory. But this was said long after the war was over, when he had leisure and inclination to fight his battles over again and show how fields might have been won. One of the generals thus criticised by the ex-President of the Confederacy replied that Davis had forgotten that his army "was more disorganized by victory than that of the United States by defeat."

The troops on both sides were raw and undisciplined. One of the reasons for the rout of the Federals, when defeat seemed certain, was the natural reflection of the three-months' men that their time was on the eve of expiring. Why should they not run away when it was not expected of them that they would be ready to fight another day?



Major-General Robert E. Patterson.

They had gone to Bull Run, as one critic said, "an aggregation of town meetings." It required years of discipline in the hard school of war to make seasoned veterans of these green novices in the art of military fighting. On the whole, neither side engaged in the battle had real cause for humiliation on account of the behavior of the men. Whatever may be said of the strategy employed, the fighting was sufficiently courageous.

The effect of this defeat upon the whole country was marked. In the South the feeling was one of exultation, after the fact was realized that the first fighting on a large scale had resulted in a victory to the Confederate arms. The old boast that one Southerner could put five, and possibly ten, "Yankees" to flight was renewed with many glowing additions. While the demoralized ranks of Johnston were repairing the breaches made by the fight, there arose in their rear a clamorous demand that they should at once precipitate themselves upon Washington, now well fortified and strongly garrisoned.

Results of Bull Run.

On the other hand, when the throngs of holiday-makers who had come out from Washington to see the fight, much as city folk would go to a horse-race in the suburbs, fled in disorder to the capital, they carried with them the news of a defeat which their fears and inexperience enormously exaggerated. Terrifying stories were told of the strength of the Confederate forces; and it would not have been surprising if the people of Washington, panic-struck by the tales of these pallid civilians and by the demoralized condition of soldiers who were only civilians in uniform, had made ready for instant flight or surrender. But the foe came not. He was fully occupied with nursing his wounds. In the North there was soreness over defeat, consternation over the possibilities of other such disasters immediately to come. Timorous men considered the day utterly lost and the end of all things nigh at hand. In the blackness of his own despair, the editor of the foremost Republican newspaper in the land thus advised President Lincoln:[1] "If the Union is irrevocably gone, an armistice for thirty, sixty, ninety, one hundred and twenty days — better still for a year — ought to be proposed at once, with a view to a peaceful adjustment. Then Congress should call a National

Greeley's advice.

[1] Horace Greeley to President Lincoln; the Nicolay-Hay *Life of Lincoln*, vol. iv. p. 366.

Convention, to meet at the earliest possible day. And there should be an immediate and mutual exchange or release of prisoners and a disbandment of forces."

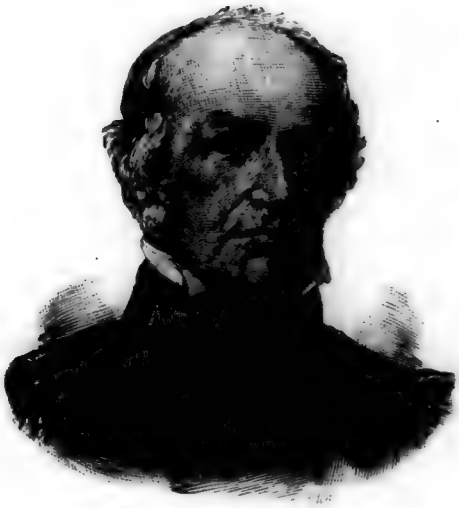


Major-General George B. McClellan.

But patriotism and popular courage soon rallied. The people of the loyal States were determined that the Union should be preserved, if men and money could save it. In the hamlets and villages, cities and towns where the cruel tidings from Bull Run had carried mourning and lamentation, the fires that were kindled when Sumter fell flamed up anew. Mass meetings were held to incite the raising of more troops for the field and the pledging of more funds for the outfitting and the succor of those who were to fight the battles of the Union. Inspiriting songs were written and sung to "swell the chorus of the Union" and to express the patriotic determination of the loyal people. With that grim sense of humor which even the horrors of war never blunted, the people took up some of the grotesque incidents of the Bull Run disaster and made them seasonable jests. The scared correspondent of a London newspaper wore "Bull Run" before his own proper name for years afterward; then too came into general popular use some of the phrases that had been coined to express the conditions of the fight; and men were "demoralized," or they "skedaddled," as they incorporated these volunteer military terms into their humorous speech.

On the day after the battle of Bull Run, General George B. McClellan, who had won fame by a short and brilliant campaign in Western Virginia, was called to the command of the Army of the Potomac, as the forces immediately around Washington were now called. McClellan was a favored child of fortune, his antecedents, culture and social environment having been of the highest order. He was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, had seen some service in Mexico, and had been assigned to sundry posts of honor and distinction while in the army. At the outbreak of the rebellion, when he was again commissioned in the army from which he had retired to civil life, he gave up an important post as railroad president. He was an engineer of acknowledged skill, a scholar well versed in military science, and as an organizer of forces was without a superior. He took hold of the work of building

General McClellan.



Colonel Edward D. Baker.
(Senator from Oregon when killed at Ball's Bluff.)

up the Army of the Potomac and systematizing the fortifications of Washington with such splendid zeal that the fickle public, heretofore resting with confidence on the courage, prowess, and military experience of Lieutenant-General Scott, fondly hailed "Little Mac" as the deliverer of the imperilled Union, the savior of his country.

On October 31st, General Scott, then in the seventy-sixth year of his age, pleading his infirmities, resigned from active service and was placed upon the retired list. General McClellan, who had worried the old general and had embittered his last days of service by disobedience of his orders and an affected ignorance of his high official station, now succeeded to the command of all the armies of the United States, with headquarters in Washington. In little more than a half-year, General McClellan had passed from civil life to the post of commander of all the armies of the United States, subject only to the orders of the President, who, by virtue of his exalted office, was Commander-in-Chief.

Congress, then in session, rose to the emergency and at once took steps to sustain the hands of the President in his efforts to put down the rebellion. On the day after the battle of Bull Run, John J. Crittenden, whose proposals for a compromise earlier in the struggle had made his name famous, and who was now a member of the House of Representatives, offered a resolution pledging Congress to full support of the war which was waged, as the resolution declared, "to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired." The resolution passed both houses of Congress almost unanimously; and on that day Congress voted for the raising of an army of 500,000 men, and the appropriation of $500,000,000 for the expenses of the war.

In October an affair hardly less discouraging than that of Bull Run occurred at Ball's Bluff, on the upper Potomac. General Charles P. Stone, commanding a corps of observation, ordered Colonels Devens and Lee, with the Fifteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts Regiments, to cross the river — here divided by Harrison Island — on the night of the 20th, and surprise an insurgent

The affair at Ball's Bluff.

camp said to have been discovered in the direction of Leesburg. The crossing was made in three scows, a life-boat, and two skiffs, all of which would hold but 150 men at a time, and the force was nearly 700. No hostile camp was found; but in the morning the troops were attacked by a heavy force concealed in the woods, and driven back. In the forenoon Colonel E. D. Baker, of California, then Senator from Oregon, crossed the river with a supporting column of 1,900 men, and assumed command. But the enemy was reënforced; Baker was killed, and at dusk his men were driven back over the bluff. Three of the boats were sunk, and under an unremitting fire the remnant of the Union forces straggled back in one way and another to the Maryland shore. They had lost nearly 1,000 men. The loss of General Baker, who was a brilliant and accomplished man, gave the public a severe shock. The disaster, not by any means insignificant in itself, was unduly magnified; and the depression of the people was correspondingly great. General Stone was naturally selected as the most available scapegoat for this emergency. He was arrested without the preferring of charges and was thereafter treated with unexplained severity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FIGHT FOR THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

INSURGENT OPERATIONS TO HOLD VICKSBURG. — ATTEMPTS TO CAPTURE ST. LOUIS. — FAILURE OF THE PLANS OF CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON. — GENERAL LYON CAPTURES THE INSURGENT CAMP JACKSON. — CIVIL WAR BEGUN IN MISSOURI. — OUTBREAK OF GUERILLA WARFARE. — PRESIDENT LINCOLN ENTREATED TO AID THE NORTHWESTERN STATES TO HOLD THE MISSISSIPPI. — FREMONT IN COMMAND. — DEATH OF GENERAL LYON. — CIVIL TROUBLES IN MISSOURI. — FREMONT'S EMANCIPATION AND REPRISAL PROCLAMATION. — HIS SUBSEQUENT REMOVAL. — GENERAL HALLECK IN COMMAND. — THE STRUGGLE IN KENTUCKY. — THAT STATE BECOMES THE BATTLE-GROUND OF THE WAR IN THE SOUTHWEST.

EARLY in the conflict it became evident that there must be a struggle for the control of that great waterway, the Mississippi River, and its tributaries. Perceiving the importance of prompt occupation of such a commanding position on the lower portion of the stream as would hold with a firm hand its navigation, the insurgents planted cannon on the bluffs of Vicksburg, in January, 1861, with a determination to hail and examine every vessel that should attempt to pass. Among the first acts of the Montgomery Congress was the ordering of a "Confederate" custom-house at Neine's Landing, on the northern boundary of the State of Mississippi.

The Mississippi River.

In the next great centre of population on the river, to the northward, the elements of secession were already seething; St. Louis was not only one of the most important and influential cities in the Mississippi Valley, but it was the chief city of Missouri, a State which was ardently coveted by the conspirators in Montgomery. The Governor of the State, inaugurated in January, 1861, was Claiborne F. Jackson, who, while wearing a thin pretence of devotion to the Federal Union, was at heart a rebel and a secessionist. The Legislature which assembled that year was largely of Jackson's way of thinking; it readily seconded his motion to call a convention of the people "to consider Federal relations;" but the plotters were greatly dismayed to find that the convention, when it assembled at the end of the following month, was almost unanimously

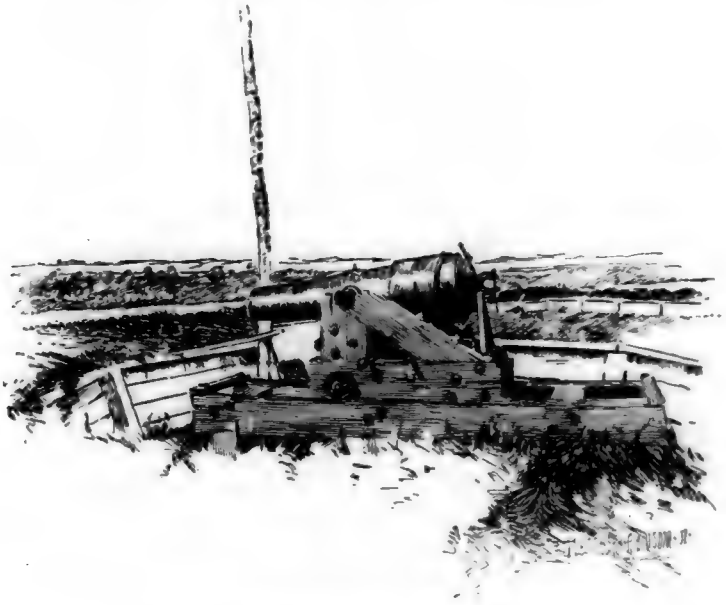
The situation in Missouri.

opposed to separation; there were a few secret secessionists in the convention, and a few "Conditional Unionists," as the lukewarm were beginning to be called; but there was an overwhelming majority against every form of open disunion. A "Commissioner" from Georgia was permitted to address the convention in behalf of the Confederacy, but his sophistries fell on unheeding ears, and the spectators in the galleries hooted the speaker.

Jackson could hope for nothing from that convention, and he turned his attention to the Legislature, from which he now procured such legislation as would enable him to drag the State out of the Union. He assumed the lofty tone of a State Executive striving against unjust and unlawful oppression. When the President's call for State troops came, Jackson had insolently replied: "Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional, and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with." Under the inspiration of Daniel M. Frost, a native of New York and a graduate of the National Military Academy, Governor Jackson seized the United States arsenal at Liberty, Missouri, distributed among the disloyalists the arms thus stolen, applied to the authorities of Louisiana for a share in the plunder of the arsenal at Baton Rouge, and established a military camp near St. Louis for the nominal purpose of military instruction for the State militia. But the capture of the United States arsenal at St. Louis, with its large stores of munitions of war, was the object of the most ardent desire with the secession leaders. The institution was under the command of Captain Nathaniel Lyon, a brave officer of the United States army, who, with the assistance of Frank P. Blair, Jr., secured permission to enroll loyal citizens of St. Louis in the military service of the United States, the number not to exceed 10,000. On the 19th of May, hearing that cannon and mortars had been secretly taken into the so-called camp of instruction, known as Camp Jackson, Lyon surrounded the grounds and demanded the surrender of the State troops, numbering some 1,200; Lyon's force was vastly superior in numbers, and Frost, who had been put in command of the militia forces, surrendered. Lyon offered to release his prisoners on condition that they would take the oath of allegiance to the United States, declining which, they were locked up until calmer reflection convinced them that this was their wiser course.

Action of Captain Lyon at Camp Jackson.

The dispersion of the nest of secession at Camp Jackson and the evident miscarriage of their plans to seize the St. Louis arsenal, filled the Missouri disunionists with consternation and rage. The Legislature proceeded to put the State on a war footing, placing all military control in the hands of the Governor and authorizing the raising of a



Pivot Gun Battery on the Bluffs at Vicksburg.

(The view is taken looking southwest, and shows in the distance De Soto Point.)

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a contemporary photograph hitherto unpublished.

large loan for war purposes. Meanwhile, General W. S. Harney, who was the actual commander of the military department which included St. Louis, but who had been absent from the post, returned and began to undo what had been done to assure the State to the Federal Union. He entered into a compact with Sterling Price, the President of the State Convention, then a general of the State militia, by which Price pledged himself to maintain order, and Harney agreed that no further military movements should be made as long as order was maintained. The obvious purpose of the plotters was to gain time and collect munitions of war. The compact was disallowed by the Federal Government, to whom General Harney had reported it for approval, but Price, craftily assuming that it was still in force, ever after conducted his affairs as if it were a substantial basis of agreement. Harney was removed from command, and Lyon, who had been promoted to be a brigadier-general, succeeded to his post, now denominated the Department of the Missouri. After a few fretful struggles against the National authority, Price and Jackson withdrew to Jefferson City, the capital of the State, whence the Governor fulminated a proclamation advising the people of Missouri that their first allegiance was due to their own State, and that they were under no obligations whatever to obey "the unconstitutional edicts of the military despotism which had enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its minions in this State." It was the rôle of

all such inciters to rebellion to assume that the President of the United States was a usurper, and that all laws and regulations enacted after his election were null and void.

Civil war in Missouri.

Civil war was now begun in Missouri. The State troops, which had been reorganized and reënforced "for the purpose of repelling invasion," were set in motion. Important railway bridges between the capital and St. Louis were burned and the telegraph lines were cut. Price, under the orders of the Governor, marched to take possession and hold the important towns of Lexington and Booneville, on the Missouri River. General Lyon, having meantime seized and fortified Bird's Point, an important strategic position on the Mississippi opposite the city of Cairo, followed in pursuit of Price and Jackson, who, burning their bridges behind them, were moving into the western part of the State. Lyon's forces, however, took the water route, ascending the Missouri River by steamer, so that the device of bridge-burning to avoid successful pursuit availed the insurgents nothing. At their approach to Booneville, Price, alleging a sudden attack of illness, fled to Lexington, and the scared Jackson directed that no resistance be made. But J. S. Marmaduke, then a colonel in the State forces, attempted to withstand the advance of Lyon, who, after a short engagement, captured the insurgent camp with a large number of prisoners, most of whom, being young men who had been impressed into the service, or enlisted under false pretences, were released.

The two leaders, Jackson and Price, who had kept at a safe distance from the fighting, now gathered up all available troops and fled still further to the west, finally halting at Montevallo, Vernon County, on the extreme western verge of the State. General Lyon held secure control of the entire eastern part of Missouri and of that portion which lies north of the Missouri River. A vexatious guerilla warfare now broke out all over the State. Civilians with very little pretence of military organization raided the rural districts and infested the small towns. When troops were sent against them, only men working peaceably in their fields or shops would be found; but no sooner were the backs of the soldiers turned than these miscreants were in the saddle to kill or kidnap Union men, burn their barns and houses and harry Union districts with desperate mischief. Unavoidable delays hindered the immediate advance of the National forces; and in the mean while the insurgents, now in the southwestern corner of the State, were cheered by accessions to their number from Arkansas. General Leonidas Polk, "the fighting bishop" of Mississippi, was maturing plans to respond to the call for aid which came from the despairing Governor of Missouri. From Memphis, Tennes-

Guerilla warfare.



Captain (afterwards Brigadier-General) Nathaniel Lyon.

see, where he had been stationed to secure command of that portion of the Mississippi River, Polk reported his intention to send 25,000 men under Ben McCulloch, the Texan Ranger, against Lyon, who was then at Springfield; and to despatch another column into southeast Missouri under General Gideon J. Pillow and William J. Hardee. Although this ambitious scheme was not executed, the situation in the valley of the Mississippi daily grew more critical. In Kentucky there was an absolute suspension of all military operations, the month of September, 1861, being fixed upon as the very earliest date on which active military movements of any kind should be permitted. The closing of the great waterway from the Northwestern States to the Gulf of Mexico had begun to be felt disastrously all over these States. It was seen that the languishing of the fight in Missouri, the supineness of the Union element in Kentucky, and the activity of the insurgents in the Southwest were not adequately counteracted by the Federal Government, already harassed by the pressing necessity of effective military operations along the line of the Potomac. The vast resources of the West, in men and money, were waiting to be employed in the opening of the blockaded Mississippi. It was loudly demanded that the Northwestern States should be permitted to embark on military undertakings for this purpose. Later on in the war, when Western men were transferred to the armies operating in the East, it was bitterly complained by the Confederates and their sympathizers in the North that the Westerners were being employed for "the subjugation of the South," in direct violation of obligations which were thus remotely suggested but never specified.

Action of the Governors of the Northwestern States.

Finally, a conference of the Governors of the Northwestern States was held to consider the dangerous situation, and a formal request was made upon the Administration at Washington to move forward and make the line of the Ohio River secure by occupying advanced posts in Kentucky and Tennessee, organize the war material ready to its hand in the West, and appoint a competent commander who should take charge of a grand military movement which might open the great river to free navigation and divide the insurgent States of the Southwest in twain. By very gen-



A Typical Roadside Scene near Vicksburg, Miss.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

eral consent, public opinion had already selected as the leader in this tremendous task John C. Fremont, who, allied to the family of the Missouri Bentons by marriage, a Western explorer of renown and romantic interest, a dashing soldier and a brilliant actor in the drama of the organization of California into a free American commonwealth, was thought to have peculiar qualities for the work desired of him. Fremont, as the candidate of the Republican party in 1856, when defeat seemed certain, had gained a National reputation and had established a claim upon the grateful recognition of the party now in power. On arriving home from a winter in Europe, early in July, 1861, Fremont was commissioned a major-general in the regular army and was assigned to the command of the Department of the West, which consisted of the State of Illinois and all the States and Territories between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. It was thought that the hour and the man had come in the West.

General John C. Fremont.

After a long and inexplicable tarry in New York, General Fremont reached his headquarters in St. Louis July 25th, at a most critical time. Recruits were to be had in plenty, but arms and munitions of war were not ready to hand. Fremont began by organizing an immense and showy staff; useless and unscientific fortifications were built at extravagant cost; regiments without equipments were rushed off to the front; and a wild confusion of orders and countermands took the place of the moderate military proceedings that had been carried on at headquarters up to this time. There was apparently very little system in the organization of the forces at Fremont's command. Yet among those forces were such men as Grant, Pope, Logan, Blair, Lyon, Schofield, McClernand, Curtis, Palmer, Sturgis, Hurlbut, and others whose names are illustrious in the history of war, to say nothing of

the sturdy soldiers in the ranks and in the field who were more than ready to hew their way to the Gulf.

Before Fremont left New York, the guerilla warfare in the northwestern portion of Missouri had become so aggravating that General Lyon's adjutant at headquarters had selected Brigadier-general John Pope to take the field with eight Illinois regiments to attempt to restore order, General Fremont having given permission by telegraph that these steps should be taken. On his arrival at St. Louis, therefore, the new commander found this situation: Cairo, the key to the Mississippi Valley, was believed to be menaced by an overwhelming force which had been gathered for the purpose of seizing it; the insurgent General Gideon J. Pillow had crossed the Mississippi into Missouri at New Madrid with 6,000 men; great numbers of fighting men were swarming over the southwestern border of the State from Arkansas and Texas, led by Ben McCulloch and General Pearce, of Arkansas; and Lyon, his little force daily crumbling in consequence of the expiration of the terms of enlistment of his men, was occupying a defensive position near Springfield, in the southwestern part of the State. Colonel Franz Sigel, with a detachment of Lyon's forces, had meanwhile executed a series of brilliant marches, and, after dealing a severe blow against the insurgents at Carthage, Jasper County, southwest of Springfield, had fallen back upon the last-named place, pressed by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, now heavily reënforced. Troops were pouring into Missouri from the southwest; and no attention was being paid to the arming and the supporting of the Nationals, well-nigh shut up in the vicinity of Springfield. The demands made upon General Fremont were enormous; his skill and his military resources were taxed to their utmost.



Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk, C. S. A., in his Bishop's robes.

Early in August, Lyon found himself confronted by an insurgent force of about 20,000 men. The Union force was about 5,000, but Lyon, after waiting in vain for expected reënforcements, determined to attack rather than attempt a retreat which could hardly fail to be disastrous in the face of a force four times larger than his own. On the night of the 9th of August, Sigel moved to gain the right flank of the enemy and fall upon it by daylight. Lyon, with 3,700 men and

Battle of Wilson's Creek.

ten guns, gained the enemy's left, and at five o'clock in the morning attacked it vigorously, continually gaining ground and advancing his line against greatly superior numbers. Sigel was also successful at first; but his men fell to plundering the camps, when the enemy rallied and defeated him in turn, capturing five of his guns and many men. Lyon was twice wounded early in the action, and was afterward killed at the head of the First Iowa Regiment, which was brought up to repel a movement on his flank. "Who will lead us?" said the men, for their colonel was absent. "I will lead you! Onward, brave boys of Iowa!" answered Lyon, as he rode forward waving his hat. He fell soon after with a bullet through his heart. The enemy, despite his great superiority of numbers, was driven from the field. But retreat of the National forces was also necessary, and Major Sturgis, upon whom the command devolved, brought them in the course of a week to Rolla, some 150 miles to the northeast of Springfield. Fremont was bitterly reproached for the disaster at Springfield, and was even charged with being indirectly responsible for the death of the gallant Lyon. His defenders pleaded that Fremont had no reënforcements to send to Lyon. But his critics forcibly replied that Lyon, overwhelmed by superior numbers and constantly weakened by the expiration of enlistments in his little army, should have been recalled. Momentarily in expectation of a support which never came, and deprived of even a word of explanation, Lyon was left to perish.

Death of General Lyon.

These disasters turned public attention angrily upon Fremont, who was now the object of much harsh and unjust criticism, and was likely to share the fate of other popular idols, who, after a few weeks or months of sunshine, were consigned to gloom and oblivion. Roused by these assaults, Fremont widened his circles of fortifications and evinced an intention to put himself on the defensive rather than begin the grand campaign which had been so eagerly expected of him. Political troubles also assailed him from within the State. Jackson having vacated the governorship and fled, the lieutenant-governor, Reynolds, had taken up the reins, and, in a bombastic and ridiculous proclamation, avowed his determination to maintain the independence of the sovereign State of Missouri. The State Convention, before alluded to, was reconvened, and its patriotic members proceeded to organize a provisional government, H. R. Gamble being selected to perform the duties of Provisional Governor, pending a regular popular election. Although admonished from Washington that he should coöperate with Gamble as far as possible, Fremont studiously disregarded him in all his movements, civil and military, arrogating to himself the powers and duties of a military dictator.



Brigadier-General Gideon J. Pillow, C. S. A.

The climax came when Fremont, justly indignant at the impunity with which marauders and assassins harassed the Union citizens of Missouri, issued his famous proclamation of reprisals and emancipation. This document, sent forth on the 31st of August, placed the State under martial law, prescribed the death penalty for bridge-burners and telegraph-cutters, and contained this remarkable clause: "The property, real and personal, of all persons in the State of Missouri, who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken active part with their enemies in the field, is declared to be confiscated to the public use; and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men."

Fremont's Proclamation of reprisal and emancipation.

Two days after the proclamation was issued, the President wrote a private letter to Fremont, taking exception to the two main points. "Should you shoot a man," wrote Mr. Lincoln, "according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. . . . . I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property, and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends, and turn them against us; perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the first and fourth sections of the Act of Congress entitled, 'An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,' approved August 6, 1861." This act confiscated such property and slaves as were, with the consent of the owner, used in any hostile service to the United States. Fremont declined to change his proclamation "as of his own motion," and suggested that if it was to be modified, the President himself should do it openly, — which he did.

Mr. Lincoln on Fremont's proclamation.

As from this incident arose what in the course of time came to be regarded as a serious issue in the West, — "the Missouri quarrel," it is well to consider some of the circumstances with minuteness. The Blair family, — Frank P., senior, living on the outskirts of Washington; Montgomery, in the cabinet of Lincoln; and Frank P., junior, now a Representative in Congress from Missouri, had from the first

been the warm friends of Fremont and the enthusiastic defenders of his soldierly reputation. They were amazed when Fremont's want of generalship began to sow uneasiness where implicit confidence in the "Pathfinder" had before existed. And, as this incapacity began further to develop itself, and politics, rather than military success, engaged the general's attention, the friendly Blairs took the alarm. When popular clamor against Fremont began to be heard, Montgomery Blair, being naturally regarded by the President as the fittest man to advise confidentially with the headstrong Fremont, was sent to St. Louis; he was accompanied by Quartermaster-general Meigs, who was instructed to look over matters in St. Louis, General Fremont having been accused of harboring about him sundry speculators who were enriching themselves by means of fat contracts, giving very little for the great compensation which they received.

This mission of the Postmaster-general, Fremont chose to regard as a personal affront to himself. He had also become embroiled with Colonel Frank P. Blair, Jr., in an unseemly quarrel, and had placed that officer under arrest. Colonel Blair retorted by preferring charges of incapacity against Fremont, and from that day the quarrel between the Missouri "Conservatives" and "Radicals" increased in bitterness and rancor. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that Fremont had become engrossed with politics, to the exclusion of everything else; his ambition had been fired by the opportunities of his position; and he assumed the attitude of a dictator, setting up a bureau of abolition and issuing manumission papers, long before the President of the United States had begun to consider the advisability of availing himself of emancipation as a war measure, to be exercised by the supreme executive power of the United States.

Quarrel between Fremont and Blair.

Another frightful military disaster complicated the situation in Missouri and hastened the popular verdict that Fremont as a commander was a failure. The insurgent commanders had quarrelled among themselves, and the three armies under them had separated, Pearce with his Arkansas forces returning home, McCulloch taking his three regiments back to the border of the Indian Territory, where he resumed his post of watchfulness, and Price slowly leading his Missourians northward to the Missouri River, his



Major-General John C. Fremont.



Typical Contrabands.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a war photograph hitherto unpublished.

objective point being Lexington, an important town on that stream. Colonel James A. Mulligan, commanding the famous Irish Brigade, of Chicago, was sent forward to the relief of Lexington, and, with a small reënforcement which joined him on the way, he occupied the place with 2,800 men and eight guns. The insurgent force under Price now numbered about 20,000 men, with thirteen guns. On the 18th of September began the siege of Lexington, Mulligan having fortified himself on College Hill, in the suburbs of the city. His water supply was soon cut off; his entrenchments were filled with the wounded and the dead; and, after a hot and gallant fight of fifty-two hours, Mulligan surrendered.

Siege of Lexington.

It was charged with a show of justice that some of the available troops at various points might have been gathered up and hurried forward to the relief of Mulligan, during the leisurely march northward of his assailant. Fremont telegraphed to Washington that he was about to take the field himself and that he hoped to destroy Price's army before it could escape southward. But this expectation was not realized. Price got away with an immense booty, part of which was the great seal of the State and the official records, which had been brought to Lexington by the Union troops from Jefferson City, and the possession of which greatly elated Price, who appeared to regard his capture as something in the nature of a palladium.

The growing scandals relating to Fremont's incapacity and his inattention to details of management called for an investigation; and about the middle of October, the Secretary of War and the Adjutant-general of the Army were sent by the President to St. Louis on a special mission of inquiry. The Secretary was armed with a letter from the President ordering Fremont's removal from command, which he was to use at his discretion. This order, though privately shown to the general, was not officially presented. But a consensus of

opinion from the generals immediately under Fremont's command showed that they had lost all confidence in his ability to conduct any military movement of importance. This was the verdict of such general officers as David Hunter, John Pope, and Samuel R. Curtis.

So vice-regal had become the surroundings of General Fremont in St. Louis, and so personal was his following in the army of quartermasters and provost-guards that surrounded headquarters, that it was even intimated that he could not be removed from his command without disturbance and resistance. But on the 24th of October, President Lincoln directed that an order relieving Fremont from command and assigning General Hunter as his successor be sent by messenger to General Curtis at St. Louis. The order was enclosed in a letter to General Curtis in which that officer was directed to deliver it to General Fremont unless at the time of its receipt in St. Louis, Fremont should have won a battle, or should then be actually engaged in a battle, or be in the actual presence of the enemy. Neither of these contingencies being actual, Fremont was relieved from command and Hunter succeeded him without the least friction. For a time at least Missouri now appeared to have been abandoned to the insurgents. Active military operations ceased.

Fremont removed from command.

Meanwhile, the ostensible attitude of the authorities of Kentucky had been one of studious neutrality. In this respect, Kentucky was quite as inconsistent as Virginia; for the last-named State, while vigorously protesting against the "invasion" of her sacred soil by the forces of the United States, had virtually made that soil the camping-ground of the army of the Confederates. Before the ordinance of secession was passed upon, and while the State was yet nominally in the Union, Virginia welcomed to her fields the recruits which were set in motion by the signatories of the Montgomery compact. In like manner, while the Governor of Kentucky, Beriah Magoffin, boisterously insisted that the Government of the United States must respect the neutrality of his State, he was openly giving aid and comfort to the rapidly assembling cohorts of the insurgents. Recruiting for the Confederate army and for the Tennessee militia was carried forward in Kentucky without let or hinderance from local authority; and when the loyal citizens of the State began to assemble at military rendezvous, under the direction of Lovell H. Rousseau and William Nelson, two patriotic sons of Kentucky, Governor Magoffin sent a querulous complaint to Washington protesting against this violation of "neutrality."

The situation in Kentucky.

A more flagrant instance of double-dealing on the part of the insurgents was the seizure of Columbus, Kentucky, by "the fighting

Bishop of Mississippi," Polk, in order to influence the loyal Legislature of the State, just then assembling (September 4th, 1861). The insurgent Secretary of War ordered Polk to withdraw, but Jefferson Davis, the higher power, telegraphed to the militant churchman approving of his act and adding the comforting reflection, "The necessity must justify the act." Magoffin contented himself with asking the Governor of Tennessee why troops from that State were entrenched on the soil of Kentucky; to this mild request for information Governor Harris replied that he was very sorry indeed to learn that an event so untoward had occurred; he would telegraph to "President" Davis requesting the immediate withdrawal of the troops. But the Legislature passed a series of spirited resolutions directing the Governor to "expel and drive out the invaders;" and it was further resolved that the assistance of the National Government be invoked to the end that the sacred soil of Kentucky be freed from "the lawless invaders" who were camped in the State. Magoffin, who had lectured the Legislature on the folly and sin of permitting the Government of the United States to enlist troops in Kentucky in violation of its extremely precious neutrality, had now no alternative but to obey the legislative mandate; with ill grace he carried out the order, after he had vetoed ineffectually the resolutions, which were passed over his veto. He mildly proclaimed that he had been instructed that "Kentucky expects the Confederate, or Tennessee, troops to withdraw from her soil immediately." This ended the neutrality of Kentucky so far as its rebel politicians were concerned. Henceforth, the military forces were to fight out the issue without the moral aid of the Governor.

While these events were in progress, General Ulysses S. Grant, then in command of a district which included the city of Cairo, Illinois, whose defence he had been specially commissioned to look after, took military possession of Paducah, Kentucky, at the mouth of the Tennessee River. Secession flags were flying there, and Tennessee troops were encamped at Columbus and Hickman. Grant, at the beginning of the war, after drilling a regiment of Illinois troops, but having no command, had ventured to hope that General McClellan, when he was organizing his forces at Cincinnati, would offer him a place on his staff; but McClellan, although he had known Grant in the Military Academy at West Point, and knew that he was ready to reënter the army, failed to perceive any opportunity to give active employment to his old classmate. An offer of Grant's services to the War Department had been pigeonholed in the hurry and confusion of the time; and there was every probability that Mr. Grant would remain in civil life, when Governor Richard Yates, of

General U. S. Grant.



Lieutenant-General Simon B. Buckner, C. S. A.



Brigadier-General Felix K. Zollicoffer, C. S. A.

Illinois, for lack of any other available man to put in command of a regiment, placed him at the head of the 21st Illinois Volunteers. He was first sent to aid in the task of putting an end to the bush-whacking and guerilla warfare in Missouri, but his orders were changed and he was set to work in the southeastern part of that State, and, after various service in the region, was placed in command at Cairo, then an important military depot and rendezvous. By his sudden march upon Paducah, Kentucky, he checkmated the rebel occupation of Columbus, from which stronghold a column was about to be sent out by the insurgent commander, who now had his hands full with the Union forces under Grant within easy striking distance.

Paducah occupied.

General Robert Anderson, commanding the department of Kentucky, learning that the insurgent General S. B. Buckner was moving upon Louisville, the chief city of the State, sent out a considerable force under the command of his lieutenant, General W. T. Sherman, to head off the invader. Buckner, checked by Sherman's advance, established himself at Bowling Green where he intrenched himself, and, after the fashion of the day, issued a proclamation. That was a time of turgid and windy proclamations and pronunciamentos; and Buckner's was no exception to the rule. He abused the National Government in good set terms, declared that he had been solicited by "the people of Kentucky" to come in and help preserve that invaluable neutrality of which it was then the custom to speak with bated breath, and admonished everybody that he was at "the head of a force, the advance of which is composed entirely of Kentuckians" whose duty it would be to enforce the strictest neutrality "against the

two belligerents alike." This grotesque fanfaronade, which deceived nobody, was followed, it is hardly necessary to add, by a counter-proclamation from General Anderson.

General Sherman, having established a rendezvous near Elizabethtown, Kentucky, devoted his energies, which were abundant, to laying the foundation of the military organization afterwards known as the Army of the Cumberland. He, too, was a graduate from the United States Military Academy, and had seen service in the war with Mexico. The breaking out of the civil war found him at the head of a military school, which post he left and accepted a colonelcy in the army. He was subsequently put in command of a brigade and participated in the battle of Bull Run. Now, in consequence of General Anderson's continued ill health, Sherman was placed in command of the Department of the Cumberland, which included the State of Tennessee, — two very important points to be held on the line of the Ohio, if control of the Mississippi valley was to be in the hands of the National Government. General Sherman fretted because the plenteous outpouring of the loyal men of the North was not more promptly made available; and when he asked for 100,000 men for the defence of the line of the Ohio and declared that the Government would need an army of twice that number to expel the insurgents from Kentucky and Tennessee, which they had now overrun, he was regarded by many superficial critics of public affairs as being insane. Even the Secretary of War discredited Sherman's judgment, after this expression of opinion; he was subsequently removed from his command.

General W. T Sherman.

By the middle of November, the insurgents had secured a firm foothold in Tennessee; and they had so established themselves in Kentucky that they virtually held its entire southern tier of counties, from the mountains to the Mississippi River; and in Missouri they roved almost unchecked over the western portion of the State. Polk held the western end of the Confederate line in Kentucky; Buckner, at Bowling Green, was near the centre, and General Felix Zollicoffer, who had invaded the State from Tennessee, with Humphrey Marshall and others, was posted at the eastern end, where he kept guard over the mountain passes. The Union outlook here was gloomy.

The Confederates in Tennessee.

Once more the lines of military subdivisions were changed, and on the 9th of November, General Henry W. Halleck, who had been employed in the practice of law after his retirement from the army and previous to the breaking out of the insurrection in the South, was assigned to the command of the new Department of the Missouri; this included Missouri, Iowa,

General Halleck in command of the Department of the Missouri.

Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Arkansas, and that portion of Kentucky which lies west of the Cumberland river. General Hunter, who had temporarily superseded Fremont, was now assigned to the Department of Kansas; General Don Carlos Buell, in the mean time, had superseded General Sherman, and was in command of the Department of the Ohio, which included the State of Ohio and that part of Kentucky which lies east of the Cumberland River, and which had formed part of the old Department of the Cumberland.



General Albert Sidney Johnston, C. S. A.

General Halleck's military rule was characterized by great strictness, not to say severity. He cleared out cliques of secessionists who had made St. Louis their headquarters, gave aid and refuge to the multitudes of hapless Unionists who had been plundered and stripped by the brutal insurgents, assessed wealthy rebels for the expense of maintaining a relief fund, and issued stringent orders for the arrest, trial, and punishment of spies and others guilty of conveying information to the enemy. The spirit of patriotism revived again; loyal citizens of Missouri began to pluck up courage and assert themselves still faithful to the cause of the Federal Union. In his zeal, General Halleck doubtless made some blunders, his order forbidding fugitives from labor to enter or remain within his lines being an error which subsequent events corrected. But by the end of the year comparative order had been restored in St. Louis and vicinity; General Pope had partially cleared the western part of the State of guerillas, and had captured an insurgent camp on the Blackwater, with much plunder and many important prisoners; and martial law had been declared in St. Louis and over all the railroads and their immediate neighborhood.

Although the action of the loyal Legislature of Kentucky had checkmated the treasonable plans of Governor Magoffin, he did not relinquish the scheme to set up at least a semblance of Confederate authority in the State which had so bluntly repudiated him and his policy. In October, 1861, Kentucky was included in the so-called Western Military Department of the Confederacy; that subdivision of the insurgent territory was under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston, an officer of the Federal Army, who, coming from California, where he had a command at the outbreak of the civil war, had



Governor Beriah Magoffin, of Kentucky.

enlisted under the banner of the Montgomery government. Under his protection, his headquarters being at Nashville, Tennessee, the secessionists of Kentucky got behind the lines of insurgent troops that were stretched across the State from east to west and proceeded to "secede" on their own private account. They met at the county town of Logan county, on the 29th of October, and gravely proclaimed themselves and their constituents independent of Federal authority. As the delegates who assisted in this extraordinary performance were not elected by the people of the counties which they pretended to represent, their independence was personal, not representative; but it served the desperate purpose of the plotters.

Efforts to carry Kentucky into the Confederacy.

That purpose, of course, was the nominal adhesion of the State of Kentucky to the Montgomery compact. So, having formally seceded from the Federal Union by adopting an ordinance of secession, the little cabal organized a "Provisional Government" by choosing a governor, legislative council, treasurer, and auditor. Bowling Green was selected as the capital of the newly organized State, the lawful capital being at that time in possession of "the invader." Next, commissioners were appointed to enter into negotiations with the "Confederate Government" looking to the admission of Kentucky to the so-called Confederacy; in due time this arrangement was completed and ten men were selected by the so-called legislative council to represent the sovereign State of Kentucky in the Confederate Congress. This solemn farce was kept up during the war; and it was pretended by the disloyalists that Kentucky was an integral part of the Southern Confederacy, and that persons who derived their authority from others than the people were representatives of the commonwealth in the "Congress" of the insurgents.

With amusing effrontery, General Zollicoffer, whose invasion of Kentucky with his Tennesseeans has been already noticed, carried out the military portion of this programme by issuing a proclamation in which he announced that he came as a "liberator from the Lincoln despotism," to defend the people from the ravages of "the Northern hordes." Although as a matter of fact, a part of Zollicoffer's mission was to harry the Unionists of Tennessee and Kentucky

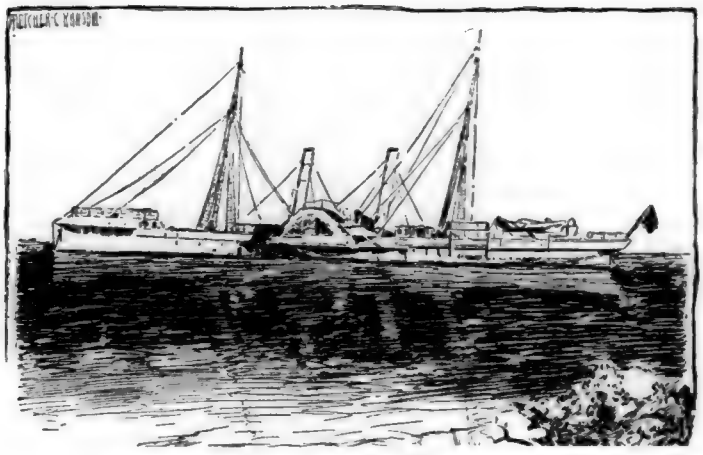
so that they would flee, or submit to the despotism of the Confederacy, he bravely proclaimed that he and his Tennesseeans had arrived to repel those who were "attempting the subjugation of a sister State." With fictions like these was the progress of the insurrection profusely decorated and masked.

It now became more than ever patent that the key of the situation in the valley of the Mississippi was the possession of the region drained by the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. The first-named of these rises in the tumultuous mountain region of southwestern Virginia, with tributaries from North Carolina and Georgia; it sweeps through northern Alabama with a curve of some three hundred miles, thence passes into Tennessee, and, taking a course nearly due north, enters Kentucky and traverses that State in a northwesterly direction and empties into the Ohio River seventy miles above its mouth. The stream is navigable by light-draught steamers for five hundred miles above its junction with the Ohio. The Cumberland river rises in the Cumberland Mountains of Eastern Kentucky, and, after a broad curve to the southward, pursues a course generally parallel to that of the Tennessee, and, like that stream, falls into the Ohio. It is navigable for light-draught steamers for a distance of more than five hundred miles from its mouth. Along these lines were to be fought some of the most decisive battles of the war in the Southwest.

Louisville was the objective point of the Confederate campaign. To hold the great waterway of the West, the war must be carried up into valleys traversed by the most important tributaries of the stream; it was to be expected that the armies of the Union would soon sweep down the system of rivers here outlined; and unless the Confederates should seize and hold Louisville, Paducah, and Cairo, in the Ohio system, the Union forces would pour into the Confederacy and ravage the extreme southern States thereof, splitting in twain the Southwest by opening the Mississippi to the Gulf. This made Kentucky (the Dark and Bloody Ground of colonial tradition) the theatre of war for years afterward, precisely as Virginia became the field of strife until the final collapse came.

Kentucky the battle-ground of the Southwest.

If these two States had early cast in their lot unreservedly with those who stood by the Federal Union, they would not have suffered so poignantly from the horrors of war; but strategic reasons, not sentimental considerations, made them both the theatre of many destructive and desolating campaigns before peace came again.



A Typical Confederate Blockade-Runner — The *Teaser*.
Drawn from a photograph by F. C. Ransom.

CHAPTER XIX.

EXPANSION OF THE FEDERAL NAVY.

Dispersion of the United States Fleet for the Benefit of the Rebellion. — A Great Naval Contingent improvised. — Extent of the Line to be blockaded. — Gunboats required on Western Rivers. — Capture of Port Royal Entrance. — The Trent Incident. — Burnside's Expedition to North Carolina. — Roanoke Island. — The Fight of the Iron-Clads in Hampton Roads.

At the outbreak of the rebellion, the navy of the United States consisted of ninety vessels, of which forty-two were in commission, twenty-seven were out of commission, and twenty-one were unserviceable. With the intention of putting the serviceable vessels where they could not be made available in the suppression of insurrection, the conspirators in President Buchanan's cabinet had managed, on one pretext and another, to scatter them to distant parts of the globe. Thus the largest screw frigate in the navy, the *Niagara*, was at Cape Town, South Africa; the *Hartford*, at Hongkong; the *Richmond*, *Susquehanna*, and *Iroquois*, in the Mediterranean, and others were in the waters of Brazil, the East Indies, the Pacific, or on the coast of Africa. Of the forty-two vessels in commission, only eleven, carrying about one hundred and thirty-four guns, were in American waters; and of these four of the most formidable were in the harbor of Pensacola, Florida.

The United States navy at the outbreak of war.

A blockade had been declared by the President, but the coast-line to be guarded, in case that blockade was to be other than one of paper, required a naval force many times greater than the little fleet then under the control of the Government. From Chesapeake Bay to the mouth of the Rio Grande — the coast-line of the insurgent

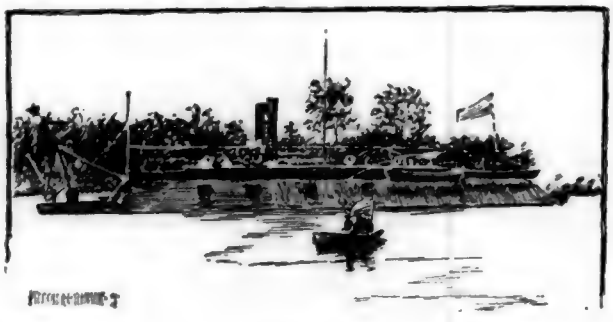
States — is a shore indented with innumerable harbors and intricate inlets, the entire line being some three thousand miles in extent. To patrol this coast with a force ample enough to shut out blockade runners loaded with war munitions and material, foreign mails and the commodities absolutely necessary to a successful prosecution of the insurrection, seemed a physical impossibility. Unfriendly foreign critics, viewing the situation with a skepticism born of their dislike for everything American, declared that no civilized power could respect a mere paper blockade. And the over-confident insurgents regarded the President's proclamation of the blockade as ridiculously inoperative.

The blockade.

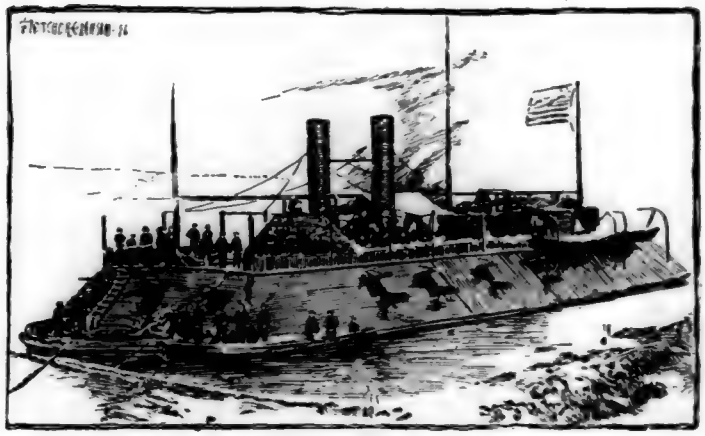
But if the southern coast-line demanded an efficient navy to maintain a real blockade to strangle the Confederacy, much more did the campaign in the Southwest require a strong fleet to operate on the numerous streams with which the country is interlaced. Gunboats carrying heavy guns and armored so as to enable them to pass fortifications planted along river banks were needed to open the Mississippi, and, by coöperating with land forces, to clear the river system of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, preliminary to freeing the Father of Waters so that he might go "unvexed to the sea."

The river gunboats.

For the use of the navy along the coast-line and on the ocean, the Government immediately began to expand its force, buying every merchant vessel that could be made available for fighting purposes or for the transportation of men and war material. Eight sloops of war were ordered to be built, and contracts were made for the construction of heavily plated gunboats. For service on the rivers, thirty-nine gunboats were constructed on entirely new plans. Some of these boats were adapted from the river steamers already in use on the Western rivers; and others were built for the emergencies of war. Generally, they were sidewheel and double-enders, the paddle-wheels being protected from shot. They were very broad in proportion to their length, being usually about fifty feet wide and one hundred and seventy-five feet long. These proportions gave them the steadiness of a floating battery; and their sides were covered with thick iron plates, sloping downward under water and upward above from the water-line at an angle of



U. S. Steamer *Pittsburg*.



U. S. Steamer *Cairo*.

forty-five degrees, so that the shot of an enemy should glance off harmless. These novel gunboats were light-draught, so that they could navigate the rivers on which they were expected to serve, ascending the streams as far as most of the merchant steamers had been accustomed to go in peaceful times.

The insurgents had early removed the buoys and other marks along the Potomac River, and had lined the banks of the stream with batteries to maintain an effectual blockade of that line of communication with the National capital. The work of re-surveying and marking out the channel by the vessels of the United States was a difficult one, and was undertaken and carried out under the guns of frowning fortifications on either hand. In this arduous duty, Commander J. H. Ward, a brave and accomplished officer of the navy, was killed early in the war; his death was one of a series of calamities which greatly moved the loyal people. About the same time, the steam frigate *Pawnee*, coöperating with Ellsworth's Zouaves, compelled the evacuation of Alexandria, where the insurgents had long flaunted their flag in sight of the capitol in Washington. In the act of hauling down the flag from a tavern in Alexandria, Colonel Ellsworth was shot by the tavern-keeper, who, in turn, was instantly killed by Ellsworth's sergeant. The death of the gallant Ellsworth was another of the tragical events which, at the beginning of hostilities, when the people were unused to the grisly terrors of war, created a deep and mournful impression and possibly weakened somewhat the ardor of some who, while they loved their country, were sickened by the bloodiness of the sacrifices required for its preservation.

The shooting of Colonel Ellsworth.

On the 26th of August a small expedition left Fortress Monroe, Hampton Roads, and in two days arrived at Hatteras Inlet, North Carolina, the principal entrance to Pamlico Sound. Here insurgent

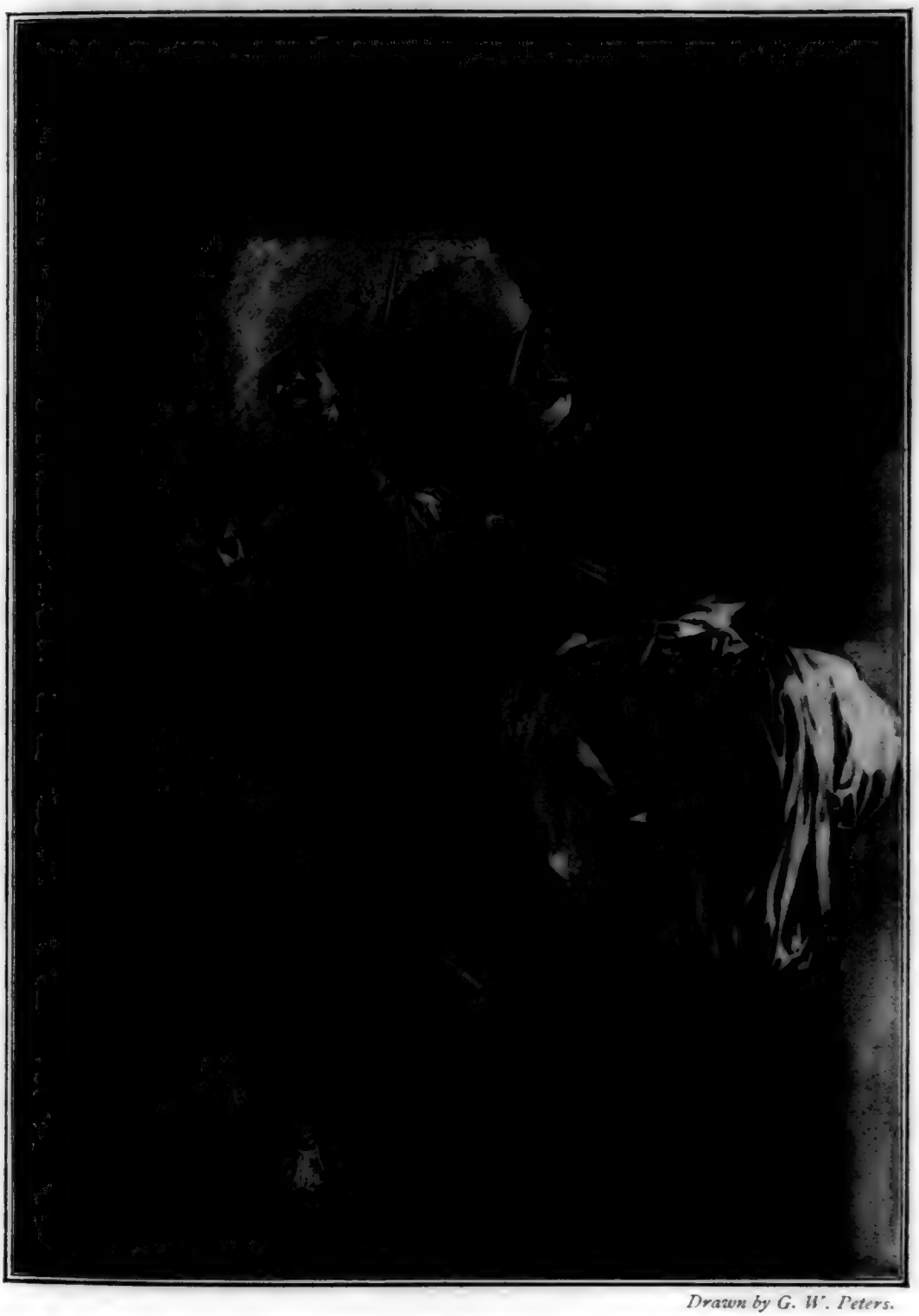


Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth.

The Hatteras expedition.

earthworks had been thrown up mounting fifteen guns. The expedition — five war-vessels, two transports, and a tug, with 800 soldiers — was commanded by General Butler and Commander Silas H. Stringham. Fire was opened at once on the works, principally with shells, and after a bombardment of two days the enemy surrendered. Their loss was thirty or forty men killed or wounded, and nearly 700 prisoners. Blockade-runners had already begun to swarm along the coast, and this inlet was one of the most convenient approaches. The secret of the expedition had been so well kept that for several days these vessels continued to come in, and of course fell into the hands of the Federals. Besides the capture of the men, 1,000 stand of arms, 35 cannon, and two strong forts were among the results of this business-like expedition. The inlet had been a favorite channel through which blockade-runners had been accustomed to slip out and in. The State of North Carolina, as soon as the ordinance of secession had been pushed through, fitted out a small steamer, the *Winslow*, which, under the command of an ex-officer of the United States navy, committed many depredations on the commerce along the coast. The avenue through which these operations had been conducted was now permanently closed.

The Hatteras expedition, as well as others which followed it, was undertaken at the suggestion of a board of officers convened by President Lincoln for the purpose of examining maps and charts, coast defences, and other accessible data for formulating a comprehensive plan of operations. This board was composed of Captain Samuel F. Dupont and Captain Charles H. Davis, of the navy; Major John G. Barnard, of the army, and Alexander D. Bache, of the United States coast survey. The next expedition, more important than any which had been projected, was organized at Fortress Monroe, Hampton Roads, Virginia, for the purpose of closing the Port Royal entrance to one of the most intricate portions of the coast of South Carolina, below Charleston. At the head of the bay of Port Royal was the flourishing town of Beaufort, and the region, intersected by several small streams, was one of the most fertile of the cotton-producing sections of the State. The expedition sailed with sealed orders on

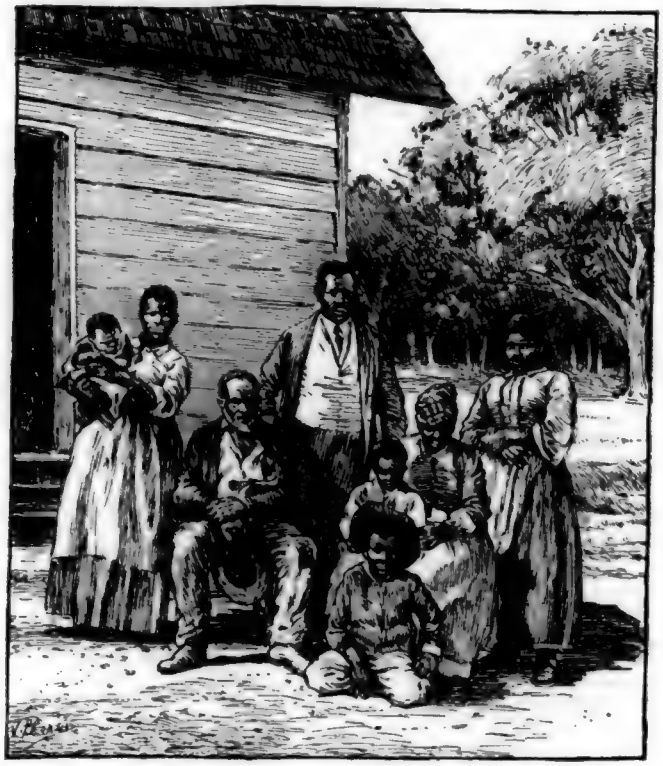


Drawn by G. W. Peters.

THE SHOOTING OF COLONEL ELLSWORTH AT THE MARSHALL HOUSE, ALEXANDRIA.

October 29th, and was instructed to stop at Charleston bar, on the way southward, in order to mislead the enemy. But the efficiency of the insurgent spy system was handsomely vindicated on this occasion. General Drayton, commanding the confederate land forces at Port Royal, was warned from Richmond, under date of November 1st, that the fleet was ordered to attack his forts. The expedition consisted of a heavy frigate, the *Wabash*, fourteen gunboats, thirty-four steam transports, and twenty-six sailing vessels. Most of these vessels were taken from the merchant marine, including some of the largest and swiftest, among which were the *Great Republic* and the *Vanderbilt*. Altogether there were about 10,000 troops, and, including the crews, about 22,000 men in all. The ships were commanded by Commander Samuel F. Dupont, the troops by General Thomas W. Sherman. In a storm off Cape Hatteras four transports were lost, and two vessels, rendered useless by throwing their armament overboard, put back to Fortress Monroe. When it cleared, not a single sail could be seen from the deck of the flag-ship; but the scattered craft came up one by one, and three war-ships left blockading stations to join the fleet, till all had gathered at the rendezvous off Port Royal. The entrance to this harbor, two and a half miles wide, was commanded by heavy earthworks — Fort Walker on Hilton Head, the southern shore, and Fort Beauregard on the northern. The channel buoys had been removed, but soundings were made, and new buoys placed, under fire from the Confederate fleet of five small steamers, under Josiah Tatnall, a former officer of the United States navy. His diminutive vessels were known as "Tatnall's Mosquito Fleet," but they did not fulfil the high expectations of their inventor. The attack was made on the 7th, by the naval force alone. The gunboats ran into the harbor, holding Tatnall in check, while the larger war-ships, sailing round and round in an ellipse between the two forts, for four hours poured in an incessant fire till the guns of both forts were silenced, and the garrisons were compelled to abandon them, leaving their flags flying. The loss of the fleet was only eight men killed and twenty-three wounded. Not only were the forts abandoned, but every white inhabitant fled from Beaufort. The insurgent losses were 66 in killed, wounded, and missing. Attempts to rekindle the Union sentiment of the people of this part of South Carolina, by the circulation of a proclamation, were useless. There was no response to the alluring pronunciamentos that were put forth by the Union officers. General Sherman's appeal, couched in ridiculously wild terms, addressed to the "proud and hospitable people among whom he had passed some of the pleasantest days of his life," was treated with derision.

The Port Royal expedition.



A View on the Smith Plantation at Beaufort, S. C., showing five generations of a negro family.

Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph.

The Port Royal expedition, which gave the Federal Government one of the most notable and important successes of the early part of the war, brought great encouragement to the loyal people of the North, who now began to hope for the immediate reduction of Charleston and Savannah; indeed, it was believed that both of these insurgent strongholds would soon fall an easy prey to the prowess of the Union forces. All over the North there was great rejoicing; bells were rung, flags hung out, and salutes fired to express the general joy. The Departments of War and Navy publicly thanked the commanders of the expedition and their men, and salutes were ordered to be fired at all the navy-yards of the United States in honor of this signal victory. As an illustration of the parting of some families in the South upon the question of loyalty to the government of the Union, it was noted that the commander of one of the United States war-ships, the *Pocahontas*, Captain Percival Drayton, and the commander of the insurgent forces on land, General T. F. Drayton, were brothers.

A few days after this famous victory of the Federal arms in the suppression of rebellion, the act of an officer of the navy brought on a serious complication in the relations of the United States with



Building a Pontoon Bridge across Port Royal River, at Beaufort, S. C.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph made in March, 1862.

England. James M. Mason and John Slidell — both of whom had left the United States Senate to join in the rebellion — having been appointed Commissioners to the courts of London and Paris, sailed on a blockade-runner from Charleston harbor, and reached Havana, whence they took passage for England on the British mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Charles Wilkes, in the United States steamship *San Jacinto*, watching for this vessel, overhauled her on the 8th of November in the Bahama Channel, took off the Commissioners and their secretaries, and then allowed the *Trent* to proceed on her voyage. By the law of nations, and in accordance with the British proclamation of neutrality,[1] he might have brought the *Trent* into port as a prize. His reason for not doing so was, that he could hardly spare men for a prize crew, and he especially desired

The affair of the Trent.

[1] The Queen's proclamation, dated May 13th, 1861, warned her subjects that "if any of them shall presume to do any acts in derogation of their duty as subjects of a neutral sovereign, or in violation or contravention of the law of nations, as . . . by carrying officers, soldiers, despatches, arms, military stores, or materials, or any article or articles considered and deemed to be contraband of war, according to the law or modern use of nations, for the use or service of either of the contending parties, all persons so offending will incur and be liable to the several penalties, etc. . . . And all our subjects who may misconduct themselves in the premises, will do so at their peril, and of their own wrong, and they will in no wise obtain any protection from us against any liability or penal consequences."

not to inflict injury upon innocent persons by delaying the mails and the passengers. On receipt of the news in Liverpool, a meeting was called at the Cotton Exchange, where the most violent harangues were loudly applauded, and the few speakers who counselled moderation could scarcely get a hearing. The excitement spread to all classes, and the feeling was general in England that there must be an immediate release of the prisoners, and an apology for this interference with an English ship on the high seas, or a declaration of war.



Charles Francis Adams.

Secretary Seward instructed Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister in London, to assure the British Government that in the capture of the Commissioners Captain Wilkes had acted without any instructions, and that the American Government would be ready to discuss the matter in a friendly spirit when the ground taken by the British Government should be made known. The official communication of Earl Russell, under date of November 30th, after reciting the statement of the Captain of the *Trent*, — in which the fact that the men seized were known to him and to everybody else to be insurgent emissaries, was avoided, — proceeded to say, "It thus appears that certain individuals have been forcibly taken from on board a British vessel, the ship of a neutral power, while such vessel was pursuing a lawful and innocent voyage, an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of international law," after which it demanded "such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation," namely, the liberation of the prisoners, and a suitable apology. At the same time England began naval preparations for war, and ordered troops to Canada.[1]

The correspondence.

Mr. Seward's answer, dated December 26th, discussed the subject at considerable length, in all its bearings, arguing: First, that the persons named and their despatches were contraband of war; Second, that Captain Wilkes might lawfully stop and search the *Trent* for them; Third, that he exercised the right in a lawful and proper manner; Fourth, that he had a right to capture the Commissioners;

[1] It is a ludicrous fact that the transports bringing these troops found the ports of Canada frozen up, and the British Government was under the humiliating necessity of asking permission of the American Government to land at Portland and convey across American territory the very troops with which it was preparing to make war on the American people. The permission was graciously granted.

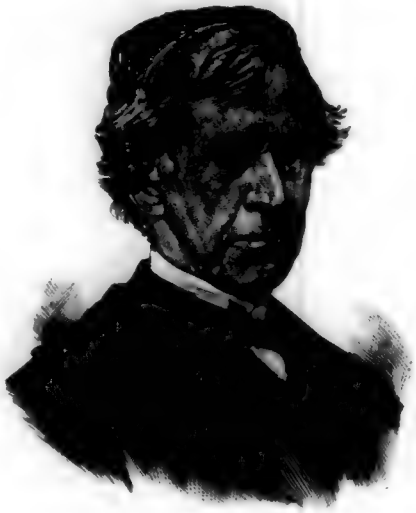
but, Fifth, that he did not exercise that right in the manner allowed and recognized by the law of nations, because he decided for himself the question whether the prisoners were contraband, and voluntarily released the vessel, instead of bringing both vessel and prisoners to port for adjudication in a prize court. On this ground he ordered the release of the prisoners, who had been confined in Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, and they were at once transferred to a British war-vessel which was waiting for them at Provincetown.

If the American people felt a momentary chagrin at the surrender of the insurgent Commissioners, they could not fail to see that Secretary Seward had skilfully averted what would hardly have failed to be, in the condition of the country at that moment, a disastrous foreign war. Calmer second thought suggested that England could have hardly permitted such an act as that of Captain Wilkes to pass unchallenged. But the sympathy of the more influential part of her people for the slaveholders' rebellion had been so loudly and so offensively avowed, that this incident gave intensity to a resentment already deep and keen. The result of the affair, however, was a bitter disappointment to the secessionists, who had hoped for a war between England and the United States, which might lead to an alliance between England and the Confederacy.

The dignity and moderation with which the United States Government conducted these delicate and embarrassing proceedings greatly served to disarm the unfriendly foreign criticism with which it had been pursued. The language of some of the English newspapers, while the case was yet pending, was brutal and highly offensive; leading journals vied with each other in the bitterness of their comments on the Trent incident. And, to the credit of the American people, it should be recorded that the surrender of the Commissioners, when that step was resolved upon, was acquiesced in with wonderful patience and moderation. Although some of the hare-brained politicians and newspapers of the Republic clamored against the Administration for its alleged timidity, the mass of the people, readily perceiving that "we can have only one war on hand at once," accepted the action of the State Department with confidence in the patriotism and sagacity of Secretary Seward and the President. Nor should it be forgotten that this acceptance of the sit-



Rear-Admiral Samuel F. Dupont.



Rear-Admiral Charles Wilkes, U. S. A.

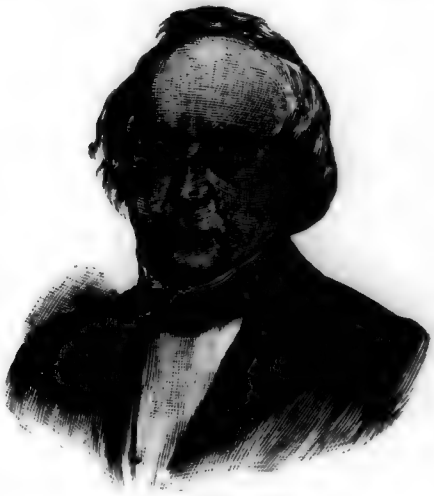
uation was rendered more difficult by the elation that had been caused in all parts of the loyal North by the capture of the two insurgent envoys. When Congress met, soon after the capture of Mason and Slidell, the House of Representatives passed, without a dissenting vote, a resolution thanking Captain Wilkes for "his brave, adroit, and patriotic conduct," and other resolutions requested the President to treat the prisoners with something of the severity which had characterized the treatment of Union captives in Confederate prisons. Captain Wilkes had been publicly thanked by the Secretary of the Navy for "the great public service" which he had rendered, and the city of Boston gave the hero of the hour a handsome banquet. The revulsion of feeling which took place when the cause of all this gratulation was surrendered to Great Britain was obviously sharp and painful. It was effected without any hesitation.

Difficulties of the Trent settlement.

The next important expedition was organized for operations in Pamlico and Albemarle sounds, on the coast of North Carolina. The Union forces held Hatteras inlet and the cape. The insurgents, fortified on Roanoke Island, to the northward, where Roanoke and Croatan sounds lead into Albemarle Sound, were meditating an attack on the Union position. To dislodge them and to clear the way to the inner coast-line of North Carolina, north and south of Roanoke Island, a naval and military expedition was organized. Accordingly, on the 12th of January, 1862, a fleet of thirty-one gunboats and fifty-seven transports, commanded by Commodore Louis M. Goldsborough, left Fortress Monroe under sealed orders. On the transports were about 11,000 troops, under General Ambrose E. Burnside, divided into three brigades, commanded respectively by Brigadier-generals John G. Foster, Jesse L. Reno, and John G. Parke. The fleet was formed into two columns for active service, commanded by two naval officers, Commanders S. C. Rowan and S. F. Hazard. The aggregate armament of these vessels was ninety-four guns.

Roanoke expedition.

On Roanoke Island were three heavy earthworks, mounting altogether twenty-four guns, behind which were about 3,000 men. To reduce this was the preliminary work of the expedition, and that was done early in February. On the 12th of March the fleet ascended the Neuse River, from Pamlico Sound, and the next morning landed the



James Murray Mason.



John Slidell.

THE CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONERS TO LONDON AND PARIS.

troops on the west bank seventeen miles below the city of Newbern. A well-constructed breastwork stretched from the river to a swamp; batteries were placed along the bank, and the stream was filled with formidable obstructions. All day the troops were moving slowly up toward the city by roads heavy with long rains, while the gunboats, commanded by Rowan, preceded them, silencing the batteries and removing the obstructions in the river. The real battle was fought at the breastwork, three miles below the city, on Sunday, the 14th. This work was well provided with artillery, and behind it were about 3,000 men. The assault in front was determined but not successful, though a few guns were temporarily captured; but when the Union left wing had flanked it at the weakest point, and swept down the line, taking everything in reverse, while a little later the right wing burst upon the Confederate left, the defenders took to flight, availing themselves of a train of cars to hasten their escape to the city. To prevent pursuit they set fire prematurely to the railway bridge over the Trent, and those who were left behind became prisoners. The Union troops, crossing the river in the gunboats, followed to the town, and pushed the enemy to still further flight; but not till they had kindled a fire which destroyed large quantities of cotton, turpentine, and military stores, the court-house, a hotel, and some private residences. The Union loss in this battle, killed and wounded, was 471. The Confederate loss was 578. The city was permanently occupied, and General Foster was made military governor. On the 20th of March, Burnside, with Parke's brigade, marched into Beaufort. A small detachment was sent at the same time to occupy Washington, on Tar River, where the inhabitants were for the most part still loyal to the Union. Fort Macon,

Battle of Newbern.

which commanded the entrance to the harbor of Beaufort, was taken on the 25th of April. The faithfulness of many of the people of North Carolina to the National Government was shown in a picturesque incident at the surrender of the fort. When the rebel flag was struck, and the national standard took its place, an old man, with a long white beard, leaped upon the ruined rampart, with a silver bugle in his hand, and blew the notes of the "Star-Spangled Banner."[1]

Reduction of Fort Macon.

An incident of the flag.

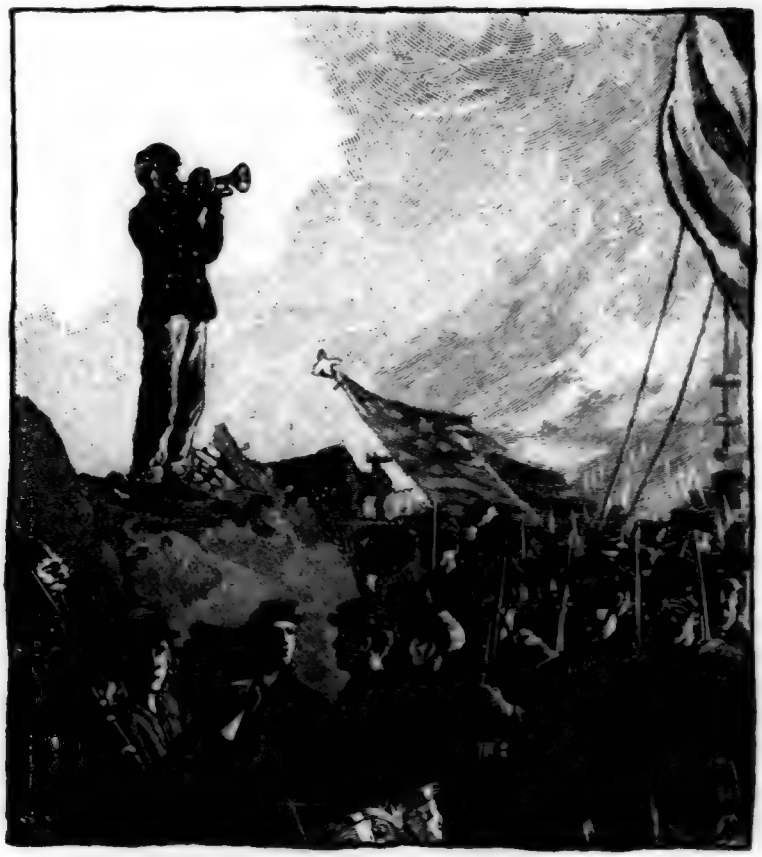
The results of this expedition were highly important to the Union cause. Roanoke Island was one of the chief defences of Norfolk, and it commanded the entrance to Albemarle and Currituck sounds; its possession by the Federal troops gave the Government full control of all approaches to the river and canal system of North Carolina, besides affording a safe harbor and undisputed command of a great line of sea-coast, from Cape Henry on the north to Cape Lookout on the south. Great was the joy of the loyal North over this capture of an important strategic position on the mainland of one of the seaboard insurgent States; and equally great was the depression of the insurgents, who sought for official heads to hold responsible for the disaster. Judah P. Benjamin, who at that time was acting as Confederate Secretary of War, was blamed by a committee of the Confederate Congress for his failure to provide adequate defences at Roanoke Island and thus prevent the calamity that had befallen them. In spite of this censure, however, Jefferson Davis subsequently promoted Benjamin to the office of Secretary of State.

During one of the engagements that cleared Albemarle Sound of the insurgents, a shell from a shore battery entered the gunboat *Valley City*, and, exploding, set on fire the woodwork of the magazine. John Davis, gunner's mate, seeing the danger of firing a barrel of gunpowder from which he had been serving, deliberately sat in the open head of the barrel and remained there until the fire was extinguished. For this act of heroism Davis was rewarded by the Secretary of the Navy with a promotion to the rank of gunner and the gift of the naval medal of honor; and citizens of New York made up a purse of $1,100 for him.

The most remarkable addition to the navies of the world was that of the little iron-clad *Monitor*, built under the direction of its inventor, John Ericsson, and commissioned in the United States navy February 25th, 1862. Captain Ericsson was born in Sweden, in 1803, and, after a somewhat checkered life, during which he had met with indifferent success in his endeavors to interest courts and sovereigns of Europe in some of the plans and

Ericsson's Monitor.

[1] Victor's *History of the Southern Rebellion.*



The Bugler at Fort Macon.

inventions which his genius had evolved, he migrated to the United States, arriving here in 1839. From that time forward he was busily engaged in the production and perfection of many useful and notable inventions. Among these was the screw propeller, which revolutionized the ocean carrying trade and the naval construction of the world. Notwithstanding a rebuff from the Navy Department of the United States, he persisted in urging upon the Federal authorities his plan for an iron-clad vessel which was the first to include the principle of the revolving turret. The novel craft which he subsequently constructed for the Government in the brief space of one hundred days was named the *Monitor*, because, said its inventor, "this structure will admonish the leaders of the Southern Rebellion that the batteries on the banks of their rivers will no longer present barriers to the entrance of the Union forces. The iron-clad intruder will thus prove a severe monitor to those leaders." And he added that there were other leaders who would be admonished; to the slow-going British Admiralty, with whose inertness he had already had some experience, the new craft would be "a monitor suggesting doubts as to the propriety of completing those four steel-clad ships at three-and-a-half millions apiece."

When the Gosport navy-yard, near Norfolk, Virginia, was so disgracefully abandoned and destroyed at the breaking out of the rebellion, one of the ships burned was the steam frigate *Merrimac*, of 3,500 tons and 40 guns. During the succeeding summer, the insurgents raised the hull of the vessel, and, with marvellous skill and dexterity, converted her into a floating battery. The craft was so altered and reconstructed that her former berth-deck was brought just to the water's edge, and amidships was built a sloping iron-clad roof covering so much of the gun-deck as was required to mount the guns to be placed in position. This roof was 170 feet in length and was seven feet above the gun-deck. Under it were mounted ten guns of six, seven, and nine-inch bore, respectively. The deck of this structure was 70 feet long at each end of the vessel, and was covered with heavy iron plates. The bow was armed with a formidable iron ram; the draught of the vessel was 22 feet. News of her building had been carried into the Union lines, and great apprehension as to her impregnability and fighting qualities had been excited all over the North.

The Merrimac.

Work on the *Merrimac* had so far proceeded that no large vessel could be built in time to meet her when she should be ready for offensive operations. The *Monitor* was a fighting machine drawing only ten feet of water, with a submerged lower hull 122 feet long and 34 feet wide, joined to an upper hull 172 feet long and 41 feet wide. The revolving turret on the deck (which was almost level with the water) was 20 feet in diameter and ten feet high; it contained two guns of eleven inches bore. The vessel was commanded by Lieutenant John L. Worden, and on her way to Hampton Roads, where she had been ordered from New York, the officers and crew suffered many hardships from their confinement in the novel craft, which encountered a severe storm. The experiment of navigation had not been made before on board the new ship, and her management then and afterwards was necessarily embarrassed by lack of experience with this strange fighting machine; the storm at sea tried the courage and endurance of the men as it did the buoyant qualities of the ship.



John Ericsson.

On Saturday noon, March 8th, the long-expected and much-dreaded *Merrimac* was seen making her way



THE MERRIMAC RAMMING THE CUMBERLAND.

Drawn by M. J. Burns.



Deck View of the *Monitor*, looking from the bow.

Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph made in July, 1862.

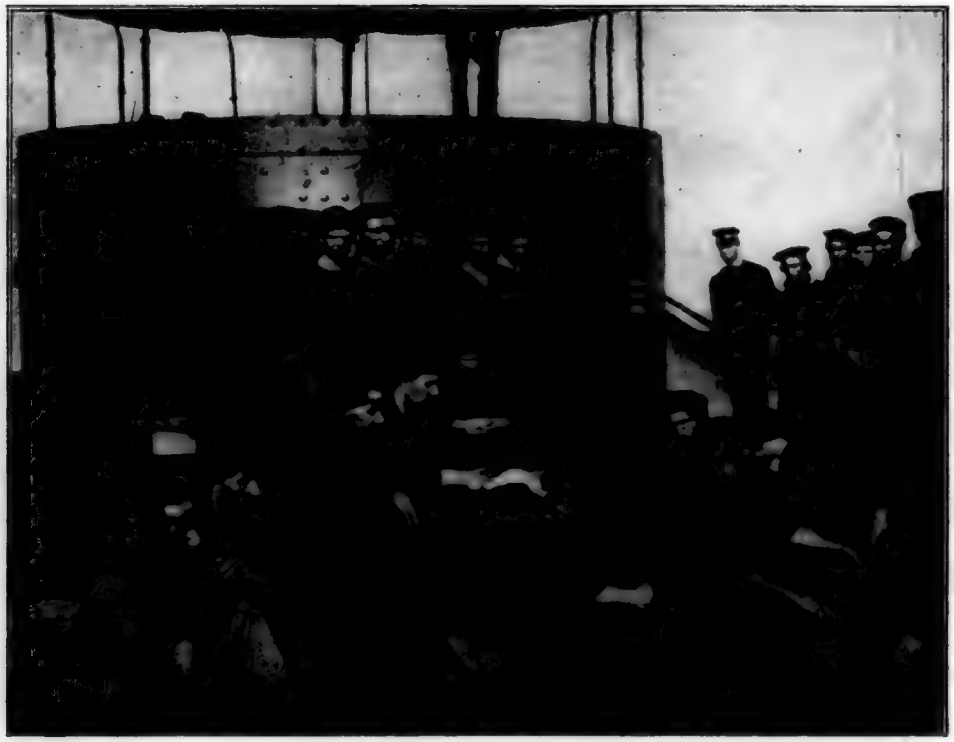
down the Elizabeth River from Norfolk towards Hampton Roads, where then lay a considerable fleet of Federal naval vessels, gunboats, and transports. The sailing frigate *Congress*, 50 guns, and the sloop of war *Cumberland*, 24 guns, lay at anchor in the mouth of the James River, not far from the place of entrance of the *Merrimac*, as that craft came into the watery arena. The frigates *Roanoke* and *Minnesota* were lying at anchor at Fortress Monroe, Hampton Roads, several miles distant; and when the *Merrimac* steered directly for the ships in the mouth of the James, those at Fortress Monroe were signalled to come to the assistance of their threatened comrades. They could not reach them in time to render much aid. In the face of broadsides from the *Congress* and the *Cumberland*, the *Merrimac* pushed on for the last-named ship and rammed her so vigorously on her starboard fore-channels that an enormous rent through which the water rushed in torrents was made in her wooden hull. Lieutenant Norris, temporarily in command, fought bravely with the iron monster, but, after a hopeless struggle, the doomed ship went down in 54 feet of water, her colors flying as she sunk. A greater part of the crew saved themselves by jumping overboard and swimming for their lives; about one hundred sick and wounded went down with the ship.

The Merrimac attacks the fleet in Hampton Roads.

Meanwhile, two Confederate gunboats had engaged the *Congress*, and, after a gallant fight, she grounded in shallow water, where she was next assailed by the *Merrimac*, the *Cumberland* having been sent to the bottom. Unable to reach the frigate to board her, the enemy

poured hot shot into her hull, and, after a fire that raked her fore and aft, during which the commander of the *Congress*, the gallant Lieutenant Joseph B. Smith, was killed, the *Merrimac* was interfered with by the *Minnesota*, which had now come up from Fortress Monroe. During the diversion which followed, the crew of the *Congress* managed to escape, the white flag of surrender having been hoisted on the ship. Later on, the *Merrimac* returned and set fire to the *Congress*, then, darkness having set in, she returned to the Elizabeth River, her officers and crew well satisfied with the destruction that they had wrought, and confident of finishing the rest of the Federal fleet on the morrow.

During that night the little *Monitor* stole into the Roads and took up a position near the menaced *Minnesota*. On Sunday, March 9th, the news of the great disaster to the Federal fleet in the Roads flew all abroad. In the Confederacy there was joyful exultation beyond anything that had ever been known since the war began. It was believed that the National capital would now fall an easy prey to the terrible *Merrimac*, that the great metropolis of New York would be laid under contribution, and that a naval war would be carried to the closing of the ports of the North which had sent forth so many fighting ships for the "subjugation of the South." In the loyal North there was alarm and grief. The disaster seemed irre-



Crew on Deck of the *Monitor*.



Commander Worden and the Officers of the *Monitor*.

trievable; the result of the fighting of Saturday apparently left no hope for the escape of the remainder of the fleet when the monster should again emerge from her lair on Sunday. Panic was felt in Washington; it was reflected thence to all the great cities of the Union, from Maine to California.

The Monitor to the rescue.

On Sunday morning, when the *Merrimac*, coming down in the early dawn, saw the minute floating battery that glided out from behind the lofty *Minnesota*, the astonishment of the Confederates was very great. "A tin can on a shingle!" was the exclamation of some; "A cheese-box on a raft!" had been the surprised comment of others who beheld this strange appearance. The duel opened. The *Monitor's* circular turret began to move, and from her port-holes burst forth tremendous shot in quick succession. In vain the *Merrimac* manœuvred to get out of the range of the battery of the *Monitor;* whichever way she moved the guns of the *Monitor* followed her with feverish lips. The broadsides of the *Merrimac* fell harmless on her antagonist; and the ponderous shot of the *Monitor* apparently produced no effect whatever on the Confederate iron-clad. After a fierce and terrible struggle that resulted in nothing definite, the duellists separated, the *Merrimac* leaving her impregnable foe and making once more for the *Minnesota*, still aground on the edge of this novel naval battle. Hardly regarding the broadside that the frigate sent upon his sloping iron deck, the commander of the *Merrimac* fired a shell into the hull of the frigate, setting the ship on



Admiral Franklin Buchanan, C. S. A.



Rear-Admiral John L. Worden.

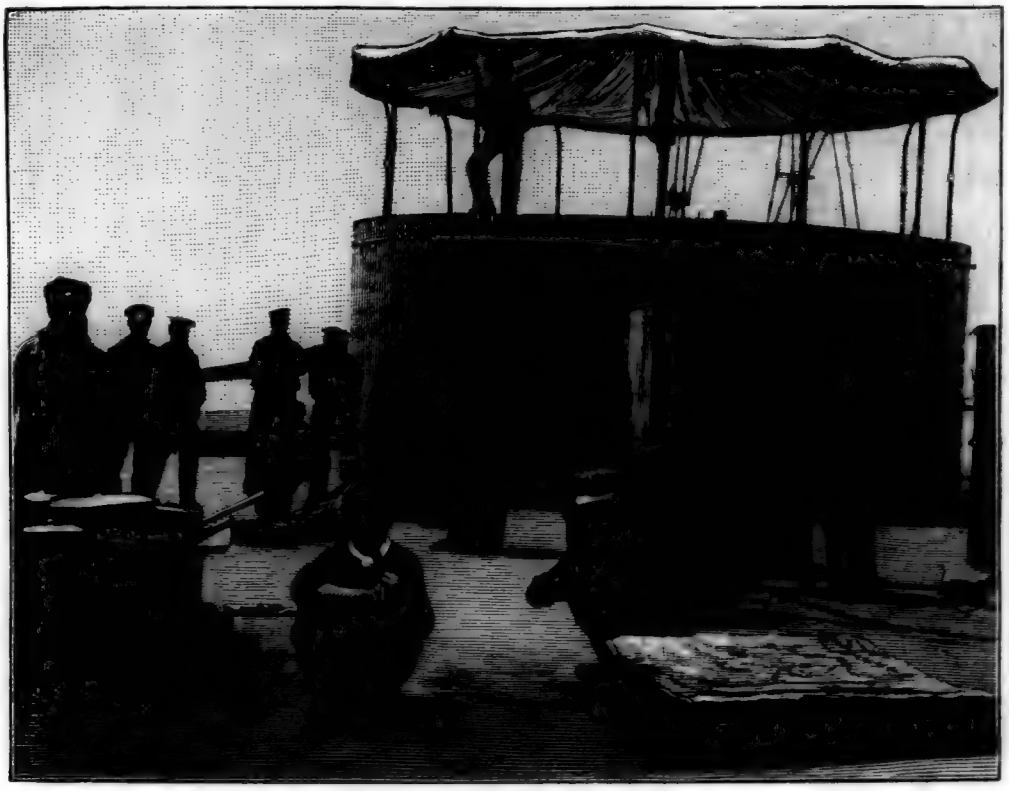
fire and doing other serious damage. The flames were extinguished, and the little *Monitor* bore down upon the *Merrimac*, compelling her to change position, in doing which she went aground and was for a critical moment in deadly peril; but she was soon got off and started for her anchorage up the river. Pursued by the *Monitor*, she turned once fiercely and attempted to ram her plucky adversary; but her prow glanced from the iron deck of the *Monitor* without inflicting the least damage, and another heavy shot striking the iron sides of the *Merrimac*, made a great indentation which, if followed by another, would probably have penetrated her fortress. She sullenly drew out of the fight and proceeded up the river in safety. The day of wooden fighting ships was done.

The first battle of iron-clads.

It was the errand of the *Merrimac* to destroy the Federal fleet in Hampton Roads, and so change the whole course of the war. That errand failed. The presence of the *Monitor*, so providential and so wonderfully opportune, saved the fleet, preserved the lines established by the Government forces, and neutralized forever the formidable engine of destruction on which the Confederates had lavished so much time, money, and ingenuity. It was a drawn battle in the regard that neither ship was destroyed. It was a Federal victory, for the Confederate plan was defeated; and the fleet and the line of the James river were saved to the forces that had been organized to crush the rebellion.

This remarkable and memorable sea-fight, according to one of the participants in it, "showed the power of resistance of two iron-clads, widely differing in construction, model, and armament, under a fire which in a short time would have sunk any other vessel afloat."[1] The

[1] John Taylor Wood, C. S. A., in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.*

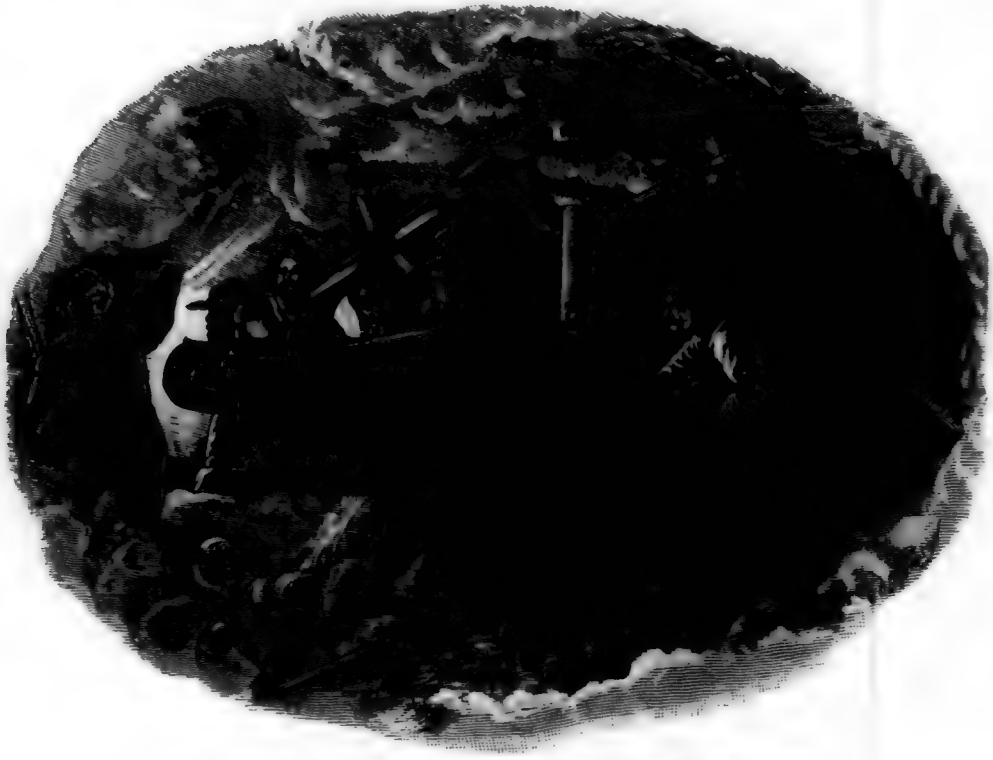


The *Monitor's* Crew on Deck.

depression which had pervaded the North when the destruction of the two sailing ships was announced from Fortress Monroe, was speedily replaced by a great cheer that spread all over the country. The names of Ericsson and Worden were on the lips of everybody; and in foreign lands the news of the first fight between iron-clads was conned with thrilling interest. Both of the vessels sustained damage, but neither was fatally crippled. Franklin Buchanan, who commanded the *Merrimac*, was wounded during the engagement, and his place was taken by Lieutenant Catesby Jones. Captain Worden, commanding the *Monitor*, was wounded by the explosion of a shell on the outer side of the peep-hole of the pilot-house, through which he was looking at the time, and the command of the ship then devolved on Lieutenant S. D. Greene, the executive officer, at that time only twenty-two years of age.

The *Merrimac* took no active part in the subsequent hostilities, although she occasionally steamed down from Norfolk to offer battle to her wary antagonist, the *Monitor*, which was under orders to guard the Roads and accept no challenge to fight. Early in May the Confederate forces, in consequence of military operations on the peninsula between the York and James rivers, evacuated Norfolk without making any communication to the commander

Confederate evacuation of Norfolk.



The Interior of the *Monitor* during the Fight with the *Merrimac*.

of the *Merrimac*.[1] The officers of the iron-clad, noting the absence of their flag from the batteries at the mouth of the Elizabeth, set about to search for the reason; they soon discovered that their military friends had fled from Norfolk. Nothing remained but destruction. Norfolk was occupied by Federal troops; they were between two fires. Accordingly, on the 11th of May, the once-dreaded monster was run ashore and blown up.

The *Monitor* had some part in subsequent operations on the James River, but she never again met a foeman worthy of her steel. In November, 1862, she was sent to sea under sealed orders, encountered a gale off Cape Hatteras, and went to the bottom. Nearly all of her officers and crew were rescued by the steamer acting as her convoy. A fleet of iron-clads was built upon the model of Ericsson's marvel; to her successors was given the generic name of the original prototype, and thereafter that class of fighting machine was known as monitors.

[1] The official name of the vessel was the *Virginia*, but she was usually known by her original name, the *Merrimac*.



Yorktown.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PENINSULAR CAMPAIGN.

Capture of Fort Pulaski. — General Hunter in South Carolina. — His Treatment of the Negro Question. — Another Proclamation of Emancipation overruled. — McClellan's Movement to the Peninsula. — The Siege of Yorktown. — The Confederate Retreat. — On the Chickahominy. — "Stonewall" Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley. — Alarm in Washington. — Battle of Seven Pines. — R. E. Lee in Command of the Confederates. — J. E. B. Stuart's Raid and Reconnaissance. — The Seven Days' Fighting. — McClellan's Change of Base. — Lee's Superior Strategy. — Battle of Malvern Hill. — The Flight of the Federals to Harrison's Landing. — End of the Campaign. — Development of McClellan's Political Ambitions.

As the civil war wore on into its second year, its effects began to be apparent in the habits, methods, and thoughts of the American people. A stranger might have said that a condition of war had become permanent in the minds of men, notwithstanding the earnestness with which peace was hoped and prayed for, and notwithstanding the irksomeness of the burdens laid upon the people. Military phrases became incorporated into the popular speech; military and naval strategy was the study of everybody; the frequent visits in the homes of non-combatants of men hot from the front of battle, and their letters from the field, kept families well informed as to the details of army life; and copious newspaper accounts of battles, sieges, and skirmishes made even the children of remote and peaceful towns familiar with the progress of the war and with innumerable incidents of individual heroism and bravery on land and sea. There were not many households in which the badge of mourning

Effects of the war.



Edwin M. Stanton.

was not worn. The news from the field of battle, after any general engagement, was scanned in innumerable homes with eager eyes and anxious hearts.

The war drama was acting along the border of the slaveholding States; it was hardly time for it to make its appearance on the mimic stage of the theatre; but war songs resounded in the streets of cities, towns, and hamlets. Rhymesters, poets, and composers tickled the popular ear with ballads and lyrics in which the smoke of battle, the throbbing of the drums, the rattle of musketry and the clangor of arms were mingled with songs of victory, the plaint of mothers bereft of their sons, the war-cries of soldiers pressing to the front, and the tramp of marching regiments. Then came the comic travesties of the satirists and the humorists. The elastic spirits of the people turned gratefully to the writers who found food for laughter in the thick of the grim realities of war. The strain of anxiety and suspense was relieved by grotesque fun which men managed to extract from even the darkest of days of doubt and despondency.

The sudden demand for ships, arms, supplies of clothing, rations, and multitudinous materials required in the prosecution of the war created a vast army of contractors, exhausted warehouses that had been filled with goods, swept the markets bare of certain commodities in a single day, and brought on a fever of speculation that did not abate until long after the war was over. Fortunes were realized in a month; the sharp exigencies of the Government would not wait for the customary slow processes of purchase in times of peace. Prices of the necessaries of life, as well as of those which were drawn into the uses of army and navy, were suddenly sent up to high figures. Bad men cheated the Government with false bids and worthless goods; then was brought into use the word "shoddy," which, from being applied to a fraudulent fabric of woollen cloth, came to be known as the apt title of those who had become suddenly rich by means which would not bear too close a scrutiny.

Although the great heart of the people was sound and true, dishonest men battened on the woes of the Nation, and the very name of that patriotism which bound the Northern people to the Union was worn as a livery to serve the selfish purposes of adventurers. And it

came to pass at last that a profession of loyalty was suspected, and men who were ready to find fault with the conduct of the war and to criticise its purpose were equally ready with their sneers for those whose loyalty might be under suspicion for its selfishness. Men in high places were suspected of conniving at, if not participating in, profitable and loosely drawn contracts with the Government; the secret enemies of the Republic were swift to accuse and slow to acquit those whose ardent and pure patriotism offended them.

Status of the slave.

Politics in the non-slaveholding States soon became agitated over the status of the slaves of the South, as well as with the conduct of the war. The patient President, waiting for the opinions of the loyal North to crystallize, was beset by radical leaders who urged him to hasten the steps that were to free the bondman, while the conservatives were equally clamorous that nothing be done to alienate the support of the men of the border States with whom slavery was yet a cherished institution. The action of Congress early struck the shackles from the limbs of the blacks who had been employed by the insurgents in their prosecution of the war. Federal commanders were given instructions to employ these "contrabands" whenever that employment gave them military advantage: and the time drew near for the drafting of the black men into the active military forces of the Union. The ill-advised proclamation of Fremont, granting emancipation to the slaves under certain circumstances, raised a tempest in the North; but it was impossible to overlook or gainsay the fact that any attempt to give freedom to the black man whose slavery had been one of the causes of the rebellion was greeted with applause from a majority of the people.

To arm the ex-slaves was the next step. Their ultimate freedom was now regarded as inevitable. During the latter part of 1861, the Secretary of War, Mr. Simon Cameron, prepared his annual report to the President, to accompany the President's message to Congress: but, contrary to usage, did not first submit it to the President. The document was mailed to distant parts of the country under seal of privacy, to be released when the announcement was made of the delivery of the message to Congress. Inquiry developed the fact that the Secretary had anticipated somewhat the march of events and had proposed to Congress that the time had come when it might be the duty of the Government to arm and equip the ex-slaves and turn them against the insurgents "under proper military regulation, discipline, and command." President Lincoln, while he agreed with the Secretary in the proposition that the Government had the right to use the ex-slaves against their masters in any lawful capacity, did not think that the time had come to form them into marching regiments.



Major-General David Hunter.



Brevet Major-General Rufus Saxton.

He accordingly cancelled that part of the Secretary's report; and the revised document, having been recalled, was sent in to Congress without the argument and suggestion of the Secretary. The immediate outcome of this incident was the first change made in the cabinet of President Lincoln. Mr. Cameron withdrew, accepting a diplomatic appointment to Russia; and Mr. Edwin M. Stanton succeeded him in the War Department.

Stanton as Secretary of War.

The new Secretary of War was in the very prime of life when he took office under President Lincoln. He had been trained a lawyer, and his energy, eminent abilities, and skill had raised him to a high place in his profession. During the melancholy collapse of President Buchanan's cabinet, not long before the accession of Lincoln, Stanton became Attorney-general at the President's invitation. With most of the other members of the Buchanan cabinet, Mr. Stanton went under a cloud as soon as he retired from office, March 4th, 1861, and it might have been supposed that he would be heard of no more. His correspondence at that time shows that he was embittered against the new Administration and that he had a very mean opinion of Mr. Lincoln's talents. He referred to the "painful imbecility" of the newly inaugurated President, to the "venality and corruption" that reigned in high places, and to the possibility that there would be no change for the better "until Jefferson Davis turns out the whole concern." He was called into the Cabinet of President Lincoln without any knowledge on the part of the President that he was secretly chafing over what seemed to him a chaos of mismanagement and was writing ignorantly of matters entirely beyond any possibility of his comprehension while he was outside of the counsels of the Government. Stanton soon became one

of the most dominant and powerful figures which the civil war developed in the United States. When he knew Lincoln better, he gave him his hearty personal service; and to his country he rendered the most unswerving loyalty and the devotion of all his powers and his genius.

Events were now taking place on the Atlantic seaboard which were destined to change greatly the political complexion of the war and divert the attention of the Confederates from blockade-running to a more ardent defence of their military lines. General Quincy A. Gillmore, being ordered to reconnoitre Fort Pulaski, which commanded the mouth of the Savannah River, late in November, 1861, entered upon that important duty in the following month. The fort was situated on a low island between the two channels that form the mouth of the river. The work covered nearly the whole of the island, and its walls were twenty feet high and seven feet thick, mounting forty heavy guns, and defended by nearly 400 men. The General reported that it could be reduced by batteries on Big Tybee Island and Venus Point, and he received orders to carry out his plan. A portion of February and the whole of March was spent in the erection of the works and placing the guns, which, from the softness of the ground, could only be accomplished with enormous labor, and from the nearness to the fort could only be done at night. Thirty-six rifled guns and heavy mortars were at length in position, some of them having been dragged for miles, on movable platforms, over a deep morass, requiring 250 men to move them. The distance of the batteries from the fort was from less than a mile to two miles. On the 10th of April, 1862, fire was opened. The rifled guns made enormous breaches in the walls, and soon reduced them to ruins. In the afternoon of the 11th, the fort was surrendered. Ten guns had been dismounted, one of the garrison killed and a few wounded. The assailants lost one man killed. The Savannah River was now permanently closed to blockade-runners. The Atlantic coast was lost to the Confederates.

Reduction of Fort Pulaski.

Major-General David Hunter, formerly commanding in Kansas, who on the last day of March had been placed in command on the South Carolina and Georgia coast, issued a general order on the 9th of May, wherein he said, "Slavery and martial law in a free country are incompatible. The persons in these States — Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina — heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free." Ten days later the President issued a proclamation annulling Hunter's, and adding: "I further make known that, whether it be competent for me, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to declare the slaves of any State or

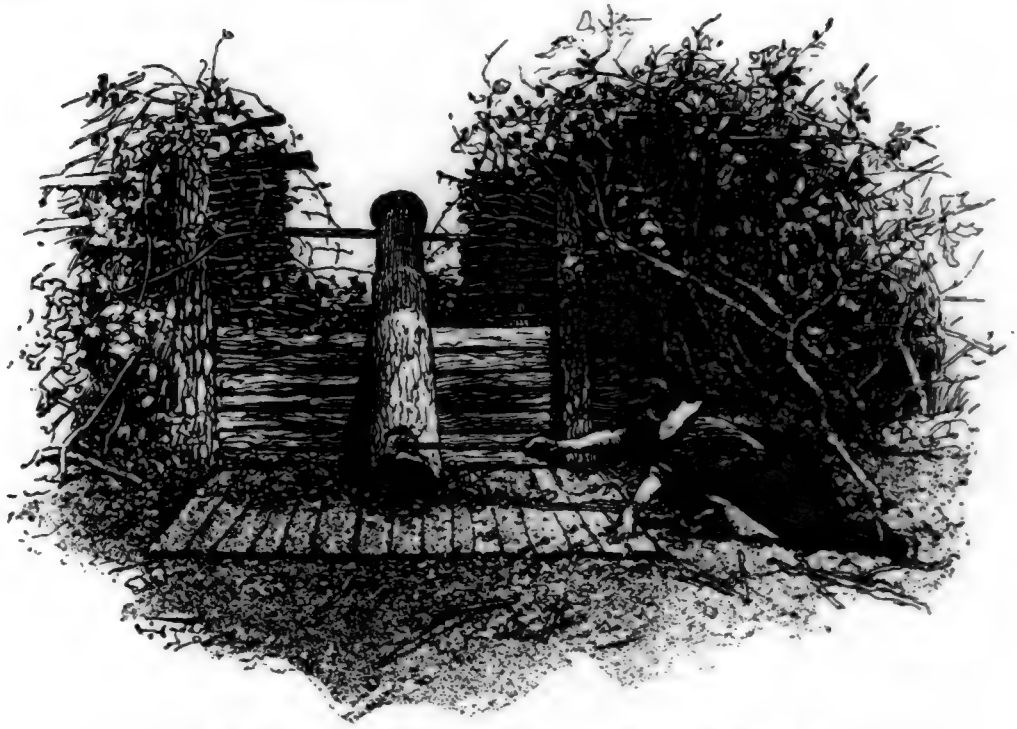
Hunter's emancipation order.

States free; and whether at any time, or in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving for the decision of commanders in the field." At the same time, the President made an appeal to the border States, still holding on to slavery, to avail themselves of the generous offer of Congress to pay for their slaves if they would of their own accord abolish human slavery. He gently reminded them that "the signs of the times" pointed to the certain destruction of this long-cherished institution. They might anticipate the day of its doom.

Another important movement of General Hunter while he was in command in South Carolina, was the raising of a regiment of colored troops, the first mustered into the service of the United States. Very soon after his assignment to the Department of the South, Hunter had asked the Secretary of War for authority to enlist colored men, the country in which he was operating being then filled with fugitives, or masterless slaves. General Hunter, conceiving that a showy uniform would take the fancy of the negroes and promote enlistments, asked for fifty thousand pairs of scarlet pantaloons, and added, "This is all the clothing I shall require for these people." The experiment was not immediately successful. The colored men did not volunteer with the readiness that was expected of them; and conscription frightened them. In the course of time, the Government was moved to take steps looking to a general enlistment of colored troops all over the lines into which the fugitives from labor had come. One company in Hunter's command was gradually developed into a fine regiment and was known as the First South Carolina Volunteers; it was commanded by Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson. The men were well drilled and their evolutions were altogether admirable. Congress having given the necessary authority, the Secretary of War (August 25, 1862) instructed General Rufus Saxton, in command at Port Royal, South Carolina, to enlist 5,000 colored troops.

Colored troops.

But, although these experiments were not markedly successful, and the forces then raised were not by any means formidable, the fact that ex-slaves were being formed into bodies of fighting men threw the Southern people into hysterics of rage and fright. The old bogy of "a servile war" was brought into requisition, and the project of enlisting colored men was declared to be a violation of the laws of war. In Congress, those who secretly sympathized with the rebellion professed vast indignation at the course of General Hunter and others who speedily imitated his example. One of these sympathizers



"Quaker Gun" in the Confederate Fortifications at Centreville, Va.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph taken in March, 1862.

with rebellion, a Representative from Kentucky, introduced in the House a resolution asking for information on the subject, which was adopted. The Secretary of War referred the resolution to General Hunter; and Hunter, with due decorum and gravity, replied: "No regiment of fugitive slaves has been or is being organized in this department. There is, however, a fine regiment of persons whose late masters are fugitive rebels — men who everywhere fly before the appearance of the National flag, leaving their servants behind them to shift as best they can for themselves. . . . In the absence of any fugitive-master law, the deserted slaves would be wholly without remedy, had not their crime of treason given the slaves the right to pursue, capture, and bring back these persons of whose protection they have been so suddenly bereft." The Confederate authorities, however, affected to take a more serious view of the matter. General Lee, remonstrating with General Halleck, in behalf of the insurgents, complained that "Major-General Hunter has armed slaves for the murder of their masters, and has thus done all in his power to inaugurate a servile war." The Confederate authorities solemnly denounced General Hunter and others engaged in the work of enlisting colored troops, as outlaws and felons who, if captured, were to be executed as robbers and criminals deserving death. This was in 1862. Two years later, the Confederate Congress, with the official approval of



Battery Number I in Front of Yorktown.

(At that time the heaviest battery in the world: 5 one-hundred-pounders, and 2 two-hundred-pound, eight-inch, rifled guns.)

General Lee, passed a bill authorizing Jefferson Davis to "ask for and accept from the owners of slaves the services of such number of able-bodied negro men as he may deem expedient for and during the war, to perform military duty in whatever capacity he may direct."

The Army of the Potomac.

Early in March, 1862, it seemed that the long inactivity of the Army of the Potomac was to come to an end. The Confederates foresaw this, and began to move away from the positions whence they had threatened the National capital. By the 9th it was known that they were leaving Centreville and Manassas. On the next day General McClellan started in that direction. He thought it, he said, a good opportunity for his men to learn something of marching, and he took care not to move while there was any danger of that exercise being interrupted. The infantry halted at Centreville, but McClellan rode on to Manassas, and a body of cavalry was pushed a few miles farther. They found that the Confederates were falling back rapidly, but in good order.

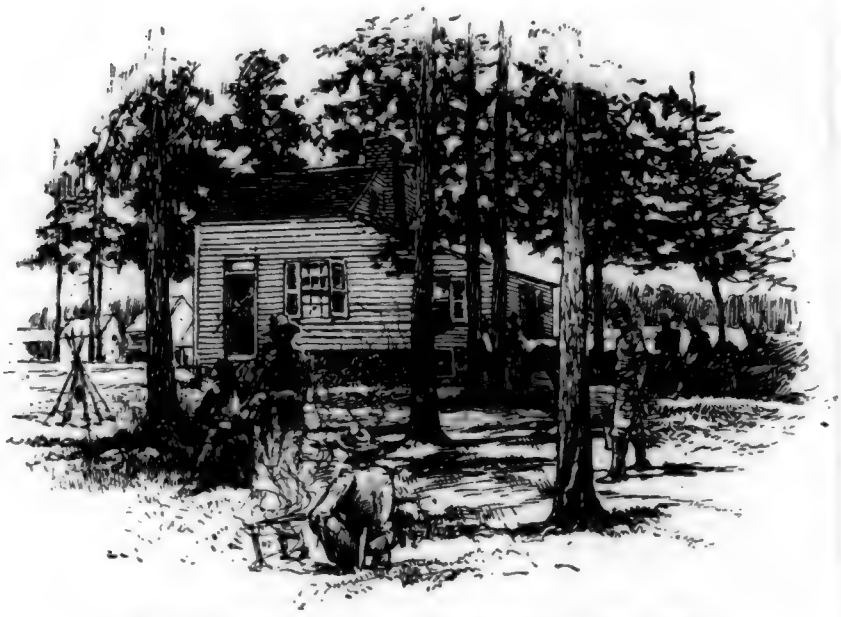
At Fairfax Court House McClellan and his four corps-commanders — Sumner, McDowell, Heintzelman, and Keyes — agreed upon a plan of operations; and on the 13th the President put forth an order directing the mode of its execution: "First, leave such a force at Manassas Junction as shall make it entirely certain that the enemy shall not repossess himself of that position and line of communication. Second, leave Washington entirely secure. Third, move the



Battery Number 4 in Front of Yorktown.

remainder of the force down the Potomac, choosing a new base at Fortress Monroe, or anywhere between here and there; or, at all events, move such remainder of the army at once in pursuit of the enemy, by *some* route."

On the 14th, McClellan issued an address to the army, in which he said that the period of inaction had passed, and that he was now about to lead to the battle-field "a real army, magnificent in material, admirable in discipline and instruction, excellently equipped and armed." This was intelligence which the country, discouraged by the long delay, amused for so many months by the assurance that "all is quiet along the Potomac," heard with gladness. There would have been less satisfaction had it been then known that the direction of the proposed movement was against the wishes and the judgment of the President and the Secretary of War. The President's plan was "to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas," as involving less expenditure of time and money, more likely to break the enemy's line of communication and lead to success, and as insuring an easier line of retreat in case of disaster. In deference, however, to General McClellan, who insisted upon moving upon Richmond by going down the Chesapeake and up the Peninsula between the York and James, Mr. Lincoln had ordered, about the middle of February, a council of war, determined to abide by its decision. At



Servants at Headquarters, Army of the Potomac, May, 1862.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph.

this council the two plans were carefully discussed, and although the older generals — the wiser and the better soldiers — agreed with the President and the Secretary of War, the younger men agreed with their commanding general. It was a majority of numbers against weight of judgment; and Mr. Lincoln, unfortunately, permitted himself to be governed by the popular rule of decision by mere numbers.

Siege of Yorktown.

McClellan's general plan was to capture Yorktown, where the Confederates had thrown up strong works, held by men under General J. B. Magruder; thus to open the York River, as West Point on that stream was to be the base of supply for his army in its march toward Richmond; for the more direct route, by way of the James, was thought to be barred by the *Merrimac*. Had he ascertained how weak was the force in his front, he might easily have marched up the Peninsula without even touching Yorktown. He did indeed make a feeble movement in this direction; but vastly overestimating the enemy, he determined to lay regular siege to Yorktown. This cost a month. Herein lay the initial error in the campaign. Richmond was at this time, and for four weeks and more afterward, utterly without defence.

Much was to be done before the siege could even be begun. Leagues of road were to be made through forest and swamp. Miles of trenches were to be dug, redoubts raised, and batteries constructed. All this time the army suffered more severely in health and condition than it would have done in confronting the enemy in the field. But at length on the 3d of May the engineering work was considered as

finished. Three days more were to be devoted to final arrangements, and on the 6th fire was to be opened from every battery. McClellan's attitude was actually one of defence. He was intrenched behind extensive works, with nearly one hundred heavy pieces of artillery in position.

In the mean time, however, Johnston had sent down the Confederate force from Manassas, arriving himself on the 17th of April. He brought with him 35,000 men, raising his forces to 53,000. McClellan's information was again at fault. Ten days before Johnston's arrival he telegraphed to Washington: "Johnston arrived at Yorktown yesterday with strong reënforcements. It seems clear that I shall have on my hands the whole force of the enemy — not less than 100,000 men, possibly more. When my present command all joins me, I shall have about 85,000. With this army I could assault the enemy's works, and perhaps carry them; but were I in possession of their intrenchments, and assaulted by double my numbers, I should not fear the result." The President replied: "When I telegraphed to you on the 6th, that you had more than 100,000 men, I had just obtained a statement, taken from your own returns, making 108,000 with those going or on the way. You say that you have but 85,000. Where are the other 23,000?" A month

The forces.



Duc de Chartres. Comte de Paris. Prince de Joinville.

THE FRENCH OFFICERS OF McCLELLAN'S STAFF AT YORKTOWN, MAY, 1862.

before he had written, "There is a curious mystery about the number of troops now with you." It continued for some weeks longer. As a matter of record it may be said that General McClellan's report, signed by his own hand and dated April 13th, 1862, showed the following: "Number of troops composing the Army of the Potomac after the disembarkation on the Peninsula: Aggregate present for duty, 100,970; on special duty, sick, and in arrest, 4,265; aggregate absent, 12,486; total aggregate, 117,721." [1]

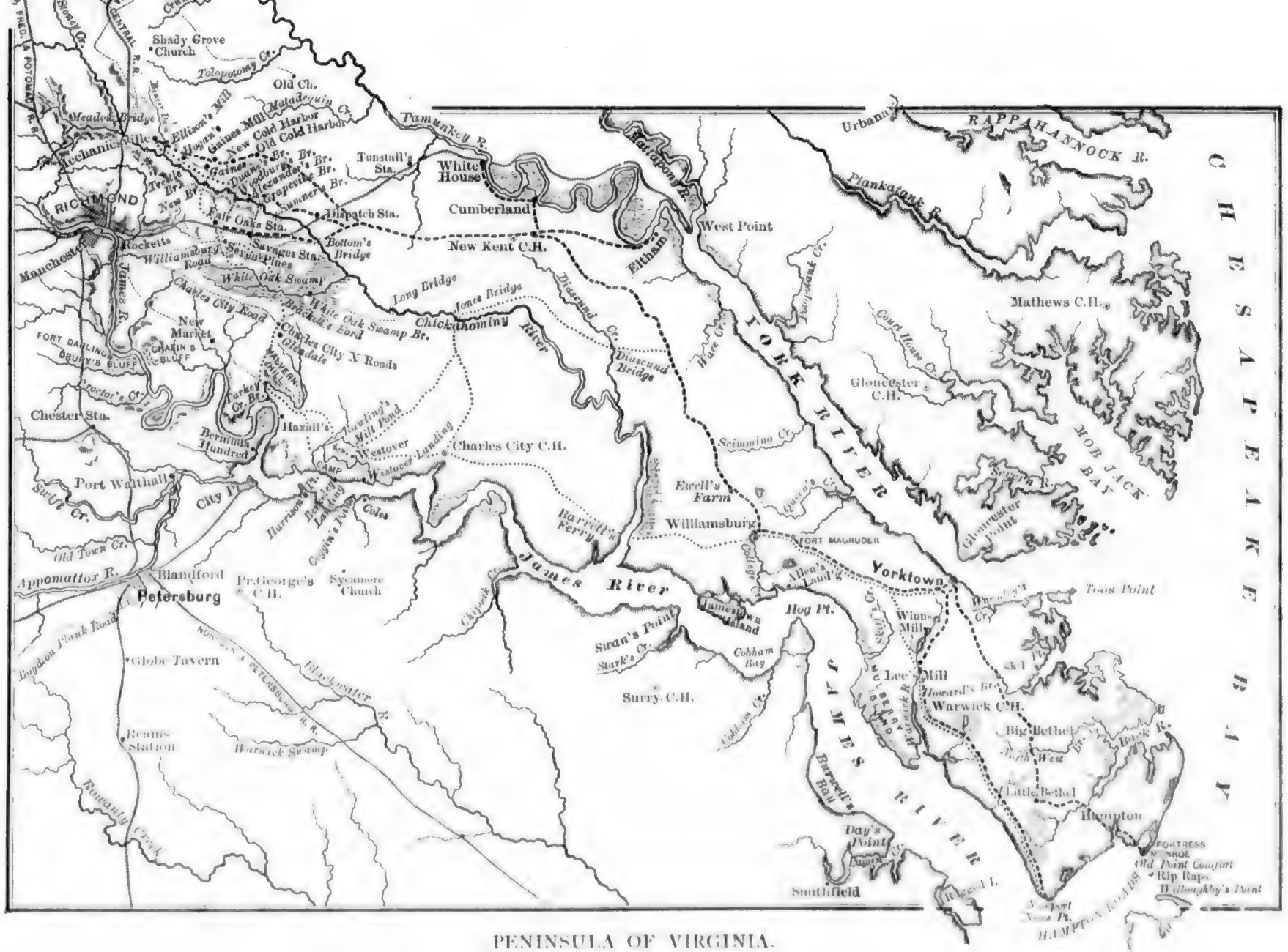
Evacuation of Yorktown.

Johnston had no idea of holding Yorktown. On the afternoon of May 3d, a desultory but harmless fire was opened upon the advanced works of the Union army, lasting until midnight. On the morning of the 4th, it was reported from the front that there was a great fire in the town. General Heintzelman went up in a balloon, from which he could overlook the Confederate lines. Their camp-fires were nearly all out, and the guns at Yorktown were gone. Johnston with his whole force had retired, taking with him everything worth carrying away. McClellan telegraphed jubilantly to Washington: "We have the ramparts; have guns, ammunition, camp equipage. We hold the entire lines of the enemy's works. I have thrown all my cavalry and horse-artillery in pursuit. No time shall be lost. I shall push the enemy to the wall."

The Confederates had a good start, and before the retreat was fairly known their trains and artillery were well on the way to Richmond. General George Stoneman's cavalry followed them, and a little after noon came in view of some works near Williamsburg. They halted for the infantry to come up. Meanwhile General Joseph Hooker, of Heintzelman's corps, had set out in pursuit, through a heavy rain, which made the march slow and difficult; but he pressed on until midnight, and then halted for rest. An hour after daybreak the next morning they were in front of Fort Magruder, into which the Confederates were driven. Hooker sent back word that he had the enemy in a vise, and could hold him there until more men should come up. But there was no actual commanding officer at Yorktown. McClellan was doing quartermaster's duty in directing the movements of Franklin's corps, which had arrived by water.[2] Heintzelman had been put in charge of the movements in front; but in the evening, General E.

[1] It is difficult to see how, in the face of these official figures, General McClellan could subsequently declare, as he did in his paper on the Peninsular campaign (*Battles and Leaders in the Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 171), that he had at that time "only some 67,000 for battle" available.

[2] Franklin's corps, sent to McClellan in response to his strenuous call for reënforcements, had idly lain in the transports in the river for two weeks. According to McClellan's own official report, he had, on April 30th, an aggregate of 112,392 men present for duty. Johnston left Yorktown with about 50,000 men.



PENINSULA OF VIRGINIA.



Exploded Gun in Confederate Battery at Yorktown.

Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph.

V. Sumner came up, and although he brought no troops with him, he took the command by right of seniority.

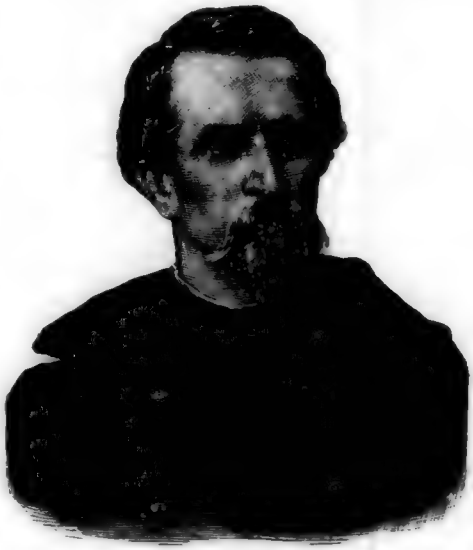
Battle of Williamsburg.

The works near Williamsburg, on the line of retreat up the Peninsula, had been lightly held; but Longstreet, who commanded the rear of the Confederate retreat, saw that the pursuit must be held in check until the trains and artillery were beyond reach. He turned back, and on the morning of the 4th of May took the defensive. He was hotly assailed by Hooker, with inferior numbers, hoping every hour to be reënforced. Sumner, misunderstanding the position, sent Hancock in another direction, where he gained a decided advantage over the enemy. Hooker kept up the fight from daybreak until late in the afternoon, when his ammunition began to fail. At this moment General Philip Kearny came up. For six hours he had been struggling along a single miry road. He outranked Hooker, who gladly yielded the command to him. Kearny's opportune arrival turned the wavering balance. The Confederates, having gained their point, abandoned the field. Late in the day McClellan came up, and "pushed the enemy to the wall," by orders that the pursuit should not be resumed in the morning, as he had

other arrangements in mind. The cavalry picked up a few stragglers, and four or five guns, which had stuck fast in the mud. The Federal loss in the battle was 468 killed, 1,442 wounded, and 373 missing, of whom more than two thirds were from Hooker's division. Hooker complained bitterly of his division being left to fight an overwhelming force, "unaided in the presence of more than 30,000 of their comrades with arms in their hands." There seemed to be no responsible officer at the head of affairs. The corps and division commanders were apparently left to fight or retreat in their own way. The Confederate losses in this battle were 288 killed, 975 wounded, and 297 captured or missing.

When General McClellan came up and surveyed the field on which the real horrors of war were depicted in sanguinary colors, he took alarm at once, and telegraphed to Washington: "I find General Joe Johnston in front of me in strong force, probably greater a good deal than my own." But Johnston, with his 50,000 men or less, was rapidly falling back on Richmond. The Confederate capital was about fifty miles distant. The march of the Union army was very slow; beginning on the 8th of May, the advance did not reach the Chickahominy until the 20th. During this month stirring events had occurred. New Orleans had been captured by Farragut, Norfolk had been surrendered, and the *Merrimac*, "the iron diadem of the South, worth 50,000 men," had been blown up. From the moment when it was known that the Federal army had landed on the Peninsula, dismay had reigned at Richmond. The Confederate Congress adjourned on the 21st of April, and the government archives were sent to Lynchburg and to South Carolina. All places of business were ordered to be closed at two o'clock in the afternoon, and all able-bodied men were ordered to drill for four hours daily.

Panic in Richmond.

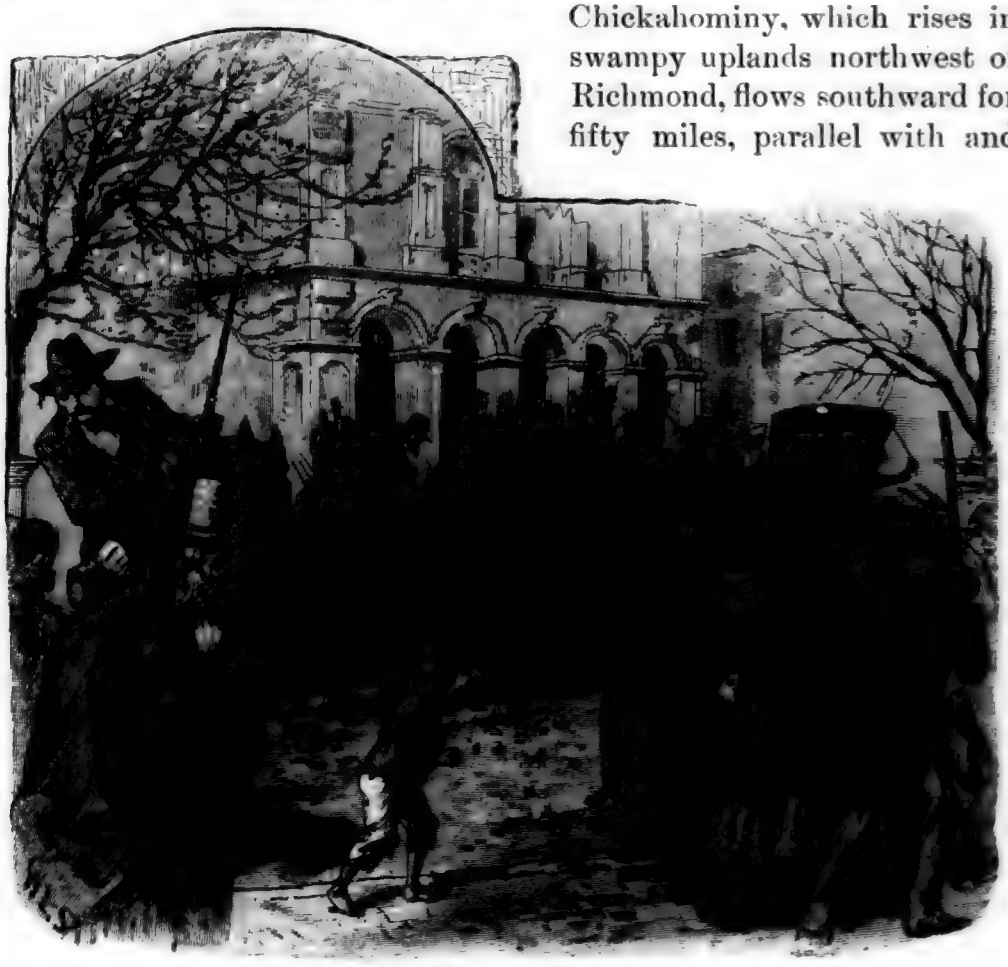


Major-General Philip Kearny.

But the condition of Richmond was not so desperate as it seemed. In three or four days Johnston arrived from Yorktown, bringing with him 47,000 men. The *Merrimac* had been blown up on the 11th of May; but the Federal gunboats, among which was the *Monitor*, in attempting to ascend the James, were checked at Fort Darling, eight miles below the city, and could go no farther. Their guns could not

reach the fortified heights above them. Huger had come up from Norfolk with 7,000 men, and Branch and Anderson were coming down from the Rappahannock with 13,000 more. So that when, near the end of May, McClellan reached the Chickahominy with about 135,000 men, the Confederate force at Richmond numbered 67,000. The real defence of Richmond at this time was the Chickahominy, which rises in swampy uplands northwest of Richmond, flows southward for fifty miles, parallel with and

The Chickahominy.



Panic in Richmond.

nearly midway between the James and the York, and empties into the James. Below Richmond its course from six to ten miles is little more than a brook. In dry summer seasons the channel is only a few yards broad, and hardly four feet deep; but a continuous rain-fall, or a sudden shower, floods the swamp and bottom-land. This season had been an unusually wet one; the low lands were flooded, so as to be impassable for cavalry or artillery, though infantry, if unopposed, might have picked their way across at one point or another. Thus the narrow Chickahominy, with its bordering swamps, was more formidable as a military obstacle than a broad river would have been, over which pontoon bridges could be thrown. McClellan's army had

now been organized into five corps: the old corps of Sumner, Heintzelman, and Keyes; a new one under Fitz-John Porter; and the fifth was Franklin's, which had arrived on the day of the Confederate abandonment of Yorktown. The base of supply was for the present established at West Point, or rather at the White House, five miles up the Pamunkey.

The White House.



Lieutenant-General Thomas J. ("Stonewall") Jackson, C. S. A.

On the 20th of May the advance of the Federal army reached the Chickahominy at Bottom's Bridge, which had been partly destroyed, but the abutments remained, and in a few days the bridge was restored. Keyes's corps, and a part of that of Heintzelman, 30,000 men in all, were sent over, and their advanced posts on the west side were within half a dozen miles of Richmond. They met with no opposition, for Johnston's force was some miles farther up, watching points which it was expected would be attacked. As McClellan's other divisions came up, they were posted for a distance of some fifteen miles along the east side of the Chickahominy. The army was thus practically divided into two parts. Between them lay the Chickahominy, with its flooded swamps. The entire position was in shape somewhat like the letter V, only the right arm was two or three times longer than the other. This was a grave military error, which was nowhere better set forth than by McClellan himself, not long after. He said: "The only available means of uniting our forces at Fair Oaks for an advance upon Richmond was to march the troops from points on the left bank of the Chickahominy down to Bottom's Bridge, and thence over the Williamsburg road to a position near Fair Oaks, a distance of about twenty-three miles. In the condition of the roads at that time this march could not be made with artillery in less than two days."

McClellan's positions.

McClellan had all along urged that McDowell's corps should be sent to him on the Peninsula. On the morning of the 24th of May a despatch announced that this corps would soon be with him; but in the afternoon another despatch informed him that the execution of the order to McDowell had been suspended. The reason for this sudden change is to be found in the bold and skilful operations of "Stonewall" Jackson in the great valley of the Shenandoah. This remarkable Confederate officer was a graduate

Jackson on the Shenandoah.



Major-General Samuel P. Heintzelman.



Major-General Erasmus D. Keyes.

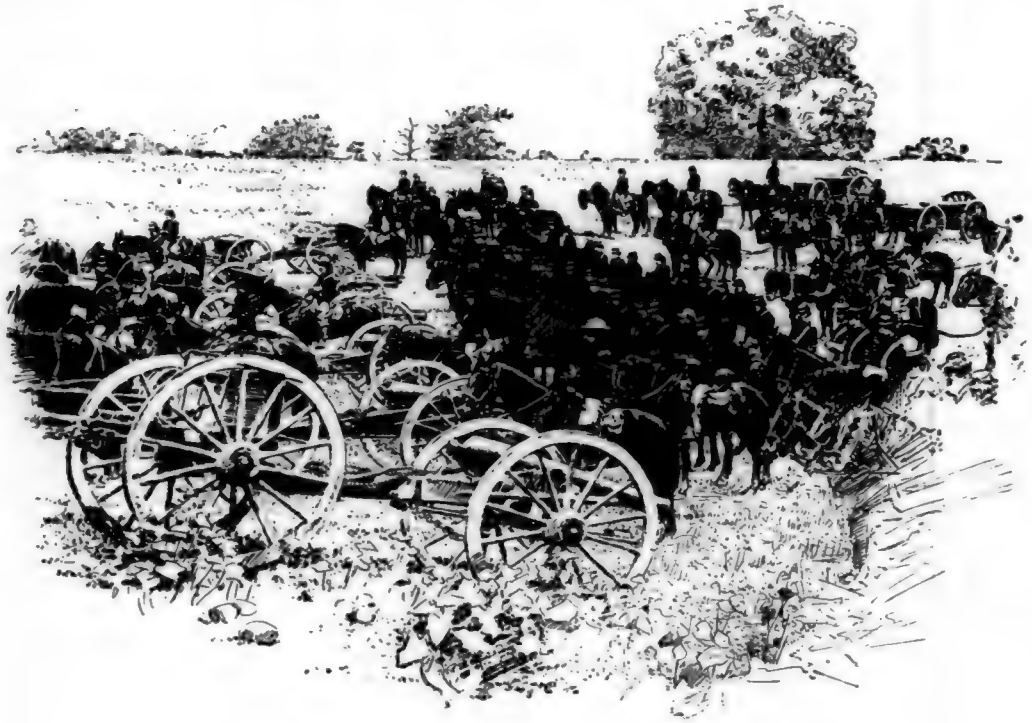
of the United States Military Academy, in morals a purist, in religion a fanatical zealot, and in military strategy a scientific expert. It is not certain that he would have been successful as commander of a great army. But as chief of an army corps he was a tremendous power. His courage was like adamant; he knew no fear. It was said that his opinion was that the South should take no prisoners alive. When Johnston moved towards Yorktown, Jackson had been left behind in the Shenandoah valley with about 6,000 men, and Ewell with as many more on the Rappahannock, their forces being soon after united. By the 23d of May, Jackson had driven the Federal forces from the valley, and was supposed to be marching upon Washington. On the 25th the Secretary of War telegraphed to the Governors of the Northern States: "Intelligence from various quarters leaves no doubt that the enemy in great force are marching upon Washington. You will please organize and forward immediately all the militia and volunteer forces in your State;" and on the same day the President took possession of the railroads, to be used for transmitting troops and munitions of war. General McDowell, with 40,000 men, and Fremont with 20,000, were sent by different routes against Jackson, who had barely 16,000. By rapid marches he eluded both for a while; but on the 8th of June the Federals and the Confederates came within sight of each other at Port Republic, a little hamlet near the junction of the north and south forks of the Shenandoah. Here ensued a desultory engagement, known as the battle of the Cross Keys. Both sides claimed this as a victory; but the real advantage lay with Jackson, who gained his object of escaping across the South Fork of the Shenandoah. He remained there for a fortnight, when he was summoned to the Chickahominy.

The President and McClellan differ.

To the order depriving him of McDowell's corps, McClellan mainly ascribes the disastrous result of his campaign. The President explained in reply that General N. P. Banks had been driven to Winchester, and from Winchester to Martinsburg; that the advance of the enemy seemed a general one, and not as "if he was acting upon the purpose of a very desperate defence of Richmond." He adds: "I think the time is near when you must either attack Richmond or give up the job and come to the defence of Washington." However willing the rebels might be to exchange Richmond for Washington, Mr. Lincoln was not disposed to take that risk by leaving the capital defenceless for the sake of reënforcing the army in the swamps of the Chickahominy.

Battle of Hanover Court House

One or two gleams of apparent success preluded the dark days to come. Intelligence was received that a considerable force of the enemy were near Hanover Court House, a few miles to the northeast of McClellan's right, and partly in his rear, "in a position," he said, "either to reënforce Jackson or to impede McDowell's junction, should he finally move to join us." It was supposed that this force had been sent from Richmond, whereas it really consisted of L. O'B. Branch's North Carolinians, who had just been ordered to Virginia after their defeat by Burnside at Newbern. Fitz-John Porter was sent against them. On the 27th he found them well



Robertson's Battery near Fair Oaks, Va., in June, 1862.

Drawn by Gustav Verbeek from a photograph.



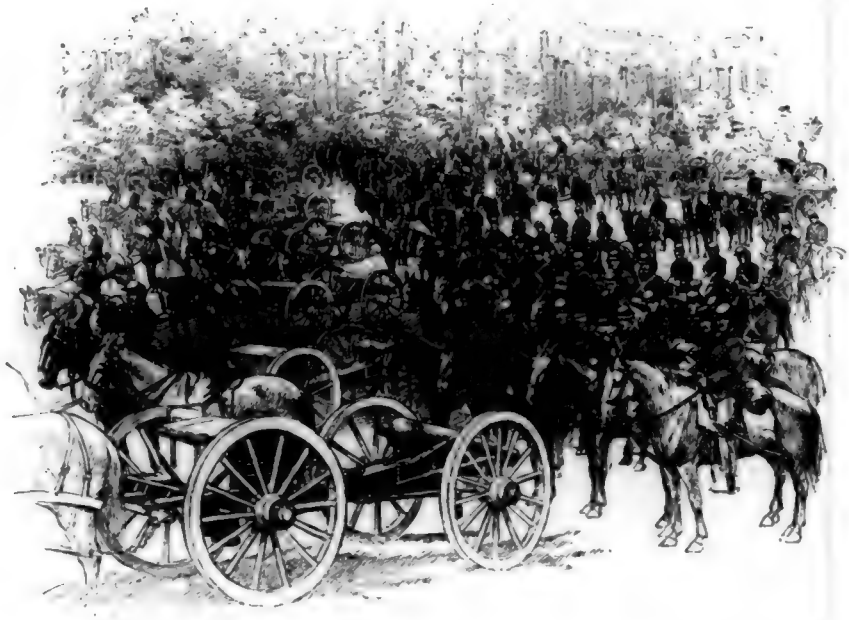
Battle-field of Seven Pines.

posted near the Court House. They were driven from the field; but most of them made their way to Richmond. The results, as given by McClellan, were, "Some 200 of the enemy's dead buried by our troops, 730 prisoners sent to the rear. Our loss amounted to 53 killed, 344 wounded and missing." Fitz-John Porter, on this occasion, handled his troops with great skill and spirit.

Battle of Seven Pines.

Johnston — the wariest, and some think the ablest, of the Confederate generals — could not fail to perceive the faulty disposition which McClellan had made of his army. The left wing, across the Chickahominy, apparently invited attack. Johnston thought only Keyes's corps was over, whereas a part of Heintzelman's was there, making the whole number not less than 30,000. Upon this the Confederate general undertook to throw in his whole disposable force, consisting of the divisions of Huger, Longstreet, D. H. Hill, and G. W. Smith, numbering in all nearly 50,000. Longstreet and Hill were to attack in front, Huger on the Federal left, and Smith on their right. But Huger lost his way, and did not come up, so that the actual attacking force was something less than 40,000. The attack was to be made on the 31st of May. On the preceding afternoon a furious storm set in, which retarded the movements.

The attack was to be made at daybreak; but it was eight o'clock before Longstreet and Hill were in position on the front. They waited until a little past noon for Huger to strike upon the Federal left. He did not come, and Longstreet opened the fight. The bulk of Keyes's corps was slightly intrenched at Seven Pines, on the Williamsburg road, half way between the Chickahominy and Richmond. Casey's division had been pushed a mile farther; but he was soon



Flying Artillery — Benson's Battery, 2d U. S. Mounted Artillery — near Fair Oaks, June, 1862.
Drawn by G. W. Peters from a photograph.

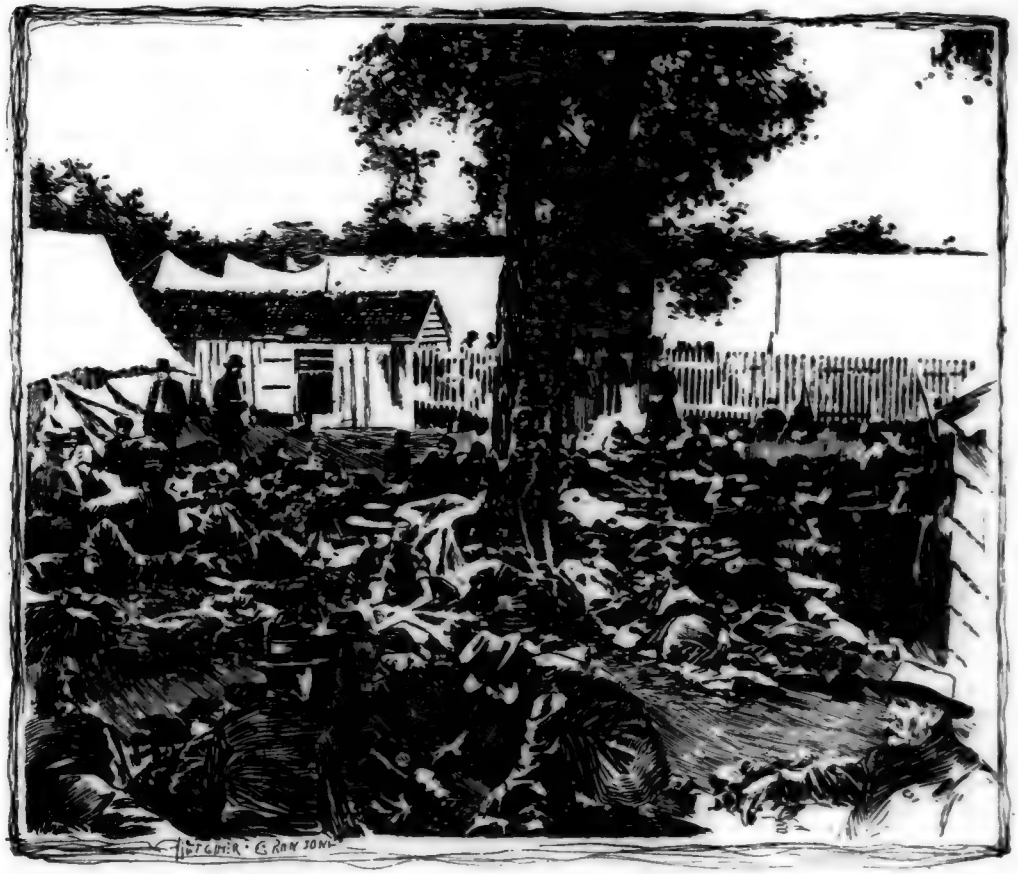
forced back to Seven Pines, where the fighting was hot for two hours, when Casey's troops gave way, and fell back in some disorder. Couch's division took a road to the right, where it soon found itself engaged in the quite separate battle of Fair Oaks. At dusk Heintzelman and Keyes, with mere fragments of regiments, formed a new line. This poured in so hot a fire that the Confederates recoiled. The Federal troops then fell back a mile or two, and both armies lay upon their arms. The battle of Seven Pines, although indecisive, had been in favor of the enemy, Longstreet and Hill having forced back the Federal left and centre. If things had gone as well with Smith on the Confederate right, a complete victory might be expected the next day. Johnston had taken his place with Smith's division, in order, as he says, "that I might be on a part of the field where I could observe and be ready to meet any counter movement which the enemy might make against our centre and left. Owing to some peculiar condition of the atmosphere, the sound of the musketry did not reach us. I consequently deferred giving the signal for General Smith to attack until four o'clock." By this time an unexpected Federal force had come upon that part of the field.

Battle of Fair Oaks.

The noise of the opening action at the Seven Pines, inaudible to Johnston, four miles away, was heard at McClellan's headquarters on the other side of the Chickahominy, eight or ten miles distant in a straight line. McClellan was ill, but he ordered

Sumner, who had constructed two shaky bridges over the stream, to hold himself in readiness to cross. Sumner was more than ready to obey. The water had begun to rise, and the approaches to the bridges were like floating rafts. Sumner, with a single division, that of Sedgwick, crossed, and guided by the noise of the firing marched toward the battle-field. At Fair Oaks Station on the railroad, he met Couch, who said that in falling back from the Seven Pines his division became separated from the rest of the corps, and that he was in momentary expectation of being attacked. Before Sumner could bring his troops into line, the enemy attacked. The action lasted two or three hours. "The strength of the enemy's position," says Johnston, "enabled him to hold it until dark." Sumner then ordered a charge, by which the assailants were driven back, and both armies bivouacked on the field so close to each other that their sentinels were within speaking distance.

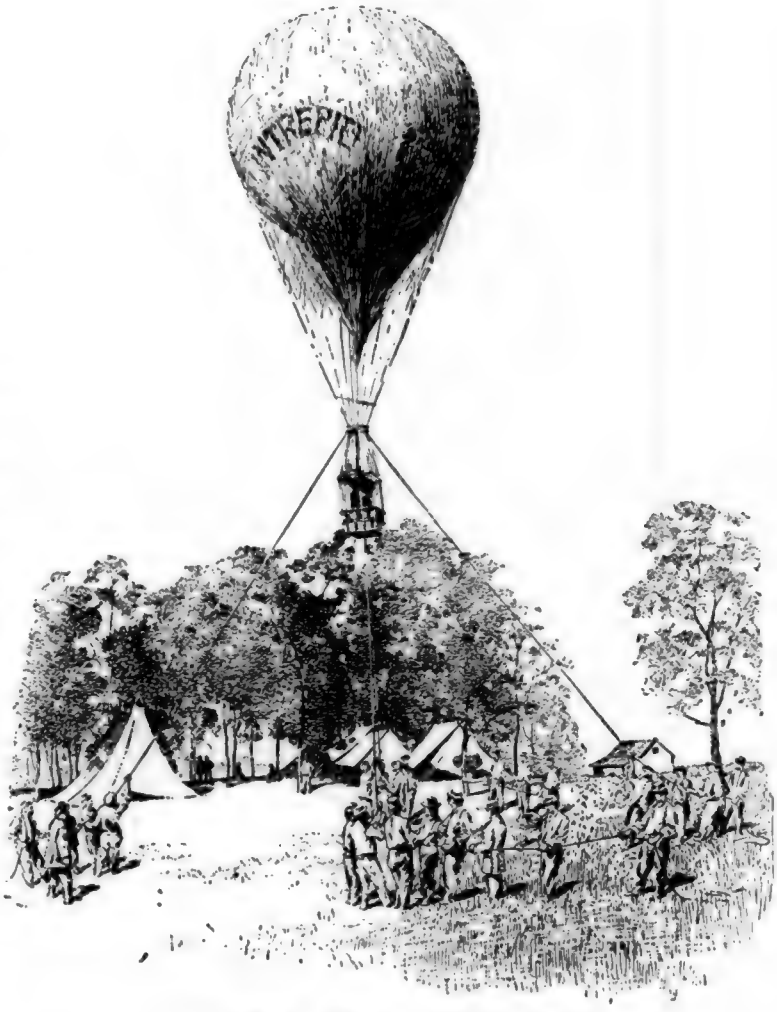
The battle of Seven Pines had gone in favor of the Confederates; that of Fair Oaks in favor of the Union forces; yet neither was decisive. All depended on what should be done the next day. Just



Field Hospital at Savage's Station after the Battle of June 27, 1862.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

at sunset Johnston was struck by the fragment of a shell, and was borne away, it was thought fatally wounded. The command devolved upon G. W. Smith, by right of seniority. After the action was over, Richardson's division of Sumner's corps came up, and was posted so that it could take part in the expected fight of the next day. In the morning Smith found that Longstreet at the Seven Pines was in no condition to renew the battle in that quarter; but it was resumed at Fair Oaks, where Sumner had been further strengthened by Hooker's division of Heintzelman's corps. In an hour all was over, and the entire Confederate force fell back in disorder to Richmond. About noon McClellan came over. He was quite satisfied with what had been achieved, and had no special orders to give. In the judgment of all his corps-commanders, if the pursuit had been pressed, Richmond would have fallen. The Federal losses in this double battle are officially given as 890 killed, 3,627 wounded, and 1,222 missing, — 5,732 in all. The Confederate loss was 980 killed, 4,749 wounded, 405 missing,—6,134 all told. Smith's command of the Confederate army lasted only three days. He had, it is said, a slight paralytic stroke, and the command was given to General Robert E. Lee.

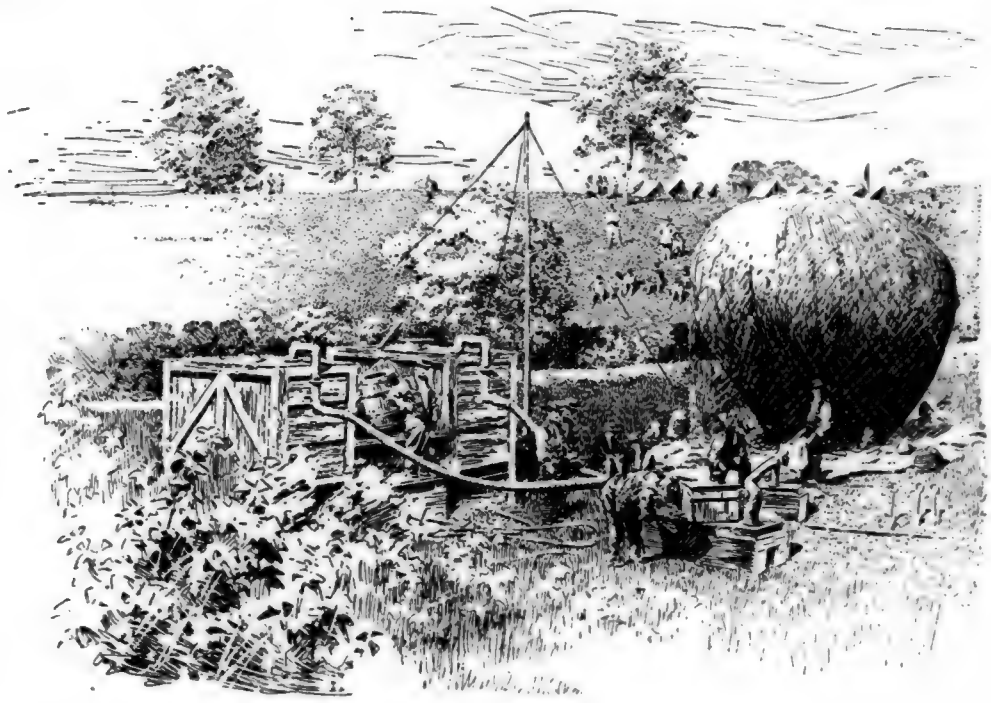


Lowe's Military Balloon at Gaines's Mill, Va.

(Many ascensions were made in this balloon just before the battle of Gaines's Mill for purposes of observation.)

Drawn by Gustav Verbeek from a photograph.

After the battle of Fair Oaks McClellan occu-



Inflating the Balloon at Gaines's Mill.
Drawn by Gustav Verbeek from a photograph.

pied himself for nearly a month in building bridges across the Chickahominy. There were eleven of them; but only eight appear to have been necessary. For a week after the battle of Fair Oaks, the general complained of the weather. The river rose and flooded the entire bottom, and the country was impassable for artillery and cavalry except upon the narrow roads. No movement, he said, was possible against the enemy, and he asked that detachments should be sent him from Halleck's army. But Halleck's army in the Mississippi Valley had gained signal successes, and was now engaged in operations which rendered it unadvisable that it should be weakened. McDowell's corps, or at least McCall's division of it, had been again promised to McClellan. He had apparently been satisfied with this, for on the 7th of June he wrote: "I shall be in perfect readiness to move forward and take Richmond the moment McCall reaches here, and the ground will admit the passage of artillery." McCall's division, 10,000 strong, arrived on the 12th; about the same time several regiments, numbering 5,000 men, had been sent up from Fortress Monroe, raising the force under McClellan's immediate command to the highest point which it reached during this campaign. The returns for June 14 showed 158,838 men, of whom 115,152 were present for duty.

Bridge-building.

Reënforcements.

On the 13th of June headquarters were moved across the Chicka-



Battle-field of Malvern Hill.

hominy. On that day the Confederate cavalryman, General J. E. B. Stuart, with 1,500 cavalry, set out upon a bold raid clear around the Federal lines. He crossed the Chickahominy some distance above McClellan's extreme right, then, turning southeastwardly, he dashed to the White House, destroying some depots of provisions, and recrossed the Chickahominy some miles below the extreme Federal left. He brought with him one hundred and sixty-five prisoners and twice as many horses, having lost only one man. This reconnoitering expedition did not appear to disturb McClellan.

Final preparations.

The corps of Heintzelman, Keyes, and Sumner were already across the Chickahominy; that of Franklin was soon brought over, leaving only Porter's corps and McCall's division on the north side. On the 18th of June McClellan telegraphed to the President: "Our army is well over the Chickahominy. The rebel lines run within musket range of ours. A general engagement may take place at any hour. After to-morrow we shall fight the rebel army as soon as Providence permits. We shall await only a favorable condition of earth and sky, and the completion of some necessary preliminaries." Another week passed, marked mainly by occasional picket-firing. On the 25th, he said, "the bridges and intrenchments being completed, an advance of our picket line on the left was ordered, preparatory to a general advance movement," the object being to ascertain the nature of a belt of swampy ground a mile beyond the Seven Pines. The movement was opposed, and there was a desultory conflict, lasting from eight o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon. The insurgents called this the battle of King's School House. Each side lost five or six hundred men. McClellan says this "was not a battle, but merely an affair of Heintzelman's corps, supported by Keyes, with some aid from Sumner." At five o'clock he telegraphed to Washington: "The affair is now over, and we have gained our point. All is now quiet."

Within less than two hours he put upon the wires quite a different

despatch. Jackson's advance, he said, was at Hanover Court House; Beauregard was at Richmond; a force of 200,000 men was opposed to him, and he would probably be attacked the next day, and should have to contend against vastly superior numbers. He would do all he could, but if his army was destroyed, he could at least die with it, and share its fate. There was no use of asking for further reënforcements. If the result should be disaster, the responsibility could not be thrown upon his shoulders. There was not in all this that entire accuracy to be looked for in affairs of great importance at decisive moments from officers in posts of great responsibility. Beauregard was, in fact, hundreds of leagues away in Alabama, and had been removed from his command in the Mississippi region. This only was true, — that Jackson was not very far from Hanover Court House, and McClellan was to be attacked the next day. But there was no overwhelming force against him. The numbers on each side were about equal, neither varying much from 100,000 men; the National force being reported at 105,000, the Confederate at 80,000 to 90,000.

McClellan's fears.

Thursday, June 26th, had been fixed upon by both Lee and McClellan for a decided offensive movement. Lee took the initiative. According to his plan, Magruder and Huger were to remain in front of Richmond, and Holmes at Fort Darling, on the James, ready to cross the river when ordered. On this side of the Chickahominy were about 33,000 men, besides cavalry. On that side McClellan had fully 70,000. The divisions of A. P. Hill, Longstreet, and D. H. Hill, 34,000 in all, were to cross the Chickahominy above the Federal right, unite with Jackson, and then, about 60,000 strong, to press down upon Porter, whose corps, with McCall's division, numbered 30,000, besides cavalry. Longstreet and the Hills began their march during the night of the 25th. Early the next morning they reached the river and waited until afternoon for the coming of Jackson, whose march had been delayed. At four o'clock A. P. Hill crossed and attacked the extreme right of the Federal army, thus beginning the actual fighting of the historic Seven Days.[1] The Federal position, held by two brigades of McCall's division of 6,000 men, was a strong one. In front was Beaver Dam Creek, five or six yards wide, and four feet deep, with steep banks, beyond which was an open field that the assailants must cross under the fire of the Federal artillery. The attack made by the two Hills was with about 12,000 men. They were repulsed at nightfall, and

Battle of Beaver Dam Creek.

[1] The actions during this period have been variously designated. That of the 26th has been styled the battle of Beaver Creek Dam, or of Mechanicsville; that of the 27th, the battle of Cold Harbor, Gaines's Mill, or the Chickahominy; that of the 30th, the battle of Frazier's Farm, or of Charles City Court House.

withdrew, having lost about 1,500 men, the loss on the other side being not more than 300. This position was held merely to check the advance of the enemy, and during the night McCall was withdrawn to join Porter in his position at Cold Harbor, five miles below.

Battle of Cold Harbor

Early the next morning, D. H. Hill bore a little northward to unite with Jackson, under whose command his division remained for the rest of this campaign. A. P. Hill and Longstreet moved down the bank of the Chickahominy. Their advance was slow, for they might come at any moment upon the Federal troops. At noon, Hill, who was in the advance, reached Gaines's Mill, where a slight skirmish ensued. A little beyond the Federal force was drawn up on the opposite side of a shallow creek, in front of which was a swampy plain a quarter of a mile broad, bordered by a tangled undergrowth. Porter's line was drawn up semi-circularly, so as to cover the bridge across the Chickahominy.

Hill's repulse.

At half-past two Hill began the attack. His brigades dashed across the plain, floundered through the swamp, and pressed up the opposite slope, under a fierce fire of artillery and musketry. For two hours the contest was obstinate; then the Confederate troops gave way, and fell back in apparent rout. Longstreet was now ordered to support Hill, by making a feint on the left; but he found it necessary to bring on his whole force, and make a real attack. At this moment Jackson's command came down, and Lee ordered a general advance along the whole line. It was now past four o'clock. Two hours before this Porter had sent over to McClellan for aid. McClellan, foreseeing the probable necessity of this, had ordered early in the morning a part of Franklin's corps to cross, and had soon after countermanded the order. But they were now directed anew to cross, and came upon the field 8,000 strong, soon after the general attack had begun. Still the Confederates had nearly three to two, their whole force, with the exception of a single brigade, 1,400 strong, kept in reserve, being hotly engaged. An hour before sunset the great preponderance of the assailants had enabled them, though at a fearful cost, to pass the swamp and thus place themselves upon equal ground. The Federal line was severely pressed, and began to give way at every point. It was not yet a rout, though fast threatening to become one. The core of every division was still solid, but fragments were breaking off. All, whether soldiers or fugitives, were pressing towards the bridge. Just at dusk the Federal brigades of French and Meagher appeared from the other side. Dashing up to the crest of the bluff, they moved straight upon the Federal rear, now to become the front. Those who had been retreating faced round, and a firm line was

Attack by Longstreet and Jackson.

formed. The Confederates paused in the pursuit, gave a few volleys, and fell back, as darkness was setting in.

When morning broke, the Union forces were safely across the Chickahominy. Their loss in killed and wounded was about 4,000, besides some 2,000 prisoners, consisting mainly of three regiments, who had been cut off during the Confederate rush. They also lost twenty-two guns. The enemy, attacking under a heavy fire, suffered far more severely. Their loss in killed and wounded was about 9,500.

Losses.

While this battle was in progress McClellan had fully 70,000 men on his side of the Chickahominy. Between him and Richmond were only Huger and Magruder, with barely 25,000 men. But this force was so handled that even Sumner and Franklin thought that it was as much as they could do to hold their positions. The ground in front of them was cut up by ridges, wooded swamps, and ravines, which shut out all sight of what was passing a few hundred yards away. A body of the enemy appearing at any point might be a single regiment, or the head of a division. The Confederates showed themselves at one point and soon after at another, thus apparently doubling or trebling their real numbers. It was Magruder's rôle to rattle around in front of the Union forces, bewildering them so that McClellan might think his enemy four times as numerous as he was. The ruse was successful. There was, however, no real fighting on that side of the river until about sunset, when General "Bob" Toombs undertook, with two regiments, to drive in a Federal picket station. In that action Toombs lost nearly 200 men from his 650.

Across the Chickahominy.



The White House, near Yorktown, McClellan's Base of Supply.

The results of this fight, known as the battle of Gaines's Mill, filled McClellan with consternation. He imagined that the annihilation

of his army was imminent; he prepared an order for the destruction of military baggage, and, according to some authorities, actually contemplated the capitulation of the Army of the Potomac.[1] Towards midnight McClellan held a council of war. It was decided to make a "change of base," by abandoning the Chickahominy and retreating to the James. He then wrote a bitter letter to the Secretary of War. He now knew, he said, the whole history of the day. On the left bank of the Chickahominy his men had done all that men could do, but they had been repulsed by vastly superior numbers. On the right bank he had repulsed several strong attacks. If he had 20,000 or even 10,000 more fresh troops he could take Richmond to-morrow; but he had not a man in reserve, and he should be glad to retreat and save the men and material. He asserted that the government had not sustained the army, and if this were not done at once, "the game was lost." "If I save this army now," he concluded, "I tell you plainly, that I owe no thanks to you or to any other person in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army." To this the patient President replied: "Save your army at all events; you are ungenerous in assuming that reënforcements have not been sent as fast as possible. Your repulse is the price we pay for the safety of Washington." The impulsive Secretary, if left to himself, would hardly have been so forbearing.

McClellan to the Secretary of War.

If Richmond could only be taken by a long siege, the James was the best position. But it must have fallen in a few hours had McClellan made a direct assault upon the 28th. To defend the long line of works there were only Magruder and Huger, with about 25,000 men. Lee, with less than 50,000, after his losses, was on the other side of the Chickahominy, and could not make the march back by the way he had come in less than two days. Right between the two Confederate bodies was McClellan's whole force, fully 95,000 strong after all its losses. A force of 25,000 men could have prevented any passage of the river by Lee, and 70,000 could have been hurled in a body upon the Confederate capital. Magruder was fully aware of the peril of the situation. He says: "Had McClellan massed his whole force in column and advanced it against any point of our line of battle, though the head of the column would have suffered greatly, its momentum would have insured him success, and the occupation of our works about Richmond, and consequently of the city, might have been his reward." Richmond lost, it is not easy to conceive how the Confederate army could have failed to go to pieces, for Lee had marched out with rations for not more

Peril of Richmond.

[1] See memorandum of Secretary Chase, Shuckers's *Life of S. P. Chase*, p. 447.



Military Bridge across the Chickahominy.

than four days, and within a hundred miles of him there was not, out of Richmond, food enough for a week's supply for his army. Richmond was not taken, but why, nobody appeared to be competent to answer.

Keyes moved first and took up a position on White Oak Creek, so as to protect the passage of the trains, guarded by Franklin's and Porter's corps. Heintzelman and Sumner, who lay nearest Richmond, came down to Savage's Station, destroyed such stores as could not be taken away, and then moved on toward Malvern Hill. They were followed by Magruder, with two or three brigades. An attack was made upon Sumner, Magruder losing about 400 men, the Union general about 600. At midnight Sumner abandoned this point, leaving behind him 2,500 sick and wounded in the hospital. Savage's Station.

Early in the morning of that day Lee had become assured that McClellan's entire army was retreating to the James. He resolved upon a bold but hazardous movement. Jackson was to cross the Chickahominy by the New Bridge, which Magruder had already repaired, and fall upon the rear of the retreating army. Longstreet and A. P. Hill were to cross by Sumner's Grapevine Bridge, make a long détour almost to Richmond, and then, joined by Magruder, Huger, and Holmes, fall upon the flank. It was estimated that 70,000 men were available for this combined movement. It failed mainly because only A. P. Hill and Longstreet performed Lee's strategy.

the part assigned to them. Jackson crossed the Chickahominy on the morning of the 30th, and at noon came up with the rear of the Federal force at White Oak Creek. The bridge had been destroyed, and all the approaches were covered by artillery. His men could not be brought to face the fierce fire to which they were exposed, and all that afternoon he was compelled to listen idly to the noise of the battle at Frazier's Farm, hardly two miles distant. Holmes had crossed from Fort Darling, on the James, and early in the morning came in sight of the head of the retreating Federal column. A few rounds of artillery and a few shells from the gunboats in the James scattered his raw troops. This was the only part which they took in the operations of the Seven Days.

Battle of Frazier's Farm.

Longstreet and Hill crossed the Chickahominy on the morning of the 29th, and at night encamped near the head of the White Oak Swamp. They had made a forced march under the hot midsummer sun, and many of their men dropped from sheer exhaustion. Resuming their march in the morning, at noon of the 30th they came close upon the centre of the Federal column, the head of which had already reached Malvern Hill, the rear being in the White Oak Swamp. The Confederate generals waited three hours for the arrival of Huger, who did not come up at all, having lost his way, as he had done at the Seven Pines. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the onset was begun by Longstreet, Hill soon following. The fight lasted until dark, but owing to the nature of the region it was a series of combats between brigades, rather than a regular battle, yet raging almost continuously along the whole line, each side alternately gaining and losing ground. Of few battles are the accounts given by the various trustworthy actors so discordant. Sumner says: "After a furious contest, lasting



Hanover Court House.

until dark, the enemy was routed at all points and driven from the field." But there was no rout, and the Confederates at the close remained in possession of the field. A. P. Hill gives a clearer account. He says: "On our extreme right matters seemed to be going badly. Two brigades of Longstreet's division had been roughly handled, and fallen back. Archer was sent in, and affairs were soon restored in that quarter. About dark the enemy were pressing us hard along our whole line, and my last reserve was directed to advance cautiously. Heavy reserves of the enemy were brought up, and it seemed that a tremendous effort was made to turn the fortunes of the battle. The volume of fire that, on approaching, rolled along the whole line, was terrific. Seeing some troops of Wilcox's brigade, who had rallied, they were rapidly re-formed, and being directed to cheer long and loudly, they moved again to the fight. This seemed to end the contest, for in less than five minutes all firing ceased, and the enemy retired."

Results.

As soon as it was clear that there would be no more fighting, the Federal troops resumed their march, and in the morning the last of them arrived at Malvern Hill. The Confederates remained upon the battle-field, and so won a formal victory. But the divisions of Longstreet and Hill were so shattered and exhausted that they were not called upon to take part in the great battle of the next day. Hill had marched from Richmond four days before with 14,000 men; here and at Beaver Dam and Cold Harbor he lost 3,780 killed and wounded. Longstreet had marched with 10,000; here and at Cold Harbor he lost 4,182 killed and wounded, and nearly 300 missing. The losses are not given separately for each action. At Frazier's Farm the loss of the Confederates was about 2,000 killed and wounded. The Federal loss was about 1,800 killed and wounded, besides 30 prisoners and 20 guns, captured at the beginning of the action.

Battle of Malvern Hill.

Malvern Hill is an elevated plateau, sixty feet high, a mile and a half long and half as broad. Along the front are ravines passable only where they are crossed by roads. As the troops came up, they were assigned positions by General Barnard, the chief engineer; for McClellan had gone to select a position upon the river to which the army might continue its retreat. Sumner, by seniority of rank, was left in command, without having been formally invested with it, or receiving instructions. The entire force was nearly 90,000. Both flanks rested upon the James, and were protected by gunboats. On the crest of the hill were seven heavy siege guns, and the remainder of the artillery were so posted that the fire of sixty pieces might be concentrated upon any point from which the enemy could approach.

Jackson moved on as soon as the Federal position on White Oak Creek was abandoned. His command had suffered severely at Cold Harbor, and now, including D. H. Hill's division, it could not have numbered more than 30,000. Hill's advance brought him at nine o'clock in front of the Federal line. "Tier after tier of batteries," he says, "were grimly visible on the plateau, rising in the form of an amphitheatre. We could reach the first line of batteries only by traversing an open space of three or four hundred yards, exposed to a murderous fire of grape from the artillery, and of musketry from the infantry. If that was carried, another and another still more formidable, remained in the rear." He thought an attack would be hazardous, and urged Lee not to make the attempt. But Lee was not ready to abandon his elaborately conceived plan, although he could not bring many more than 50,000 men to its execution, and Jackson was ordered to begin the assault. At ten o'clock Hill advanced Anderson's brigade so that it came within reach of the Federal artillery. "This brigade," he says, "was roughly handled; the division was halted, and the Union position was reconnoitered."

Magruder, in command of his own division, and virtually of that of Huger, came up. Upon him the real work of attack was to fall, preparations for which were completed at four o'clock in the afternoon. Lee wrote to each of his division commanders: "Batteries have been established to act upon the enemy's lines. If they are broken, as is probable, Armistead, who can witness the effect of the fire, has been ordered to charge with a yell. Do you the same." Each of these forty words cost him a hundred men. Fire was opened by the Confederate batteries at six o'clock, and the real battle of the day began.

Hill says that "Instead of one or two hundred pieces, only a single battery opened, and that was knocked to pieces in a few minutes; and one or two others shared the same fate of being beaten in detail." He wrote to Jackson that "the fire from the batteries was of a most farcical character;" but received for reply that he must advance as ordered, as soon as he heard Armistead's yell. Armistead drove in a few skirmishers, and gave the expected yell. Lee ordered Magruder to press forward the whole line, and follow up Armistead's success. In a few minutes Magruder's command was confronting a deadly fire. "The battle-field," he says, "was enveloped in smoke, relieved only by flashes from the contending troops. Round shot and grape crashed through the woods; shells of enormous size, which reached far beyond the headquarters of the commander-in-chief, burst amid the artillery parked in the rear. Belgian missiles and minie balls lent their aid to this scene of stupendous grandeur and sublimity." This fire made no impression upon the Federal lines, not even disturbing a single bat-



Cold Harbor.

tery. Darkness set in, and then, continues Magruder, "I concluded to let the battle subside." Hill in the mean time had heard Armistead's yell, and an hour and a half before sunset pushed his division forward. "We advanced alone," he says, not quite accurately; "neither Whiting on the left, nor Huger on the right, moved forward an inch. The division fought heroically, but in vain. Finally Ewell came up, but it was after dark, and nothing could be accomplished. I advised him to hold his ground, and not to attempt a forward movement." Hill's division, 8,000 strong at the beginning of this attack, lost 1,709 killed and wounded in that hour and a half. The remainder of Jackson's command hardly touched the battle at all.

Losses.

The entire Federal loss during the six days is officially stated at 15,249, of whom 1,582 were killed, 7,709 wounded, and 6,958 missing. The Confederate losses in the divisions of Jackson, D. H. Hill, Longstreet, and A. P. Hill are given in Lee's Report. They amount to 14,645, of whom 2,472 were killed, 11,774 wounded, and 399 missing. Magruder's losses may be estimated at about 4,500 in all; making the entire Confederate loss something more than 19,000.

The flight to Harrison's Landing.

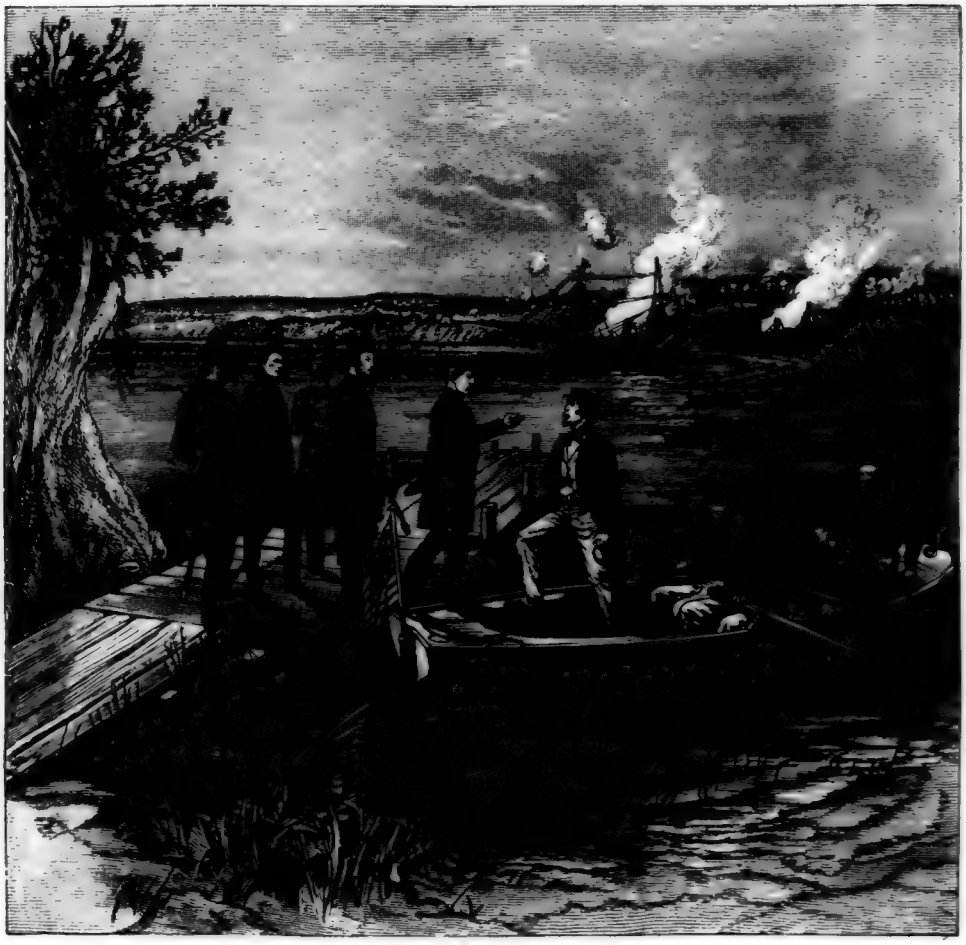
The pitiable condition of the Confederate army after the battle of Malvern Hill is set forth by Trimble's account, embodied in Lee's report. He says: "The next morning by dawn I went off to ask for orders, when I found the whole army in the utmost disorder. Thousands of straggling men were asking every

passer-by for their regiments; ambulances, wagons, and artillery were obstructing every road, and altogether, in the drenching rain, presenting a scene of the most woful and heart-rending confusion." The Federal army in its retreat from the Chickahominy had suffered little, except that small portion engaged at Frazier's Farm; it outnumbered the enemy by more than three to two, and was in far better plight. Yet when in the gray dawn the Confederates looked up to Malvern Hill, they saw no trace of the grim batteries and serried lines against which they had dashed themselves in pieces. In the darkness and storm, through mud and mire, McClellan had fled from the field of a great victory, as though it had been one of a crushing defeat. "The greater portion of the transportation of the army," says McClellan, "having been started for Harrison's Landing during the night of the 30th of June and 1st of July, the order for the movement of the troops was at once issued upon the final repulse of the enemy at Malvern Hill."

By midnight the army was on its weary march along a single narrow passage. This retreat was a flight. "We were ordered to retreat," says Hooker, "and it was like the retreat of a routed army. We retreated like a parcel of sheep. Every one was on the road at the same time, and a few shots from the rebels would have panic-stricken the whole command." Keyes, who commanded the rear-guard, was thus instructed: "Bring along all the wagons you can; but they are to be sacrificed, of course, rather than imperil your safety. Celerity of movement is the sole security of this position." The distance was only fifteen miles, but the last of the trains did not reach Harrison's Landing until noon of the 3d of July. On that day McClellan telegraphed to Washington that the army was thoroughly worn out. It was quite impossible to estimate his losses, but he doubted if there were more than 50,000 men with their colors. He hoped that the enemy were in no better plight, and that he should have a breathing-space before he was again attacked; but in order to capture Richmond, reënforcements should be sent to him, "rather much more than less than 100,000 men."

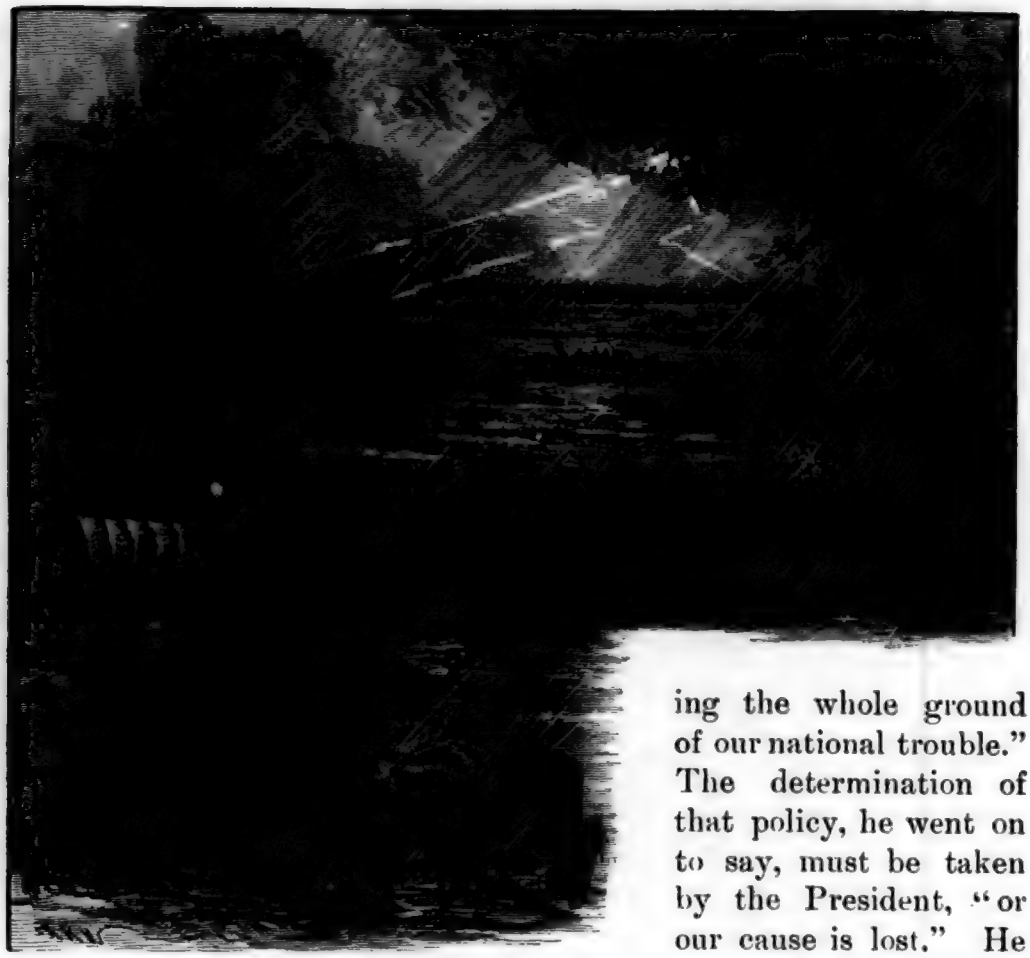
With the flight from Malvern Hill, properly closed this ill-omened Peninsular Campaign, though the army remained on the James until the middle of August. During this period much was proposed, but nothing was done, and little attempted. To McClellan's repeated requests for large reënforcements, first for 50,000, then for 100,000 men, even "more rather than less," the President had replied that the demands were absurd and compliance impossible, for there were not, at that time, outside of the army on the Peninsula, seventy-five thousand troops in the service east of

At Harrison's Landing.



Gunboats at Malvern Hill.

the mountains. McClellan's own plans had contemplated 75,000 for the protection of the National capital. The campaign from Yorktown to Harrison's Landing was three months of disastrous failure. McClellan's attempt to throw the responsibility upon the Government because it declined to supply him with all the men he asked for was meant to hide an unwilling service or a confession of his incapacity to cope with the enemy unless he outnumbered him at least three to one. There is not, perhaps, in history so remarkable an instance of the patience and forbearance of a government with a general commanding its armies in the field. It is the more remarkable that General McClellan should at this time have had the presumption to write to the President a letter of advice as to the "civil and military policy" which he — McClellan — thought should be adopted. In this amazing epistle, dated at Harrison's Landing, Virginia, July 7th, 1862, the defeated general lectured the President in good set terms and advised him that the time had come "when the Government must determine upon a civil and military policy cover-



Wet Weather on the Chickahominy.

ing the whole ground of our national trouble." The determination of that policy, he went on to say, must be taken by the President, "or our cause is lost." He proceeded to outline such a policy, confining himself chiefly to the military branch thereof, but he insisted that "a declaration of radical views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disintegrate our present armies." And he modestly suggested that as a commander-in-chief of the army would be needed he was willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of the accomplishment of the object proposed. President Lincoln, sorely distressed with matters of more immediate and pressing importance than the framing of a "policy," took no notice of McClellan's missive.

McClellan's letter.

As we shall have occasion hereafter to consider General McClellan as a political leader, it may be said that from this point in his career he became more and more identified with politics. He had not been regarded as "a political general" of the class of which there were already too many in the army. But as soon as he touched the zenith of his military fame, it became bruited abroad that he had formerly acted with the Democratic party whenever he had taken any position at all on the political questions of the times. Efforts had been made to induce him to identify himself with that organization; but for a

long time he refrained from taking any step whatever in the direction of a definition of his political views. No man can tell what were the mental exercises, what the personal ambitions of General McClellan while he was conducting the campaign on the Peninsula, a campaign destined to end in defeat and humiliation. But it is certain that at that time his heart was filled with bitterness and hostility to the Administration whose officer he was.

McClellan's letters, printed by his literary executors, reveal his state of mind during his stay at Harrison's Landing, after the Seven Days. He wrote home: "I have no faith in this Administration. . . . I am tired of serving fools. . . . Marcy [1] and I have just been discussing the people in Washington, and conclude they are 'a mighty trifling set.' . . . I begin to think they wish this army to be destroyed. When you contrast the policy I urge in my letter to the President with that of Congress and Mr. Pope,[2] you can readily agree with me that there can be little natural confidence between the Government and myself. We are the antipodes of each other. I am satisfied that the dolts in Washington are bent on my destruction." In the failure of the Administration to accede to his preposterous demands, McClellan apparently saw evidence of a determination to crush a formidable and rapidly developing political power.

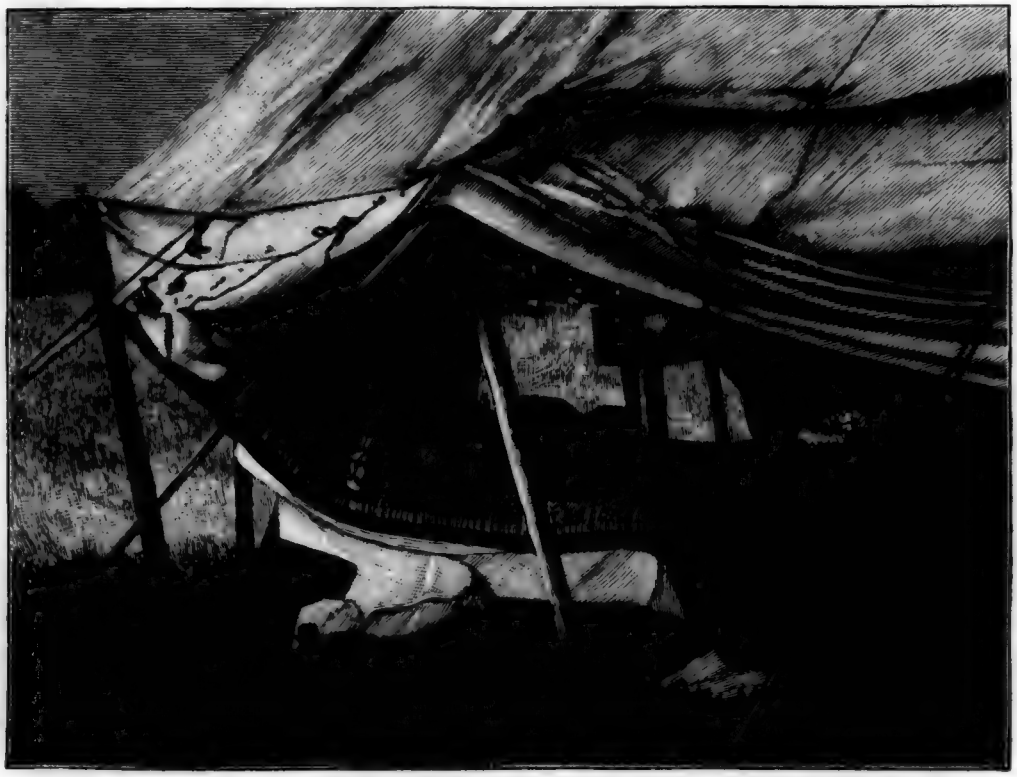
While General McClellan was continually demanding additions to his army, it appeared that over 38,000 men were absent on furlough, granted on his authority. On the 8th of July the President, determined to see for himself the condition of affairs, visited the army; on the 9th, he summoned a council of war at the general's headquarters, and on requiring from each corps-commander the return of men fit for duty that morning, he found the aggregate 36,000 more than the general had telegraphed to him, after the army had reached Harrison's Landing.[3]

On the 4th of August the divisions of Hooker and Sedgwick took possession of Malvern Hill, and made reconnaissances some miles toward Richmond. "I feel confident," telegraphed McClellan, "that with reënforcements I could march this army there in five days." Next morning peremptory orders were received from Halleck that the army should be withdrawn from the Peninsula, and Malvern Hill was again abandoned. McClellan urged that the order for withdrawal

[1] McClellan's father-in-law.

[2] General John Pope, in command of the Army of Virginia.

[3] "I polled the corps-commanders," said Mr. Lincoln, describing the scene, a few days afterward, in a private conversation, "as one who polls a jury. I asked of each the return of men present for duty in his corps that morning, put down the figures, added them up, and then passed the sheet to General McClellan, without a word. The difference between the sum and his statement was thirty-six thousand."



A Typical Sleeping Tent. — Lieutenant S. W. Owen, Pa. Cavalry, at Westover Landing, August, 1862.

should be rescinded. Hooker thought it should be disregarded. They had sufficient men, he said, to capture Richmond. If the attempt should fail, it would probably cost McClellan his head, "but he might as well die for an old sheep as for a lamb." For a moment McClellan seemed inclined to run the risk. On the 10th Hooker received a written order which was communicated to the whole army, to provide himself with three days' rations, and hold himself in readiness to march on the 11th. "I firmly believe," says Hooker, "that this order meant Richmond; but, before the time came for executing it, it was countermanded."

Withdrawal from the Peninsula.

On the 16th of August the stores and the sick were embarked. A pontoon bridge for the passage of the troops had been thrown across the Chickahominy towards its mouth. On the 18th the rear-guard was over, and the bridge was taken down. McClellan had apprehended an attack upon his rear, and was ill at ease until the Chickahominy was between him and the enemy. But for days and weeks there had been hardly the show of a Confederate force near him. Jackson and A. P. Hill had been sent towards the Rappahannock; Lee with most of the remainder of his army had followed on the 13th. At and near Richmond were only the weak division of D. H. Hill and a few thousand raw conscripts.



Fredericksburg.

CHAPTER XXI.

NORTHERN VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

THE ARMY OF VIRGINIA UNDER POPE. — MCCLELLAN'S RELUCTANCE TO LEAVE THE PENINSULA. — EXPOSTULATIONS FROM THE ADMINISTRATION. — POPE FIGHTS AND LOSES THE SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN. — A GREAT DISASTER. — MCCLELLAN ONCE MORE IN COMMAND OF THE ARMIES. — LEE'S INVASION OF MARYLAND. — BATTLE OF ANTIETAM. — MCCLELLAN DECLINES TO MOVE. — HIS REMOVAL FROM COMMAND. — BURNSIDE IN COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. — THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG. — ANOTHER NATIONAL DISASTER. — BURNSIDE'S FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO RETRIEVE. — "FIGHTING JOE HOOKER" AT THE HEAD OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.

ON the 26th of June, 1862, while the first of the Seven Days' Fight on the Peninsula was in progress, General John Pope, who had been in command of the army corps known as the Army of the Mississippi, was put in command of a new military organization called the Army of Virginia. This body was composed of the armies under Fremont, Banks, and McDowell. The three armies were scattered over the northern part of Virginia, without much coöperative plan or intimate communication with each other; Fremont and Banks being at Middletown, in the Shenandoah valley; McDowell's command east of the Blue Ridge, one division (King's) being at Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock, and the other (Ricketts's) at and beyond Manassas Junction, not far from the field of the battle of Bull Run, fought in 1861. All three of these commanders were Pope's military seniors; Fremont declined to serve under an officer who was his junior. He

General Pope in command of the Army of Virginia.

was replaced accordingly by General Franz Sigel, who had been transferred to the East from Missouri, where he had been fighting earlier in the war.

On the day after Pope's taking command, his army, according to the official records, showed an aggregate strength of 50,600 effective men, distributed as follows: Headquarters, 200; Sigel's (formerly Fremont's) corps, 13,200; Banks's, 12,100; McDowell's, 19,300; cavalry, 5,800. The discovery of an error in Banks's return subsequently reduced this total somewhat. Pope had been graduated, in 1842, from the United States Military Academy, in the same class with James Longstreet, D. H. Hill, Lafayette McLaws, Mansfield Lovell, G. W. Smith, R. H. Anderson, A. P. Stewart, and Earl Van Dorn, now in the Confederate service; and John Newton, W. S. Rosecrans, George Sykes, and Abner Doubleday, now in the Federal service. By one of the strange vicissitudes of fate, these men were to confront each other on opposite sides of a long and sanguinary conflict. Pope was an imaginative man with a hopeful, even sanguine, temperament; and he was not always accurate in his statements nor in his conclusions. His general appearance and demeanor were the exact opposite of McClellan; for while the commander of the Army of the Potomac was scrupulously exact and orderly in his bearing and dress, precise in his methods and a martinet in his organizing of forces, Pope was loose in his methods and generally ramshackle or disorderly in his bearing and military habits.

To a certain extent, Pope's transfer to the consolidated armies in Northern Virginia was an experiment. McClellan had so far disappointed the Administration that it had become evident that he would win no battles on the Peninsula; his withdrawal had become inevitable. The creation of the Army of Virginia from the scattered forces already described was intended to provide for the defence of Washington and for offensive operations against the Confederate forces around Richmond, so as to draw off from Lee's army as many men as possible, Lee then being in front of McClellan, on the Chickahominy. But it was very well known that, if McClellan's and Pope's armies were to be so manœuvred that they must act in co-operation with each other, or as one army, the commander of the Army



Major-General John Pope.



Major-General Henry W. Halleck.

of the Potomac, who was the general-in-chief of the armies of the United States, would not only outrank the commander of the Army of Virginia, but he would naturally regard with jealousy a junior commander who might appear to him as a possible rival. To bridge over the apparent gap between the two generals, a new complication became necessary. General Halleck, who had been operating against the Confederate forces in Northern Mississippi, was ordered to Washington to act as military adviser to the President with the title of general-in-chief. This was practically a superseding of General McClellan, and he so regarded it.

General Pope indiscreetly discomposed the situation still further by an order which he made on taking command. If his purpose was to anger the officers of the Army of the Potomac, and deeply incense its commander, he admirably succeeded. Among other things, he said: "I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies; from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary and to beat him when found; whose policy has been attack, not defence. . . . I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system and to lead you against the enemy. It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily. . . . I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases which I am sorry to find so much in vogue amongst you. I hear constantly of 'taking strong positions, and holding them;' of 'lines of retreat,' and of 'bases of supplies.' Let us discard such ideas." It is not surprising that this address, which Pope expected and intended should animate and inspirit his men, provoked a storm of wrath and ridicule. Sent forth, as it was, just after a series of conflicts on the Peninsula, during which the Army of the Potomac had been constantly "taking strong positions and holding them," until forced back upon "lines of retreat," the bombastic order appeared to be a satire on the operations of General McClellan, who was greatly beloved by his command; and the country at large, impartial in any quarrel between the two commanders, laughed at the swelling periods and inflated rhetoric of the newly-arrived general, who, in an hour, had so seriously damaged the admirable reputation which he had won in the West.

Pope's order.



The Battle-field of Cedar Mountain, seen from the West.
Drawn by W. St. John Harper from a photograph taken in August, 1862.

In his own narrative, printed after the war was over, Pope admits that he entered on the new command "with great reluctance and serious forebodings." Neither Pope nor Halleck approved of the tactics adopted by McClellan during his peninsular campaign; and neither of these generals appeared to regard the commander of the Army of the Potomac with admiration for his military abilities. McClellan's retreat to the James River naturally disturbed Pope's equanimity still further; McClellan was calling for reënforcements which it was impossible to give; it had become necessary that the two armies should be united as soon as possible; the question of the supreme command of the consolidated forces was one of great difficulty; and, to crown all, an angry and bitter controversy arose over the final action of McClellan in retreating to the James River.

Plan of the campaign.

Finally, the objects of the approaching campaign of the Army of Virginia were declared to be twofold: (1) To cover the approaches to Washington from any enemy advancing from Richmond, and to delay any such advance in order to give time for the transfer of the Army of the Potomac from the James River to some other point nearer the capital; and (2) to operate on the lines of communication of the enemy, with Gordonsville and Charlottesville, so as to divert the attention of Lee from McClellan, and to that

extent facilitate the withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac. It was expected that the two armies would be united on the line of the Rappahannock, and Pope was instructed to hold fast to his lines of communication with Fredericksburg, through which place it was expected that McClellan would effect his junction with the Army of Virginia. It was subsequently found that that line was too far to the front, and it was abandoned.

General McClellan relinquished his field of operations on the James River with great unwillingness. As we have seen, he signalized his arrival on the James by the announcement that he had saved his army, but would require at least 50,000 men before he could safely resume offensive operations. A little later, after it had been resolved that his withdrawal from the Peninsula was imperatively necessary (July 3d), he declared that the needed reënforcements should be "rather much over than much less than 100,000 men." The cordial, almost affectionate, note of the Secretary of War, addressed to General McClellan, met with a cold response; the commander of the Army of the Potomac reproached the Secretary of War with his official conduct towards him, which, he said, had been "marked by repeated acts done in such a manner as to be deeply offensive to my feelings, and calculated to affect me injuriously in public estimation." Naturally, McClellan regarded the order for his withdrawal from the James as equivalent to a rebuke. He undertook the work with reluctance and after many protests. For a time he paid no attention to the order from Washington for the removal of his sick; and when that order was repeated, he replied, after some delay, that he could do nothing unless he were informed as to the ultimate destination of his army. He added: "If I am longer kept in ignorance of what is to be effected, I cannot be expected to accomplish the object in view." As if the general who had retreated now declined to change his base still further unless the plans of future campaigns were laid before him for approval. In reply to this despatch, General Halleck simply notified McClellan that he was expected to send off his sick, according to orders, without waiting to find out what were, or would be, the instructions of the Government concerning future movements. On the 13th of July he was again ordered to send away his sick. He moved tardily and with manifest sullenness, and, although admonished of the danger that now threatened Pope, he still delayed his movements. Finally, on the 17th of August, McClellan telegraphed to Washington that he had left his camp on the James; ten days later, he reported for duty at Alexandria, Virginia. At that time Pope's campaign had reached its most critical stage.

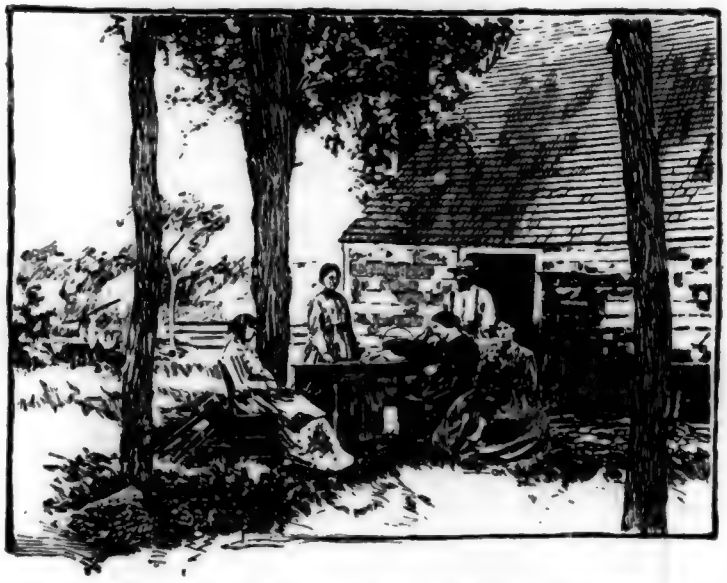
McClellan's attitude.

As soon as Pope had begun to develop his plan of campaign, which was to threaten the Confederate line of communication with Gordonsville, Lee saw the significance of the movement and hastened to meet it. On the 13th of July he sent Jackson, with his own division and that of Ewell, to Gordonsville, with the promise of reënforcements. Jackson found that Pope was too strong to warrant offensive operations, and contented himself with occupying Gordonsville. A fortnight passed, when it was learned that Burnside's corps had sailed from North Carolina, and arrived at Fortress Monroe; thence it had gone to the Rappahannock instead of going to McClellan on the James. On the 27th Lee sent A. P. Hill's division to Jackson at Gordonsville, raising his force to 35,000. Jackson then moved northward, while Pope had already begun to move southward. Quite by accident the advance of the two armies came into collision on the 9th of August at Cedar Mountain, twenty miles north of Gordonsville. Banks was here with 8,000 men, and was attacked by Ewell with about as many. For a while the fight was in favor of the National troops; but Confederate reënforcements coming up, Banks was driven back, pursued by the enemy. Pope was a few miles away with the bulk of his force. He hurried up, and at dark checked the pursuit. Jackson then fell back to the battle-field of the morning. For two days the armies lay fronting each other, neither commander caring to attack. Jackson, then learning that Pope had received reënforcements from Burnside's corps, fell back across the Rapidan. The Confederate loss at Cedar Mountain is given at 1,314, of whom 223 were killed, 1,060 wounded, and 31 missing. Pope put his at about 1,900 killed, wounded, and missing.

Confederate movements.

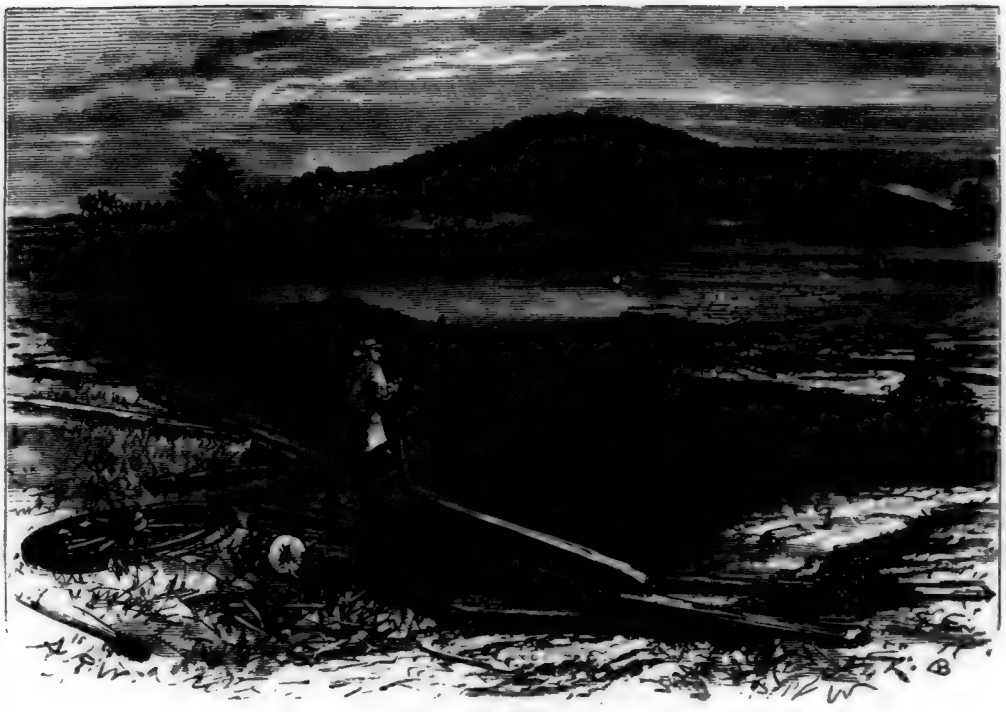
Battle of Cedar Mountain.

Meanwhile the force at Richmond had been largely augmented by conscription. By the 13th of August it was certain that the Federal army was to be withdrawn from the



The House in which General Winder (Confederate) was killed at Cedar Mountain.

Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.



Cedar Mountain.

Peninsula. Pope learned that the enemy were moving upon him in great force, and fell back across the Rappahannock. Lee came up to the river with 80,000 men; Pope, with 45,000, confronted him on the other bank, being assured that he should be largely reënforced within three days. On the 20th his pickets were driven in. For two days Lee sought to find an unguarded place to cross the river; but Pope was always in front of him in force sufficient to meet any serious attempt.

Lee's advance to the Rappahannock.

On the stormy night of the 22d an incident occurred which gave shape to the campaign. Pope's headquarters were at Catlett's Station, ten miles in the rear of the centre of his line, guarded by 1,500 infantry and a few companies of horse. Stuart, with 1,500 cavalry, crossed the river some distance above Pope's right, and, guided by a negro, dashed through the darkness upon the tents occupied by Pope's staff, some of whom were made prisoners. Before the alarm could be given, he rode off, having lost but two men in this daring raid. But he had secured a prize which proved of inestimable value. This was Pope's despatch-book, containing precise information of the numbers and positions of the forces then with him, of the reënforcements promised to him, and the quarter from which they were to come. This information rendered it possible, and even probable, that if the entire Confederate army could be flung upon Pope's rear, his communications might be cut off, and his army routed before

Catlett's Station.

it could be reënforced from the Army of the Potomac. This movement must be a surprise; and to give it success the first part must be made with a celerity impossible for an army incumbered with trains. Lee must therefore divide his force for some four days, in face of an enemy probably outnumbering either division, though much inferior to both combined. There was danger in the attempt; but the chances of success were thought sufficient to warrant the risk.

Jackson's march.

The initial movement was committed to Jackson, who began his march on the morning of the 25th of August. Unincumbered by anything except his artillery, he moved rapidly up through the narrow valley on the east side of the Bull Run Mountains, by rude country roads and across the fields. At midnight he reached the head of Thoroughfare Gap, through which the mountains must be passed. This narrow gap might have been held for hours by five thousand men against fifty thousand. It was wholly unguarded, and on the morning of the 27th Jackson passed through, and headed southward for Bristoe Station, an important point on the railroad which formed Pope's main source of supply. Leaving Ewell here, Jackson went northward to Manassas Junction, where was an immense depot of stores, almost unguarded. These were taken, and what could not be consumed on the spot were destroyed. Pope had in the meanwhile learned of this movement, and had despatched Hooker towards Bristoe. A sharp encounter took place that evening, in which Ewell was worsted.

Jackson's defensive position.

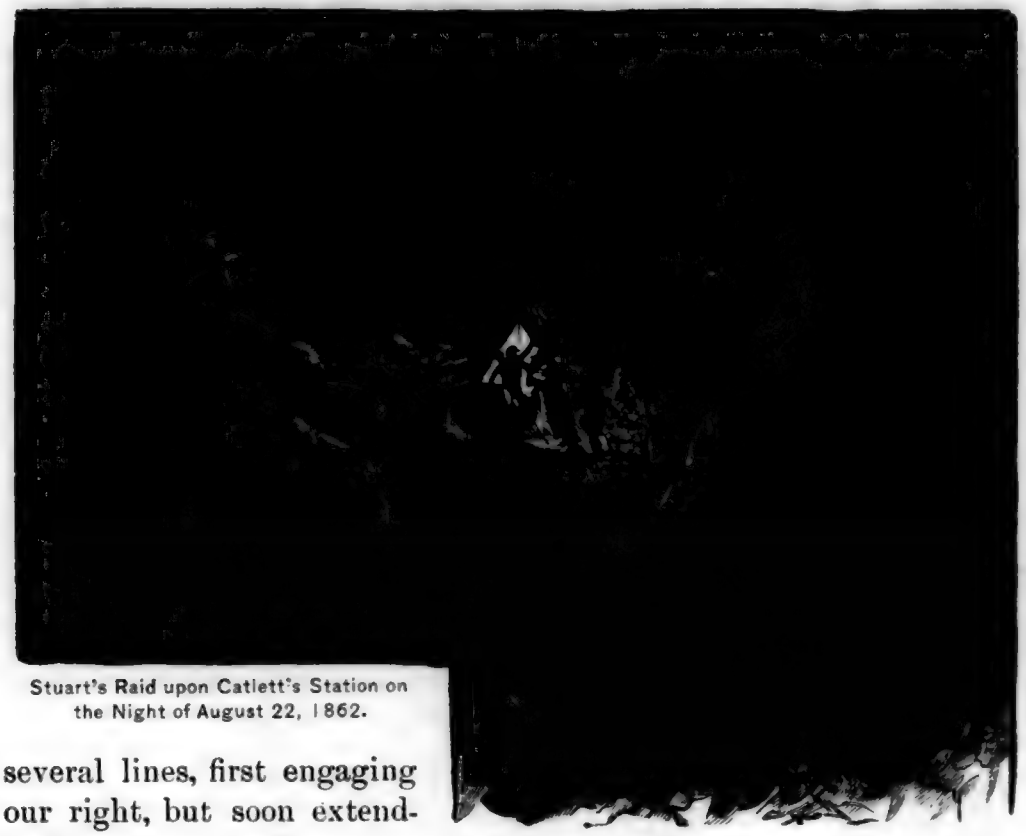
Jackson's position was now critical. Pope was aroused; his corps were approaching from different points, and in a few hours might fall upon Jackson in greatly superior force. Longstreet's corps had begun to move, but it was distant two days' march, and perhaps more. Jackson's course was speedily decided upon. He would fall back towards Thoroughfare Gap, and take up a position which he hoped to hold until Longstreet came up. To mask his purpose he first moved northeastward to Centreville, then turned westward, and took up his defensive position upon the spot where the battle of Bull Run had been fought, a little more than a year before. The position was strong, part of it lying along an abandoned railroad, whose deep cutting formed an admirable intrenchment.

Battle of Groveton, August 29.

The battle was fairly opened on the morning of the 29th. It raged from daylight until after dark, Jackson standing upon the defensive. After midnight Jackson withdrew his left, so as to enable it to connect with Longstreet, whose advance was now at the head of Thoroughfare Gap. To Pope this looked like a forced retreat, and early next morning he wrote to Washington:

"We fought a terrific battle here yesterday with the combined forces of the enemy, which lasted from daylight until dark, by which time the enemy was driven from the field, which I now occupy. The news has just reached us from the front that the enemy is retreating to the mountains. I go forward to see." On the morning of the 30th more troops had come up, raising his force to 40,000. At noon he was confirmed in his belief that the enemy was retreating. McDowell was ordered to press on in pursuit. The supposed flight and pursuit soon became a battle, in which nearly the entire force on both sides was at last engaged. The Federal troops attacked along Jackson's whole front, and gained some advantage. Jackson says: "At four o'clock the Federal infantry advanced in

Battle of Groveton, August 30.



Stuart's Raid upon Catlett's Station on the Night of August 22, 1862.

several lines, first engaging our right, but soon extending the attack to the centre and left. In a few moments our entire line was engaged in a fierce and sanguinary struggle with the enemy. As one line was repulsed another took its place. So impetuous and well-sustained were these onsets as to induce me to send to the commanding general for reën-forcements." Lee ordered Longstreet to send aid to Jackson. But Longstreet brought artillery to bear upon the Federal ranks, and their advance was checked. Then, he says, "my whole line was rushed forward at a charge."

Longstreet's line was nearly at a right angle with that of Jackson, but quite out of sight, being concealed from the Federal view by the formation of the ground. Fitz-John Porter's corps, and some other troops, were close to the angle made by these lines. Hard by was a hillock from which Reynolds's division had fallen back before Longstreet's battery. Warren — then a colonel, soon to be a major-general — seized this point, with two weak New York regiments and a battery, and held it until he was fairly enveloped by the advancing enemy. Out of 990 men, he lost 443. The brunt of Longstreet's charge now fell upon Fitz-John Porter's corps. Outnumbered three to one, outflanked on the left, and unsheltered on the right, where Heintzelman was falling back before Jackson's advance, this corps retreated in good order, still showing a firm front, and checking the pursuit. It had entered into the action 9,000 strong, and had sustained a loss of 2,174. Next morning the Federal army, defeated but not routed, crossed the Bull Run, and fell back to Centreville.

These consecutive actions have been called "the Second Bull Run," or "the Second Manassas." A better designation is the Battle of Groveton, from a little hamlet close by. The entire Confederate loss since the 27th was 1,553 killed, and 7,921 wounded — 9,474 in all. The Federal loss, from the Rappahannock to the Potomac was as follows: 1,747 killed, 8,452 wounded, and 4,263 missing — total 14,462. But the diminution in the force was much greater, in all fully 20,000. Lee claims to have taken 7,000 unwounded prisoners. Pope says, "Half the great diminution in our forces was occasioned by skulking and straggling. Thousands of men straggled away from their commands, and were never in any action."

Losses.

On the 31st a heavy rain-storm set in, but Lee, resuming his tactics, sent Jackson across the Bull Run to turn the Federal right. McDowell and Heintzelman were sent to head him off, and at dusk on the 1st of September the two forces met at Chantilly. There were several severe skirmishes, but no great battle. During these encounters, however, the Federals lost two able and valuable generals. In the darkness General Philip Kearny, a brave, loyal, and cool-headed soldier, mistook a force of the enemy for his own troops. Riding up to the men, he put an inquiry to them which disclosed the situation at once. Perceiving his mistake, and refusing to comply with a demand to surrender, he put spurs to his horse and attempted to ride away. A volley laid him low, and his body fell inside of the Confederate lines. General I. I. Stevens, formerly governor of Washington Territory, was a brave and able officer. He was killed while leading a charge against the enemy, and he carried in his hands



Confederate Winter Quarters at Manassas.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph.

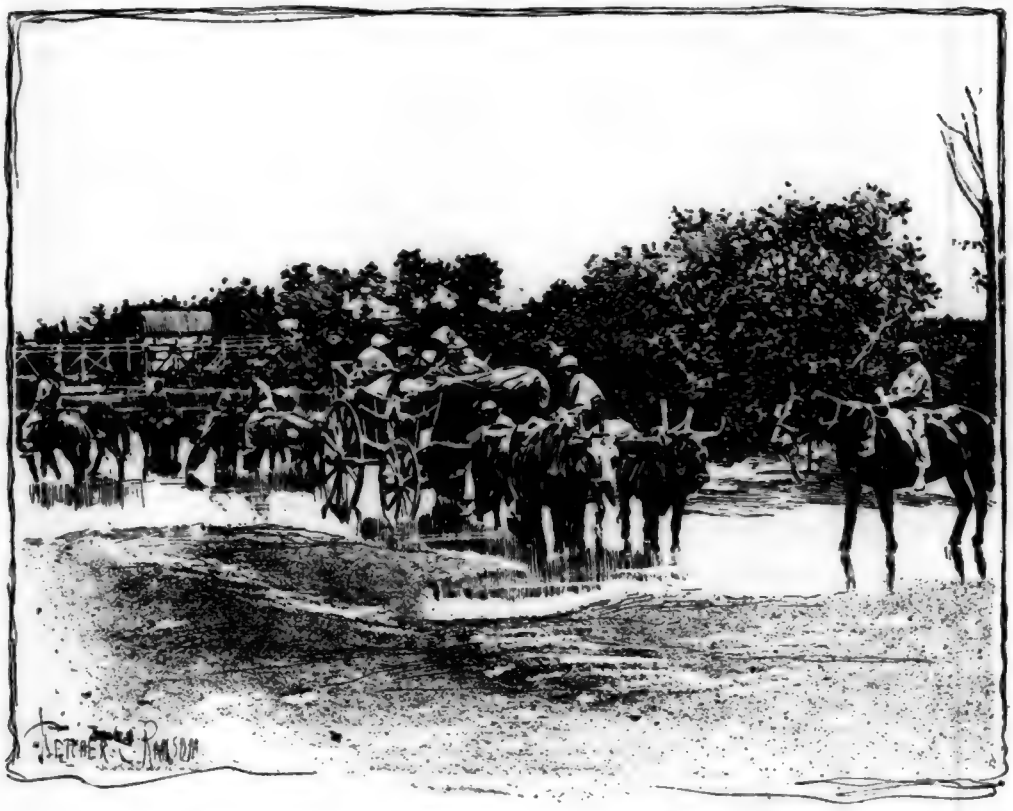
the colors of a New York regiment, just fallen from the hands of a wounded sergeant.

On the 2d of September Pope's situation at Centreville was not unfavorable. Banks and some others of his own army had joined him. The corps of Franklin, after inexplicable delays, had come up from Alexandria, and these, with Sumner's troops, fresh men from the Army of the Potomac, augmented Pope's forces to 70,000 or thereabouts. Lee had also been reënforced by D. H. Hill's division, which had been hurried from Richmond with great celerity; and the numerical strength of the two antagonists was very nearly equal. Pope had the advantage of entrenchments, and he could be still further reënforced from Washington, while Lee could not expect another man from any quarter. But General Halleck gave orders for the Army of Virginia to fall back upon the capital.

This was done forthwith, and Pope's repeated application to be reassigned to a command in the West was granted. McClellan was assigned to the "command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defence of the capital." The troops lately under the command of Pope were absorbed into the Army of the Potomac, and the Army of Virginia, after an existence of less than seventy days, disappeared from the rolls of the armies of the United States.

End of the Army of Virginia.

It was obvious that McClellan had organized a party for his support in the army. The Administration was unwilling to affront the McClellan party there and in the country. Although many generals



Fugitive Negroes crossing the Rappahannock after Pope's Retreat in August, 1862.
Drawn by F. C. Ransom from a photograph.

and many military critics who were devoted to McClellan complained bitterly of the "political generalship" which was still too prominent in the conduct of the war, the partisanship on which McClellan relied, both in and out of the army, was at once political and personal. The men in the ranks, unwilling or unable to have their faith shaken, still held him in affectionate respect. They believed him capable of leading them to great victories, even after long and disastrous campaigns. They welcomed his return to command, after the failure of the experiment with the Army of Virginia had been made complete; and the enthusiasm and effusiveness of the greeting which he received when he joined the army attested the strong hold which he had upon the men under his command. Nevertheless, it is evident that the failure of the campaign of the Army of Virginia was chiefly due to the unwillingness of McClellan and his party in the Army of the Potomac to aid Pope, who had made himself so obnoxious to them.

The Fitz-John Porter case.

On the 27th and 29th of August, while dispositions were being made for the battles that ensued, Pope sent peremptory orders to Fitz-John Porter to move up to the support of the Federal left. These orders were not obeyed. Porter's defence was that the force in front of him was too strong to permit

an immediate obedience of the order of his commander. Pope attributed the failure of his campaign to Porter's inactivity during the critical moments of the fighting on the two days above-mentioned. These charges, which were very grave, were considered by a court-martial composed of officers of high rank, and, after a long and fair trial, Porter was found guilty and sentenced to be cashiered. The sentence of the court was approved by the President, and Porter was dismissed from the army in disgrace. After the war was over, and the military records of the Confederates were made accessible to the world, Porter, who had persistently protested against the injustice which he declared had been done him, sought to have his case re-opened. In addition to the zealous championship of the military and political parties which would naturally espouse his cause, General Porter now had the cordial advocacy and friendship of some of those who had fought on the Confederate side during the war. But an elaborate defence of the cashiered officer, prepared by himself, which was brought to the attention of the President of the United States long after the close of the war, did not avail to procure from the President (U. S. Grant) at that time an order for the reopening of the case. After his retirement from the presidency, General Grant changed his mind and wrote a paper in favor of General Porter. Later, an advisory board, during the presidency of General R. B. Hayes, appointed to reëxamine the case, acquitted Porter of all blame but for indiscreet and unkind criticism of his superior officer. Still later, a bill was passed by Congress restoring him to the army. It was disapproved by the President (Mr. Arthur), who, however, removed from Porter the disabilities imposed upon him by sentence of the court. Finally, some twenty-five years after the battle in which these offences had been committed, both houses of Congress having become Democratic, a bill was passed restoring General Porter to the army from which he had been dismissed; and he was honorably retired. By this time the question, which was partly military and partly political when first raised, had become wholly political. General Porter's reinstatement was "a political issue;" the Democratic party in Congress voted solidly for the bill for his relief.



Major-General Fitz-John Porter.

But, to resume the thread of narrative of military events taking place

along the borders of Virginia and Maryland: A movement into Maryland, and a menace at least against Pennsylvania, had long been a favorite idea with Jackson. It now seemed to Lee that the time had come when this might be attempted. The movement was begun on the 3d of September, and on the 5th the army crossed the Potomac at a point thirty miles above Washington. The entire force was rather less than 60,000; for by casualties in battle, exhaustion, and desertion, Lee had lost fully 30,000 men in six weeks. The march from Manassas to the Potomac had been especially trying. On the 7th the army reached Frederick City, where Lee issued an address to the people of Maryland. The people of the Confederate States, he said, had long watched the wrongs inflicted upon the citizens of a commonwealth to which they were bound by so many ties, and wished to aid them in throwing off this "foreign yoke." There would be no compulsion or intimidation, "and while the Southern people will rejoice to welcome you to your natural position among them, they will only welcome you when you come of your own free will." Bradley Johnson, a Marylander in the Confederate service, put forth a call for recruits: "We have arms for you," he said, "and I am authorized to muster in for the war companies and regiments. Let each man provide himself with a stout pair of shoes, a good blanket, and a tin cup. Jackson's men have no baggage." Less than 500 Marylanders responded to this appeal.

The invasion of Maryland.

Lee's address to the people of Maryland.

McClellan rapidly reorganized the Federal army, and in less than a week had 172,000 men, of whom 100,000 were to form the movable force, the remainder to be retained for the defence of the capital. Banks was placed in command of the fortifications at Washington, his old corps being given to Mansfield. Sumner, Franklin, Porter, and Burnside retained their old corps, considerably increased from the former Army of Virginia, while Hooker received that of McDowell, between whom and McClellan there was no friendly feeling. On the 7th McClellan moved towards Lee, whose force he estimated at 120,000, — more than twice its actual number.

McClellan's movements.

On the 10th Lee moved northwestward, his immediate destination being Hagerstown, Maryland. He had to cross the South Mountain, a steep range one thousand feet high, cut through to a depth of four hundred feet by Turner's and Crampton's Gaps, six miles apart. The Federal advance reached Frederick on the 12th. Here accident threw into McClellan's hands a copy of Lee's general order for the movements and operations of the next few days. At Harper's Ferry were 14,000 or 15,000 raw Federal troops, under Colonel Miles, whom Lee wished to capture or drive away. The

Harper's Ferry.

Ferry, in a narrow valley at the junction of the Potomac and Shenandoah, is commanded on three sides by heights. If these were occupied, a force below would be subject to a plunging fire, to which they could make no reply. Lee purposed to take these heights by surprise. To do this he must divide his army into two parts. Jackson's corps, now 15,000 strong, was to pass through Turner's Gap, then make a wide détour, crossing the Potomac some miles above the Ferry, and, going down, seize Bolivar Heights on the west. McLaws, with two divisions of Longstreet's corps, 15,000 strong, was to go by the way of Crampton's Gap and seize Maryland Heights on the east, while Walker, with 4,000, was to move up the Potomac and seize Loudon Heights on the south. With Lee there would be Longstreet's



Antietam Creek.

two remaining divisions, D. H. Hill's and the cavalry, 26,000 in all. Harper's Ferry captured, the whole army was to be reunited at Hagerstown.

McClellan availed himself of this valuable information. Franklin's corps was to follow McLaws, overtake him if possible, or in any case bar his direct way of rejoining Lee. But McLaws had gained Maryland Heights before Franklin had cleared Crampton's Gap. On the 14th McLaws sent back three brigades with orders to hold the pass, if it cost the last man. These brigades were brushed away after a fight in which the Federal loss was 115

Crampton's Gap.



The Bridge over the Antietam, looking Northwest.
Drawn by Harry Fenn from a photograph made in September, 1862.

killed and 416 wounded; the Confederate loss was something more, as they left behind 600 prisoners, mostly wounded. Franklin debouched into Pleasant Valley, six miles from Harper's Ferry, from which firing was heard, showing that the place had not yet fallen. Walker had already gained Loudon Heights.

Jackson gained Bolivar Heights, marching eighty miles in three days. Harper's Ferry was now quite untenable, but there was nothing to prevent the troops there from marching away up the Potomac. The cavalry, some 2,000 in number, did so, and got off. The infantry were raw men, with inexperienced officers. Miles raised the white flag in token of surrender, but before it was seen he was mortally wounded. Unconditional surrender was Jackson's only terms; and 12,520 men laid down their arms, and were at once paroled. The Confederates gained also 72 guns, 13,000 small arms, and some stores. In a few hours Jackson was summoned to rejoin Lee, with whom things had gone ill, and who was sorely bestead fifteen miles away. There was brief time for rest. Jackson's old division, "the Stonewall," were ordered at three o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th to prepare rations for three days. The march commenced at an hour after midnight, and in the gray dawn of the 17th such of the men as could endure the march appeared on what was to be the battlefield of Antietam, and were forthwith assigned their place in the line. Jackson brought only 5,000 men.

Surrender of Harper's Ferry.

In the mean time Lee and those with him had marched through Turner's Gap, heading leisurely for Hagerstown. In the afternoon of the 13th he learned that the Federals, whom he supposed to be quietly resting at Frederick, were following him through the Gap. He saw the peril of his situation. He had barely 26,000 men, stretched for two score miles along the road, and should his pursuers pass the Gap, their whole force would be between him and Harper's Ferry. Ordering his trains to cross the Potomac, at a point further up than Harper's Ferry, D. H. Hill, whose division was in the rear, was turned back to hold the Gap until he could be aided by Longstreet. Hill, with 5,000 men, reached the crest of the Gap at noon on the 14th, just as the Federal army — Hooker in advance — appeared, coming up from the other side. For four hours Hill contested the steep and narrow way, but was slowly pressed back. A part of Longstreet's corps now came up, but they were too late to change the fortune of the day. When night fell, the Gap was clear for the passage of the whole Federal force in the morning. Its loss in this, the battle of the South Mountain, was 312 killed and 1,234 wounded; among the killed was General Reno. The Confederate loss was greater, probably not less than 2,000 killed and wounded. Hill says that of his 5,000 he had only 3,000 left. Longstreet's loss was also considerable.

Turner's Gap.

Lee turned his retreat in the direction of Harper's Ferry, and on the morning of the 15th took up a defensive position on the west side of Antietam Creek, near the little village of Sharpsburg. The stream, fordable in many places, and crossed by three stone bridges, was no formidable defence, but beyond it the ground consisted of low swells with narrow valleys intervening, cut up by patches of woodland, cultivated fields, with sunken roads, fences, and stone walls. The limestone ridges crop up here and there waist-high above the surface of the soil, giving good shelter to troops. It was a position which 20,000 men might hope to hold against 30,000, or which a commander with 30,000 might venture to assail against 20,000. Lee had now not more than 22,000, besides cavalry, which could here be of little service, but if he could hold his ground for two days he might hope to be joined by as many more from Harper's Ferry, of the capture of which he was well assured. McClellan reached the east bank of the Antietam in the afternoon. He had with him over 70,000 men, besides Franklin's corps a few hours distant. He thought it too late to attack that day; all the next day he thought it too soon.

Antietam Creek.

His plan, as finally decided upon was, as he says, "to attack the enemy's left with the corps of Hooker and Mansfield, supported, if

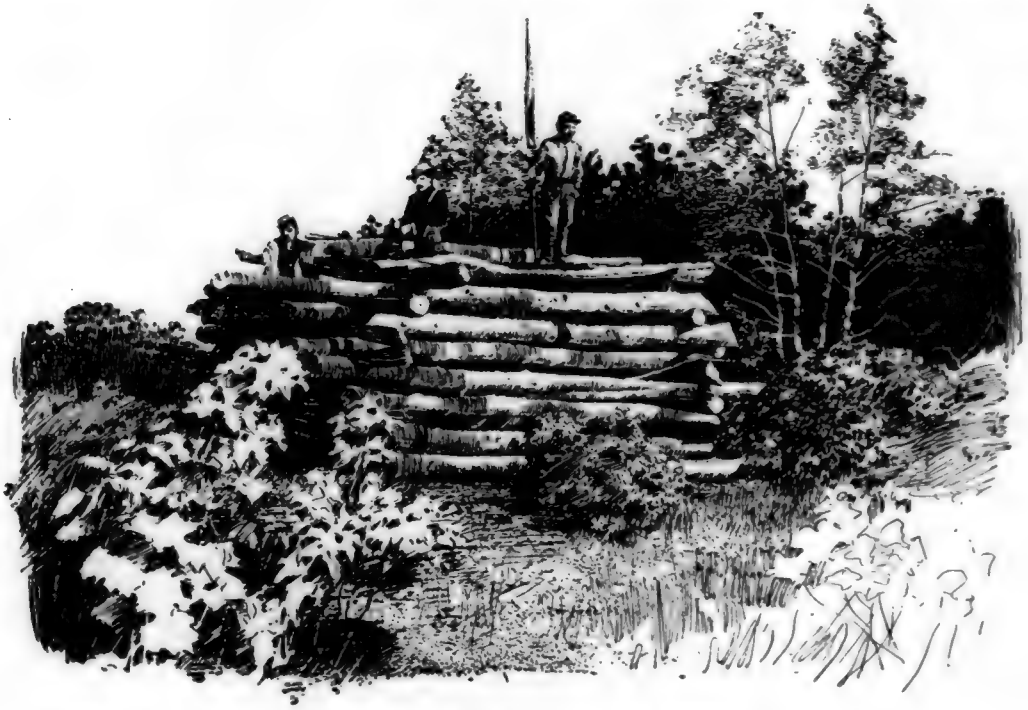
necessary, by Franklin's, and as soon as matters looked favorable there to move the corps of Burnside against the enemy's extreme right; and whenever either of these flank movements should be successful, to advance our centre with all their forces then disposable." This attacking "in driblets," as General Sumner called it, enabled Lee to mass his comparatively small force upon the point of immediate action, so that, in fact, the forces engaged upon either side, at any one time and place, were very nearly equal.

The battle of Antietam.

Hooker began his attack early in the morning of the 17th, the onset falling upon Jackson, who was speedily forced back, although reënforced by Hood. Mansfield soon followed, and by nine o'clock Hooker thought he had gained a great victory, and sent word to Sumner to advance. A few minutes later Mansfield was killed, and Hooker, wounded in the foot, was borne from the field. McLaws and Anderson, who had just come up from Harper's Ferry with 7,000 men, — half the number of their divisions — hurried up, and by the time that Sumner reached the field the corps of Hooker and Mansfield were streaming away in rout. They took little further part in the action. The arrival of Sumner's strong corps wrought an immediate change. Lee now brought to this point every available man, stripping his right until there were hardly 2,500 men to withstand Burnside's 14,000 who lay idly in their front. The battle raged fiercely with varying fortunes, each side alternately gaining or losing a little ground at one point or another. The fighting ceased about the middle of the afternoon, both sides being utterly exhausted. At the close both parties held nearly the ground which they had occupied when Sumner entered the fight. All this time Porter's corps and two thirds of that of Franklin, 25,000 in all — more by half than Sumner had — were within cannon-shot, but were not sent into action.

Burnside's advance and repulse.

Burnside was to attack the enemy's right as soon as he received orders so to do. McClellan says that such an order was sent at eight o'clock. Burnside says that it did not reach him until ten. Be this as it may, he did not cross the Antietam until one o'clock. Then there was another delay of two hours; and it was nearly four o'clock when his real attack began. The heights opposite Sharpsburg were carried, and a position gained from which the Confederate lines might be enfiladed. At this moment A. P. Hill came up from Harper's Ferry, bringing with him 4,000 men, who had marched seventeen miles that day. Hill flung himself into the fight; but it was over before he could bring more than half his men into action. Burnside's corps fled back in wild disorder to the creek, which they crossed the next morning. In this whole futile



A Signal Station on Elk Mountain, near Antietam.
Drawn by Gustav Verbeek from a photograph.

movement Burnside lost 2,293 killed, wounded, and missing. The Confederates lost in all about 1,000.

During the night Lee fell back a little, contracting his lines around Sharpsburg. McClellan would not renew the action next day. The reason he gave was, that "the National cause could afford no risk of defeat. One battle lost, and almost all would have been lost. Lee's army might then march as it pleased on Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York, and nowhere east of the Alleghanies was there another organized force able to resist its march." During the 18th he was joined by the divisions of Couch and Humphreys, 14,000 strong, and he proposed to attack the next morning. But the next morning there was no enemy to attack. During the night Lee had quietly slipped away, and was safely across the Potomac.

Lee's escape.

The battle of Antietam, says Lee, "was fought with less than 40,000 men." All told, he had, first and last, about 40,000; of these all except half of A. P. Hill's 4,000 were hotly engaged. McClellan had 87,164, of whom 60,000 were engaged, successively and in "driblets." The entire Federal loss was 2,010 killed, 9,416 wounded, and 1,043 missing, — 12,469 in all. Including the losses at Crampton's and Turner's Gaps from September 3d to 20th, it was 15,203. This does not include the losses at Harper's Ferry.

Forces and losses.

The Confederate loss is a matter of question. As summed up in Lee's Report, there were 1,567 killed, and 8,274 wounded, — 10,291, besides the missing; but a collation of the subsidiary reports appended shows at least 2,000 killed, 10,000 wounded, and 5,000 missing, — 17,000 in all. Including the losses at Turner's and Crampton's Gaps, the entire loss must have been at least 20,000.

As a mere passage of arms, the battle of Antietam was indecisive. For the Confederates it was a defeat inasmuch as it turned back that invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania which had been planned for the purpose of raiding the rich and fertile regions of those States for the replenishment of the commissary department of their army, and to transfer the seat of war to the States still loyal to the Federal Union. The projected invasion had been repelled; that was all. Nevertheless, in the North, where the loyal people were always ready to hail with joy any semblance of triumph to the Union arms, the battle was regarded as a notable victory. The result of the fighting known as the Second Battle of Bull Run had been profoundly depressing to the hopes of the people. The great loss of life, which carried lamentation and grief into thousands of homes in the North, inflicted upon the long-suffering and patient people a blow from which they did not readily recover. But the repulse of the invader at Antietam, accomplished though it was by another frightful sacrifice of life, was popularly accepted as an indication that the tide of battle had at last turned, and that other and more decisive victories would follow until the capital of the insurgents should fall before the prowess of the advancing hosts of the Nation.

The results.

This view of the situation emboldened President Lincoln to put forth his premonitory proclamation for the abolition of slavery, which he had prepared months before, announcing that if on the 1st of the ensuing January the rebellion should still continue, he should in virtue of his power as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, order and declare that all persons held as slaves in the rebellious sections, "are and henceforth shall be free," and that "the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval powers thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons. . . . And such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States."

The preliminary proclamation of emancipation.

The expediency of issuing this proclamation had been a topic of discussion in the President's cabinet for some months. Various reasons for withholding it had been presented by some of the members of that council; and, although there was no opposition to its ultimate promulgation, the mind of the President was chiefly affected, it would



Lieutenant-General J. E. B. Stuart, C. S. A.

appear, by the suggestion that the most opportune time to send forth the proclamation would be just after a military success, not when, in the midst of alarm and depression, it would come like a cry of distress. President Lincoln, not long after the proclamation made its appearance, explained to a Massachusetts Representative in Congress how he chose the time for the promulgation of the proclamation. He said:[1] "When Lee came over the river (the Potomac) I made a resolution that if McClellan drove him back I would send the proclamation after him. The battle of Antietam was fought Wednesday, and until Saturday I could not find out whether we had gained a victory or lost a battle. It was then too late to issue the proclamation that day; and the fact is I fixed it up a little Sunday, and Monday I let them have it."

The opposing forces after Antietam.

After crossing the Potomac, Lee's army fell back to Winchester, Va., where he had ordered a rendezvous for the troops of stragglers who had fallen out of the ranks while the Confederate army was in Maryland. On the 30th of September, when many of these had come up, his muster rolls showed a total of nearly 63,000 present, but only 52,609 were reported as "present for duty." At that time, McClellan's reports showed that he had with him present and fit for duty, under his immediate command, 100,144 men; of this the total number of the forces under his command, including those under Banks in Washington was 303,959; but of this vast number, 101,756 were absent, 28,458 were on special duty, and Banks's effectives numbered 73,601. So that, leaving out of the calculation the absentees and those on the sick list or on special duty, General McClellan's actual effective force was over 100,000, with 73,601 more men within supporting distance.

While the Army of the Potomac was resting and recuperating after the exhausting struggle at Antietam, Lee was again reorganizing and reënforcing his army. Having discovered indications that the enemy was accumulating men and material, McClellan was filled with the gravest apprehensions for his own safety. Although he had an army of 200,000 fighting men, he dreaded attack; he could not find in the long delay of the enemy in his front any opportunity for him

[1] *The Lawyer, the Statesman, and the Soldier,* by George S. Boutwell.

to attack. Accordingly, he renewed his habitual clamor for more men and material. On the 23d of September, nearly a week after the battle of Antietam, he called for reënforcements for the army of more than 100,000 men, which he then had fully in hand. On the 27th he renewed his demand, and informed the Government that he should stay where he was and "attack the enemy should he attempt to recross into Maryland." His chief anxiety was that he might at once receive more men and supplies, horses and equipments, and he hoped that the river might rise so as to present a natural obstacle to any attack of the enemy on the other side.

Lincoln at head-quarters.

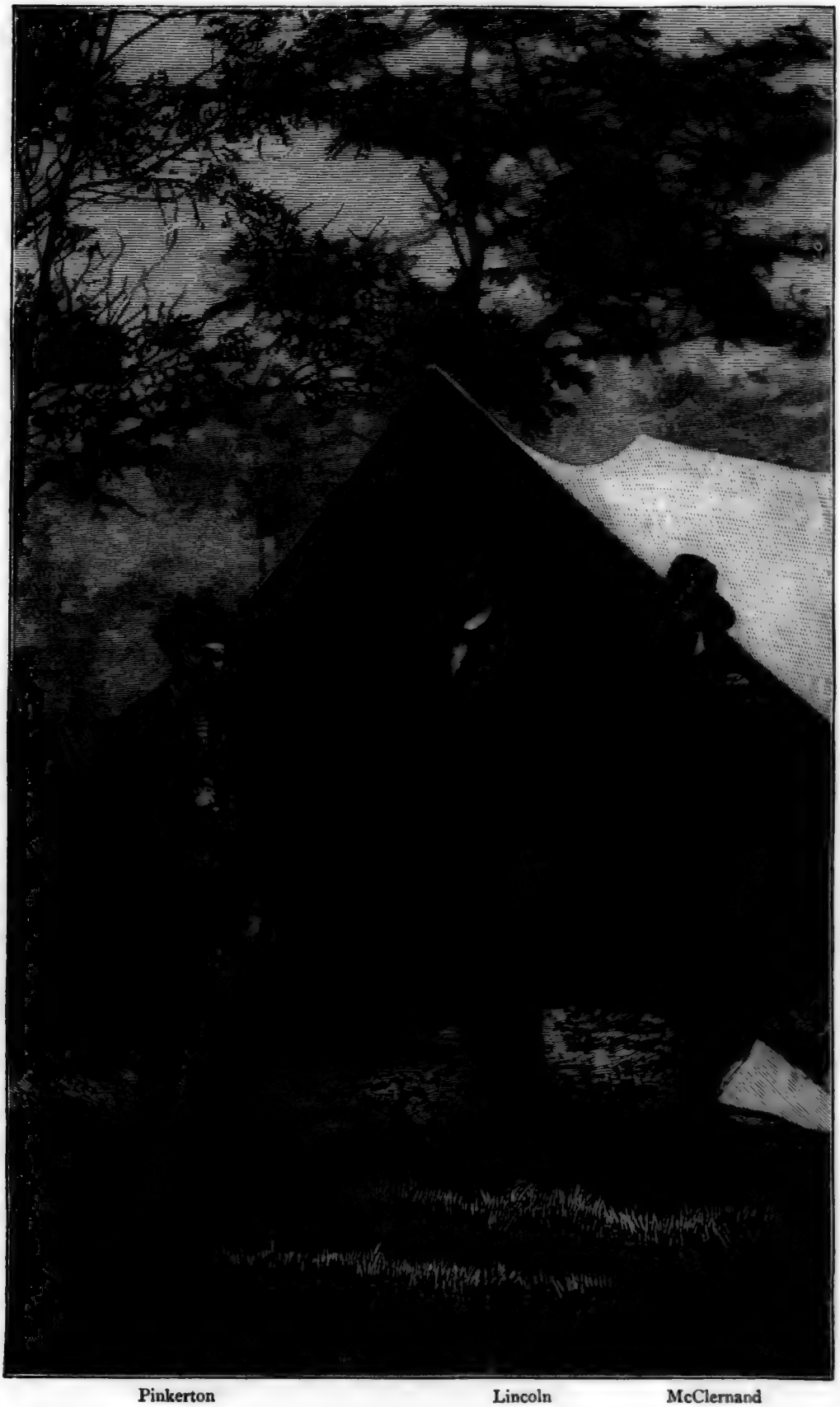
The President, inexpressibly wearied with these delays, again went to the army headquarters, as he had gone when the camp was at Harrison's Landing, to see for himself what could be effected by a personal interview with the general commanding the Army of the Potomac. McClellan was shrewd enough to see that the President's visit had some relation to a possible forward movement, which he (McClellan) was determined should not be made with his consent. In a letter written at this time to a member of his own family, McClellan said, referring to the President's visit:[1] "His ostensible purpose is to see the troops and the battle-field. I incline to think that the real purpose of his visit is to push me into a premature advance into Virginia." During this visit President Lincoln, accompanied by a friend, walked to a hill from which they could see nearly the whole of the vast encampment, the white tents of the mighty hosts shining in the light of the rising sun. Gazing on the inspiriting sight for a moment, the President said to his companion, "Do you know what this is?" "It is the Army of the Potomac," was the astonished reply. "So it is called," responded the President, "but that is a mistake; it is only McClellan's bodyguard."[1]

McClellan ordered forward.

On the 6th of October Halleck wrote to McClellan a despatch, under instructions from the President, directing him to cross the Potomac and drive the enemy southward. He was informed that he might move by the line eastward of the mountains, where he could be reënforced with 30,000 men; or he might move up the valley of the Shenandoah, where his reënforcements would not be more than 12,000 or 15,000 men, since the latter movement would to a certain extent uncover Washington. McClellan ultimately chose the interior line of advance, keeping himself within reach of the greater number of reënforcements. But he still declined to move, persistently clamoring for military supplies and

[1] McClellan's *Own Story*.

[2] The Nicolay-Hay *Life of Lincoln*, vol. vi. p. 175.



PRESIDENT LINCOLN WITH GENERAL McCLERNAND AND ALLAN PINKERTON, AT ANTIETAM, IN OCTOBER, 1862.



Major-General William B. Franklin.



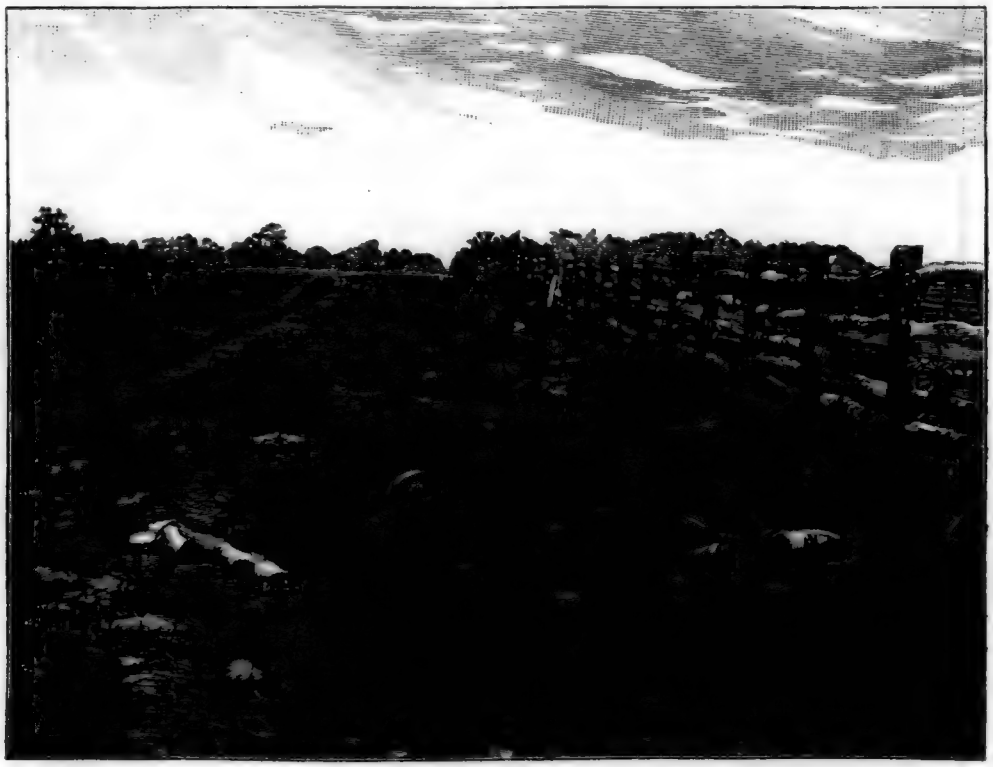
Major-General Edwin V. Sumner.

material of various sorts. Many days were consumed in expostulations and recriminations between the War Department and the general commanding the Army of the Potomac. No sooner was one requisition honored than another, apparently hitherto unthought-of, was made. At one time during this exasperating and unprofitable controversy (for the exchange of messages soon became a controversy), McClellan suddenly asked how long it would take to give him three or four thousand hospital tents. This happy thought was responded to by the quartermaster-general with the statement that a sufficient supply of these tents had already been sent to the army, and that it would require a long time and an expenditure of half a million dollars to give him the additional number suggested in the inquiry.

Stuart's raid to Chambersburg.

While this debate was going on, the dashing Confederate cavalryman, J. E. B. Stuart, derisively insulted the Federal commander, as he had done once before on the Peninsula, by riding all the way around the Army of the Potomac. Crossing the river on McClellan's right, at Williamsport, with 1,800 cavalry, Stuart pushed on to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where he destroyed a large amount of military stores, supplies, and other property, and captured and paroled several hundred sick in the military hospitals. Then, sweeping around McClellan's army, he recrossed the Potomac at White's Ford, on the left of the army, around which he had made a complete circuit. This mortifying incident apparently had no other effect upon McClellan than to induce him to renew his demand for horses. He complained that he was unable to mount more than 1,000 cavalrymen, on account of the shortness of his supply and the sickness that prevailed among his horses. This led to an

acrimonious dispute, the President having naturally demanded explanations of the department charged with the duty of supplying the army with needed animals. The fact was then brought out that there had been sent to the Army of the Potomac during the six weeks previous to the preferring of these complaints, no less than 10,254 horses and a large number of mules. In reply to McClellan's complaint that his horses were used up by fatigue, the patient President asked him, with an unwonted touch of asperity, "Will you pardon



The West Side of the Hagerstown Road after the Battle of Antietam, September, 1862.

me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?"

Further delay by McClellan.

The partisans of McClellan had spread abroad reports that there was a systematic attempt on the part of the authorities in Washington to cripple the Army of the Potomac by withholding material needed for its efficient activity. This was urged with much vehemence by newspapers which, while they habitually deprecated the war and opposed its vigorous prosecution, were ready to complain of their favorite general that he was not properly supported or fairly treated. The Administration was roundly abused for not giving him what he absolutely required to execute the work laid upon him. The Secretary of War demanded of General Halleck an explanation and a report upon the subject in dispute. It then

appeared that every requisition from General McClellan had been immediately and promptly filled save one, — the articles called for not being in store at the time when they were demanded. It was added that "no armies in the world, while in campaign, have been more promptly or better supplied than ours." An explanation of the delay to move the Army of the Potomac was incidentally supplied in the report of a member of McClellan's staff at that time. General Ingalls, chief-quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac, in a letter dated October 26th, said: "I have frequently remarked that an army will never move if it waits until all the different commanders report that they are ready and want no more supplies. It has been my pride to know the fact that no army was ever more perfectly supplied than this has been as a general rule." The explanation of McClellan's inaction must be sought for in other directions than that of the quartermaster's department.

McClellan's address to the army.

It will be remembered that in his remarkable letter of advice to the President, dated at Harrison's Landing, after his retreat to the James, McClellan warned Mr. Lincoln against taking any radical stand on the question of slavery. When the Proclamation of Emancipation was promulgated to the armies in general orders, September 24th, 1862, the general was much disturbed. In a private letter, dated September 25th, he said: "The President's late proclamation, the continuation of Stanton and Halleck in office, render it almost impossible for me to retain my commission and self-respect at the same time." After long meditation on the subject, he issued an address to the army, dated October 7th, in which he deprecated any excited or intemperate discussion of "public measures determined upon and declared by the Government," as if he anticipated and feared a mutiny among his troops. He added, that "the remedy for political errors, if any are committed, is to be found only in the action of the people at the polls." The natural inference from this incident was that the general commanding the Army of the Potomac, while he profoundly disapproved of the Proclamation of Emancipation, magnanimously counselled his army to submit without mutiny or demoralizing protest, relying upon the popular verdict at the ballot-box to rebuke or chastise the Administration for its "political error."

The case of Major Key.

Earlier than this, however, an indication of the prevailing temper at McClellan's headquarters had been given in the trial of one of his officers. Major John J. Key, brother to Colonel Thomas M. Key, of McClellan's staff, was reported to have said, when replying to the question, "Why was not the rebel army bagged immediately after the battle of Sharpsburg?" "That is not the

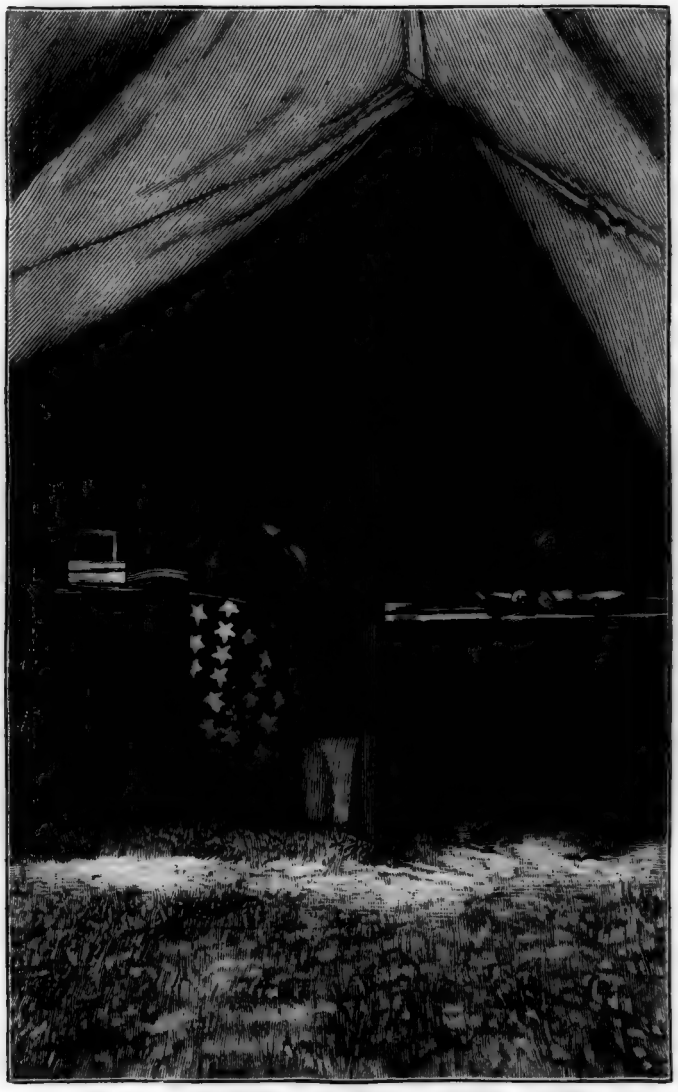
game; the object is that neither army shall get much advantage of the other; that both shall be kept in the field till they are exhausted, when we will make a compromise and save slavery." Major Key and the officer to whom this remark was made were summoned before the President. No defence having been made by Key, except in the statement that he was loyal to the Union, the President endorsed upon the record of the case these words: "In my view it is wholly inadmissible for any gentleman holding a military commission from the United States to utter such sentiments as Major Key is within proved to have done. Therefore, let Major John J. Key be forthwith dismissed from the military service of the United States." Speaking of this matter afterwards, President Lincoln said: "I dismissed Major Key because I thought his silly, treasonable expressions were 'staff talk,' and I wished to make an example." [1]

A race for Richmond.

In his despatch of October 6th, directing an advance of the Army of the Potomac, Halleck left with McClellan the choice of routes southward. McClellan chose the line on the eastward of the Blue Ridge, Lee being on the westward, in the Shenandoah Valley. Then began a race for Richmond, McClellan having finally crossed the Potomac; he reported himself fully over the river November 2d. It was hoped and expected that McClellan, with his greatly superior force and equipment, would be able to outflank the enemy, and, by striking him through the passes of the Blue Ridge full on his flank, destroy his army or cripple him so severely that he would be unable to offer serious resistance to the advance of the Federal troops upon Richmond. But Lee, as usual, was too quick for him. Anticipating McClellan's movement, Lee sent Longstreet's corps through the gaps of the mountain range, and, at Culpepper Court House, once more flung an army between the Army of the Potomac and Richmond. But this was a dividing of Lee's forces, which, with an alert and skilful commander on the other side, might have resulted most disastrously to the Confederates. Was McClellan such a commander? Some of his friends and partisans contended that he was, and that if he had been left to himself he would have finally profited by the good fortune so often put into his hands and so often rejected. But it would appear that when the news reached Washington that Lee had outstripped McClellan in the race on parallel lines for Richmond, the waning confidence in McClellan's ability to fight and win battles finally vanished.

President Lincoln sent an order, dated November 5th, relieving McClellan from command of the Army of the Potomac, and naming as his successor Major-general A. E. Burnside, then commanding the

[1] The Nicolay-Hay *Life of Lincoln*, vol. vi. p. 188.



Lincoln and McClellan at Antietam in October, 1862.

Ninth Corps of that army. This order was borne to McClellan's headquarters at Rectortown, Virginia, by General C. P. Buckingham, from the War Department. General McClellan was instructed to turn over his command to General Burnside, and to report at Trenton, New Jersey. When the two generals, Buckingham and Burnside, presented themselves with their orders, McClellan received them with calmness, and "read the papers with a smile." But as soon as he was left alone, he sadly ejaculated, "Alas for my poor country!"[1] The news of his removal from command was distressing to the rank and file of the army, most of whom still clung to him with blind and unreasoning affection. To the officers who more immediately surrounded him with their adulation and their zealous partisanship, his removal was a frightful blow. In later years McClellan put on record the fact that some of these advised him to head a mutiny of his troops. He said:[2] "Many were in favor of my refusing to obey the order, and of marching upon Washington to take possession of the Government." Fortunately for him, McClellan declined so perilous an undertaking. He issued to the army a touching and eloquent farewell order, and retired to the capital of New Jersey. Henceforth was to begin his strictly political career. His military career was ended.

McClellan's farewell.

[1] McClellan's *Own Story*, p. 662.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 652.

Irresolution, rather than cowardice or disloyalty, appears to have been the cause of McClellan's repeated failures in the field. If he did not distrust his own abilities, he constantly distrusted and underrated his own resources. And he as constantly overestimated the resources of his opponent. It was notorious that the Confederate quartermaster's and commissary departments were far inferior to those of the National troops. Lee's brave men fought under every disadvantage of physical privation, poor equipment, and scantiness of supply. The captives from his forces, falling into the hands of the Federals, had no need to tell tales of hunger, poverty, and raggedness. Their personal appearance was eloquent witness of their condition. They marched with marvellous celerity and fought with indomitable courage, notwithstanding the slenderness of their outfit and the scantiness of their war material. But while these ill-clad, ill-fed troops were capering derisively around his army, or were tricking him with wooden guns and dummy fortifications and sentries, McClellan continually exaggerated the numbers of the troops confronting him, and listened with credulity to fantastic tales of the reënforcement of the enemy from distant parts of the United States. He dreaded the coming of Beauregard and Bragg to the support of Lee, when those redoubtable chieftains were hundreds of miles away, fully occupied with most arduous labors. His anxiety for more men, more guns, more ammunition, more supplies of every sort and description, amounted to a mania. This was harshly satirized by one of the humorists of the time, who represented that the army was waiting for a supply of *umbrellas* before undertaking a forward movement. A peerless organizer, a skilful engineer, he excelled in planning and manning defences; he would have been invaluable in the defensive works around Washington. He certainly did not have the qualities of a fighter.

Cause of his failures.

General Burnside's first act was to change the organization of the Army of the Potomac by the consolidation of its six army corps into three grand divisions of two corps each. The right grand division was commanded by General E. V. Sumner, and was composed of the Second Corps, under General Couch, and the Ninth, under General Wilcox; the centre, under General Joseph Hooker, was made up of the Third Corps, under General Stoneman, and the Fifth, under General Butterfield; and the left division, under General W. B. Franklin, was composed of the First Corps, under General Reynolds, and the Sixth, under General W. F. Smith. Twice before Burnside had been offered the command of the Army of the Potomac, and he now accepted it only from a stern sense of duty. Taking command, as he did, in the face

Burnside's reorganization of the army.

of the enemy, and oppressed by the magnitude of the trust so suddenly thrust upon him, he was naturally cautious. Instead of going forward to offer battle, as it was supposed McClellan might have done, or proposed to do, Burnside prepared a new plan of campaign, and occupied about ten days in getting in hand his army, which had to be reorganized to a certain extent. The perfect marching and fighting weather of an American autumn had been wasted while McClellan was making his elaborate preparations for a forward movement in which he had neither heart nor confidence. November was well advanced before Burnside could say that he had his army well in hand. It cannot be said that that army welcomed him with cordiality or regarded with confidence any possibility of victory that might be promised in his plans. For the general was not only told that he must take command of the Army of the Potomac, but he must say what he proposed to do with it. Two days after he had taken command, and while the work of reorganization was going on, he had his plan ready for approval.

Instead of moving toward Richmond by way of Gordonsville, Burnside proposed to make "a rapid move of the whole force to Fredericksburg, with a view to a movement upon Richmond from that point." This plan was accepted, and on the 15th of November the movement was begun, masked by a feint toward Gordonsville. Lee was not deceived by this device, but divining the intent of Burnside, he headed his force toward Fredericksburg. The armies moved down the Rappahannock, but upon opposite sides, Lee upon the south side, Burnside upon the north. Burnside had several days the start, and on the 17th his advance, under Sumner, reached Falmouth, where it had been purposed to cross the Rappahannock to Fredericksburg. But when he reached that point he found that the bridges had all been destroyed, and the pontoons which were to have been there had not been sent. Before these came, Lee had brought down his whole force, now numbering nearly 80,000; had fortified the heights, and was awaiting the further movements of Burnside, whose force numbered fully 113,000.

Burnside's plan.



Lieutenant-General James Longstreet, C. S. A.

After a delay that appears to have been fatal to the plan of the commanding general, the pontoons for crossing the river finally arrived, and on the

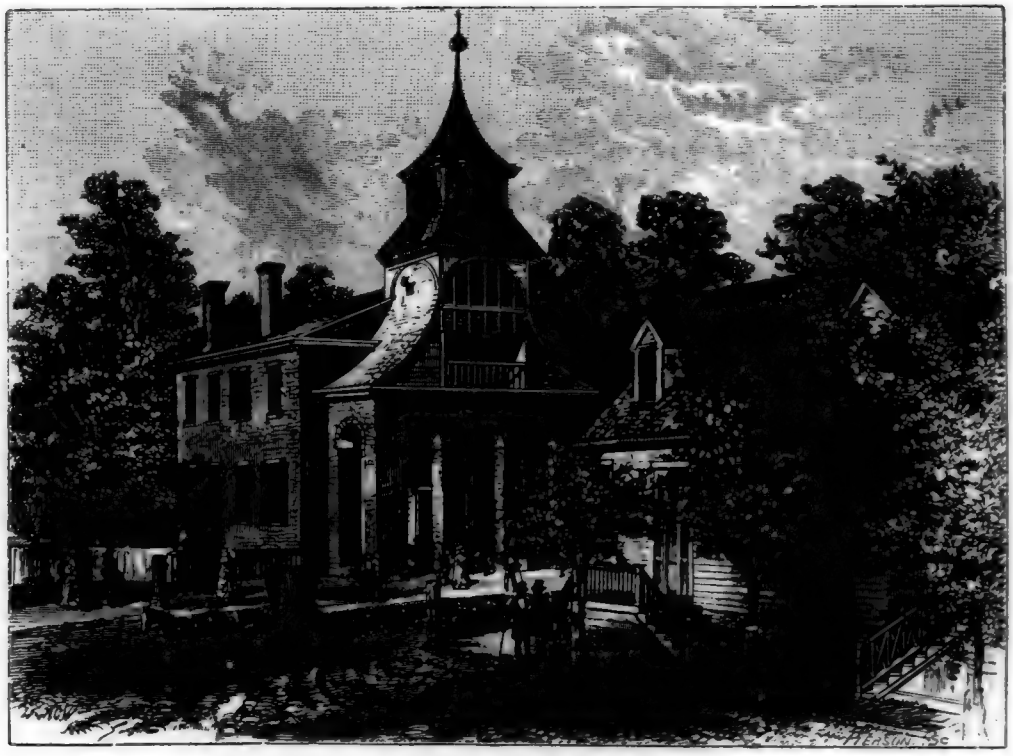
10th of December Burnside decided to lay down several bridges and cross. It was no part of Lee's plan seriously to obstruct the passage. He preferred to let the enemy cross and attack him in his strong position. The passage of the river was made on the 11th and 12th, followed on Sunday, the 13th, by the disastrous battle of Fredericksburg. This was a vain effort to carry an almost impregnable position, held by an almost equal force. Beginning at ten o'clock in the morning, attempt after attempt was made to force the Confederate lines at several points. Here and there the assailants for a brief space won a little ground, but were soon hurled back. The hottest fighting took place at the foot of Marye's Hill, just behind Fredericksburg. This hill, crowned by batteries, falls off abruptly to a sunken road, faced on the city side by a low stone wall. This sunken road, which really formed a ditch for the defence of the fortress hill, was the decisive point in the battle. The first assault upon Marye's Hill was committed to the divisions of French and Hancock of Sumner's grand corps, "two of the most gallant officers in the army," says Sumner, "and two divisions which had never turned their backs to the enemy." The front to be carried was so narrow that scarcely more than a brigade could be brought upon it at once. Brigade after brigade rushed forward only to be swept back so rapidly that it seemed like a single assault. Something like 10,000 men took part in it, and it lasted two hours and more; of these fully 4,000 were killed or wounded. Twice as many men could not have carried the hill in face of the forces opposed to them. The first line of the Confederate entrenchments had not been carried. The dead bodies of the Federal troops, lying in winrows, marked the extreme point of the advance, twenty or thirty paces from a stone wall, behind which the enemy stood secure.

Fredericksburg.

Battle of Fredericksburg.

Burnside, from across the river, had watched the fight. "That crest," he said to Hooker, "must be carried to-night." Hooker crossed the river, and consulted with Hancock, French, and others, all of whom, with a single exception, thought that it could not be done. But Burnside was inflexible, and ordered a fresh assault to be made. Night was fast approaching when Hooker was ready to attack. He began by a fierce artillery fire, hoping to make "a hole sufficiently large for a forlorn hope to enter." It made no more impression, he says, "than if it had been made against a mountain of rock." The Confederate fire from the crest had ceased, their ammunition being exhausted. At sunset Hooker ordered Humphreys, with 4,000 men, to "make the assault with empty muskets, for there was no time to load and fire." Looking upward from the base of the hill, all that they could see was a steep slope,

The final assault.

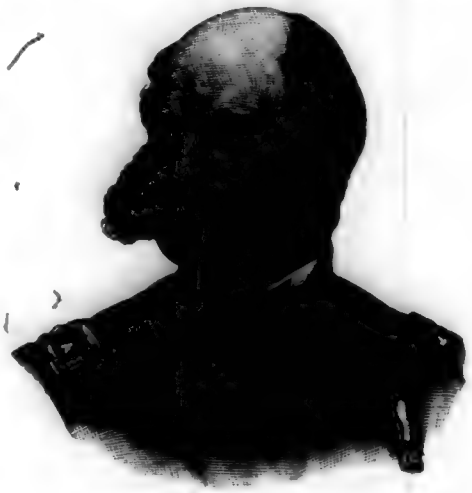


Culpepper Court House, Va.

with a low stone wall, near the base. The sunken road below was quite invisible, and they knew nothing of its existence. But in it troops were standing four deep, and perfectly protected from any fire. Humphreys pushed to within a few rods of this road, when his column was met by a solid sheet of lead and fire, before which it melted away like a snow-drift before a jet of steam. The whole affair lasted barely a quarter of an hour, but in that brief space out of 4,000 assailants fully 1,700 were killed or wounded, while not a man of the enemy appears to have been struck. Then, says Hooker, grimly, "finding that I had lost as many men as my orders required me to lose, I suspended the attack." There was no complaint of any lack of ardor on the part of Hooker's men. "They ran hurrahing." And he adds: "The head of Humphrey's column reached a point about fifteen or twenty paces from the stone wall, which proved the advance line of the rebels, and then was driven back as quickly as it had come. The time taken was probably not fifteen minutes, and it left behind 1,760 men out of 4,000."

The battle of Fredericksburg was over. But Burnside did not give up without a struggle his hope of carrying the impregnable lines in the rear of the little city. After the final and deadly repulse, he called a council of corps and division commanders; even the veteran and well-seasoned Sumner had expostulated with

After the battle.



Major-General Ambrose E. Burnside.

him over the wasteful and hopeless attacks on the insurgent line of intrenchments. The council voted unanimously against the proposed attack. Burnside, although agonized by the fearful loss of life already incurred, could not readily yield. He crossed the river to ascertain the opinion of other officers who were not of the council. Everywhere he met with the same reply. Further attack was hopeless. Finally, Franklin, whose military skill and courage were undoubted, pronounced against the proposed attempt. During two days the army kept a bold front. It remained on the line of battle before an enemy who made no sign of renewing the fight. The dead and wounded lay exposed on the snowy ground between the lines of the opposing armies. At night there were frequent alarms caused by picket-firing; and marauders from the insurgent lines stripped the bodies of Union soldiers lying dead or dying on the field. A woman who lived near the edge of the battle-field said that on "the morning after the battle the field was blue; but on the morning after the Federals withdrew the field was white." The blue uniforms of the Federal soldiers often served the insurgents a double purpose, — they covered their own nakedness and disguised them to the eyes of their foes.

The forces.

The forces engaged in the battle of Fredericksburg, and the losses that accrued to each, were greatly disproportionate. The aggregate of the several corps under the command of General Burnside, according to his own report, on the morning of December 13th, was 113,000 men. This was about 3,600 less than he had reported on the 10th of that month as "present for duty equipped." The total Federal loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was 12,653. There is no official record of the number of Lee's forces at the battle of Fredericksburg. His return for December 10th showed a "present for duty" of 78,513. But this included the cavalry, which was not directly involved in the engagement; and from it should be deducted the usual proportion of non-combatants, the absent on leave, and the cavalry engaged in other fields. One authority[1] says: "Less than 20,000 Confederate troops (about one fourth of the army under General Lee) were actively engaged" in

[1] Taylor's *Four Years with General Lee*, p. 81.

this battle. The Confederate loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was 5,377.

The results.

Once more an enormous disaster had fallen upon the people in the loss of a great battle. When the Army of the Potomac returned to its camps on the eastern side of the Rappahannock, it withdrew in good order and without the evident demoralization of defeat. For a few days the people, ignorant of what had happened and purposely deprived of exact intelligence from the seat of war on the Rappahannock, dreamed of an immediate renewal of the attack. None outside of military or governmental circles knew what a frightful havoc had been wrought in the lines of the Federal army. When the truth gradually leaked out, and the vast losses sustained were fully comprehended, the popular feeling at the North was one of wrathful grief and indignation. Burnside was harshly berated, and his military ability derided; and corps commanders who had deserved well of their country were angrily denounced as traitors and cowards, who had allowed partisanship to control them even to the throwing away of a battle. Never was there a more unjust assault made upon the generals of any command. But in their blind fury, civilian critics involved nearly all the military leaders in their volleys of objurgation.

General Burnside turned the edge of hostile criticism by his assuming without demur the entire responsibility for the disaster at Fred-



The Wall at Fredericksburg after the Battle.

ericksburg. In his report to the general-in-chief, on the 19th, he said that he owed everything to the brave officers and soldiers who had performed most difficult feats; and he added: "For the failure in the attack, I am responsible." He began at once to rally his army and to plan new movements against the enemy. He now proposed to make a feint on the right of his army, as if he were meditating an attack above Fredericksburg; but to cross the river at the Seddon farm, about six miles below the city, with the main body of the army and turn the Confederate right. At the same time a large body of cavalry was to cross the river at Kelley's Ford, the Rapidan at Raccoon Ford, and the James at a point some thirty miles above Richmond, pass around the city at a distance, going south of Petersburg, destroying the Confederate communications in every direction, and finally joining the forces of General Peck, then in Suffolk.

A new plan of campaign.

The details of the plan were carefully worked out and everything was in readiness by the 30th of December. Roads through the woods to the Seddon House had been opened and made passable for trains of artillery and wagons; the detachments of cavalry designed to mask the coming movement were at their posts; a brigade of infantry had even made a demonstration on the right bank of the river; and General Averill was at the head of his column of cavalry at Kelley's Ford, when everything was brought to a standstill by an order from the President directing Burnside to undertake no general movement without first consulting him. Burnside was thunderstruck. He had communicated his plans to none but his generals. He believed that he had been left to carry out his own scheme; and he was amazed and indignant that he was so suddenly and arbitrarily interfered with just when he was on the eve of beginning a new campaign. He hastened to Washington, where he learned that two of his generals — Newton, commanding the third division of the Sixth Corps, and Cochrane, commanding a brigade in the same division — had been to Washington and had communicated directly with the President, representing to him that the army was in a demoralized state, resulting largely from its want of confidence in the commanding general, and that the movement then probably under contemplation (as

Complaints against Burnside.



Brigadier-General Conrad F. Jackson.
(Killed at Fredericksburg.)



A Typical Incident of the War in Virginia, — a family leaving the old homestead.
Drawn by Victor S. Perard from a photograph.

they judged from appearances) was foredoomed to failure. It was generally supposed, when these facts became known, that Newton and Cochrane were merely the mouthpieces of others who had no confidence in Burnside's ability to carry out a plan of campaign. Burnside's subsequent actions showed that he entertained that belief. The details of the proposed movement were soon made known to the Confederate leaders through their spies in Washington; the plan was definitely abandoned.

Changes of plan.

Another scheme of attack was immediately formed by the general. This time he proposed to cross the river at Banks's and the United States Fords, above Fredericksburg, flank the enemy and then give him battle. This time he had a qualified consent for his movement; and the two grand divisions of Franklin and Hooker went up the river on parallel roads, while Couch's division made a feint below the city. The troops were overtaken by a fierce storm of rain and sleet. The men were exposed to the pitiless peltings of the blast; wagons, artillery, and horses were inextricably mired in the bottomless soil of Virginia, and, after the three days' cooked rations were gone, the army was led back to its camps, where it remained for the remainder of the winter. This movement, undertaken in the depth of winter, and thwarted by storms that delayed

and betrayed it, is known in the history of the Army of the Potomac as the famous Mud March.

General Burnside's patience and forbearance had now given way under an accumulation of trials and disappointments. He went to Washington with an order dismissing from the service Major-generals Joseph Hooker, John Newton, and W. T. H. Brooks, whom he charged with fomenting discontent in the army; and, by the same order, Generals W. B. Franklin, W. F. Smith, John Cochrane, and Edward Ferrero, and Lieut.-colonel J. H. Taylor were to be relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac. The President was sorely tried. He appreciated the patriotic services and the soldierly qualities of Burnside; he could not sympathize with him in his denunciation of the officers who had taken it upon themselves to protest against movements which, under the circumstances, appeared to be certain to lead to the destruction of the army. He liked Burnside, and admired his courage and his much-enduring patience, but he was not prepared to say that the criticisms that had been made upon his strategy were unjust. After talking familiarly and intimately with Burnside, the President finally consented that the general should be relieved from command of the Army of the Potomac. At the same time Franklin and Sumner were relieved, the latter at his own request. General Joseph Hooker was now assigned to the command relinquished by Burnside. Burnside had been at the head of the Army of the Potomac less than ninety days.

Burnside succeeded by Hooker.

TABLE OF DATES.

1779. Sullivan's Expedition.
1780. *May*, Capture of Charleston by the British.
July, Arrival of Rochambeau.
August 15, Battle of Camden.
September, Arnold's Treason.
1781. *January* 17, Battle of Cowpens.
March 15, Battle of Guilford Court House.
September 8, Battle of Eutaw Springs.
October 19, Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown.
1782. *November* 30, Preliminary Treaty of Peace signed.
1783. *September* 3, Final Treaty of Peace with Great Britain signed.
November 25, Evacuation of New York.
December 4, Washington takes leave of his officers.
1784. Jefferson's Northwest Ordinance proposed.
1786. Shay's Rebellion.
1787. Northwest Territory organized, and Ordinance adopted.
May 14, Constitutional Convention met at Philadelphia.
September 17, Constitution of the United States signed by the Delegates.
1788. *June* 21, Constitution ratified by New Hampshire, securing its adoption.
1789. *March* 4, First Congress assembled in New York.
April 30, Washington inaugurated President.
1790. Cotton-spinning established in the United States.
1791. First National Bank established.
1793. Wayne's campaign against the Indians.
Cotton Gin invented by Eli Whitney.
1794. The Whiskey Insurrection.
1795. Jay's Treaty ratified.
1797. *March* 4, John Adams inaugurated President.
1798. Alien and Sedition Laws enacted.
1799. Fries's Insurrection.
December 14, Death of Washington.
1801. *March* 4, Jefferson inaugurated President.
War with Tripoli.
1803. Louisiana purchased.
1804. Lewis and Clarke's Expedition.
1805. Treaty of Peace with Tripoli.
1806. Aaron Burr's Expedition to the Southwest.
Monroe and Pinkney Treaty, suppressed by Jefferson.
November 20, The Berlin Decree issued.
1807. Trial trip of Fulton's first steamboat.

1807. *November* 11, The Orders in Council issued.
December 17, The Milan Decree issued.
December, The Embargo Bill passed.
1809. *March* 4, Madison inaugurated President.
1811. *November* 7, Battle of Tippecanoe.
1812. *June* 18, War declared against England.
August 16, Hull's surrender of Detroit.
1813. *March* 4, Madison inaugurated.
September 10, Perry's victory on Lake Erie.
October 5, Battle of the Thames.
Jackson's campaign against the Southern Indians.
1814. Campaign on the Niagara; Battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane.
August 25, Capture of Washington by the British.
September 11, Battle of Plattsburg.
December 15, Hartford Convention met.
December 24, Treaty of Peace signed at Ghent.
1815. *January* 8, Battle of New Orleans.
War with Algiers.
1816. United States Bank chartered.
First Seminole War.
1817. *March* 4, Monroe inaugurated President.
1818. Steam navigation begun on the Western lakes.
1820. Missouri Compromise passed.
1821. Ratification of Treaty of 1819, ceding Florida to the United States.
1825. *March* 4, John Quincy Adams inaugurated President.
1826. Murder of Morgan, and rise of the Anti-masonic Party.
July 4, Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.
First railroad built in the United States.
1829. *March* 4, Jackson inaugurated President.
1831. Garrison established "The Liberator."
August, The Southampton Insurrection.
1832. The Black Hawk War.
Nullification in South Carolina.
1833. Removal of deposits from the United States Bank.
1835. Second Seminole War begun.
Texas declared her independence of Mexico.
1837. *March* 4, Van Buren inaugurated President.
1839. Capture of the *Amistad*, and trial of Africans.
1841. *March* 4, Harrison inaugurated President.
Case of the *Creole*.
1842. The Dorr War in Rhode Island.
The Prigg Case in the Supreme Court.
The Ashburton Treaty concluded.
1845. Texas annexed by joint resolution.
March 4, Polk inaugurated President.
1846. *May* 8, Battle of Palo Alto, beginning of the Mexican War.
August 8, David Wilmot introduced his Proviso in Congress.
1847. *February* 22, 23, Battle of Buena Vista.
March 27, Surrender of Vera Cruz.
September 14, City of Mexico occupied by the American forces.
1848. *February*, Treaty of Peace with Mexico concluded.

1848. Gold discovered in California.
1849. *March* 4, Taylor inaugurated President.
1850. The Clay Compromises—including the Fugitive Slave Law—passed.
1853. *March* 4, Pierce inaugurated President.
Rise of the Know-Nothing Party.
1854. *May* 30, The Kansas-Nebraska Bill became a law.
1856. Lawrence, Kansas, sacked.
1857. *March* 4, Buchanan inaugurated President.
March 6, The Dred Scott case in the Supreme Court.
August 4, First message sent by Atlantic cable.
1859. *October*, John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.
1860. *November*, Lincoln elected President.
December 20, South Carolina seceded.
1861. *January*, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana seceded.
February, Texas seceded; provisional Confederate Government organized.
March 4, Lincoln inaugurated President.
April 12, 13, Bombardment of Fort Sumter.
April 17, Virginia seceded.
April 19, First blood shed, in Baltimore.
May, Arkansas and North Carolina seceded.
June 10, Battle of Big Bethel.
July 21, Battle of Bull Run.
August 10, Battle of Wilson's Creek; death of General Lyon.
August 26, The Hatteras Exdedition sailed.
August 31, Fremont's Emancipation Proclamation issued.
October 29, The Port Royal Expedition sailed.
November 8, The Confederate envoys taken from the *Trent* by Captain Wilkes.
1862. *January* 12, The Roanoke Expedition sailed.
March 9, Fight of the *Merrimac* and *Monitor*.
May 4, Yorktown evacuated by the Confederates; Battle of Williamsburg.
May 9, Hunter's Emancipation Order issued.
May 27, Battle of Hanover Court House.
May 31, Battle of Fair Oaks.
June 26, The Seven Days' battles before Richmond begun.
August 29, Battle of Groveton, or Second Bull Run.
September, Invasion of Maryland; Battle of Antietam.
The President's preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation issued.
December 13, Battle of Fredericksburg.